FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN UTTAR PRADESH

SOURCE-MATERIAL

VOLUME I

1857-59 : Nature and Origin

PUBLICATIONS BUREAU
INFORMATION DEPARTMENT, UTTAR PRADESH

August 15, 1957

U. P. Advisory Board for History of Freedom Movement
Series No. I

EDITED BY

S. A. A. RIZVI, M.A., Ph.D., P.E.S.

M. L. BHARGAVA, M.A., D.Phil.

PRINTED BY JOB PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED, KANPUR AND PUBLISHED BY
PUBLICATIONS BUREAU, INFORMATION DEPARTMENT, UTTAR PRADESH

To all those who suffered
in the Cause of Freedom

FOREWORD

QUITE a controversy has raged in and outside this State for some time on more than one aspect of our First Struggle for Freedom, the so-called sepoy mutiny of 1857-59. This volume as its name denotes provides source-material for a revaluation of the entire struggle in a proper perspective, its conception and design, course and development and finally its outcome and effect on the economic and political structure of Indian society and state. I am confident that it will help set at rest at least some of the more obvious disputes among historians, particularly in regard to the conscious patriotic content of the revolt.

We began the 1857-centenary celebrations on 10th May, on which date the first shot was fired in Meerut. The function will fittingly come to a close on the 15th of August next which is also the 10th anniversary of our triumph against the British, the consummation of the process which started with the Barrackpur and Meerut uprisings. It is in the fitness of things therefore that a volume of this kind should be brought out on this date. This is a token of Uttar Pradesh's sustained reverence for all those who laid down their lives in bringing about this day.

This volume is the first venture of its kind in the country inasmuch as it brings to light, documents which unfold behind-the-scene activities of the leaders of the 1857 Struggle in northern India. It includes the proclamations issued by them from time to time and a number of orders promulgated by them in furtherance of the establishment of the revolutionary government. To those who have been prone to belittle the 1857 Struggle as a mere sporadic mutiny of sepoys and a few disgruntled princes this material is bound to prove an eye-opener. Uttar Pradesh constituted the principal theatre of the Struggle and the emotions and aspirations that inspired her fighters must form the mainstream of the entire process of revolt and its organisation.

The research scholars and other officials of the Freedom Struggle Advisory Board have done a creditable piece of work in digging it out from the huge debris of files and bastas *which the old records in the courts inevitably turn to become in course of time. They have, however, now at their disposal*

sufficient material to bring out three volumes. The present one, as said above, will deal with the source-material on the nature and origin; the second will cover the outbreak of the struggle, its development into a protracted war till the 1st of November, 1858, and its subsequent transformation into a series of guerilla skirmishes. The last volume will deal with the documents concerning the trials of various revolutionary leaders. On the whole, the series will present material enough for students of history to help them arrive at a rational and definite judgment about the character and contribution of our First Struggle for Freedom against the British. I am confident it will be equally well received by scholars and the public at large. Dr. Rizvi and his associates deserve our warmest thanks for this timely production.

Lucknow,
August 3, 1957



PREFACE

The question of compiling an authoritative History of Freedom Struggle in India had been engaging the attention of the Government of India, ever since 1950. As a first step in the direction, a committee was appointed the same year under the Chairmanship of Dr. Tara Chand, former Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University and Educational Adviser to the Government of India to supervise the collection of necessary material from all possible sources. Its main purpose was not merely to provide a correct record of the significant phases in India's national history but also to place before the world at large the various phases and techniques of this struggle which was unique in its character.

In 1953, the Government of India appointed a Board of Editors comprising nine members under the Chairmanship of Dr. Syed Mahmud. The Board held its first meeting at New Delhi on the 2nd and 3rd of January, 1953, and *inter alia* passed the following Resolution:—

"The Board requests all State Governments to appoint Committees in consultation with this Board to assist the Board in the collection of materials for writing a history of the Freedom Movement in India. These State Committees may be provided with funds for this purpose by the State Governments and authorized to incur necessary expenditure."

The above Resolution was strongly supported by the Government of India and it recommended the appointment of Regional Committees by the State Governments. Various regions were formed and put in charge of the Members. The U.P. and Kashmir were to be supervised by the following:

(a) Dr. Syed Mahmud

(b) Prof. M. Habib

(c) Acharya Narendra Deva

In accordance with the directive of the Government of India a committee at the State level was constituted in 1953 under the Chairmanship of late Acharya Narendra Deva. The committee drafted proposals for revitalising the work and obtaining aid from the State Government. Unfortunately the committee could not

avail of the guidance and advice of Acharya Nayendra Deva because of his continued illness and he had to resign and proceed to the continent for treatment. Consequently, the History of Freedom Movement Committee was reconstituted on May 13, 1955, with the following personnel:

1.	Sri Kamalapati Tripathi, Information Minister, U.P.	*Chairman*
2.	Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of India ...	*Member*
3.	Acharya Birbal Singh, M.P., Principal, Kashi Vidyapeeth, Varanasi	,,
4.	Prof. Ram Saran, M.P., 26, Queensway, New Delhi	,,
5.	Prof. Muhammad Habib, Aligarh University, Aligarh	,,
6.	Dr. Banarasi Prasad Saksena, M.A., PH.D., Allahabad University, Allahabad	,,
7.	Sri Aditya Nath Jha, I.C.S., Chief Secretary, U.P. Government	,,
8.	Sri V. C. Sharma, I.A.S., Secretary to Government, U.P., Education Department	,,
9.	Sri Govind Narain, I.C.S., Development Commissioner, U.P., Lucknow	,,
10.	Sri Siddique Hasan, I.C.S., Commissioner, Lucknow Division, Lucknow	,,
11.	Dr. G. N. Saletore, PH.D., Keeper Records, U.P.	,,
12.	Dr. N. L. Chatterji, PH.D., D.LITT., Reader in History, Lucknow University, Lucknow ...	*Member Secretary*

At the first meeting of the reconstituted Committee it was resolved that in order to facilitate and expedite the collection of material the state may be divided into the following three regions:

(i) Eastern Region: Allahabad, Gorakhpur, Jhansi and Varanasi Divisions, under Dr. B. P. Saxena

(ii) Western Region: Agra, Meerut, Kumaon and Rohilkhand Divisions, under Professor Muhammad Habib

(iii) Central Region: Lucknow and Fyzabad divisions, under Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee

Each Region was given the services of Research Assistants. The research staff in the Central Region concentrated on the material available in the Secretariat Records Room, and one of its important findings consisted of Mutiny Bastas containing original telegrams and bulletins issued in 1858-1859. Besides this, some material was gathered from the printed proceedings as well, of the Political, Judicial and the Criminal Departments. The staff attached to the Eastern Region worked on the Mss. records collected in the Central Records Room, Allahabad, and valuable material was unearthed throwing light on the 1857-Freedom Struggle. The material received from Allahabad in 1956 showed how much of relevant material lay untapped in the Central Records Office, Allahabad, and the Collectorate Records Rooms in the districts. In December, 1956, the Research Assistants of the Central Region were sent out for the first time to survey the records in the Collectorate Records Rooms and a rapid survey revealed the enormity of work that was yet to be done. In the Secretariat Records Office too, a scrutiny revealed that Mss. Volumes of Agra Narratives—Foreign, Judicial, Criminal as well as Political, contained valuable source-material on 1857-Freedom Struggle and were still lying untouched.

In view of the urgency and enormity of the work, and Government of India's decision to wind up its work regarding 1857-Struggle by 31st of December, 1956, we were left with no alternative but a fresh stock-taking and beginning anew. As a result of the deliberations it was decided to assume direct responsibility for the collection of the Mss. material from the various sources which were still untapped, and publish the source-material at the earliest.

Consequently, the committee was wound up and the Education Secretary assumed charge, assisted by Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi, O. S. D. and Dr. M. L. Bhargava, Research Officer.

During the last seven months, a mass of material has been unearthed throwing flood-light not only on the 1857-Struggle but on the entire history of the country during the nineteenth century. The Mss. Agra Narratives as well as Oudh Abstract Proceedings, lying untouched in the Secretariat Records Office till now, have unfolded a new treasure for the future historians to fall back upon. The Research Staff have only consulted the relevant volumes regarding the Freedom Struggle, but the remaining ones covering the period

1834 to 1858, when published someday, will throw fresh light on British administration in these Provinces.

The records obtained from the various Districts by the Central Records Office have yielded rich material and encouraged by the results, the Government directed the various District Magistrates to send all relevant files and *Bastas* concerning 1857, Freedom Struggle to the Mss. Section recently opened in the Secretariat under the control and direction of the Chief Secretary to the Government. The Mutiny *Bastas* from Lucknow, Allahabad, Rae Bareli, Badaun, Farrukhabad, Muzaffarnagar, Kanpur, Aligarh, Jhansi, Unnao and several other districts have been received, and have yielded original correspondence, original circulars, proclamations and orders of revolutionary leaders. The number of such documents now runs into thousands and they are being exhibited during the centenary celebrations at Qaisar-bagh Baradari, Lucknow. A detailed Calendar of the District Records is also likely to be published by the Government.

The Mss. material available at the National Library, Calcutta, and the National Archives have also been consulted. The value and importance of all these materials have compelled attention and we have decided to publish them in several volumes. The publication side has been receiving our due attention. In the meantime biographies of seven important leaders of 1857-Freedom Struggle under the title, *Sangharsha Kaleen Netaon ki Jiwanian*, and *Swatantra Dilli* were brought out. Taken together, these two books, in Hindi, have given a rapid and vivid survey of the 1857-Struggle and were a fitting tribute to the 10th of May, 1957, the centenary of the beginning of the Revolt.

The main project of the publication of Source-Material also continued to receive our attention. Only a few days back we were glad to learn that Mss. material running into 5,000 pages has been collected, and the typescript copies were under preparation. I had an opportunity to see the type-script copy of the first volume and myself as well as the Chief Minister were both keen to see it through the Press by the 15th of August. Though the time at our disposal was short, we have been able to get it printed. I am happy to present it today to our people and the students of history.

The U.P. History of Freedom Movement Series, of which this is the first volume,is comprised of selected Source-Material, original documents and the like. Attempt has been made to take mostly

the unpublished Mss. but the material being hardly hundred years old, when Press had started playing its role, rare and important printed matter have also been included. Most of the Mss. material is in English, but wherever, Hindi, Urdu and Persian documents have come to light an attempt has been made to compare the different versions. In the absence of original documents, different versions of the translations available have been given. It has been so arranged that the entire Mss. may be divided under different heads, but no colouring of documents has been done. True and faithful representation has been sought for. We leave it to the historians to study them, interpret them and, taking them to be the ground-work, pursue the path of research independently and dispassionately.

The first volume, as its very title and contents will reveal, is unique in conception and attempts to gather together material relating to the Nature and Origin of the Freedom Struggle, a fitting introduction to the National History. Its presentation, for the first time gives " the other side of the Medal ". We have read excellent histories of this period written by eminent British scholars. But they have written from the view-point of a foreigner and given the minutest details of the achievements, trials and tribulations of their countrymen only, who came to carve out an Empire for their mother country. Ever since the initiation of non-cooperation movement, a necessity was being felt that true history of India should be brought to light in which we could read the failings and shortcomings of our forefathers, and also know something about their achievements.

Chapter VII of this volume devoted to valuable documents about the Millennium aimed at by revolutionary leaders, takes one's breath away—Cry of *Jehad*, plea of National Religion in danger reverberates each one of them. Extermination of the infidels and foreigners was openly preached.

Their struggle did not end in airy nothings. Revolutionary Governments were established at Delhi, Lucknow, Bareilly, Jhansi, Banda and Kanpur which successfully functioned at some places for as many as 10 to 11 months. It was no easy task to run such administrations and yet continue to wage war against the combined might of the British Empire in 1857-58 and 1859. The revolutionary leaders were no doubt driven from place to place and forced to take shelter in the fastnesses of Nepalese terai and jungles but their undaunted spirit of sacrifice, their patriotism, and last but not the least, unparalleled heroism continued to inspire the freedom fighters from time to time. Even today a study of their deeds

and achievements, their trials and tribulations, promise to enthuse the generations to come to study the National History in its right perspective.

Before concluding I must put on record my deep sense of appreciation of the efforts of all those who have been connected with the work of compilation of the volume. Special reference is due to Messrs. S. A. A. Rizvi, M. L. Bhargava and all the Research Assistants without whose active interest and efforts it would not have been possible to bring forth such enlightening material.

Lucknow,
July 30, 1957

KAMALAPATI TRIPATHI

INTRODUCTION

Though the Advisory Board for the History of Freedom Movement has been reconstituted only recently a History of Freedom Movement Committee was founded as early as 1953. In its early stages, it had two-fold functions; first to arrange collection of material for the compilation of the History of Freedom Struggle at the All-India level; and secondly to prepare a similar history at the State level. The collection of requisite material naturally took time and suddenly the Government of India decided to wind up its set-up for the compilation of material relating to the 1857 Struggle by 31st December, 1956. It was practically impossible to finish the work in the State by that date.

As the material in U.P. was of utmost value and significance, due to its being the main theatre of operations in 1857, it was decided that the work of collection of material at the State level may be continued under the aegis of the Education Department, and for the purposes of technical advice an Advisory Board may be associated. Consequently the department took over the responsibility and entrusted the work to Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi, Under-Secretary of Education, who has now been appointed a Member-Secretary of the Advisory Board. The newly constituted Board continues to benefit from the advice of historians of repute like Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, Professor of History, Allahabad University, and Prof. Muhammad Habib, Head of the Political Science Department, Aligarh University.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of all who had been associated with the Committee ever since its inception in 1953. Our first Chairman, late Acharya Narendra Deva, with his customary devotion to whatever he undertook, guided us in the very beginning enabling us to start the compilation on right lines. Our debt to him is immeasurable and we shall always recall his association with pride and gratitude.

The History of Freedom Movement Committee had the benefit of the services of two Honorary Secretaries, Prof. Mukut Behari Lal, and Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee; and I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to them for their valuable help and guidance.

Our thanks are due to The Director of National Archives, New Delhi, Assistant Director, Records, Mr. Roy; the Director of

National Library, Calcutta; the Keeper of Records, Central Records Office, Allahabad; the Keeper of Records, Secretariat Records Office, Lucknow; the Librarian of Amiruddaula Library, Lucknow; the Assistant Librarian of Tagore Library, Lucknow University; the Librarian of the Aligarh University, Aligarh; the Librarian of the Allahabad University, Allahabad; the Principal, Meerut College, Meerut; Principal L. K. Tripathi of Christ Church College, Kanpur; Sri S. N. Ghosh, Editor of *The Pioneer*, Lucknow, for their valuable co-operation, assistance and courtesy.

We would also like to express our gratitude to all others through whose help and cooperation it has been possible to bring out this publication in time.

Lucknow,
August 5, 1957

J. N. UGRA

ADVISORY BOARD FOR THE HISTORY OF FREEDOM STRUGGLE, U. P.

CHAIRMAN

Sri KAMALAPATI TRIPATHI, Minister for Education, Home and Information, U.P.

MEMBERS

1. Sri MOHAN LAL GAUTAM, Minister for Cooperation, Uttar Pradesh
2. Sri MUZAFFAR HUSAIN, Minister of State for Social Security
3. Sri A. N. JHA, I.C.S., Chief Secretary
4. Sri V. C. SHARMA, I.A.S., Additional Secretary, Revenue
5. Sri J. N. UGRA, I.A.S., Secretary, Education
6. Sri B. S. SINGH, Director of Information
7. Dr. B. P. SAKSENA, Head of the Department of History, Allahabad University, Allahabad
8. Prof. MOHD. HABIB, Prof. of Political Science, Aligarh University, Aligarh
9. Dr. RAMA SHANKAR TRIPATHI, Principal, Central Hindu College, Varanasi
10. Sri KANHAIYA LAL MISRA 'PRABHAKAR', Vikas Limited, Saharanpur
11. Dr. S. A. A. RIZVI, *Member-Secretary*

RESEARCH STAFF

Dr. MOTI LAL BHARGAVA, M.A., D.Phil. *Research Officer*

1. Sri RAJENDRA BAHADUR, M.A., LL.B. *Research Assistant*
2. Sri PRATAP NARAIN MEHROTRA, M.A., LL.B. ,,
3. Sri DINESH BEHARI TRIVEDI, B.A.(Hons.), M.A. ,,
4. Dr. RAM SAGAR RASTOGI, M.A., Ph.D. ,,
5. Sri SHYAM NARAIN SINHA, M.A., LL.B. ,,
6. Sri SHRAWAN KUMAR SRIVASTAVA, M.A. ,,
7. Dr. MOHD. TAQI AHMAD, M.A., Ph.D. ,,

STUDY OF THE SOURCE-MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF FREEDOM STRUGGLE OF 1857-59.

India had never lacked in patriots and martyrs who stubbornly resisted the *British Raj* from its very inception. Malabar, Assam, including a large number of adventurers of other places offered obstinate resistance and waged active war to get rid of the alien Government. Raja Chait Singh of Varanasi and later Wazir Ali of Oudh, rocked the foundations of the East India Company and were able to enlist a considerable support to their cause. Muin-ud-Din Hasan says, "However the English may regard themselves, they are regarded by the natives as trespassers, and this feeling was intensified on the annexation of the province of Oudh."[1]

Confiscation of the pension of Nana Sahib Dhondu Pant, the *lapse* of the *Raj* of Jhansi to the East India Company, curtailment of the rights and privileges of all the influential classes, oppressive revenue policies and corrupt administration of the British Government in India and the activities of the Christian Missionaries and Evangelical reformers[2] made the British rule all the more detestable to the mind of the Indians and created a consciousness of the existence of an alien rule holding them in subjection, which had earlier been prevented from possessing their minds by the agency of the Rajahs and Nawabs existing as 'showboys' of the British Government. As soon as this awareness came upto the surface, it overflowed and reached the hearts of a wider section of the Indians, already seething with discontent. Even the armed forces, who formed the backbone of the British empire in India, responded to the call of the conscience and they realized the seriousness of the situation. The Indian press fanned nationalism in its own peculiar style. Difficulties, which the British Government had then had to face in the International sphere, were exploited by the patriots for their own ends. The atmosphere thus created foreboded bad days to follow for the British in India. The cartridge affair, bone-dust story, incendiarism and the circulation of *chapaties* served to peg the last nail into the coffin. The mine was laid and the explosion was imminent. That did not require much publicity. A memory of the past sufferings, at the hands of the foreigners intensified the patriotic feelings of the

[1] Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, "*Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*", (1898) p. 31.

[2] cf. Michael Edwardes, "*My Indian Mutiny Diary* by W. H. Russel" (1957) Introduction pp. XVIII-XIX, XXIII;

Indians which had already been touched off by the late events; and so they became impatient to uproot the alien rule. Every one got ready for the forthcoming danger as was evident from various news-items of the vernacular newspapers of those days. They were waiting for the call and it came but a bit prematurely and untimely. The epoch-making Struggle started.

It is therefore very essential to unravel the tangled skein of this very important phase of our national history along proper lines. It stands beyond the means and capacity of an individual scholar to go through the whole mass of literature available on this period of struggle, the motive force in producing which has been different with different authors. So judgments are likely to get coloured if the important documents are not brought to light and are not made accessible to the students of History.

Volumes of published and unpublished 'Source-material' on the Struggle of 1857-59 are available in English, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Mahratti and Bengali, which as pointed out above were produced by contemporary scholars from their own view-points. Barring Maulana Fazl-i-Haq Khairabadi's[1] *Saurat-ul-Hindya* in Arabic written by him at Andaman, no other work by any leader of Freedom Movement is available on the subject. All the works were written by such scholars who for some reason or the other were either badly prejudiced or who wanted to gain favour with the British Government. Contemporary Indian scholars have in this connection done greater injustice to the historical truth and have intentionally suppressed the national character of the movement. They have tried to prove that the movement was confined to a limited number of disloyal and mean wretches. They have even contradicted the views of the English scholars who believed willingly or unwillingly that the upsurge was a national one. Their works betray the bitter communal hatred which was excited throughout the British regime under one pretext or the other. Their works therefore do not appear to reflect their independent honest opinions and should be studied with the same care with which the works of English scholars are to be studied. They can in no circumstance claim to be represented as the exponents of Indian view-point on the subject. Opinions of Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Khan Bahadur Zaka Ullah, Muin-ud-din Hasan, Jiwan Lal, and Durgadas Bandyopadhya etc. stand in this category.

[1] Maulana Fazl-i-Haq was the teacher of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's father. Maulana Fazl-i-Haq is said to have sent his work through released prisoners on different pieces of papers which were later on edited in a book form by Maulana Fazl-i-Haq's son Maulana Abdul Haq. Maulana Abdul Haq presented a copy of *Saurat-ul-Hindya* to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's father also. Maulana Fazl-i-Haq died at Andaman in 1861.

Selection of Excerpts

An attempt in this Volume has been made to examine the following sources and to publish important and relevant excerpts having a bearing on the nature and origin of the great Struggle of 1857-59. The excerpts have been classified subject-wise and are arranged in chronological order.

1. Proceedings of Foreign Political, Revenue and Judicial Departments of the North Western Provinces and Oudh in the Secretariat Records Office of U.P. Government, Lucknow.

2. Proceedings on the trials of the participants in the struggle in District and Commissioners' Courts of Uttar Pradesh.

3. Records in the Central Records Office, Allahabad, U.P.

4. Proceedings and Original Consultations of the Foreign Department, Political and Secret 1857-59, Home Department, Public Proceedings, 1857-59, Original Persian Letters received 1857-60, and Persian Letters sent 1857-60 and Original Persian and Urdu Papers recovered from the palace after the fall of Delhi, available in the National Archives, New Delhi.

5. Published State papers (Military), Intelligence Records, Official Narratives of the Magistrates and Commissioners, Parliamentary Papers and Parliamentary Debates.

6. Contemporary Urdu and English Newspapers and Periodicals.

7. Published diaries and memoirs etc. of Military and Civil Officers.

8. Published contemporary works—Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Bengali, Mahratti and English.[1]

Different Types of Sources and Their Study

Correspondence of the Officers of British Government

Narratives of Events of 1857-58 submitted by the Magistrates of different districts in accordance with the orders of the Government are substantially different from the later contemporary works, which are full of all types of glosses and explanations for the so-called noble conduct of the British Government, but this picture also gets materially changed when the reports are read in the light of some

1. A detailed Bibliography will be given at the end of the Third Volume of this series.

of the contemporary original correspondence of the Government Officers. Existence of certain communal differences in Bijnor, Bareilly and other places have been mentioned in the official narratives. Much has been made of the so-called differences between Hindu Zamindars and Mahmud Khan of Najibabad, and between the Thakurs and Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, as pointed out in the Official Narratives and in the works of other contemporary scholars including those of Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan and Bandyopadhya but if we study the narratives in the light of the Secretary to Chief Commissioner of Oudh's letter to the Secretary to the Government of India it would become apparent that the official reports regarding Hindu-Muslim differences at Bareilly had no element of truth and the Hindu population of Bareilly could not be raised against the Muslims even though Rs. 50,000 were kept at the disposal of the Chief Commissioner for that end. A study of this document will instil praise, for the exemplary character of the Indians at that time, into the heart of every impartial judge, and will convince him of the nefarious game played by the Britishers then to create religious differences. Rajputana and Punjab unfortunately fell victim to this propaganda and helped the British cause.

Proceedings on the Trials

Proceedings on the trials of a large number of people, who were tried in different district courts, are available in various districts of Uttar Pradesh. They are now being examined by the staff under the scheme of the collection of manuscripts and documents initiated by the Chief Minister in the Chief Secretary's Branch. The detailed Calendar of the proceedings is also likely to be published. These proceedings throw very interesting light on the subject but the depositions and judgments should be studied in their proper background and context.

In this connection two important trials may be cited as examples: (1) Trial of Bahadur Shah and (2) Trial of Tatya Tope. Trial of Bahadur Shah was published in 1858 by the Government of India and the Trial of Tatya Tope is still unpublished though the statement of Tatya Tope has been quoted in different contemporary works. The proceedings on the trial of Tatya Tope are also available in the National Archives, New Delhi and comprise 80 pages.[1] The statement of Tatya Tope was recorded in Urdu by the court-munshi. Tatya's signatures are affixed in Hindi at the end of this statement. Dr. Majumdar has very profusely drawn upon the

1. Military Deptt. Consultations, 2nd. Sept. 1859. Nos. 143-145. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

statement of Hakim Ahsan Ullah Khan, and Tatya Tope in support of his thesis. Hakim Ahsan Ullah was hostile to the movement from the very beginning, and he always played a double game. Mirza Ilahi Bakhsh, Begum Zinat Mahal and others had convinced Bahadur Shah before he surrendered that no harm would be done to him and he could throw all blame upon princes and sepoys and make them responsible for the rebellion. Thus the broad outlines of the statement which Bahadur Shah gave on his trial were ready before the fall of Delhi and so no reliance can beplaced on it.

Tatya Tope was court-martialled. No satisfactory explanation of his not being tried by regular courts is available, while Khan Bahadur Khan etc. were tried by regular courts. Why was not an attempt made to bring him to Kanpur or to some other place where people knew him well, while later on some people who were suspected of being Nana Sahib were brought to Kanpur and thorough investigation regarding their identity made and the cases dismissed? His alleged signatures below the statement are to be compared with his other signatures before they are accepted as genuine. How much of his statement was read out to him and how much of the Urdu of the Munshi could he follow are other questions to be answered satisfactorily before important conclusions are drawn from his statement. Why were definite questions relating to the whereabouts of Tatya Tope put to Rao Sahib when the latter was tried in 1862? Why did Tatya give such a lengthy statement while his fate was known to him? Was any confession really needed then? Could that be an atonement for his alleged sins? The above problems along with the circumstances in which Tatya Tope was placed and other contemporary reports will have to be scientifically examined before his statement is accepted as a historical truth.

Concealment of facts by Indians

British authorities invariably tried to discover the truth from a variety of Indian sources but curiously enough none of them divulged it. Muin-ud-Din Hasan Khan did not allow Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe to publish his work during his lifetime though the work did not contain any unknown fact. More than hundred depositions were obtained regarding Maulwi Liaqat Ali of Allahabad, but the Magistrate was compelled to conclude that a scrutiny of all the depositions could not reveal even as much as was generally accepted by all the sources. Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, who had a sufficient experience and knowledge of the people of Delhi and the Punjab remarked that, " at that time it would have been extremely difficult to discover

as much from them (sepoys) owing to their extraordinary reliance on matters which they fear to reveal; it is only by attentive observation, by study of their character and conduct, and by the collation of their casual remarks, that their real feelings on such subjects can be discovered."[1]

Oriental Expressions

Oriental expressions will have to be taken into full consideration before a conclusion is arrived at. Often they are very peculiar and are so worded that the spirit underlying the expressions cannot be fully conveyed in English translations unless they are gone through very carefully in original. English translations in the form now available can convey only the very barest amount of truth and that too often distorted. Correspondence of the leaders of the movement passed through either in Persian, Urdu or Mahratti. It is impossible to translate the true spirit of the diplomatic Persian expressions. Students of Medieval Indian History who are conversant with the English translations of the Original Persian and Arabic texts know fully well how often the real meanings were misunderstood by eminent translators as Elliot and Dowson and Beveridge. *Muarrikhan* (historians) has been translated as *Moor Khan.* The translations of the Persian, Mahratti and Urdu letters of the leaders of the movement were generally done by the Court-Munshis and by some other Englishmen who were anything but scholars of Persian or Mahratti. They could not easily discover the true spirit of the oriental expressions. Their English translations, which are available, are therefore of not much help to us. Originals will have to be discovered and studied in the proper background before final conclusions are allowed to be formed. Lang, in his '*Wanderings in India*', has very vividly described the tone and peculiar ways of expression of contemporary Vernacular newspapers and the excerpts from the work quoted in the present book would throw interesting light on the subject. In this connection interpretation given to the concluding remarks of the statement of Sita Ram by Dr. R. C. Majumdar may be studied with interest. When Sita Ram was asked about the source of his information regarding his statement he remarked, "Every person, particularly every Brahmin, is well acquainted with all this, and the fact of these letters have been written, why, every Baboo in Calcutta knew of it." Dr. R. C. Majumdar, on the basis of the above statement concludes thus, "this last statement is very significant. Here

1. Lieut. G. F. Irving Graham. "Article in the Edinburgh Review" for January 1863 on the Annexation of the Punjab and Oudh by Lord Dalhousie and Essays Military and Political by Sir H. M. Lawrence; (Ghazeepoor 1863) p. 188.

Sita Ram openly confesses that he was merely reproducing what every body knew, in other words, bazar gossip, and had no special source of information."[1] The expression *ghar ghar men yeh charcha hai* or *Sab ko yeh bat achchi tarah Malum hai* or " *every person is well acquainted with all this* ", gives a further strength to the statement of an eye-witness and is used as an expression of confirmed truth; and to interpret it to mean a bazar gossip is to stretch the meaning of words only to suit one's own conclusions.

Works of the Indians

Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his ' *The Sepoy Mutiny and Revolt of 1857* ' has profusely quoted " *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi* " translated by Charles Theophilus Matcalfe in support of many of his conclusions without once doubting the authenticity of the work or accuracy of the translation. Their original works are not available. Muin-ud-din Hasan Khan was appointed as the first Kotwal of the Independent Delhi but he was immediately afterwards dismissed due to his pro-British activities and mismanagement. Munshi Jiwan Lal was a British spy and his diary therefore cannot be quoted in support of the judgment of the character of Indians who were fighting against them. Munshi Jiwan Lal was paid for sending informations to the British camp and whatever he could gather and whatever appeared to him palatable for the British army was transmitted by him. His information unless corroborated by the local newspapers, which are fortunately available in the National Archives, New Delhi, and other independent sources cannot be regarded as necessarily correct and hence much reliance cannot be placed on it.

Editing of the Excerpts.

The editing of the excerpts, from the writings of different people, in a coherent form is very difficult. Proceedings were written and documents copied often in a most illegible hand. Some of them abound in mistakes of grammar and spelling of common words. Same name has been spelt differently at different places in the same page. Printed contemporary works are also not wanting in the above deficiencies. While presenting this volume an attempt has been made to maintain with some uniformity as far as possible the spellings of proper names, places and terms available in the original, and at places only glaring mistakes of the copyists and slips of pen have been corrected but not at the cost of the spirit of the statement. Punctuation marks have been inserted, where they were deemed

[1] R. C. Majumdar. "*The Sepoy Mutiny & Revolt of* 1857" (Calcutta 1957) p. 187.

absolutely essential to bring out the full sense. It may be pointed out here that the Europeans had their own way of pronouncing Indian names of persons and places, which to the modern Indian reader may sound odd; eg. Bundelkhand was spelt as Boondlecund, Kabul as Cabul, Asaf as Asoph, Rohilkhand as Rohilcund, Nainital as Nyneetall, Bahadur as Buhadoor, Nepal as Nepaul or Nipaul, Bahraich as Baraitch, Sahai as Suhaee, Sahukar as Sahoocar or Soukar, Muqaddam as Moocuddum, Riasat as Reeasut, Hazrat as Huzrat and Huzrut, Mahal as Muhal, Ali as Ally or Alee, Urdu as Oordoo, Mainpuri as Mynpooree, Zilla as Zillah etc. etc. As mentioned above, in majority of the places the spellings as given in the originals have been maintained but where they have appeared to be too farfetched so as to hinder easy pronunciation and smooth reading, they have been slightly modified, and retained uniformly in most places.

References of the excerpts are given at the end of the document and new excerpts on the same subject generally begin with the heading in italics. References to other works on the subject which could not be included in the present volume due to the paucity of space, though some of them were very important, are also given in the foot-notes.

Lucknow,
July 23, 1957.

S. A. A. Rizvi.

CONTENTS

PAGE

FOREWORD i

Dr. SAMPURNANAND, Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh

PREFACE iii

Sri KAMLAPATI TRIPATHI, Minister for Education, Home and Information, U.P.; Chairman, Advisory Board for the History of Freedom Struggle in U.P.

INTRODUCTION ix

Sri J. N. UGRA, I.A.S., Secretary to Government, Uttar Pradesh, Education Department.

ADVISORY BOARD AND RESEARCH STAFF xii

STUDY OF THE SOURCE-MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF FREEDOM STRUGGLE OF 1857-59 xiii

S. A. A. RIZVI, Secretary, Advisory Board for the History of Freedom Struggle in U.P.

CHAPTER ONE

U.P. IN FERMENT 1–138

Baeza Baee 3

The Peshwa at Bithoor 11

Question of Adoption 40

Jhansi 46

The Peshwa at Kirwee 65

Banda 67

Farruckabad 74

Delhi 87

Oudh 91

CHAPTER TWO

OPPRESSION AND CORRUPTION 139–284

N.W.P. in the Making 141

Revenue Policy 149

PAGE

Excise —Salt 232
Jail Administration 257
Administration of Justice 264
Educational Policy 266
Maladministration 268

CHAPTER THREE

DREAD OF CONVERSION 285–302
Christian Mission in India 287
Sepoys and Citizens Dread Conversion 292
Anti-Christian Feelings 300

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERNATIONAL CHESSBOARD 303-318
Russio-Phobia 305
The Indo-Afghan Relations 310
Persian Intrigues 311
Indo-Nepalese Relations 314
International Press on India in 1857 315

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ARMY ON THE BRINK OF REVOLT 319-350
Discontented Army 321
The Cartridge Issue 329
Mutinous State of Army—Meerut, Lucknow, Azamgarh 331
The Indian Soldiery 349

CHAPTER SIX

THE CONSPIRACY 351-416
Correspondence of the Soldiers 353
Wide-Spread Conspiracy 356
Conspirators—Nana and Maulwi 372
Incendiaries 388
Chapaties 389

PAGE
The Bone-Dust Story 395
Faqirs 397
Untrustworthy—Who? 399
Pre-Mature Uprising 402
Sepoys Divulge Plan 405
Indian Press Fans Nationalism 408

CHAPTER SEVEN

INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT 417-488
Civil Administration 419
Proclamations 438

CHAPTER EIGHT

NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE 469-494
Communalism let loose 471
General Nature of the Struggle 473

APPENDIX A
Maulana Fazl-i-Haq Khairabadi's interpretation of the Course of the Struggle 489

APPENDIX B
Literal Translation of the Petition of Rani of Jhansi ... 491

GLOSSARY 495-499

INDEX 501-515

LIST OF PLATES

No.

1. Signatures in Hindi of Tatya Tope at the end of his Statement.
2. Letter of Rani of Jhansi to the Governor Generai.
3. (Continued) Letter of Rani of Jhansi.
4. Envelope of the Letter of Rani of Jhansi, with her Seal.
5. Letter of Nawab of Banda with his Signatures in the margin.
6. Letter of Wajid Ali Shah to the Governor General.
7. (Continued) Letter of Wajid Ali Shah to the Governor General.
8. Envelope of the Letter of Wajid Ali Shah.
9. Protest of the Officers of Wajid Ali Shah on the transfer of Ex-King's library.
10. Constitution of the Court of Administration at Delhi.
11. (Continued p. 2) Constitution of the Court of Administration.
12. (Continued p. 3) Constitution of the Court of Administration.
13. (Continued p. 4) Constitution of the Court of Administration.
14. (Continued p. 5) Constitution of the Court of Administration.
15. Letter of Bahadur Shah to Mubarak Shah Khan Kotwal regarding the Prohibition of Cow-Sacrifice.
16. Letter of Mubarak Shah Khan Kotwal of Delhi regarding Prohibition of Cow-Sacrifice.
17. Proclamation of Bahadur Shah.
18. Proclamation of Nana Sahib.
19. Proclamation of Birjis Qadar, both in Urdu and Hindi, with his Seal at the top.
20. Proclamation of Rao Sahib.
    Proclamation of Nawab of Banda, both in Urdu and Hindi.
21. Letter showing attempt to raise Hindu Population of Bareilly against the Muslims.

U P IN FERMENT

CHAPTER ONE

BAEZA BAEE

THE PESHWA AT BITHOOR

QUESTION OF ADOPTION

JHANSI

THE PESHWA AT KIRWEE

BANDA

FURRUCKABAD

DELHI

OUDH

BAEZA BAEE

Deputation on the Part of Baeza Baee. Proceedings 14th. January, 1835:

2. An intimation was received from the Resident at Gwalior that Baeza Baee had sent a Deputation to meet the Honorable the Governor at Benares. No orders were considered necessary on the subject.

3. A dispatch was received from the Supreme Government communicating the intimation given to the Resident at Gwalior that the Baeza Baee having taken up her residence within the limits of the Agra Presidency, she would of necessity be considered subject to this Government.

4. With reference to the foregoing communication the Assistant Resident in attendance on the Baee was directed to continue to conform to the instructions which had already been furnished to him regarding the Baee.

5. A further Communication was received from the Supreme Government giving cover to two despatches from Captain Ross, the first reporting that the Baee had given up the individuals, concerned in an affray whose apprehension was required by the Civil authorities that she was not likely of her own accord to disband her followers; and that the only conditions on which she expressed her willingness to remove from her present residence, were the advance of 25 Lacks of Rupees and a visit from the Resident and the last reporting the suppression of unlicensed abkaree shops in the Baee's camp.

No orders were considered at present necessary.[1]

Respecting Baeza Baee's desire that all requisition from the civil authorities should be communicated through the medium of the Assistant Resident and in Proceedings 18th. February, 1835 *Nos.* 18 *and* 19:

(Continued from Para 5 of the Note for January 1835.)

4. The Assistant Resident reported with reference to the Baee's relations and camp followers being rendered amenable to the Jurisdiction of our local Courts while she resided at Furruckabad that the Baee was much bent at not being permitted to exercise an independent control over her own followers and that although

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., December 1834 to April 1835; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Province in the Political Deptt. for the month of January 1835.

she was not so much as to oppose the civil power, she made it a point that its requisitions should be communicated through the Assistant Resident.

5. Captain Ross further reported that Her Highness had of late (*sic.*) maintained a strict discipline in her camp and that he had not yet (*sic.*) been able to prevail upon her to discharge her armed followers and to retain a small personal escort.

6. The Assistant Resident was informed in reply that the Hon'ble the Governor had no objection to the requisitions of the civil authorities concerning the followers of Her Highness being served through him, while he remained in attendance on her camp. He was directed to continue to urge her to conform her conduct to the wishes of the Supreme Govt. and to inform her that no attention could be paid to the representations that she might make through her Vakeels at Allahabad, while she persisted in her present cause of opposition to the measures that had been recommended to her.[1]

Expected disturbances in the camp of Baeza Baee, March 1835*:*

(Cont. from Para 1 of the Note for February 1835.)

1. The Assistant Resident in attendance on Baeza Baee reported that it was difficult to convince Her Highness of the inability of deputing Vakeels to this Government, and that it would be more proper to apply the sums lavished on them, to the payment of the just dues of her followers, who were becoming extremely discontented and clamorous for their arrears.

2. Captain Ross at the same time submitted a copy of his letter to the Resident at Gwalior, conveying the Baee's request for the payment of the pension of two Lacs held by her from the British Govt. in lieu of Shergurh Koosee, and intimating his apprehension that if Her Highness continued to delay the liquidation of the arrears due to her armed followers, *her camp would become a scene of tumult and insubordination which it might be difficult to suppress.*

3. Copies of the above mentioned papers were submitted to the Governor General of India in Council, and with a view to prevent disturbance in the Baee's camp in consequence of her alleged inability to discharge the arrears of Pay due to her Troops

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., December 1834 to April 1835; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the month of February 1835 dated 18th. February, 1835, Nos. 18 and 19. Proceedings 14th, September, 1836, No. 32. Collection No. 1.

and followers, the Hon'ble the Governor suggested for the consideration of the Supreme Government the expediency of instructing the Resident at Gwalior to arrange with the Durbar for the payment of the arrears of any of the armed followers of Her Highness who might quit her service and return to Gwalior. It was also recommended that Captain Ross be instructed to make a communication to that effect to all discontented adherents on the appearance of any symptoms of disturbance.

4. The Assistant Resident was informed that in the event of any disturbance the local authorities would of course, on his application, adopt the necessary measures for suppressing it and for preserving the peace.[1]

Respecting the discharge of arrears of Pay due to the followers of Baeza Baee and Her Highness's objection to attend to the requisitions of the Civil Court:

1. The Assistant Resident at Gwalior in attendance on Baeza Baee submitted copies of his correspondence with the Resident touching the arrears of Pension due to the Baee, and reported that Her Highness had issued two months pay to her followers which made it evident that she had still the command of funds, notwithstanding her assertion to the contrary and her pressing entreaties for pecuniary aid.

2. Captain Ross further reported that the Baee having lately evinced an inclination to disregard the authority of the civil courts, from a strange and mistaken idea that the attendance of her people before them would be derogatory to her, he had pointed out in the fullest manner to Her Highness the danger of attempting any evasion of the orders of Government on the subject, and explained that the attendance of her people when summoned by the civil authorities could not be dispensed with merely because they might have been made over to him for examination.

3. The Assistant Resident was informed that the communication made by him to the Baeza Baee was approved by the Government.[2]

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., December 1834 to April 1835; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the month of March 1835. Proceedings 14th. March, 1835, Nos. 12—15.

[2] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., December 1834 to April 1835; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the month of April 1835. Proceeding 8th. April, 1835.

Respecting the contested Treasure found in the House of Baeza Baee at Benares, 1836:

(Continued from Para 20 of the Narrative for the 1st. quarter 1836)

1. The investigation into the claims of the Gwalior Govt. and of Her Highness the Baeza Baee to the Treasure deposited in the House of the latter at Benares has not yet been brought to a close.

2. The delay is owing to the death of the Maharajah's father and sister, which events prevented the Durbar from issuing the necessary instructions to the Agent representing its claim.

Respecting a place of residence for the Baeza Baee and Her Highness's allowance:

(Continued from Para 16 of the Narrative for the first quarter of 1836)

3. The Gwalior Durbar objected to assign for the Baeza Baee's residence any of the places named by Her Highness. The Muha Raja (Maharajah) offered Ranjungaon near Ahmed Nuggur, or proposed that the Baee should take up her abode at Jamgaon with a few followers; but without having jurisdiction over the Talooka. Nassuck also within the dominions of the British Govt. was mentioned as a sacred spot, which Her Highness might prefer to Benares as a place of retirement.

4. The Baee reverted to her propositions of proceeding to Jamgaon on the condition of it's (its) being transferred to her in Sovereignty, together with Chumergonda and all it's (its) dependent Territory, and independent of the Revenues of those places, and of the stipend of two lacks she was in the receipt of in lieu of Shergurh Koosee, required an annual allowance of Four Lacks. Her Highness requested that the transfer of the territory and the money allowance might be secured to her under the guarantee of the British Govt. The Baee also desired a provision for Appa Patun Rur and Gujja Raja her son-in-law and grand-daughter.

5. Her Highness was referred to the offer of the Gwalior Durbar, and informed, that the guarantee of her Pension might be granted; but that we could not enter into any negotiation with the Maharaja for a Provision for Appa Patun Rur and Gujja Raja, her son-in-law and grand-daughter.

6. In the course of the above correspondence it was ascertained, that the Baee had been paid up her allowance from our Govt. upto May 1837 in advance; the Resident at Gwalior

was accordingly instructed not to give Her Highness any more advance, but to pay her stipends either annually or half-yearly as might have been usual.[1]

Respecting the Treasure disputed between the Baeza Baee and the Gwalior Govt. and the termination of the investigation in favour of the Baee—May 1837*:*

(Continued from Para 2 of the Narrative for the 3rd. quarter of 1836)

1. The investigation respecting the Treasure found in the House of the Baeza Baee at Benares has terminated in favour of Her Highness.

2. The Right Hon'ble the Governor General considered the Agent's conclusion to be a just one and both parties having agreed to abide by his award, there seemed to be no other course than to direct that the money be held at the disposal of the Baeza Baee, but before acting on that decision a reference was made to the Resident at Gwalior to ascertain whether Maharaja Junkoojee Rao Scindia can shew sufficient cause for suspending it.

3. The Maharajah solicited that the delivery of the Treasure to the Baee may be for a time deferred as he still hoped to satisfy our Govt. that it is State and not private property. The Gwalior Durbar has been called upon to produce its proofs and informed that an indefinite delay cannot be admitted.

4. The Gwalior Govt. required a copy of the Agent's Proceedings in the Native language which has been procured and furnished.

5. Rs. 7-5-6 have been expended out of the Treasure in deposit in replacing some of the money bags.[2]

Respecting the adjustment of the advances made to the Baeza Baee, June 1837*:*

(Continued from Para 6 of the Narrative for the 3rd. quarter of 1836.)

The Accountant solicited orders regarding the adjustment of the advances made to the Baeza Baee to enable her to discharge

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., April 1836 to December 1837; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of July, August and September 1836, No. 32. Collection No. 1.

[2] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., April 1836 to December 1837; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of January-March 1837.

her followers, first at Futtehghur, and subsequently at Allahabad, these advances amounted in the aggregate to five Lacs of Rupees, he has been instructed to carry them to the account of the life stipend of two Lacs per annum payable by the Hon'ble Company in lieu of the Jagheer, the advances will be fully repaid on the 5th. Nov., 1837.[1]

Respecting the disputed Treasure found in the hands of the Agents of the Baeza Baee at Benares, decided to belong to the Baee, Sept. 1837*:*

(Contd. from Para 5 of the Narrative for the 1st. quarter of 1837.)

The Gwalior Durbar submitted a statement with the view of proving that the Treasure found in the hands of the agents of the Baeza Baee at Benares was State and not private property. This point was endeavoured to be established by arguing that the loan of eighty Lacs to the Hon'ble Company was from State Funds. This the Baee herself admitted. But the Durbar failed to shew how that could prove, that the money lodged in the Kothee at Benares, was State property. The assertion also of the Gwalior Govt., that the Agent at Benares had refused to take oral evidence proved on enquiry to be totally unfounded. As however, the Maharajah had agreed to abide by the award of the British Arbitrator, and the enquiry appeared to have been conducted with fairness and due deliberation, the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council saw no sufficient ground for further delay in the case and the Agent at Benares was accordingly instructed to give effect to his award, by making over to the Baee's constituted agent, the money held in deposit in the Benares Treasury, which has been done.[2]

Respecting the claims and wishes of Her Highness the Baeza Baee, Dec. 1837*:*

(Contd. from Para 1 of the Narrative of the 2nd. quarter of 1837.)

1. A despatch was received from the Secy. to the Governor General of India containing copy of a note of conference between

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., April 1836 to Dec. 1837; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of April, May and June 1837. Proceedings 20th. May, 1837, Nos. 4 and 5, Proceedings 10th. June, 1837, No. 7. Collection No. 1

[2] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., April 1836 to Dec. 1837; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of July-Sept. 1837.

the Baeza Baee and Mr. Secretary Macnaghten and Lt. Col. Low- the two officers deputed by His Lordship to wait upon Her Highness- as also copies of a letter addressed by the Governor General to the Baee.

2. The Paper of Requests forwarded by the Baeza Baee contained 7 articles:

(1) Restoration of four guns and 500 muskets.

(2) Exemption from the jurisdiction of the courts.

(3) License to be given to venders to sell spirits in her camp.

(4) To be permitted to depute Vakeel with His Lordship.

(5) Exemption from payment of rent for the ground of her encampment.

(6) An European officer to attend and execute her orders.

(7) Removal of one of Scindiah's Vakeels from Allahabad.

3. The 4th. request was complied with by the Governor General, the 6th. and 7th. negatived, the 1st., 2nd., 3rd. & 5th. were referred for the consideration and orders of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor.

4. The Right Hon'ble the Governor General was of opinion that an earnest recommendation should be addressed to the Gwalior Durbar to the effect that a tract of country should be assigned as an independent Jagheer for the Residence of the Baee during her life. Neither Jamgaon nor any of the detached possessions of the Decan (Deccan) were considered suitable, as those possessions had been made over to the Company's Govt.

5. But His Lordship considered that the town of Hurdah with the district of Hindrah in Candeish (Khandesh) estimated at 50,000 Rupees might, perhaps, be appropriated for the Baee's Jagheer and the Maharajah solicited to fix a money allowance of 3 Lacs of Rupees per annum on the Baee independent of the 2 Lacs she receives from the Company's Govt. in lieu of Shergurh House.

6. *The Governor General proposed to warn Her Highness in the most solem (solemn) manner that* forfeiture of these allowances as well as the countenance of the British Govt., would follow *any attempt on her part to foment intrigues having for their object the subversion of the present state of things at Gwalior.*

7. The Governor General felt satisfied that nothing but discredit and embarrassment could result both to the British and the Gwalior Govts. from any longer permitting the Baee to remain in her present unsettled and comfortless situation and the Resident

at Gwalior has been directed to ascertain the sentiment of Maharaja Scindiah on the proposition contained in the above despatch.

8. The Hon'ble the Lieutt. Governor recorded his apprehension that the Maharaja would not be disposed to accede to the grant of Hindea and Hurda in independent sovereignty to the Baeza Baee, as those places are understood to yield more than has been estimated, and as Her Highness's establishment in that position will not be considered to be free from danger in the tranquillity of the Gwalior Durbar.

9. The Lieutt. Governor admitted that the retirement of the Baee to Jamgaon or other place in the Dukhan would doubtless be very acceptable, and His Honor did not anticipate any objection to a liberal allowance, although the Durbar might wish, that what they regard as state funds recently awarded to Her Highness, should be taken into calculation in fixing the future allowance for Her Highness.

10. In regard to the Baee's 1st. request the Lieutt. Governor was of opinion that it could not be expediently complied with in Her Highness's present situation. But that if the Baee should become a sovereign princess in the territory under her authority, the only objection would be that the guns and arms may be claimed by Maharaja Scindiah.

11. The second request also the Lieutt. Governor conceived could not be granted whilst the Baee remained as at present, but the jurisdiction would of course cease on Her Highness's departure from the British territory.

12. The 3rd. & 5th. requests relating to local matters have been referred to the Revenue Deptt.[1]

Respecting the demand of debts from Baeza Baee, March 1838:

Para 1. A demand of Rs. 18,631 as. 2 ps. 6, Principal and Interest, was preferred against Her Highness the Baeza Baee, by Muttra Doss and Saligram of the firm of Golab Rae Mehur Chund Bankers, at Delhi. The debt was stated to have been contracted by the Baee during her stay at Furruckabad and that she had often promised to discharge it, but had failed. Petitioners prayed for the interposition of Government in recovering their demand, but they

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., April 1836 to Dec. 1837; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of Oct., Nov. and Dec. 1837.

had been informed that the Governor General could not interfere in the matter of their complaint.[1]

THE PESHWA AT BITHOOR

4. The correspondence noted in the margin[2] brought to the notice of Govt. the issue of a process from the Supreme Court citing the Ex-Peshwa Bajee Rao and other relatives of the late Chimnajee Appaa to appear before that tribunal on an appointed day for the purpose of taking out or refusing letters of administration of the property of the deceased or to shew cause why the same should not be granted to Esodah Baee who styles herself the mother by adoption of Chimnajee. The Agent proposed that the Advocate General should be consulted with a view to prevent the success of the imposition which Esodah Baee and her Agents were endeavouring to practise and to bring the parties to punishment.

5. In forwarding the above papers to the Supreme Govt. its attention was directed to the reckless manner in which writs were issued from the Supreme Court against persons not subject to its jurisdiction, the attempts in progress for bringing in particular persons within such jurisdiction and the mode in and the object for which, the writ was issued and the frequency of such proceedings was attributed not to the judges of the Court, but to some defect in the forms of business.

6. The Supreme Govt. in reply entirely concurred in opinion with the Governor and intimated that the subject generally would at an early period engage the serious consideration of the Government of India.[3]

Kishen Dixit's conspiracy against Nana Sahib:

1. The papers noted in the margin[4] relate to a report submitted by the Commissioner with Bajee Rao at Bithoor, on a petition submitted by one Kishen Dixit, a Prisoner at Bithoor.

[1] Agra Narratives Foreign Deptt., 1844-1852; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of Jany.—March 1838 Proceedings 10th. March, 1838, No. 11.

[2] Processes of the Supreme Court citing the Ex-Peshwa Bajee Rao and other relatives of Chimnajee Appaa-Maratha Prince.

[3] Agra Narrative, Foreign Deptt., Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of Dec. 1834 to April 1835. Proceedings 20th. Dec., 1834, Nos. 9 to 12, 14th. January, 1835, No. 7

[4] Report of Commissioner with Bajee Rao on the petition of Kishen Dixit. Proceedings 26th. March /49 order No, 67, after Proceedings 14th. April, 1849, Nos. 25 to 27. Collection No. 1

2. This individual, conjointly with others, had fabricated a document purporting to have been addressed to Golab Singh by Nana Sahib, the adopted son of His Highness Bajee Rao, with the view to injure his character.

3. The Commissioner was of opinion after a careful investigation of the case that Kishen Dixit was the most active agent in this intrigue, and that the restraint under which he had been placed was a justifiable and necessary measure.

4. His Honor saw no sufficient reason to interfere in the prisoner's case, but was of opinion that some limit should be fixed to the duration of his confinement, and trusted to Major Manson's exertions and influence, that no vindictive feelings towards the prisoner should lead to his harsh or improper treatment.

5. The Commissioner with Bajee Rao at Bithoor submitted copy of a letter to the Major General Commanding the Cawnpore Division for the issue of the usual annual supply of 1000 rounds of blank musket cartridges for the use of Soobadar Ram Chunder Punt, which has obtained the sanction of the Most Noble the Governor General.[1]

COPY

MINUTE BY THE MOST NOBLE THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
15th. September, 1851.

Family of the Peshwa Bajee Rao:

1. The Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces has submitted to me a Statement of the affairs of the late Peishwa Bajee Rao, and correspondence connected with it.

The Acting Commissioner urges that some portion of the annual pension of 8 Lacs formerly paid to the Peishwa should be continued to his heirs.

The Lieutenant Governor does not concur in this recommendation.

2. I consider that the suggestion of the Acting Commissioner is uncalled for and unreasonable.

For thirty three years the Peishwa received an annual clear stipend of Rs. 80,000 besides the proceeds of his Jagheer. In that

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1844-1852; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the month of April-June 1849. Proceedings 14th. April, 1849, Nos. 28-30. 1st. May, 1849. Collection No. 2

time he received the enormous sum of more than two Millions and a half Sterling. He had no charges to maintain, he has left no sons of his own; and has bequeathed property to the amount of twenty-eight Lacs to his family.

Those who remain have no claim whatever on the consideration of the British Government. They have no claim on its charity because the income left to them is amply sufficient for them. If it were not ample, the Peishwa out of his vast revenues ought to have made it so; and the probability is, that the property left is in reality much larger than it is avowed to be. Wherefore under any circumstances the family have no claim upon the Government; and I will by no means consent to any portion of the public revenues being conferred upon it. I request that this determination of the Government of India may be explicitly declared to the family without delay.

3. The minor arrangements suggested by the Lieutenant Governor may be sanctioned atonce.

(Sd.) DALHOUSIE
15th. September, 1851.

True Copy—
(Sd.) E. C. BAYLEY
Under Secy. to Government of India,
With the Governor General.[1]

The Last Will and Testament of Sreemunt Maharajah Bajee Rao Raghonath Punt Purdhan Soorsun Urban Mayahteen voh Aluf, (1240) *Sakeh* 1761 *Bakaree Mam, Sum Mutsur, according with* 1839 *Christian Era:*

This is written for the purpose of making known to Her Majesty the Queen of England, the Honorable the East India Company and to all men. That Dhoondoo Punt Nana, my eldest son and Gungadhur Rao, my youngest and third son, and Sada Shew Punt Dada, son of my second son Pandoo Rung Rao, my grandson; these three are my sons and grandson. After me, Dhandon (Dhoondoo) Punt Nama (Nana) my eldest son, Mookh Purdhan, shall inherit, and be the sole master of the Guddee of Peishwa, the Dominions, Wealth, Desh Mookhee etc., Watum (family) possessions, Treasure and all my real and personal property. And he, Dhoondoo Punt Nama and his Heirs, shall inherit the Rank of Peishwa, the Dominions, Wealth, &c. and his younger Brother

[1] Foreign Political, 3rd, October, 1851, Nos. 8-11, National Archives, New Delhi.

Gungadhur Rao, and his nephew Pundoo Rung Rao Sada Shew, and their children, from generation to generation, as it becomes a Brother:—and to the servants and the Ryuts, as it is proper he shall afford due support and maintenance. \ And Gungadhur Rao and Pundoo Rung Rao, the servants, the Ryuts &c. shall pay obedience to Dhondoo Punt Nama, Mookh Purdhan and continue to serve him with fidelity and be subject unto him. And if I should hereafter beget a son of my own body then he shall, as aforesaid be the Mookh Purdhan and Heir to Guddee of Peishwa; and possess all the Dominions, Wealth, Desh Mookhee &c. Watundaree, Treasure, and all my property, whatsoever; and his Heirs from generation to generation. And shall provide, as is proper, for his brothers, servants and Ryuts. And Dhondoo Punt Nama and all others shall pay obedience to him, and his Heirs. This Testament I have written with my free will and pleasure, d/ 4th.Shuval Mittee Aghan, Buddee 5th.Sakeh as above, according with 11th. Decr. 1839. After this, what can be said more.

Witness Ram Chunder Venktesh Subadar.

Witness Colonel James Manson in England

1st. This document was written under my superintendence and signed by the Maharajah and sealed in my presence, this 30th. day of April, 1841.

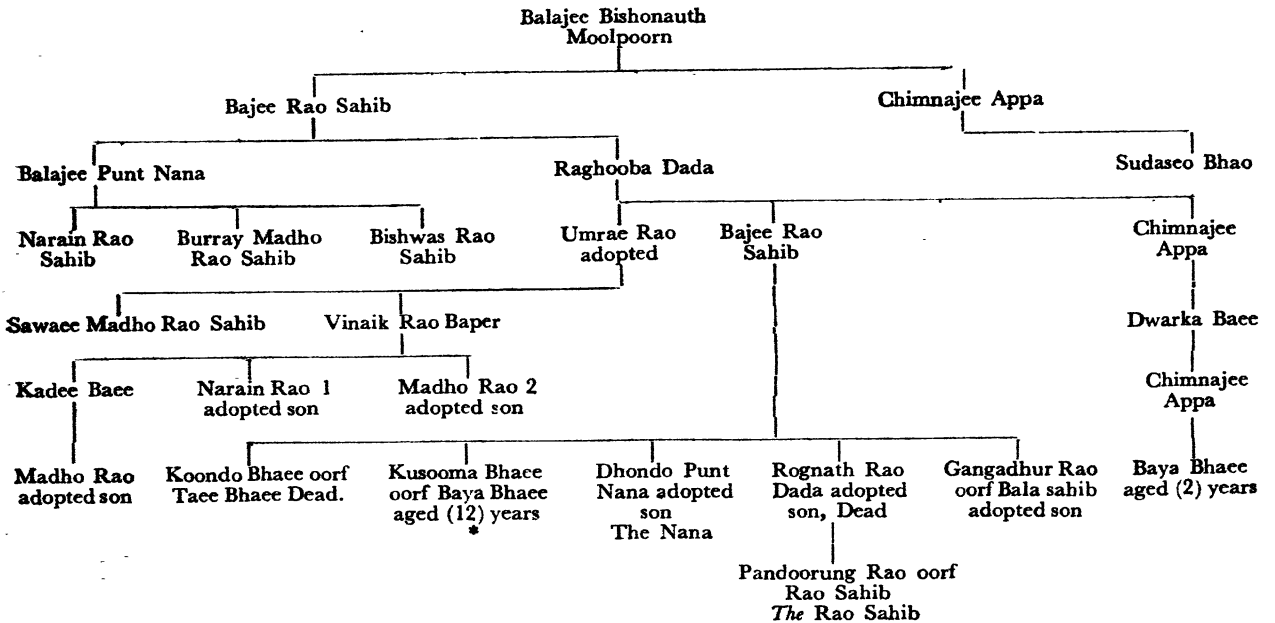
2nd. Narain Ram Chunder, this paper was signed and sealed by Shree Munt Maharajah Punt Purdhan in my presence, this 30th. day of April, 1841.

3rd. This document has been signed and sealed by the Maharajah Punt, Purdhan in our presence this 30th. day of April, 1841.

Signed/ Bapoojie Succaram Goorboolay
,, Benaik Bullarh Gokteh
,, Ram Chunder Gemnish Bherch

(True Copy)
(Sd.) In native characters.

COPY



1.2 Tirohan

*married to the son of Baba Apta

True Copy

Sd/- R. SIMSON
Under Secy. to the Govt. of India,
with the Govr. Genl.

U P IN FERMENT

COPY

To *The Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company*

The Memorial of Maharajah Sreemunt Dhoondoo Punt Nana Sahib, son and heir of the late Maharajah Bajee Rao Peishwa Punt Purdhan Bahadoor.

Sheweth,

That your Memorialist's father died on the 28th. January, 1851, in the full confidence that the pension which has been accorded to him by the stipulations entered into between him and the British Indian Government, under date the 1st. June, 1818, would be continued to your Memorialist and his other adopted sons. But to this day the Government of the North Western Provinces have declined to make any provision whatever for your Memorialist and the rest of the large family of the Peishwa; and the Supreme Government though appealed to on the subject, have not responded to that appeal but have contented themselves with directing that the subject should be brought before them through the medium of the Subordinate Government. The course pursued by the local Governments is not only an unfeeling one towards the numerous family of the deceased prince, left almost entirely dependent upon the promises of the East India Company, but inconsistent with what is due to the representative of a long line of sovereigns. Your Memorialist therefore deems it expedient atonce to appeal to your Honorable Court not merely on the ground of the faith of treaties but of a bare regard to the advantages, the East India Company have derived from the last sovereign of the Mahratta Empire, and your Memorialist for that purpose begs to annex a copy of the Memorial addressed to the Most Noble the Governor General of India and forwarded through the Government of the North Western Provinces.

2. That your Memorialist would fain to believe that the determination to withhold the pension granted by a solemn pact, has been arrived at without due consideraton of the terms guaranteed by the Company. It would be contrary to the spirit of all treaties hitherto concluded to attach a special meaning to one article of the stipulations entered into, whilst another is interpreted and acted upon in its most liberal sense. Thus Act XIV of the treaty of the 13th. June, 1817 stipulates that His Highness Rao Pundid Purdhan Bahadoor for himself and for his heirs and successors, hereby cedes to the Honorable the East India Company all his rights and territories in Malwa, which were secured to him

by the 11th. Article of the treaty to seize and generally all rights and pretensions of every denomination, which he may possess in the country to the north of the river Nurbudda etc. By this treaty he ceded to the British Government territories yielding an annual revenue of Thirty four Lacs of Rupees. Now as the British Government were particularly guarded to render the cessation of these territories binding upon His Highness the late Bajee Rao as well as his heirs and successors and in consideration of such cessation allowed him a pension of Eight Lacs of Rupees per annum, it surely could never have been intended, that he should give up and forsake on behalf of himself and his heirs and descendants all and every claim to a perpetual revenue of Thirty four Lacs, capable of considerable increase for a pension of less than one fourth of the above, to be merely drawn during the time of his own natural life. Moreover the pension has not been bestowed upon His Highness the late Bajee Rao as a sort of free gift on the part of the British Government, but in virtue of a subsequent formally entered into and ratified treaty, according to which the British Government were put in possession of a large annual revenue, a small portion only of which was paid to His Highness in the shape of a pension for the support of himself and family. Your Memorialist therefore submits, that the cessation of a perpetual revenue of Thirty four Lacs of Rupees in consideration of an annual pension of Eight Lacs of Rupees establishes a defacto presumption, that the payment of one is contingent upon the receipt of the other, and hence, that as long as those receipts continue, the payment of the pension is to follow. The Peishwa fulfilled all that had been required from him, ceded his dominions to the Company and placed himself and his family in their hands. The Company have in part only performed their engagement, by providing for his support during his life, on the legitimate scale fixed by Lord Hastings, but they overlook that part which respects his family. The mention of his family implies a provision for their support after his demise. In any other case, such mention was unnecessary, as provision for the support of the prince necessarily included the maintenance of his family. Even if there had been no mention of the family in the stipulation between the Peishwa and the Company the nature and conditions of the document would supply the omissions.

3. That your Memorialist is at a loss to account for the difference between the treatment, by the Company, of the descendants of other princes and that experienced by the family of the Peishwa, represented by him. The ruler of Mysore evinced the most implacable hostility towards the Company's Government and your Memorialist's father was one of the princes whose aid

was evoked by the Company to crush a relentless enemy. When that Chieftain fell, sword in his hand, the Company, far from abandoning his progeny to their fate, have afforded an asylum and a liberal support to more than one generation of his descendants, without distinction between the legitimate and the illegitimate. With equal or even greater liberality, the Company delivered the dethroned Emperor of Delhi from a dungeon, reinvested him with the insignia of Sovereignty, and assigned to him a munificent revenue which is continued to his descendants to the present day. Wherein is your Memorialist's case different? It is true that the Peishwa after years of amity with the British Indian Government, during which he assigned to them territorial revenues to the amount of half a Crore of Rupees, was unhappily engaged in war with them, by which he perilled his throne. But as he was not reduced to extremities and, even if reduced, closed with the terms proposed to him by the British Commander, and ceded his rich domains to place himself and his family under the fostering care of the Company; and as the Company still profit by the revenues of his hereditary possessions, on what principle are his descendants deprived of the pension included in those terms and the vestiges of sovereignty? Wherein are the claims of his family to the favor and consideration of the Company less than those of the descendants of the conquered Mysorean or the captive Mogul?

4. That your Memorialist claims the continuance of the stipulated pension both for the family of the Peishwa and for himself as the representative of that prince. Your Honorable Court is probably aware that the Peishwa has left a family who are entitled to a suitable support as such from the Company on the terms of the stipulation, and that he adopted under the injunctions of the Hindoo law, three sons of whom your Memorialist is the eldest, and as such as well as by the Will of the Peishwa his successor to his dignity and rights. Your Memorialist cannot suppose that either the local Governments, or your Honorable Court are ignorant that, by the Hindoo law, the adopted son in no respect differs from the natural son. But if any doubt exists, your Memorialist begs leave to refer to the authority of Mr. Sutherland. The religious ordinances of the Hindoos (he remarks) inculcate the indispensible necessity that a man should be survived by a male offspring for performing his exequial rites and other purposes. In consequence, on defect of real legitimate issue, the affiliation, under prescribed rules, of a Kinsman, or other person, is enjoined; and an individual, thus regularly adopted acquires the filial rights which attach to the real son. "The adopted son," to use the words of Sir William Macnaghten, another distinguished writer on

the Hindoo law, "is to all intents and purposes a member of the family of his adopting father, and he succeeds to his property, collaterally as well as lineally."

5. That the stipulation entered into by the Company with Imrut Rao, the adopted brother of the late Peishwa, by which a provision was guaranteed to him and to his adopted son after him, the Company have acknowledged the adopted to be on the same footing with the natural son. The same fact is established by the recognition of the adopted sons of numerous sovereign princes, as the rightful heirs of the latter, among whom may be enumerated, as now reigning with the concurrence of the Company.

In Hindoostan

Rajah Jayagee Rao Scindia of Gwalior
Juswant Rao Holkar of Indore
Bhugwunt Bahadoor Singh of Dhoulpore
Rajah Beejoy Singh Bahadoor of Dattya
Rugghoojee Bhoosla of Nagpore
Sewaee Bulwunt Singh Bahadoor of Bhurtpore

In the Deccan

Punt Prithee Nidhee of Kraur
Sucheekoo Punt of Bhore
Naik Saheb Neinhalkar of Shultun
Duphla of Jeet (*sic.*)
Rao Sahib Putwurdhun, Janakhundee.

The same fact is evinced in the daily practice of the Company's Courts all over India, in decreeing to the adopted sons of princes and zemindars and persons of evey grade, the estates of those parties to the exclusion of other heirs of the blood. Indeed unless the British Indian Government are prepared to abrogate the Hindoo Sacred Code, and to interdict the practice of the Hindoo religion of both which adoption is a fundamental feature, your Memorialist cannot understand with what consistency his claim to the pension of the late Peishwa can be denied merely on the ground of his being an adopted son.

6. That your Memorialist's father, the late Bajee Rao, though fully aware of the respect shewn by the British Government to the observance of the precepts of the Shasters, and although fully cognizant that the loyalty and validity of adopting sons according to those precepts, had never been drawn into question, His late Highness nevertheless in due deference to the British Government

considered it his duty to inform it of his intention and for that reason forwarded in 1844 a communication through the Commissioner to the Supreme Government at Calcutta. Had His late Highness determined upon adopting a son merely for the sake of following the custom of other princes, there would have been no necessity whatever of giving any intimation thereof to the British Government as the full and free exercise of all religious and domestic ceremonies and formalities prescribed by the tenets of the Shasters has been guaranteed to all the natives of the British Empire. It is therefore obvious that in making the Supreme Government cognizant of the step in contemplation, His Highness' object was to obtain the concurrence of the British Government to a measure which according to the precepts of the Shasters, and their recognition on the part of the Government of India, would confer upon the adopted son all those titles, privileges, and emoluments, enjoyed by His Highness, the late Bajee Rao himself upto the time of his decease. The only reply that has been given to this intimation was, that the Supreme Government would consider the subject at a proper season, and that resolution had been approved of by the Honorable the Court of Directors, nor was any subsequent notice taken of the subject, until the decease of late Bajee Rao which melancholy event took place on the 28th. of January, 1851, since which period the pension, upto that time regularly paid, had atonce been discontinued and even the Jagheer of Bithoor was resumed by the British Government. Now your Memorialist humbly submits that the determination of the British Government with regard to the continuance or otherwise of the pension guaranteed by the treaty of the 13th. June, 1817, must have been formed long before His Highness the late Bajee Rao's decease, or how could it have happened that the same should have been acted upon the moment his death had been made known to the British Government? If therfore the British Government had come to the previous determination of withholding the stipulated allowances to His Highness's successor, it would have been an act of justice towards he late prince to have given him timely notice in order that he might have appealed to your Honorable Court and if necessary laid a true statement of the real merits of the case before Her Britannic Majesty's Government. No such intimation having been given, His Highness was necessarily led to the surmize that the British Government tacitly consented to extend to his successor the privileges which the adoption of a son in accordance with the precepts of the Shasters implies. His Highness was so deeply impressed with this belief that he did not deem it necessary to make any further reference to the British Government, and your Memorialist leaves it to the known justice

of the Honorable the Court of Directors to decide whether or not the reply to his first intimations and the subsequent silence on the part of the Government justified the view he had formed on this important subject.

7. That of the withholding of the pension proceeded from the supposition, that the late Peishwa had left a sufficient provision for his family it would be altogether foreign to the question, and unprecedented in the annals of the History of British India. The pension of Eight Lacs of Rupees per annum, has been agreed upon on the part of the British Government to enable His Highness the late Bajee Rao to support himself and family; it is immaterial to the British Government, what portion of that sum the late Prince actually expended, nor has there been any agreement entered into to the effect, that His Highness the late Bajee Rao should be compelled to expend every fraction of an annual allowance, accorded to him by a special treaty in consideration of his ceding to the British Government territories yielding an annual and perpetual revenue of Thirty four Lacs of Rupees. Nobody on earth had a right to control the expenditure of that pension and if His Highness the late Bajee Rao had saved every fraction of it, he would have been perfectly justified in doing so. Your Memorialist would venture to ask, whether the British Government ever deign to enquire in what manner the pension granted to any of its numerous retired servants is expended, or whether any of them saves a portion and what portion of his pension, and further more or whether in the event of its being proved that the incumbents of such pensions had saved a large portion thereof, it would be considered a sufficient reason for withholding the pension from the children in the proportions stipulated by the covenant entered into with its servant. And yet is a native prince, the descendant of an ancient scion of Royalty, who relies upon the justice and liberality of the British Government, deserving of less consideration than its covenanted servants? To disperse however any erroneous impression that may exist on the part of the British Government on that score, your Memorialist would respectfully beg to observe that the pension of Eight Lacs of Rupees stipulated for by the treaty of 1817, was not exclusively for the support of His Highness the late Bajee Rao and his family, but also for the maintenance of a large retinue of faithful adherents who preferred following the Ex-Peishwa in his voluntary exile. Their large number, fully known to the British Government, caused a no inconsiderable call upon the reduced resources of His Highness and further more if it be taken into consideration the appearance which native Princes, though rendered powerless, are still obliged to keep up to ensure respect,

it may be easily imagined that the savings from a pension of Eight Lacs of Rupees, granted out of an Annual Revenue of Thirty four Lacs, could not have been large. But notwithstanding this heavy call upon the limited resources of the late Peishwa His Highness husbanded his resources with much care; so as to be enabled to convert a portion of his annual income in public securities, which at the time of his death yielded an income of about 80,000 Rs. Is then the foresight and the economy on the part of His Highness the late Bajee Rao to be regarded as an offence deserving to be visited with the punishment of stopping the pension for the support of his family guaranteed by a formal treaty?

8. That your Memorialist on the 24th. of June, 1857 submitted a memorial explaining his position and several other circumstances connected therewith, through the Commissioner to Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces and that he was informed that His Honor was determined on the 3rd. October last, that the pension could not be continued but that the Jagheer may be held by your Memorialist for life free of rent. Your Memorialist would here beg to observe that as he cannot be considered as placed under the direct orders of the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, he must presume that the orders have been passed under instruction from the Supreme Government of India. If so, this concession on the part of the Supreme Government must be construed into an admission of the justice of your Memorialist's claim upon the British Government. If the claims of your Memorialist were deserving of no consideration, there was no cause for continuing to him for life the Jagheer rent-free; if on the other hand his claims were founded on datas and facts, which in the eye of the law would be admitted as at least prima facie evidence in his favor, the continuation of the Jagheer alone could not be expected to compensate for the loss of the pension.

9. That your Memorialist having now more fully explained the nature of his claim and the grounds upon which they are based, fully relies on the generosity and liberality of your Honorable Court which he feels confident after a consideration of all the circumstances of the case will not withhold its support from your Memorialist, who without some adequate allowance is wholly unable to uphold the dignity of his family and to support those now wholly dependent upon him.

10. That your Memorialist considering his present reduced circumstances is willing to come to any equitable settlement with the British Government regarding his claims, with a view of speedily adjusting them and that your Memorialist is prepared to treat with

the utmost liberality consistent with the nature of his unfortunate position and those dependent upon him.

Your Memorialist being plunged in extreme pecuniary embarrassments by the measures which have been pursued towards him by the local Governments, has empowered his minutes (*sic.*) to forward on his behalf this Memorial to your Honorable Court and he solicits the early consideration to the subject with a view to the issue of orders to this country for the continuance first of a pension to him and his successors, and secondly of the territory of Bithoor in its present relations.

Yadasht from Sreemunt Dhoondoo Punt Nana Sahib eldest adopted son and Heir of Sreemunt Punt Purdhan Maharajah Bajee Rao Sahib Bahadoor deceased to the address of Edward Henry Morland Esquire, Offg. Commissioner dated 19th. July, 1851:

States that after the demise of the late Maharajah Coll. James Manson the late Commissioner, submitted a report on the subject of the continuance of the Jagheer and pension enjoyed by the late Maharajah to me as his Heir and for a provision for the old adherents of the deceased for the favorable consideration of the Hon'ble the Lieutt. Governor with copy of a yadasht on the subject dated 7th. February, 1851. After which you required a list of the old adherents of the Maharajah, and the property left by him and I was informed that there was no hope of a provision for me from Government; such an intention on the part of the British Government is incompatible with its known liberality and munificence and deserves reconsideration because, after the decease of the Chiefs and Sirdars of Hindoostan it has invariably been a custom with the British Government to continue their possessions or pensions to their Heirs and families, and there is no instance in which the family of any chief of this country was denied the fulfilment of their expectations. Instance the states of Gwalior, Indore, Bhurtpore, Nagpore, Benares, Rosdhan, Kudaweah, Banda, Bhopaul, Barodah and beside this it is known to all the officers of the British Govt. and the whole world, that my deceased ancestor a period of 33 years ago left Deccan his native country and immense possessions and came and took up his abode at Bithoor since which to the latest moment of his life he conducted himself in a becoming manner and entirely to the satisfaction of the British Government. The Chiefs of Gwalior and Nagpore and other states enumerated above were the servants of the late Maharajah and lived under his authority. To the Heirs of these, the British Government has continued and secured vast possessions; therefore

how am I a son and Heir of the late Peishwa of the Deccan, and Hindoostan (which high office continued in his family for generations) considered unworthy of the consideration and favor of the British Government? May to the contrary I claim greater share of its consideration and liberality. Formerly, some years ago it was decided by Government and approved of by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors that the question of provision for the family of the Maharajah will be duly considered after his death. From the perusal of the list of the property left by the Maharajah forwarded to you with the lists of the servants of the deceased, it must be apparent to you that the property left by him is not such as to enable the whole of the numbers (*sic.*) of his family to live with that degree of respectability to which they have been accustomed. The income is indeed quite inadequate to the expense and a greater reduction in the Establishment than has already been effected by your advice is impossible and will reflect discredit on the family. Beside the officers of the British Government I have no other supporter and as the late Maharajah, with his expiring breath consigned me to the care of Coll Manson the late Commr. with the firm hope of future provision being made for his family, I trust even this circumstance gives me a little to the favorable consideration of the British Government. I therefore request you will have the kindness to forward this Memorandum to the Hon'ble the Lieutt. Govr. and the Most Noble the Governor General recommending the continuance of the pension and Jagheer of the late Maharajah to his family, I entertain sanguine hopes from the liberality of the British Govt. that my solicitation will meet with a favorable consideration from these high and humane functionaries and that a provision suited to the rank of the late Maharajah will be granted to me as no person having claims to the consideration of Govemt. has yet been denied. I now consider His Honor the Lieutt. Governor and His Lordship the Governor General in the room of my late father the Maharajah on whom the duty of protecting me and providing for my future support has now devolved.

(Sd.) DHONDOO PUNT NANA SAHIB

Free Translation
(Sd.) E. H. MORLAND,
Offg. Commissioner.

To

The Most Noble the Governor General of India in Council.

The Memorial of Maharajah Sreemunt Dhoondoo Punt Nana Sahib, son and heir of the late Maharajah Bajee Rao Peishwa Punt Purdhan Bahadoor

Sheweth,

That your Memorialist's father was the sovereign of the Mahratta empire and was connected by the closest ties of friendship with the East India Company's Government. He was one of the princes with whom the Company entered into an alliance for the partition of the territories of the Mysore principality. By a treaty with him dated the 31st. December, 1802 the Company acquired territories yielding an annual revenue of Twenty six Lacs and by the subsequent treaty of the 13th. June, 1817 territories with an annual revenue of Thirty four Lacs were ceded to them. On the unhappy rupture between him and the Company, he ceded to them the remains of his empire, on the condition that a pension of not less than Eight Lacs should be accorded, for the support of himself and family and a liberal provision made for his adherents. By that act he placed the Company in the position of arbiters of the destinies of India and gave the strongest proof which could be afforded of his confidence in their justice and liberality. When the Peishwa had thus denuded himself of sovereignty and power, the Marquis of Hastings, acting upon the letter rather than the spirit of the stipulations which had been entered into, under date the 1st. June, 1818, by Brigadier General Malcolm, determined to limit the pension to the sum therein specified. By this singular determination, the actual head of the Mahratta empire, who had previously made great cessions, and at the time yielded up all that remained to him, who had abdicated sovereignty to take up the position of a dependent of the Company, was placed on a footing with his adopted brother Imrut Rao, for the latter though but a subject, formerly resigning his pretensions to power and putting himself under the protection of the dominant authority, received for himself and his adopted son a pension only less by one Lac than that which was deemed adequate for the sovereign of the Deccan.

2. That your Memorialist's father received the territory of Bithoor in the North Western Provinces, as a Jagheer, in which, by Regulation I of 1832, he was permitted to exercise sovereignty over his adherents exempt from the interference of the Company's Civil and Criminal Courts. An Officer of the Company was also placed with him, to afford him the benefit of his aid and

advice, and to be the medium of communication with the Government.

3. That your Memorialist's father, having attained an advanced age without the probability of leaving any son of his loins to perpetuate his name, and fulfil the duties of religion towards the names of his ancestors and having for that purpose adopted your Memorialist and other sons in accordance with the precepts of the Shasters, was solicitous to enjoy the satisfaction of having secured to them a provision suitable to his dignity and station. For that purpose a request was preferred by him in 1844, through the channel of the Commissioner to the Supreme Government, and he was infomed that the subject would be considered at a proper season, and that that resolution had been approved of by the Honorable the Court of Directors. Hence he was impressed with the belief that his family would after his demise obtain a suitable provision from the justice and liberality of the Company's Government, which indeed was pledged by the stipulations of 1818 to provide not only for himself but for his family. Thus although about the well-being, comfort, and dignity of their families, Hindoo princes are more than ordinarily solicitous, yet your Memorialist's father relied on the express guarantee and subsequent implied promise of the Company's Government, for the fulfilment of that expectation; and, with the exception of a sum of money invested in the public securities and yielding an annual income of 80,000 Rupees, devoted the whole of his revenue to the maintenance of his state, the comfort of his house, and the support of his retainers.

4. That your Memorialist's father died on the 28th. January, 1851 leaving, besides your Memorialist and other adopted sons and their children, a large family and a band of faithful adherents, with no other than the resources just mentioned, not amounting to a truth (*sic.*) of the allowance he received from the Company. The inadequacy of the sum for the maintenance of the family and establishment of a prince who was at the head of Mahratta sovereigns, may be easily conceived. But it is impossible for your Memorialist to express the surprise and grief with which he learnt that the Company's stipulated allowance was to be atonce and wholly discontinued; that the Peishwa's family were to be left dependent on their own trifling resources, and that even the sovereignty of the Jagheer of Bithoor, which had been conceded to preserve his family and adherents from the indignity of being summoned before the Company's Courts was to be resumed.

5. That your Memorialist on the 24th. June,1851 submitted a Memorial of the circumstances, through the Commissioner, to the

Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, under whose orders that Officer had been placed; but was informed that His Honor had determined, on the 3rd. October last that the pension could not be continued, and that the Jagheer only would be continued, to your Memorialist rent-free for life, but that the residents therein would be made amenable to the Company's Courts. Whether those orders were passed with the sanction of your Lordship in Council or not, your Memorialist is not aware. The cessation of the allowance, immediately on the death of the Peishwa, would seem to imply a foregone conclusion. But as your Memorialist's father had been persuaded to hope for a continuance of the pension to his family and the perpetuation of his state and dignity in your Memorialist, as will be seen from the subjoined translation of his Will, and as your Memorialist has had no intimation from the Supreme Government of the intention to treat the family of one of the sovereign princes of India so differently from the usual course of the liberal and generous policy of the Company's Government, it is incumbent on him to lay the features of the case primarily before your Lordship in Council, with a view to the consideration thereof in all its bearings.

6. That your Memorialist would fain to believe that the determination to withhold the pension granted by a solemn pact, has been arrived at without due consideration of the terms guaranteed by the Company. Those terms clearly include the support of the family as well as of the Peishwa; for the 4th. article expressly states " that Bajee Rao shall, on his voluntarily agreeing to this arrangement, receive a liberal pension from the Company's Government for the support of himself and family ". The Peishwa fulfilled all that had been required from him, ceded his dominions to the Company, and placed himself and his family in their hands. The Company have in part performed their engagement, by providing for his support during his life on the limited scale fixed by Lord Hastings; but they overlook that part which respects his family. The mention of his family implies a provision for their support after his demise. In any other case such mention was unnecessary as a provision for the support of the prince necessarily included the maintenance of his family. Even if there had been no mention of the family in the stipulation between the Peishwa and the Company, the nature and conditions of the document would supply the omission. For while the former, in the terms of first article, " resigned for himself and successors all right, title, and claim over the Government of Poonah," how can it be supposed by any liberal, any considerate mind, that the latter are not bound to provide a suitable support not only for himself but also for his successors, in

all time to come, out of the revenues which they derive in perpetuity from the dominions ceded to them? Your Memorialist accordingly submits to the consideration of your Lordship in Council, whether it consists with the justice and liberality which ought to characterise sovereign states, to withdraw from the family, immediately on the death of its head the support accorded under such circumstances.

7. That your Memorialist is at a loss to account for the difference between the treatment by the Company of the descendants of other princes and that experienced by the family of the Peishwa represented by him. The ruler of Mysore evinced the most implacable hostilities towards the Company's Government; and your Memorialist's father was one of the princes whose aid was evoked by the Company to crush a relentless enemy. When that Chieftain fell sword in hand, the Company, far from abandoning his progeny to their fate, have afforded an asylum and a liberal support to more than one generation of his descendants, without distinction between the legitimate and the illegitimate. With equal or even greater liberality the Company delivered the dethroned Emperor of Delhi from a dungeon, re-invested him with the insignia of sovereignty and assigned to him a munificent revenue which is continued to his descendants to the present day. Wherein is your Memorialist's case different? It is true that the Peishwa, after years of amity with the British, during which he assigned to them territorial revenues to the amount of half a Crore of Rupees, was unhappily engaged in war with them by which he perilled his throne. But as he was not reduced to extremities and even if reduced closed with the terms proposed to him by the British Commander and ceded his rich domains to place himself and his family under the fostering care of the Company; and as the Company still profit by the revenues of his hereditary possessions on what principle are his descendants deprived of the pension included in those terms and vestiges of sovereignty? Wherein are the claims of his family to the favor and consideration of the Company, less than those of the descendants of the conquered (*sic.*) Mysorean or the captive Mogul?

8. That your Memorialist claims the continuance of the stipulated pension both for the family of the Peishwa, and for himself, as the representative of that prince. Your Lordship in Council is aware that the Peishwa has left a family who are entitled to a suitable support as such from the Company on the terms of the stipulation and adopted, under the injunctions of the Hindoo law three sons of whom your Memorialist is the eldest and, as such as well as by the Will already alluded to, his successor to his dignity

and rights. Your Memorialist cannot suppose that your Lordship in Council is ignorant that by the Hindoo law the adopted in no respect differs from the natural son. But if any doubt exists, your Memorialist begs leave to refer to the authority of Mr. Sutherland. " The religious ordinances of the Hindoos (he remarks) inculcate the indispensable necessity that a man should be survived by a male offspring, for performing his exequial rites and other purposes. In consequence, on defect of real legitimate issue, the affiliation, under prescribed rules, of a Kinsman or other person is enjoined: and an individual thus regularly adopted, acquires the filial rights which attached to the real son." " The adopted son," to use the words of another distinguished writer on Hindoo Law, " is to all intents and purposes a member of the family of his adopting father, and he succeeds to his property, collaterally as well as lineally."

Your Memorialist, being reduced to great straits by the measures which have been pursued towards him, solicits the consideration of your Lordship in Council to his claim to the continuance, 1st. of the stipulated pension to him and his successors, and secondly of the territory of Bithoor in its present relations. Your Memorialist trusts he will be favored at an early date with the results of your Lordship's deliberations, as every day adds to the distresses of his situation.

And your Memorialist shall ever pray for the stability and prosperity of the British Government in India.

(True Copy)
(Sd.) In native characters.

To

The Most Noble the Governor General of India in Council in the Foreign Department.

The humble Memorial of Maharajah Sreemunt Dhoondoo Punt Nana Sahib, son and heir of the late Maharajah Bajee Rao, Peishwa Punt Purdhan Bahadoor.

Sheweth,

That your Memorialist is deeply grieved by a letter of his agent Jwala Pershad Sahib, which solicited permission to use badges with a certain inscription, being returned from the Foreign Office with an Office Memorandum, to the effect that " the Governor General in Council recognised no such person as Maharajah Sreemunt, Dhoondoo Punt Nana Sahib ".

That your Memorialist does not understand the cause of the letter in question having been returned, as he is not aware that his Agent has been guilty of any disrespect towards your Lordship in Council, because the title of Maharajah, which is applicable to your Memorialist by the rules of Oriental Etiquette, was set forth in several former references to the same department by his late Agent Rajah Peerajee Rao, without any objection having been taken thereto. On the contrary it was presumable, from the circumstances of their having been forwarded to the Honorable the Court of Directors without remark, that they were according to rule. But if any circumstance in the address of the present Agent was displeasing to your Lordship in Council, your Memorialist submits that it should have been attributed to his not being conversant with the forms of official correspondence, and to no other cause, and on the objectionable matter or form being pointed out to him, he would have promptly conformed to any directions regarding it which he might have received from the Secretary's Office.

3. That your Memorialist begs leave to state that the reference in question was dictated by a natural desire on his part to do nothing inconsistent with his humble situation as a dependent upon the British Government; and he therefore considered it to be incumbent on him to apply for the permission of your Lordship in Council to use badges for his personal attendants, with a suitable inscription thereon adopted to show both to the public officers and private persons that he had received such permission.

4. That your Memorialist is not apprised that your Lordship in Council has any objection to his using the titles and which are given to him by the custom of the country, and employed by him accordingly as the representative of a succession of sovereigns. As the supreme and executive authority of the Mahratta powers, (it is well known to your Lordship in Council) Ballajee Bishwanath Peishwa left his dominions to his son Ballajee Bajee Rao, who was succeeded by his sons Madho Rao and Narain Rao in succession, the latter being succeeded by his son Sevajee Madho Rao. On that prince dying without issue, he was succeeded by Bajee Rao, the eldest grandson of the first Peishwa, and your Memorialist's father, who ultimately resigned his possessions to the East India Company for a stipulated pecuniary provision for himself and his heirs. That provision has not been continued by your Lordship's Government to your Memorialist, the heir and representative of the Peishwas, (though he still entertains expectations of receiving justice from the British authorities), but your Lordship in Council cannot (he believes) feel dissatisfaction at his making

use of the title, which in Oriental countries as well as in the West, is given to the descendants and representatives of sovereign princes, even after they have abdicated the throne of their fathers.

5. Your Memorialist acknowledges that his title is not desired from the British Government, nor yet from the Emperor of Delhi, from whom the East India Company acquired the sovereignty over a portion of Hindoostan. The Peishwas owed their dominions and greatness to their own enterprise, and they have left to your Memorialist, the last of the race, an empty title, the assumption of which, in conformity to the usages of nations, to the exclusion of all political pretensions, and solely as a distinction of rank and descent, cannot, he presumes to think, be displeasing to the present rulers of India.

6. Under these circumstances, your Memorialist ventures to hope that your Lordship in Council will deign to look upon his humble situation with the eye of benignity, and afford him such marks of their kindness and consideration as they are wont to bestow on other unfortunate princes. Such acts of liberality, while they will cost your Lordship in Council nothing, will be to him a source of consolation in his misfortune.

And your Memorialist will ever pray for the prosperity of the British Government.

(Sd.) ज्वाल प्रसद
Agent of Maharajah Sreemunt Dhoondoo
Punt Nana Sahib.[1]

To

C. Allen Esq.,
Acting Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

Sir,

Seeing but little prospect of an immediate settlement of the claim of Maharajah Sreemunt Dhoondoo Punt Nana Sahib to the pension stipulated to the late Maharajah Bajee Rao Peishwa, and being alive to the great distress experienced by my master in consequence, I beg that you will obtain the permission of the Most Noble the Governor General of India in Council to forward to the

[1] Foreign Political Consultation, 16th. December, 1853, No. 106. National Archives, New Delhi.

Honorable the Court of Directors, by the earliest opportunities, the accompanying Memorial to them in triplicate.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obed. servt.

(Sd.) Illegible.
(In Mosi Language)
Minister of Maharajah Sreemunt
Dhoondoo Punt Nana Sahib.

Calcutta,
29th. December, 1852
Sham Bazar
Opposite Baboo Isy Chund Paul Chawdry[1]

Respecting Succession to the property of Bajee Rao, the Ex-Peishwa:

1st. With reference to the instructions communicated to him from this Govt. in a letter dated 12th. Nov. 1840, relative to the measures to be adopted on the demise of His Highness Bajee Rao for the preservation of the public peace, and the security of His Highness's property, Lieutenant Colonel Manson applied for such further directions as might be deemed expedient, particularly with advertence to the 7th. Para of the letter above quoted, wherein he was desired on the actual demise of Bajee Rao to seal up all places supposed to contain Treasure or valuable property, and to place adequate guards over them, the circumstances under which these instructions were issued having since been materially altered.

2nd. A will had been executed by Bajee Rao (copy of which will be found with the papers of the case) whereby Bajee Rao had bequeathed all his property &c. to his adopted son Dhoondoo Punt Nana, who having attained the age of 25 years would, Colonel Manson observed, be possibly considered by His Highness in every way qualified to enter atonce upon the charge of the property on the demise of the Maharajah without the intervention of the Commissioner or Civil authorities at Cawnpore.

3rd. Lieutenant Colonel Manson was informed in reply that the existence of an heir of mature age, named in the Ex-Peishwa's Will, as successor to the whole of his property rendered

[1]Foreign Political Consultation, 28th. January, 1853, No. 105. National Archives, New Delhi.

unnecessary the precautions enjoined in Para 7 of the communication, above quoted. On the demise of Bajee Rao the legal heir would enter atonce into possession of the property and it would be only necessary for Lieutt. Coll. Manson to afford him all due assistance in effecting this object and to aid him as far as might be requisite in making proper arrangements for the support of the other branches of the family, who were left dependant on him under the terms of the will.

4th. Lieutenant Colonel Manson Commissioner at Bithoor reported the demise on the morning of the 28th. Jan., 1851 of His Highness Maharajah Bajee Rao, who during the week previous had several alarming attacks of illness.

5th. The Maharajah having left a Will nominating his adopted son Dhoondoo Punt Nana Sahib to succeed to his property in accordance with the orders of 7th. Jan., 1850 (vide para 2nd. of this Narrative) he was left in conjunction with Soobadar Ram Chunder Punt to make all necessary arrangements regarding it, and copies of the above communication were duly forwarded for the information of the Most Noble the General (Governor General) and the Government of Bombay.

6th. In a letter dated 31st. Jan., 1851, Lieutt. Colonel Manson reported that the funeral obsequies of His Highness Bajee Rao had been performed on the day of his demise (28th. Jany.) and that perfect order and tranquillity had been kept since the Maharajah's death.

7th. Lieutenant Colonel Manson having applied for further instructions for his guidance was informed in reply that the instructions with which he was furnished on the 7th. Jan., 1850, rendered unnecessary any further specific orders and he was requested to report as soon as practicable the amount of property which had been left by the late Peishwa, and to furnish a list of the dependants for whose support it was necesssary that provision be made together with any suggestions that he might have to offer on the subject.

8th. In a letter dated 10th. Febr., 1851 Lieutenant Colonel Manson submitted an Oordoo communication, with English translation addressed to him by Soobadar Ram Chunder Punt, relative to the present position and future prospects of the family and adherents of the late Maharajah and was informed that His Honor was unable to forward any recommendation to the Governor General, on the subject of his letter without more precise information regarding the Number, Age, Rank and State of circumstances of the family and dependants of the late Maharajah, which information

he was required to furnish without delay. In the meantime he was enjoined to abstain from holding out any hopes of future support from the British Govt. to any of the retainers and recommended to use all the means in his power to induce them speedily to disperse, and to return to the Deccan.

9th. With regard to the pretensions put forth by the adopted son of the late Maharajah, viz. the continuance of the Jagheer conferred upon him by Bajee Rao, and a pecuniary provision from Government, Lieutenant Colonel Manson was directed carefully to abstain from admitting his right to inherit anything further than the personal property bequeathed to him by his adoptive father.[1]

10th. Lieutenant Colonel Manson meanwhile availed himself of the leave of absence on medical certificate which had been previously granted to him, but which he postponed taking in consequence of the event above noticed. His successor in office Mr. Morland the Collector and Magistrate of Cawnpore, submitted a detailed Report containing a statement of the property left by the late Ex-Peishwa, together with lists of his adherents and an application from Dhoondoo Punt Nana Sahib adopted son, and heir of the deceased, praying that some portion of the lapsed pension might be continued to him.

11th. It will be seen from the Papers and Statements submitted, that of the retainers of Bajee Rao some had left Bithoor, others remained there in the service of the Nana Sahib, while others of the class of Pundits etc. who were never in the receipt of any fixed allowance, were expected soon to disperse. There remained therefore 301 individuals apparently unprovided for, whose aggregate salaries in Bajee Rao's time were stated at Rs. 2706 per mensem.

12th. In addition to the above a list was given of 26 widows of deceased adherents who were said to have been always maintained by Bajee Rao.

13th. The immediate members of Bajee Rao's family besides the heirs, are as follows: viz. Gangadhur Rao, 2nd. adopted son Raddoo Rung Rao grandson—

[1] "In 33 years the Peshwa received the enormous sum of more than two and a half millions sterling. He had no charges to maintain, no sons of his own, and has bequeathed 28 lacs to his family. Those who remain have no claim whatever on the consideration of the British Government. They have no claim on its charity, because the income left to them is amply sufficient for them." Banerjee: *Indian Constitutional Documents*—Vol. I pp. 347, Lord Dalhousie on Annexation of Indian States.

Mina Baee	...	... 1st. widow
Taee Baee	...	... 2nd. widow
Yaya (*sic*) Baee	...	... 1st. Daughter
Koosooma Baee (Kusuma Bai)		... 2nd. Daughter
Chemmunjee Appah	...	... Grand-nephew

14th. Mr. Morland stated that the above named parties had all separate Establishments, the support of which fell on the Nana Sahib.

15th. The property left by the Ex-Peishwa was reckoned at 16 Lacs of Rupees in Company's paper yielding an annual income of 80,000 Rupees besides jewels, and Rate of the value of 11 Lacs, and three Lacs of Rupees in Gold. Great part of the last mentioned item was said to have been expended in the payment of current debts.

16th. Under these circumstances the Offg. Commissioner recommended that a portion of the 8 Lacs, received by Bajee Rao be continued to the Nana Sahib, to assist him in supporting the old retainers of the family, such allowance being subject to a periodical reduction.

17th. In submitting the case for the orders of the Most Noble the Governor General, the Lieutenant Governor observed that he was unable to join in the above recommendation. His Honor considered that the very liberal allowance enjoyed for so long a period by the late Bajee Rao, should have enabled him to make an ample provision for his family.

18th. He had left none but adopted sons and the Lieutt. Governor did not think that these had any claim for further support from Govt. His Honor also observed that Bajee Rao was commonly supposed to have amassed a much larger sum than that above-stated, and that the accounts of the Treasure left by him in Gold and Silver Coins might be open to some suspicion, as they appeared to have been derived simply from the statement of the present Heir—with these remarks the question as regards this point was submitted for His Lordship's consideration.

19th. The Lieutenant Governor concurred with Mr. Morland (vide Para 12 of his report) that the land contained in the Jagheer at Bithoor might be allowed to remain rent free during the life of Dhoondoo Punt, provided he continued to reside there, but that all residents within the limits of the Jagheer should be hereafter subjected to the ordinary Civil and Criminal Courts of the country, it was, therefore recommended that Reg. 1 of 1832 be immediately repeated (*sic.*) (repealed).

20th. In respect to the Establishment of the Bithoor Commissioner's office, Mr. Morland proposed that Mr. Martindell the

Head clerk be transferred as a clerk to the Magistrate's office at Cawnpore with an addition of 25 Rs. to the salary of 75 Rs. which was annexed to that appointment, and that the officers noted in the margin[1] be allowed gratuities of 6 months salary, in order to admit of their seeking fresh service elsewhere. His Honor concurred in and recommended these propositions.

21st. Mr. Martindell, it will be seen, held the situation of Head Clerk in the Bithoor Commissionership for a period of 18½ years and in consideration of his high character and superior qualifications, Mr. Morland kept open for him the appointment in the Magistrate's office adverted to above.

22nd. Until the affairs of the family of Bajee Rao were in some degree settled, His Honor recommended that the Magistrate and Collector of Cawnpore, might retain the title and functions of Officiating Commissioner, but observed, that there was evidently no necessity of keeping up any longer a permanent officer under that designation.

23rd. In reply to the recommendations detailed above, intimation was received from the Secy. to the Govt. of India with the Governor General that the suggestion of the Acting Commissioner of Bithoor regarding the continuance of a portion of the 8 Lacs of the Ex-Peishwa's pension to his heir were uncalled for and unreasonable, his family had no claim upon the Government, and the Governor General would not consent to any portion of the public revenues being conferred upon them. The minor arrangements recommended by His Honor as detailed in preceding paragraphs were sanctioned.

24th. Measures were accordingly adopted for communicating this determination to the family of Bajee Rao, for placing Lieutenant Colonel Manson at the disposal of the Commander-in-chief, and for repealing regulation of 1832 and the Offg. Commissioner at Bithoor was furnished with a copy of the Governor General's despatch above referred together with instructions on the subject for his guidance.

25th. The families of certain of the adherents of the late Bajee Rao, whose names are entered in the margin[2] and to whom

[1] Margin;—Moonshee Ashik Ally 40 Rs. per mensem, Khandeh Rao Treasurer 100 Rs. per mensem.

[2] Maun Sing Rao P. M. 4/10/8 P. A. 56/-
Hybut Rao do do do do
Moniq Rao do do do do
Soobhan Rao do do do do
Khandeh Rao do do do do

pensions had been granted by the Govt. of Bombay applied through the Offg. Commissioner for the transfer of the payment of their pensions from the Bithoor to the Sholapur Treasury under the Bombay Govt. in consequence of the demise of the Ex-Peishwa.

26th. The Officiating Commissioner at the same time recommended that the pension of Parbuttee Baee[1] sanctioned by Bombay Govt. under orders of 12th. July, 1845 and hitherto paid from the Bithoor Treasury be henceforward paid from the Treasury at Ahmednuggur. A communication was accordingly addressed to the Bombay Govt., on the subject from whence intimation was received that the necessary instructions had been issued for carrying into effect the proposed arrangement and the Officiating Commissioner at Bithoor was duly apprized of this decision.

27th. The Officiating Commissioner at Bithoor submitted, for sanction, an application made by him to the Commanding Officer of the Cawnpore Division for the issue of the usual annual supply of 1000 rounds of blank musket cartridges for the use of Soobadar Ram Chunder Punt.

28th. His Honor observed that it was always understood that the supply of blank cartridges referrred to, was required for the use of the Ex-Peishwa, and now that he was dead, the object of the application was not apparent.

29th. Mr. Morland in reply explained that the supply in-question had always been allowed for the Soobadar himself for firing salutes on the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of the Hindoo God Hunooman and not for the special use of the Ex-Peishwa. The Lieutenant Governor however intimated that the Soobadar could only have received the blank cartridges in virtue of his post in the Peishwa's household, and that of course no longer existed. There did not therefore appear to be any necessity for the continuance of the indulgence.[2]

NANA SAHIB AND THE WIDOWS OF BAJEE RAO

(Continued from para 24, Narrative for the 2nd. quarter of 1851.)

1st. Several representations were made to Government by Maina Baee and Taee Baee widows of the late Ex-Peishwa

[1] Parbuttee Baee P.M. 16/10/8 P.A. 200/-

[2] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1844-1852 ; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of April, May and June 1857, Paras 1—29.

Bajee Rao against the conduct of Dhoondoo Punt Nana Sahib,[1] the adopted son and heir of the deceased, who was said to have placed them under personal restraint and subjected them to much hardships and inconvenience.[2] The Baees also complained of having been deprived of their jewels and that the Nana Sahib had held forth serious threats to them in the event of their not obeying his orders to which they were not disposed to submit but on the contrary disputed his right to exercise any control, and solicited that the management of affairs might be placed in their hands, and the Nana subjected to their authority.

2nd. On an investigation of the case it appeared that no real ground of complaint existed, but that the Baees instigated by a factious party, were not disposed to recognize the Nana Sahib as the acknowledged heir, or to submit to his authority; and that this discontent and disaffection on the part of the Baees had led to adoption by the Nana Sahib of certain precautionary measures which were rendered necessary to maintain authority in the palace.

3rd. *The Baees were informed that Nana Sahib Dhoondoo Punt was the adopted son and legal heir of the late Ex-Peishwa; and had been recognized as such by the British Government, it therefore became the Baees to acknowledge him as the head of the family, and to render to him the deference and obedience which were due to him as such.* That it had been satisfactorily ascertained that the Baees were suffering no other restraint than that which was inseparable from their position and rank, and that they would be allowed every proper indulgence if they only conformed themselves to the reasonable wishes of Nana Sahib.

4th. In a report on the above case submitted by Officiating Commissioner Mr. Greathed, he remarked that it would tend to the eventual happiness and comfort of the windows if they were speedily made sensible of the dependence in which they were left by their husband's will, on the bounty of his heir, and in furtherance of this view, as well as to prevent further misapprehensions, he solicited permission to divest himself of the title of Commissioner of Bithoor and to tender to Government the seals of office, remarking that until this was done it would not be clearly understood, that separate jurisdiction apart from the Constituted Courts, had

[1] Relative to complaints made by the widows of the Peishwa Bajee Rao against Dhoondoo Punt Nana Sahib, the adopted son and heir of the deceased. Proceedings 28th. May, 1851, Nos. 44 to 46. Proceedings of (1) 29th May, 51 No. 56 (2) 30th. June, 51, Nos. 49 to 51, 22nd. May, 52, Nos. 24 to 27, 30th. June, 52, Nos. 26 and 27.

[2] Applications from Maina Bate against Nana Sahib to the Governor General Dated 12th. March, 1856, (Foreign Deptt. Persian letters received, No. 384 dated 22-4-56) and 22nd. August, 1856 (Foreign Deptt. Persian letters received, No. 507 dated 30th. August, 1856.)

ceased to exist in Bithoor, and that the members of the Peishwa's family must look for redress of grievances to the ordinary tribunals of the country.

5th. *The Lieutenant Governor concurred in Mr. Greathed's view of the existing relations between the widow and the heir, and authorized him to make whatever declarations he thought proper, to induce the former to submit themselves to Narain Dhoondoo Punt and to live with him on amicable terms.*

6th. Mr. Greathed was referred to orders of the 3rd. October last which declared the office of Commissioner of Bithoor to be abolished, and directed any other necessary transactions regarding the Peishwa's family to be conducted by the Magistrate and Collector, but the Lieutenant Governor observed, that it was desirable that he should still maintain, to a certain extent, the friendly deportment and confidential intercourse which had hitherto been observed towards the family by himself and his predecessors and continue in a kindly spirit to offer them advice in their difficulties and to maintain over them that influence which might tend to save them from much embarrassment. His Honor further remarked, that though possessed of no legal authority to control their actions except through the ordinary course of Judicial Proceedings, Mr. Greathed might still be able in many respects to interpose his good offices, for the reconcilement of differences between the several members of the family, or for the prudent management of their affairs. His Honor expressed his fullest confidence in Mr. Greathed's desire and ability to act thus with discretion and effect for the good of a family whose fallen fortunes commanded both sympathy and respect.

7th. The Magistrate of Cawnpore forwarded the seals of the Bithoor Commissioner's office which have by the orders of the Lieutenant Governor been broken up and the proceeds of the bullion Rupees 5-6 placed to the credit of Government in the public books.[1]

Assumption of Titles by Nana Sahib Dhoondoo Punt Opposed:

6th. A letter was received from a person styling himself Raja Peerajee Rao Bhonsla, Secretary, and Agent to the Peshwa requesting the submission to the Supreme Government of a petition therewith forwarded.

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1844–1852; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of April-June, 1852. Collection No. 1.

7th. It appearing on a reference to the Magistrate of Cawnpore that Nana Govind Dhoondoo Punt the adopted son of the late Ex-Peishwa Bajee Rao avowed the Proceedings and assumed the Titles assigned to him by the writer, the letter in question, with the Khureeta which accompanied it were forwarded to the Magistrate who was requested to return them to the Nana, with an intimation that no communication could be received which bore on it such an assumption, and that if the Nana had any representation to make through the Lieutt. Gov. to the Gov. General, he should deliver it to the Magistrate, with a transcript for His Honor's perusal.

8th. The Magistrate has been requested to report the result of his communication on this subject with Nana Dhoondoo Punt, in order that such further measures may be taken as may there seem necessary.[1]

QUESTION OF ADOPTION

64. The Agent in Bundelkhund submitted translation of a letter from the Raja of Oorcha soliciting the formal recognition by the Government of his adopted son as his successor in the Raj.

65. The subject being one which involved a principle of general application, the Agent thought it right in the first instance to enquire from the Mookhtar of the parties concerned more detailed information than was forthcoming in his office regarding other cases of a similar nature, and on the receipt of their replies proposed again addressing Government in regard to the present application.

66. The result submitted by Mr. Fraser involved a question of great importance and affecting the rights and interests of the British Government and those of the Princes and Chiefs of Bundelkhund.

67. The question resolves itself into whether chiefs and princes not having heirs of the Body have a right to adopt a successor to the exclusion of Collateral Heirs or to the prejudice of the supposed Reversionary Rights of the Paramount Power, and

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1844–1852 ; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of October–December 1852. Proceedings 14th. October, 1852, Nos. 14 to 16. Collection No. 3.

whether the British Government is bound to acknowledge the adoption.[1]

68. The Lieutenant Governor remarked that there was a wide difference in the disposal of the question between Sovereign Princes and Jagheerdars, between those in possession of Hereditary Sovereignties in their own right and those who hold grants of land or Public Revenue by life-grant from a Sovereign or Paramount Power.

69. In the Lieutt. Governor's opinion, those who are Sovereign Princes in their own right, and of the Hindoo religion, had by Hindoo Law a right to adopt to the exclusion of Collateral Heirs, or of the supposed Reversionary Rights of the Paramount Power, the latter in fact in such cases having no real existence except in the case of absolute want of heirs, and even then, the right was only assumed in virtue of power for it would probably be more consistent with right were the people of the state so situated left to elect a sovereign for themselves.

70. *In the case therefore of Hindoo Sovereign Princes the Lieutt. Governor considered that in failure of Heirs male of the Body a right to adopt to the exclusion of the Collateral Heirs existed and* that the British Government was bound to acknowledge such an adoption provided that it be regular and not in violation of Hindoo Law. The case of the present Maharao of Kotah who was adopted afforded an instance in which the right of adoption in a tributary and protected state were fully discussed and admitted by the British Govt. as the Paramount Power.

71. Viewing the subject as it affected Mahomedan Sovereigns, there seemed to be greater doubt. The Lieutt. Governor was not aware that they have by law a right to adopt to the exclusion of Collateral Heirs. Mahomedan Sovereigns have however more than once claimed a right to nomination (of) a successor from among their sons. But the Mahomedan Law appeared to be loose with regard to the succession to sovereignties, and the safest way where we are paramount or have any right to interfere is to acknowledge the legitimate successor according to Mahomedan Law.

72. With respect to the Chiefs who merely hold lands or enjoy Public Revenue under grants such as are issued by a Sovereign

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of October-December 1837.

to a subject, the Power which made the Grant or that which by conquest or otherwise has succeeded to its right, is certainly entitled to restrict succession according to the limitations of the grant which in general confines it to Heirs male of the Body, and consequently precludes adoption. In such cases therefore the power which granted or the power standing in its place would have a right to resume on failure of Heirs male of the Body.

73. The Agent has been directed to classify the several Princes and Chiefs within the Range of his superintendence with reference to the classes above described, and to submit with a list of each class, a statement of his reasons for placing each in the class to which he may have assigned him, and a copy of the Treaty Engagements or Grant by which each Chief is connected with our Government.

74. It not being improbable that there would be some Chiefs in Bundelkhund whom it would be different (difficult) to place in either of the classes noticed—it has been pointed out that those with whom we have Treaties and who were Sovereign Princes before we were connected with Bundelkhund would naturally be considered as such now. Those who hold solely by Grants such as are issued by Sovereign to subject and have not been generally considered as Sovereign Princes will apparently belong to the other class. But there appeared to be an intermediate class in Bundelkhund, neither sovereign nor subject with whom we have engagements, distinct from Treaties or Grants, and whom it may be difficult to assign precisely to either of the preceding classes. In such cases the Agent has been authorized to excercise his discretion, and to state his doubts accompanied by the documents necessary for their solution.

75. The question submitted by the Agent having originated in an application from the Raja of Oorcha, he has been required to report to what class of Chiefs he considered the Raja to belong under the foregoing definitions.

76. The Lieutt. Governor was inclined to consider that he is a Sovereign Prince in which case being a Hindoo, he would be fully entitled to adopt a son and successor in default of Heirs of his Body and the adoption of his Brother's son would seem to be an unobjectionable arrangement. The recognition however of this adoption will depend on the decision of the Right Honorable the Governor General to whom the whole question discussed in this correspondence will be submitted for consideration on the receipt of the Agent's further report.

77. The Agent had remarked that the past decisions of our Govt. in acknowledging successions among the Bundelkhund Chiefs have been apparently incoherent or have not been based on any fixed principle, with advertence to which it has been explained to that officer, that the principle which has generally operated on such occasions has been that of recognizing the succession apparently agreeable to the Prince and the People or to the latter, on the demise of the former, that is, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the states.[1]

JALOAN

LAPSE OF JAGHEER

BUNDELKHUND

23. These proceedings contain particulars relating to the death of Govind Rao the minor Chief of Jaloan, and to the consequent lapse of the Jagheer to the British Government.

24. Mr. Fraser having proposed in his letter of the 18th. August last certain arrangement for Taee Baee grand-daughter of the late Nana Govind Rao, and the followers of that Chief, was informed in reply that Government approved of all the personal property and live-stock, including elephants, camels, etc., being made over to Taee Baee on her engaging to satisfy the creditors of the late Chief Govind Rao. In the event of any unexpected difficulty arising on the part of the Baee with regard to the payment of the debt, said to amount from 25 to 30000 Rupees, Mr. Fraser was authorised to sell so much of the property estimated about 2 Lacs of Rupees, as would satisfy these claims.

25. The change of establishment and other expenses of Jaloan Territory since the late Chief's death was directed not to be included in the above demand. The disbursement on that account which the Agent has authorized the Superintendent of Jaloan to debit in the Public Accounts were approved.

26. The Government concurred in opinion with Mr. Fraser that the house in Jaloan now occupied by Taee Baee and not the one in the Fort should be made over to her, as also a house and public property at Hameerpoor. The Agent's proposal to raise to 1000 Rupees per mensem, the allowance of 500 Rupees

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., April 1836 to December 1837; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. Collection No. 16.

now enjoyed by the Baee was sanctioned. Also the grant of a stipend of 500 Rs. a month and a gift of a Bangalow at Banda as a residence for the natural father of the late Chief. This stipend to cease however at his death.

27. The adjustment of the claims of the old dependants of the family was likewise approved upon the principle suggested by the Agent in the 4th. para of his letter above adverted to and annexed to these proceedings.

28. A further report on the claims of the more respectable followers of the late Chief has been promised by Mr. Fraser.[1]

Lord Dalhousie on annexation of Indian States:

(It is necessary to remember that Lord Dalhousie did not invent the Doctrine of Lapse, and that he restricted it to "dependent" States. It was an accident that in his time several princes of "dependent" States should have died without male heirs and provided occasions for applying the Doctrine more frequently than in the time of his predecessors.

As early as 1834 the Court of Directors observed: "Wherever it is optional with you to give or to withhold your consent to adoptions, the indulgence should be the exception and not the rule, and should never be granted but as a special mark of approbation". In 1840 sanction to adopt an heir was not granted to the widows of the Angria family who ruled in Kolaba. Mandavi was annexed and treated as a Lapse. In 1842 the titular dignity of the Nawabs of Surat was abolished, and Lord Auckland's Government declared their policy "of abandoning no just and honourable accession of territory or revenue, while all existing claims of right are at the same time scrupulously maintained".)

I. Doctrine of lapse, 1848.

(*Minute, August* 30, 1848.)

"I take this fitting occasion of recording my strong and deliberate opinion, that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or to neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves, whether they arise from the

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1841-1844; Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of July-Sept. 1841. Collection No. 12.

Lapse of subordinate states, by the failure of all heirs of every description whatsoever, or from the failure of heirs natural, where the succession can be sustained only by the sanction of the Government being given to the ceremony of adoption according to Hindu Law."

II. Doctrine of lapse, 1854.

(*Minutes, January* 28, 1854.)

"The opinion which I gave (on annexation on failure of heirs) was restricted wholly to subordinate states, to those dependent principalities which, either as the virtual creation of the British Government, or from their former position, stood in such relation to that Government as gave to it the recognised right of a Paramount Power in all questions of the adoption of an heir to the sovereignty of that state."

III. Doctrine of lapse, 1854.

(*June* 13, 1854.)

"I had a definite principle of distinction in my mind, and I think it is a sound one. There are three chief classes of Hindu States in India:

1st. Hindu sovereignties which are not tributary and which are not and never have been subordinate to a Paramount Power;

2nd. Hindu sovereignties and chiefships which are tributary, and which owe subordination to the British Government as their Paramount, in the place of the Emperor of Delhi, the Peishwa, etc.;

3rd. Hindu sovereignties or chiefships created or revived by the sanad (grant) of the British Government.

Other principalities of the first class contend that we have no power whatever, and have no right, except that of might, over their adoptions.

Principalities of the second class require our assent to adoption, which we have a right to refuse, but which policy would usually lead us to concede.[1]

[1] Lord Dalhousie wrote on June 29,1854. "I request that a Hindu principality, such as Tehri, not tributary, nor subordinate, and not having the British Government as its paramount in the technical sense, has a perfect right to regulate its own succession; and the Government of India has no more right to interfere with it than it has to meddle with the succession of France" (Lee Warner, Life of Dalhousie, Vol. II, pp. 154-155).

In the principalities of the third class I hold that succession should never be allowed to go by adoption.[1]

JHANSI

62. Baba Gungadhur Rao, younger son of Sheoram Bhao, deceased, founder of the Jhansi dynasty, represented that Raghunath Rao the present ruler of Jhansi was affected with leprosy and according to the Shasters and established usage, a person with that disease was disqualified: that he was further incapacitated from dissoluteness and prayed that he might be preferred to Raghunath Rao as the ruler of Jhansi while on the other hand the widow of the late Chief advocated the right of her nephew Krishna Rao who as she alleged had been duly adopted by her late husband as his successor.

63. The representations did not require any notice. The succession of Raghunath Rao had been recognized by the British Government. He was preferred from amongst the claimants as the nearest of King and the second son of the Founder of the Dynasty.[2]

Gungadhur Rao's claim for Succession:

(Continued from Para 63 of the Narrative for the 2nd. quarter of 1836.)

26. Mr. William Baron one of the Attornics of the Supreme Court submitted a memorial in behalf of Baba Gungadhur Rao of Jhansi together with a document containing the opinion of Counsel of the claim of that individual to succeed to the Raj of Jhansi but on a review of the case, the *Rt.* Honorable the Governor General did not see any reason to doubt the propriety of the decision already passed by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor in favour of the claim of Rao Raghunath Rao, to the Raj of Jhansi.[3]

28. Engagements for the Revenue of the Current Year have been taken after a summary enquiry for regulating the

[1] These principles were approved by Sir Charles Wood. (Lee Warner, *Life of Dalhousie*, Vol. II, p. 155). Banerji, *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Volume I, pp. 342-343.

[2] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1836; Secretariat Records Office U.P.Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of April-June 1836. Collection No. 21.

[3] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1838-39; Secretariat Records Office U.P.Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of April-June 1838. Collection No. 10.

demand, and after deducting the sums which had already been realized by the local officers. The amount to be collected by the British agents is Rs. 1,28,784 annas 15, as.....

29. Pergunnah Mote formerly the Jagheer of Rajah Bahadoor and which became British property in 1817 by right of resumption, had been permanently annexed to the Jhansi Principality on condition of payment of an annual quit (*sic.*) rent of Rs. 74,000/-.

30. This plan appeared to the Government of the period the most expedient in consequence of the Chief of Jhansi appearing to have pecuniary demands against the Jagheer, and with reference to the local position of the Mote and the consideration due to the wishes and expectations of the Jhansi state.

31. The above quit (*sic.*) rent not having been paid for the past two years, and arrears of revenue to the extent of Rs. 10,000/- being due for a preceding year, it became a question whether from breach of engagement on the part of Jhansi, the Pergunnah should not be resumed by the British Government.

32. Mote was lately pledged to Bhao Poothanuvees whose selection for the post of minister, was an additional reason for separating it from Jhansi, but as this Pergunnah had suffered from mismanagement in common with the rest of Jhansi territory, and was not expected to yield more than 80 to 90,000 for sometime to come, it has been placed under the charge of Lieutt. Doolan Superintendent of Jalaon until the arrears shall have been realised in full. The claims of Government being on account of revenue, will necessarily take precedence of the claims of the general creditors of the Jhansi state.

33. As Pergunnah Mote adjoins the Pergunnah of Goorseraee in Jaloan, the Assistant in-charge of the latter, will also look after the former and it is proposed to divide the expense of that officer and his establishment equally between his charge.

Bundelkhund Legion:

34. A joint force has been authorised for the duties of both Jhansi and Jaloan to be called the " Bundelkhund Legion " and to be composed of 1,000 Infantry and six Troops of Cavalry of 80 horsemen each, with a brigade of guns. The officer at present with the Jhansi force has been transferred as Quarter Master and local staff and the 2nd. in command, who is to be ordinarily detached in-charge of that portion of the Legion which will be quartered at Jhansi, has in consideration of the additional

responsibility thus imposed upon him, been authorized to draw an additional allowance of 200 Rs. per mensem.

35. The cost of "Bundelkhund Legion" is calculated to amount to current Rupees 3,83,186 and by the above arrangement a saving of two Lacs of Rs. per annum with reference to the outlay originally sanctioned will be effected, and it is hoped that this saving will enable the superintending officers the sooner to restore the finances of both Jhansi and Jaloan to a healthful state.

36. The police arrangements of Jhansi are still in progress. The debts of state are being enquired into and the Agent has promised to report hereafter on these subjects, as well as in regard to the customs and Sayer collections.

Allowance of Gungadhur Rao:

37. An allowance of one Lac of Rupees per annum has been assigned to Gungadhur Rao from the commencement of the ensuing year 1840. For the current year owing (to) the deficiency of income the sum of 60,000 Rs. has been allowed to him.

Other Pensioners:

38. The mother of Rao Ramchund Rao is to have Rs. 1,000 per mensem for life—a similar allowance has been made to the widow of Rao Raghunath Rao and Ally Bahadoor, the illegitimate son of Raghunath Rao has been allowed Rs. 500 per mensem, and advances of money required by the above parties to meet current expenses were sanctioned prior to their allowances being fixed.

39. Gungadhur Rao applied to be addressed by the same titles which the head of the Jhansi principality has always claim of right. His applicaton has been complied with.

Permission to reside in the Fort:

40. The Rao also applied for permission to reside in the Fort of Jhansi, but this request has not been acceded to *principally* because the measure would induce him to keep up retainers for State and otherwise to incur much unnecessary expense, which he can at present ill-afford. Besides it was not judged expedient while the circumstances of Jhansi rendered it necessary that a British Agent remain in chief charge of the State that the principal fortress should be left unguarded by troops under his immediate control and were Gungadhur Rao to take up his residence in the fort while so guarded, unpleasant collision might occur between

his followers and the troops, but the buildings in Barwa Sagar (a contiguous country seat) have been placed at the disposal of the Rao.

The expenses incurred in our recent military demonstration before Jhansi have not yet been accurately ascertained. Both the Baee and Naroo Gopal, as before observed, will be required to defray the costs, the value of the private property found in the fort (which has been authorized to be disposed of) being taken into account.[1]

Detention of the property of Sookhoo Baee:

59. The papers recounted in the margin[2] relate to a complaint of Sookhoo Baee the mother of the late Rao Ramchund Rao of Jhansi regarding the regime and detention of certain articles of her property in transit to Mondira in Jhansi and of such as having been to Maharajah Gungadhur Rao and the orders of the Agent in Bundelkhund.

60. Mr. Fraser having been called upon to report on the circumstances of the case states that the property referred to was primarily detained because Sookhoo Baee was jointly responsible for the expenses incurred in assembling a field force before Jhansi in 1838 but that owing to her having removed or concealed all her property.....
.....
.....could be found.

61. Under the explanation offered by Mr. Fraser it was decided that Government saw no reason to interfere further in the matter of their complaint and communication so that effect was accordingly made to the Mookhtars of Sookhoo Baee for their clients' information.[2]

Naroo Gopal's Expulsion:

61. A petition was received from Naroo Gopal of Jhansi praying to be permitted to enter that Territory with the view

[1]Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1838-39; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of April, May and June 1839. Collection No. 13.

[2]Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1840; Secretariat Records Office U.P.Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of October-December 1840. Collection No. 22.

of collecting sums of money which had been lent by him to persons residing there.

62. Mr. Fraser on being called upon to furnish a report on the petitioner's case stated that Naroo Gopal, since withdrew from Jhansi, had been residing at Banda, and no doubt experienced inconvenience from his banishment; but as the principal instigator of the disturbance at Jhansi, it would be premature to relieve him from the penalty of his former disobedience so early, specially as the public claim against him for the expenses of the field force assembled before Jhansi remained unadjusted and his return would be highly unacceptable to Maharajah Gungadhur Rao.

63. Mr. Fraser was instructed to afford Naroo Gopal every convenient facility to the realization of debts really due to him from parties residing in Jhansi and he was directed to inform the petitioner that his return to Jhansi could not be sanctioned.

64. Mr. Fraser subsequently reported that Naroo Gopal had all the facilities afforded him for managing his affairs at Jhansi through his Mookhtar which the rest of the community possessed.

65. No further orders seemed necessary on the matter above reported.[1]

Dalhousie's Minute on the Annexation of Jhansi dated June 13, 1854:

" There is no Heir of the Body of the late Raja—there is no heir whatever of any Raja or Soobadar of Jhansi with whom the British Government has at any time had relations; the late Raja was never expected by his own people to adopt, and a previous adoption by the Raja, whom the British Government constituted hereditary Chief of Jhansi, was not acknowledged by the British Government. Wherefore it follows that the right to refuse to acknowledge the present adoption by Gungadhur Rao is placed beyond question."[2]

[1]Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1841-1844; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of January-March 1841. Collection No. 21.

[2]Banerjee: *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Vol. I:V. Annexation of Jhansi, pp. 345; cf. *Parliamentary Papers* (Jhansi), 27th. July, 1855, pp. 1-28.

To

G. F. Edmonstone Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department,

Calcutta 2nd. August, 1854.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of 21st. June last No. 2615 to the address of J. Lang Esq. written in reply to a Letter from Mr. Lang transmitting to the Government of India a Memorial on behalf of the widow of the late Maharajah of Jhansi signed by me as her Vakeel.

I have now the honor to submit a Khureeta received from the Maharanee of Jhansi to which I respectfully beg the early and favorable consideration of the Most Noble the Governor General in Council.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your Most Obedient Servant

(Sd. in Urdu) CASHMEERE MULL
Vakeel of Her Highness the Maharanee of Jhansi.

Calcutta,
Gurranhatta No. 169,
The 2nd August, 1854.

Abstract Translation of a Khureeta from the Maharanee Luchmee Baee of Jhansi to the Most Noble the Governor Genl. Dt. 19th. July, 1854:

States that the case relating to the state of Jhansi has been decided in the absence of her Mookhtar whereas the Regulations of Govt. require the presence of the parties even to a trifling suit at the time of its decision.

That it is a general talk at Jhansi that though her husband (who had personally presented a letter to Majors Ellis and Martin announcing the adoption by him of a son) and his family, were ever loyal to the British Govt., yet Major Malcolm resumed the state of Jhansi, but that in respect to the State of Oorcha the Major recognized the adopted son of the Rajah thereof (only in consideration of his being of the Thakoor tribe) though misrule was then prevailing in that State.

Adds that with reference to the Order which she received from Govt. (through her Mookhtar, Lala Cashmeeree Mull) & Mr. Lang to the effect that no case was made out for altering the arrangement

already made with respect to Jhansi, she entertains the hope that, in the event of her adducing sufficient proofs in support of her claim, she will be restored to her just rights. Prays therefore that copies of the papers shewing the grounds on which the state of Jhansi has been resumed, may be granted to her Mookhtar Lala Cashmeeree Mull to enable her to submit a statement with reference thereto in support of her claim and that her above named Mookhtar may be allowed to be present and make necessary representations at the time of the trial of the case and further that the state of Jhansi may be restored to her after enquiries being held into her right thereto, in the same manner as was made into the title of her late husband to that state by the appointment of Commissioners.

True Abstract Transn.

(Sd.) Illegible.

Fort William
Foreign Deptt., No. 3607
The 18th. August, 1854.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Read a Memorial from the Maharanee Luchmee Baee of Jhansi, d/19 Ulto. wherein she prays that the copies of the papers shewing the grounds on which the State of Jhansi has been resumed, may be furnished to her, to enable her to submit a fresh statement of her claim; ordered that the Memorialist be informed in reply that her requests are wholly inadmissible; that she be further told that the orders for the resumption of Jhansi will not be revoked by the Government of India.

By order
(Sd.) Illegible.
17/8

This lady the Maharanee of Jhansi—in acknowledging rec. of the order of.....rejecting the Memorial presented on her part by Mr. Lang, begs to be furnished with copies of the papers shewing the grounds on which the State of Jhansi has been resumed—to enable her to submit a fresh statement of her claim; she requires also that her agent shall "be present and make necessary representations at *the time of the trial of the Case*",

These requests appear to be wholly inadmissible.

Pet. might be so informed; she might be further told that the orders for the resumption of Jhansi will not be revoked by this Government.

(Sd.) Illegible.[1]
10/8

Confiscation of Jhansi:

" Lord Dalhousie is determined to shame the devil and beat even Nicholas hollow in the matter of forcible appropriation of neighbouring states, without the shadow of a pretext to color his grasping policy. We have already seen by what a clumsy coup of political legerdemain, the autocrat of all the Indies wrested Nagpore from the hands of its rightful prince, and here is another instance of the enlightened British statesman flying in the face of justice, law and treaty, in order to settle his *talons*[2] (talions) on Jhansi. The autocrat of Russia presumed to occupy a rood[3] of Turkish ground in the cause—as he maintains—of the religion of which Europe acknowledges the sway, and the Nemesis of invaded rights roused England and France from the sleep of peace and is sending them forth to battle. But an Indian Governor General is chartered to destroy dynasties with a scratch of his quill and the cry of the injured is smothered in the din of the roaring waters that separate him from the land of liberty. *The Nagpore case was a most disgraceful one, but that one of Jhansi is shocking*.....
.....The Governor General gets up one fine morning and declares Nagpore shall be British; and Nagpore accordingly becomes British without a shot being fired. Next day he casts his eyes upon Jhansi, and Jhansi forthwith is wrested from its Queen and Prince.
.....

The Jhansi Raj:

The Principality or Raj of Jhansi was originally founded by the Mahrattas in the year 1745 out of the debris of the Oorcha territory. It was held as a subordinate soubah of the Peishwa until the transfer of the dominions of that potentate to the rising empire

[1] Foreign Political Consultation, No. 94-96, Dated 18th. August, 1854.
[2] Laws of retaliation.
[3] The fourth part of an acre, or forty perches.

of the English rendered it an independent sovereignty acknowledged and respected by the treaty of 6th. February, 1804. In 1825 the Soobadar of Jhansi agreed to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 74,000 into the treasury of the Company and maintain a body of troops which afterwards formed a portion of the Bundelkhund Legion. The amicable relations on which the Treaty of 1804 was based were never disturbed, and at the request of Sheo Rao the British Government agreed to recognize as his successor his grandson Ramchund Rao a lad of 8 years who was to be under the guardianship of Gopal Rao Bhao, one of his grandfather's most faithful officers. On the accession of Ramchund Rao to the Raj of Jhansi in the year 1817, the Marquis of Hastings, then Governor-General of India, caused a fresh treaty to be drawn up and ratified on both sides. This treaty comprised ten articles the gist of which may be given in a few words:

1stly. " The Chief of Jhansi was to hold and possess the territories left by his grandfather in perpetuity and through his heirs & successors.

2ndly. " The State of Jhansi was to be under British protection, and in case of invasion from abroad or rebellion with either armed force or diplomacy in order to protect the Chief.

3rdly. " The Chief bound himself to abide by the *Mediation* of the British Government.

4thly. " The Chief was to maintain a suitable force for the defence of the territory which was to be under the orders of an English general on the occasion of hostilities.

5thly. " The Chief was to defend the passes and roads against a foreign enemy attempting to penetrate into the Company's dominions through the Jhansi country.

6thly. " The forces of the British Government were to be allowed to pass through or remain stationary in, the possessions of the Chief on an emergency requiring the necessary occupation, and the officers and subjects of the Chief were to provide the needful supplies at the current rates of the day.

7thly. " The Chief was not to enter into private correspondence with any other power without consent and privity of the British Government.

8thly. " The Chief was not to harbour any criminal or malefactor seeking protection against the laws of the British Government but he was on the contrary to give every aid in the capture of such fugitives.

" Two other minor articles followed.

".....Indeed the subsequent act of Lord

Willian Bentinck conferring the title of Maharajah on Ramchund Rao bore evidence enough of the highly satisfactory manner in which the Mahratta Chief had discharged the duties of a ruler. On the death of Ramchund Rao in 1835 the Raj of Jhansi devolved on his uncle Raghunath Rao. Gungadhur Rao, the last Rajah of Jhansi breathed his last in November 1853. This prince was set upon the throne by the English Government in opposition to Sookhoo Baee who had seized the fortress of Jhansi and refused to give it up until a military demonstration was made..... .....Gungadhur Rao a few days previous to his death, having no issue, adopted a young relative of his named Anund Rao, an infant of five years, as his son, and prayed that the British Govt. would recognize his choice. The Resident, Major Malcolm, was present at the ceremony and in due course, when Gungadhur Rao died, his widow assumed the reins of Govt. as Regent to the young prince. The Governor General however refused to acknowledge the arrangement and the Political Agent was ordered to seize the Raj of Jhansi, its treasury and the private effects of the deceased Maharajah in the name of East India Company.

The better conscience of Lord Dalhousie returned for a while in March 1854 and the private property of the deceased Chief was ordered to be restored to his widow to be held in trust for his adopted child..... By the Hindoo Law the adopted child is equally privileged with the child of one's own Body, and Anund Rao of Jhansi has as good a right to succeed to the powers and rank of Gungadhur Rao as Gungadhur Rao himself had to succeed to those of the Rajah that preceded him. The Treaty of 1817 is definite and explicit in its provisions, and Lord Dalhousie would not have dared to tamper with it if there had at all been anything like a public opinion in India, or the semblance of a balance of power.....

".....The annexation by Govt. was an act done in its executive political capacity and therefore is not subject to judicial investigation. The case is not open to the investigation of a court of justice.....".[1]

Jhansi and the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories:

90. The Government of India in forwarding extracts from a report of the Agent to the Governor General for Central India,

[1] '*The Hindoo Patriot*' May 18, 1854. Pages 154 & 155 "The Confiscation of Jhansi".

of his tour through a portion of his charge, requested the Lieutenant Governor's opinion as to the advisability of placing the states of Oocheyra, Sahawul, and Myhere under the supervision of that officer, and of acceding to the request of the Ranee of Jhansi that she should also be under his authority.

91.....

92. The Commissioner was at the same time desired to forward extracts from the report of the Governor General's Agent, and an extract from the letter from the Government of India to the Superintendent of Jhansi, and to request him to furnish his own and the Deputy Superintendent's opinion on the request of the Ranee to be placed under the authority of the Agent.

96. The Commissioner subsequently forwarded a letter from the Civil and Sessions Judge of Jubbulpoor, giving memorandum of cases heard in his camp from the Nagode district. He also enclosed a letter from the Superintendent of Jhansi containing his and the district officer's objections to the Ranee of Jhansi being placed under the Agent Governor General, Central India.

97. The Commissioner stated that the wish expressed by the Ranee to Sir R. Hamilton, to be transferred to the Political Department, was either oriental flattery, or possibly she thought she would have a better chance of having the states restored to her or her adopted child. That she was perfectly contented with the officer placed over her, and expressed herself to that effect when the Lieutenant Governor visited her; to make the change would certainly lower the Superintendent and his Deputy in the eyes of the natives, and tend to unsettle the minds of the people of the district. But that the chief objection was the confusion and trouble the transfer would cause in the different jurisdictions; and that should the Ranee and her followers be placed under Sir Robert Hamilton, who resides at Indore, and any thing occurs within the palace, which is a large building situated in the heart of a large populous city, requiring the interference of a Magistrate, the Magistrate of the town and district would have no power in the palace even if criminals took refuge there, and the same trouble would occur in Jhansi as takes place in Delhi.

98. Under all these circumstances the Commissioner suggested, that if it be thought that the transfer of the Ranee to the Political Department would add to her dignity, then he be appointed Agent to the Governor General in Bundelkhund and Rewah, and that Captain Skene, who resides at Jhansi, and is under him in the Revenue and Police Departments, may be made

his Political Assistant. The Commissioner further stated, that by this arrangement there would be no clashing of authority, and no extra expense incurred by Government.

102. To the second suggestion of the Agent Governor General, as to placing the Ranee of Jhansi directly under the superintendence of his office, it seemed to the Lieutenant Governor that strong objections existed. It was impossible that that lady had really much personal feeling on the point, other than as connected with the hopes, which she still indulges, of yet being replaced in possession of independent power in the territory.

103. This feeling it is of course not desirable to encourage, and the exercise of a double and divided jurisdiction within the town of Jhansi, extending to the dependents of the Ranee as well as to herself, and involving references to this Government, and to the Agent for Central India, who is not subordinate to it, might undoubtedly be productive of much unnecessary correspondence, if not of some serious local embarrassment, and clashing of authority.

104. In reply the Government of India forwarded copy of a letter addressed to Sir Robert Hamilton on the subject, of which the following is the substance: That after a full consideration and communication with the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor N. W. Provinces, the Most Noble the Governor General in Council declined to make any change in the management of the petty states of Oocheyra, Sahawul and Myhere; and that with respect to the affairs of the Ranee of Jhansi matters should, in the opinion of his Lordship in Council, be allowed to remain as they are.

105. A copy of the above communication was forwarded to the Commissioner Saugor Division for information and for communication to the Superintendent of Jhansi.[1]

Application of Balwant Rao Narain of Jhansi dated 1st. Febr., 1856 to Governor General:

Represented that he has settled at Jhansi and was in receipt of pension and held the post of Tehseeldar but after the annexation no heed has been paid to his claims and he requested for the help and subsistence allowance from Govt.[2]

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1853-1860; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the 4th. quarter of 1855. Proceedings 18th. August, 1855, Nos. 13 to 16; 13th. Sept., 1855, Nos. 17 to 19.

[2] Foreign Deptt., Persian letters received, No. 93. dated 7th. Feb., 1856.

Gungadhur Rao's pilgrimage to Benares:

Petition of Narain Rao Govind of Jhansi to Governor General dated 1st. Febr. 1846 representing about the enhancement of his pension and references made to the Gungadhur Rao's pilgrimage to Benares and his death after his return from that place.[1]

Sadashiva Requests for a Pension:

Petition of Chinta Man Sadashiv dated 23rd. Febr., 1856 to Governor General.

Represents for his pension which he was getting from Samwat 1864 to 1910, but which was stopped after the annexation of Jhansi. Requests for the grant of the same.[2]

Claimants to Jhansi Raj:

Application of Ram Parshad, Agent of Bhaiya Krishna Rao Sahib, the successor to the State of Jhansi dated 24th. June, 1856 to Governor General informing him that he had submitted an application by post that there was no successor to the State of Jhansi except Krishna Rao, and the State be given to him in accordance with the agreements. If the Governor General had an eye on profit rupees 2 Lacs would be presented to him excluding all the profits. If the above money was ordered to be given, it would be presented.[3]

THE RANEE OF JHANSI

Mera Jhansi Nahin Dengee:

About a month after the order had gone forth for the annexation of the little province of Jhansi (in 1854) and previous to a wing of the 13th. Native Infantry occupying the country, I received a letter in Persian, written upon " Gold paper ", from the Ranee, begging me to pay her a visit. The letter was brought to me by two natives of rank. One had been the financial Minister of the late Rajah. The other was the Head Vakeel (attorney) of the Ranee.

The revenues of Jhansi were some six Lacs (60,000) a year, and after disbursing the expenses of Government, and paying the troops in the late Rajah's service, the balance was some two Lacs

[1] Foreign Deptt., Persian letters received, No. 94, dated 7th. Feb., 1856.
[2] Foreign Deptt., Persian letters received, No. 175. dated 8th. March, 1856.
[3] Foreign Deptt., Persian letters received, No. 400, 1st. July, 1856.

and a half (25,000) profit. The " troops " were not numerous, under 1,000 in all, and they were chiefly horseman. The arrangement, when the country was annexed, was simply this: that the Ranee should receive a pension of 6,000£ a year, to be paid monthly.

The Ranee's object in asking me to visit her at Jhansi was to consult me as to the possibility of getting the order for annexation annulled, or reversed. I should mention that the Ranee had applied to me at the instance of a gentleman of the Civil Service, who had once been the Resident, or Governor General's Agent, at a native court in the upper provinces; a gentleman, who, in common with many other officials of rank in India, regarded the annexation of Jhansi—" a trumpery state after all "— not only as impolitic, but unjust and without excuse. The facts were briefly these:—The late Rajah had no issue by his only wife (the woman who caused our countrymen and countrywomen and children to be put to death in the fort, and who, according to late advices, has been killed), and some weeks previous to his death, being " sound of mind, though infirm in body ", he publicly adopted an heir, and gave notice to the Government of having done so through the proper channel—namely, the Governor-General's representative then stationed at Jhansi. In short, all the forms, required by the Government to prevent fraud in such cases, had been complied with. The child was taken into the Rajah's lap, in the presence of his assembled people, and in the presence of the Governor-General's representative, and he, moreover, signed a document, duly attested, reciting his act and deed. The Rajah was a Brahmin; the adopted boy was a near relative of his.

The Jhansi Rajah had been particularly faithful to the British Government, and Lord William Bentinck had presented the brother of the late Rajah with a British ensign, and a letter giving him the title of " Rajah ", and assuring him that that title, and the independence attached to it, would be guaranteed by the British Government to him—the Rajah, and his heirs and successors (by adoption). That that treaty (for such it purported to be) of Lord William Bentinck was violated, without the slightest shadow of a pretence, there cannot be any sort of doubt. In the time of the Peishwa, the late Rajah of Jhansi was simply a large zemindar (landholder) and had he remained untitled, there can be no question that his last wishes, so far as the disposition of his property was concerned, would have been attended to. It was the acceptance of the " Rajahship " which led to the confiscation of his estates, and the exchange of 6,000£ a year for 25,000£ a

year. Strange as that assertion may seem to the reader, it is nevertheless true.

I was at Agra when I received the Ranee's letter, and Agra is two days journey. Even as I travelled from Jhansi, I sympathized with the woman. The boy whom the Rajah had adopted was only six years old, and during his minority, that is to say, until he had attained his eighteenth year, the Ranee—so the Rajah willed-was to have been the Regent, and the boy's guardian; and it is no small matter for a woman—a native woman of rank, too—to give up such a position and become a pensioner, even on 6,000£ a year. Let me detail the particulars of my journey to the residence of the Ranee of Jhansi. I got into my palanquin at dusk, and on the following morning, at daylight, arrived at Gwalior. The Rajah of Jhansi had a small house about a mile and a half from the cantonment, which was used as a halting-place, and thither I was taken by the Minister and the Vakeel who accompanied me. At ten o'clock, after I had breakfasted and smoked my hookah, it was proposed that we "go on at once". The day was very warm, but the Ranee had sent a large and comfortable palanquin carriage; in short, it was more like a small room than a carriage, fitted up as it was with every convenience, including even a punkah, which was pulled from the outside by a servant, who sat upon a foot-board. In the carriage, beside myself and the Minister and Vakeel, was a khansamah, or butler, who, with the apparatus between his knees, kept on cooling water, and wine, and beer, in order that, whenever I felt thirsty, I might be supplied at a moment's notice. This enormous carriage was drawn by a pair of horses of immense strength and swiftness. Each stood about seventeen hands high. The late Rajah had imported them from France at a cost of 1,500£. The road was rather rough in many places, but, on the average, we got over it at the rate of about nine miles an hour. At about two o'clock in the day we entered the Jhansi territory, having changed horses twice, and we had now some nine miles to drive. Hitherto we had been escorted only by four sowars (horsemen), but now our escort amounted to about fifty, each horseman carrying an immense spear, and dressed much in the same way as the Irregular Cavalry in the pay of the East India Company. And along the road, at intervals of a few hundred yards, were horsemen drawn up, and as we passed, they joined the cavalcade; so that by the time we came in sight of the fortress—if those old weak walls, surmounted by some nine pieces of old ordnance of inferior calibre, deserved the name—the whole strength of the Jhansi Cavalry was in attendance. The carriage was driven to a place called "the Rajah's garden," where I alighted,

and was conducted by the financial Minister and the Vakeel and other servants of state, to a large tent, which was pitched beneath a clump of gigantic mango trees. The tent, which was that in which the late Rajah used to receive the civil and military officers of the British Government, was elegantly fitted up, and carpeted; and at least a dozen domestic servants were ready to do my bidding. I must not omit to mention that the companions of my journey—the Minister and the Vakeel—were both men of good ability and pleasing manners. They were, moreover, men of learning so that my time upon the road had been beguiled very agreeably.

The Ranee had consulted one of the many Brahmins who were supported by her as to the most propitious hour for me to come to the purdah behind which she sat; and the Brahmins had told her that it must be between the setting of the sun and the rising of the moon, which was then near her full; in other words, between half-past five and half past six o'clock.

This important matter having been communicated to me, I expressed myself perfectly satisfied with the time of the appointment and ordered dinner accordingly. This done, the financial minister, after betraying some embarrassment, intimated that he wished to speak to me on a rather delicate subject, and that, with my permission, he would order all the menial servants in attendance on me, including my own sirdar-bearer (valet) to leave the tent and stand at a distance. I complied, of course, and presently found mysel. along with only the " officials " (eight or nine in number) of the little native State of Jhansi. What the finance Minister wished to ask me was this—Would I consent to leave my shoes at the door when I entered the Ranee's apartment? I inquired if the Governor General's Agent did so. He replied that the Governor General's Agent had never had an interview with the Ranee; and that the late Rajah had never received any European gentleman in the private apartments of the palace, but in a room set apart for the purpose, or in the tent in which we were conversing. I was in some difficulty, and scarcely knew what to say, for I had a few years previously declined to be presented to the King of Delhi, who insisted on Europeans taking off their shoes when they entered his presence. The idea was repugnant to my mind and I said as such to the minister of the late Rajah of Jhansi; and I asked him whether he would attend a *levee* (*sic*) at the palace of the Queen of England, if informed that he must enter Her Majesty's presence with his head uncovered, as did all her subjects, from the lowest to the highest. To this question he would not give me a direct answer, but remarked, " You may wear your hat, Sahib ; the

Ranee will not mind that. On the contrary, she will regard it as an additional mark of respect towards her". Now this was what I did not want. My desire was, that she should consider the wearing of my hat, supposing I consented to take off my shoes, as a species of compromise on her part as well as on my part. But I was so amused with this bargaining, as it were, that I consented; giving them distinctly to understand, however, that it was to be considered not as a compliment to her rank and dignity, but to her sex, and her sex alone. That great point settled, I partook of a very sumptuous repast that was prepared for me, and awaited patiently the setting of the sun or the rising of the moon, determined, however, that I would wear my hat—a black " wide-awake ", covered with a white turban.

The hour came, and the white elephant (an Albino, one of the very few in all India), bearing on his immense back a silver houdah, trimmed with red velvet, was brought to the tent. I ascended the steps which were also covered with red velvet, and took my place. The mahoot, or elephant-driver, was attired in the most gorgeous manner. The ministers of state, mounted on white Arabs, rode on either side of the elephant; the Jhansi Cavalry lining the road to the palace, and thus forming an avenue. The palace was about half a mile distant from my encampment ground.

Ere long we arrived at the gates, at which the attendants on foot began to knock violently. A wicket was opened, and closed hastily. Information was then sent to the Ranee; and, after a delay of about ten minutes, the " Hookum " (order) came to open the gates. I entered on the elephant, and alighted in a court-yard. The evening was very warm, and I fancied that I should be suffocated by the crowd of natives (retainers) who flocked around me. Observing my discomfiture the Minister imperiously commanded them to " stand back ". After another brief delay, I was asked to ascend a very narrow stone staircase, and on the landing was met by a native gentleman, who was some relative to the Ranee. He showed me first into one room and then into another. These rooms (six or seven), like all rooms of the kind, were unfurnished, save and except that the floors were carpeted; but from the ceiling punkhas and chandeliers were suspended, and on the walls were native pictures of Hindoo gods and goddesses, with here and there a large mirror. At length I was led to the door of a room, at which the native gentleman knocked. A female voice from within inquired, " Who is there?

" Sahib ", was the reply. After another brief delay, the door was opened by some unseen hand, and the native gentleman

asked me to enter, informing me, at the same time, that he was about to leave me. A brief delay now occurred upon my part. It was with great difficulty that I could bring myself to take off my shoes. At length however, I accomplished it, and entered the apartment in " stocking feet ". In the centre of the room, which was richly carpeted, was an arm-chair of European manufacture, and around it were strewn garlands of flowers (Jhansi is famous for its beautiful and sweet smelling flowers). At the end of the room was a purdah or curtain and behind it people were talking. I sat myself down in the arm-chair, and instinctively took off my hat; but recollecting my resolve, I replaced it, and rather firmly pulling it well down, so as completely to conceal my forehead. It was a foolish resolve, perhaps, on my part, for the hat kept the breeze of the punkah from cooling my temples.

I could hear female voices prevailing upon a child to " go to the Sahib ", and could hear the child objecting to do so. Eventually, he was " launched " into the room; and upon my speaking kindly to the child, he approached me—but very timidly. His dress and the jewels on his person, satisfied me that the child was the adopted son of the late Rajah, and the rejected heir to the little throne of Jhansi. He was rather a pretty child, but very short for his years, and broad-shouldered like most of the Mahratta children that I have seen.

Whilst I was speaking to the child, a shrill and discordant voice issued from behind the purdah, and I was informed that the boy was the Maharajah, who had just been despoiled of his rights by the Governor General of India. I fancied that the voice was that of some very old woman—some slave or enthusiastic retainer perhaps but the child having imagined that he was spoken to, replied, " Maharanee " and thus I was told the error of my conclusion.

And now the Ranee, having invited me to come closer to the purdah, began to pour forth her grievances; and, whenever she paused, the women by whom she was surrounded, set up a sort of chorus—a series of melancholy ejaculations—such as " Woe is me", "What oppressions"! It reminded me somewhat of a scene in a Greek tragedy—comical as was the situation.

I had heard from the Vakeel that the Ranee was a very handsome woman, of about six or seven and twenty years of age, and I was very curious indeed to get a glimpse of her; and whether it was by accident, or by design on the Ranee's part, I know not, my curiosity was gratified. The curtain was drawn aside by the little boy, and I had good view of the lady. It was

only for a moment, it is true; still I saw her sufficiently to be able to describe her. She was a woman of about the middle size—rather stout, but not too stout. Her face must have been very handsome when she was younger, and even now it had many charms—though, according to my idea of beauty, it was too round. The expression also was very good, and very intelligent. The eyes were particularly fine, and the nose very delicately shaped. She was not very fair, though she was far from black. She had no ornaments, strange to say, upon her person, except a pair of gold ear-rings. Her dress was a plain white muslin, so fine in texture, and drawn about her in such a way, and so tightly, that the outline of her figure was plainly discernible—and a remarkably fine figure she had. What spoilt her was voice, which was something between a whine and a croak. When the purdah was drawn aside, she was, or affected to be, very much annoyed; but presently she laughed, and good humouredly expressed a hope that a sight of her had not lessened my sympathy with her sufferings nor prejudiced her cause.[1]

"On the contrary", I replied, "If the Governor General could only be as fortunate as I have been, and for even so brief a while, I feel quite sure that he would at once give Jhansi back again to be ruled over by its beautiful Queen".

She repaid this compliment, and the next ten minutes were devoted to an interchange of such matters. I told her that the whole world resounded with the praises of her beauty and the greatness of her intellect; and she told me that there was not a corner of the earth in which prayers for my welfare remained unsaid.

We then returned to the point—her "case". I informed her that the Governor General had no power to restore the country, and recognize the claim of the adopted son, without a reference to England, and that the most prudent course for her to adopt would be to petition the throne, and meanwhile draw the pension of 6000£ a year, under protest that it was not to prejudice the right of the adopted son. At first she refused to do this, and rather energetically exclaimed "Mera Jhansi nahin dengee" (I will not give up my Jhansi). I then pointed out to her, as delicately as possible, how futile would be any opposition; and told her, what

[1] "This lady", said Major Malcolm, "bears a very high character, and is much respected by every one in Jhansi", and he urged especially (in the event of the annexation of the state), "that in compliance with her husband's last request, all the state jewels and private funds, and any balance remaining in the public treasury, after closing the accounts of the State, should also be considered as her private property". [letter of Political Agent (Malcolm), 16th. March, 1854—*Parliamentary Papers* on Jhansi, p. 28.

was the truth, that a wing of native regiment and some artillery were within three marches of the palace; and I further impressed upon her that the slightest opposition to its advance would destroy her every hope, and, in short, jeopardize her liberty. I did this because she gave me to understand—and so did her attorney (and my impression is that they spoke the truth)—that the people of Jhansi did not wish to be handed over to the East India Company's rule.

It was past two o'clock that night before I left the palace; and ere I took my departure, I had talked the lady into my way of thinking, except that she would not consent to draw any pension from the British Government.

On the following day I returned to Gwalior, en route to Agra. The Ranee presented me with an elephant, a camel, and Arab, a pair of greyhounds of great swiftness, a quantity of silks and stuffs (the productions of Jhansi), and a pair of Indian shawls. I accepted these things with great reluctance, but the financial Minister entreated me to take them, in so much as it would wound the Ranee's feelings if I refused. The Ranee also presented me with a portrait of herself taken by a native, a Hindoo.

The state of Jhansi was not restored to the rule of the Ranee, and we know that she afterwards rivalled that fiend Nena (Nana) Sahib, whose "grievance" was identical with her own. The Government would not recognize Nena (Nana) Sahib as the adopted son and heir of the Peishwa; the Ranee of Jhansi sought to be recognized as the Regent during the minority of the late Rajah's adopted son and heir[1].

THE PESHWA AT KIRWEE

Maharajah Umrit Rao Bahadoor (Amrit Rao Bahadur), with whom the British Government made the treaty by which he abandoned his claims to the Peishwaship for a handsome pension, took up his residence with his family at Kirwee, when a cantonment was allotted for his troops, which was excluded from the Regulations and in which he exercised sovereign powers.

He was succeeded by his only son Benaik Rao who died in July 1853 without issue.

Benaik Rao first adopted Narain Rao but disinherited him for undutiful conduct and threw him into prison. He then adopted

[1] Lang John: "*Wanderings in India*": (London July 15th., 1859), pp. 84-96.

Madho Rao a minor as his heir, and appointing Baboo Huree Chund (Hari Chand) a Benares Banker, Baboo Radhey Gobind the latter's nephew and Mokoond Rao Jamadar Co-executors and joint guardian of Madho Rao. He shortly afterwards died.

On the death of Maharajah Benaik Rao the pension was discontinued, and the troops disbanded, and all arms and guns confiscated with the exception of 200 Regular Infantry, 25 Sowars and 4 small guns which the heir was allowed to retain as a guard of honor. The cantonment was brought under control of the Regulations, the public building confiscated and the heir was reduced to the position of mere subject of the British Government.

Meanwhile a dispute arose as to the legality of a second adoption and the validity of the Will. A portion of the troop at the instigation of a daughter of Benaik Rao released Narain Rao and placed him. This dispute between Narain Rao and the guardians of Madho Rao promised to be one of long duration and great cost. So they came to a compromise and a deed was drawn out admitting both Narain Rao and Madho Rao to the inheritance as joint masters maintaining the guardians in the management of the Estate until Madho Rao should become of age. The original deed has been lost and there is no authenticated copy of it forthcoming. Madho Rao is still a minor and the question of right to the property and estate of Maharajah Benaik Rao is not yet legally settled. The sudden reduction of rank, power and pension consequent on the death of Benaik Rao naturally became a grievance to the family; and although as they can in no way dispute the justice of the act, they never ventured to moot the question, still they continued to maintain their former titles amongst themselves and invariably tried very hard to induce the British officers and the people to pay them the same honors as were paid to the Maharajah and their enormous wealth enabled them to preserve (the) great state.

Last year the Senior Executor Baboo Huree Chund (Hari Chand) died and the management of the Estate fell almost entirely into the hands of Baboo Radhey Gobind the old Jamadar, Mokoond Rao being a tool in the hands of Radhey Gobind, and Madho Rao being a minor.

This was the state of things when the mutinies commenced in May 1857.[1]

[1] Govt. vs. Narain Rao & Madho Rao of Kerwee Mookand Rao Jamadar Executor and Guardian of Madho Rao and Govind Rao son of Mookand Rao above mentioned—Banda District Records File No. XVIII—36 Part II July 10th., 1858. Statement for the Prosecution.

BANDA

Demise of Nawab Zoolficar Ally of Banda:

1. The papers noted in the margin relate to the demise of Zoolficar Ally (Zulfiqar Ali) commonly called the Nawab of Banda leaving a son about 17 years of age named Ally Bahadoor (Ali Bahadur) who has succeeded to the pension and some of the privileges enjoyed by his father.

2. The deceased was the 2nd. son of Ally Bahadoor the illegitimate grandson of the Peishwa who was Viceroy of Bundelkhund and died in 1802. In 1804 the British Government entered into engagements with his eldest son, and successor Shumsher Bahadoor guaranteeing a pension of 4 Lacs per annum to him and heirs in perpetuity. He died childless in 1823 and was succeeded by his brother Zoolficar Ally to whom the pension and privileges enjoyed by the deceased were continued unchanged.

3. These privileges were as follows and were conceded to the late Nawab more from sufferance than from any right he possessed there to be having been only a pensioned subject of the British Govt:-

(i) A virtual exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts on the part of himself and some of his chief servants.

(ii) Permission to maintain a military force consisting of Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery with something of the character of a military cantonment.

(iii) A salute of 11 guns.

4. The Lieutt. Governor considered it expedient that the privileges enjoyed by the late Nawab should not be maintained and was of opinion that the very altered state of circumstances since the accession of Zoolficar Ally in 1823 warranted their discontinuance.

5. The Most Noble the Governor General concurring in opinion with His Honor has been pleased to determine:

(i) That the individuals now privileged as virtually exempt in their persons from the jurisdiction of the civil courts are to be allowed to retain the distinction during their lives or incumbency of office, and on the ground, that the Chief himself should not be exempted from the privilege which is allowed to some of his dependants, the immunity to be extended to him also.

(ii) The entire disbandment of the Artillery, and so much of the Infantry and Cavalry as to leave only such a retinue as a person of the Nawab's rank might be reasonably allowed to

entertain. The Governor General did not object to 25 Sowars and 1 company of foot soldiers.

(iii) Nothing whatever to be conceded to the present Nawab which could by any means be, or be constructed (*sic.*:—construed) to be, an acknowledgement of sovereignty, chiefship or independence.

(iv) No salutes to be given.

(v) Not to be styled "Nawab of Banda" but simply Nawab in addition to his name.

6. A letter of condolence was forwarded to the Agent for presentation to the Nawab and he was requested to invest the Nawab with a *Khillut* of the nature and value as given below:—

Khillut of 7 pieces ...	...	300	0 0
Sword and Shield ...	...	100	0 0
Horse and Trappings ...	...	500	0 0
Jeogah Surpech and String of pearls[1]	...	1,200	0 0
		2,100	0 0

Modification of the list of retainers and relations of the Nawab Ally Bahadoor of Banda who are exempted from the jurisdiction of the Courts of Law:

6. Extract paragraphs 3 to 7 from a Despatch from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, No. 12 of 1855, dated 2nd. May was forwarded to the Agent to the Lieutenant Governor for the Allahabad Division for transmission to the Assistant Agent at Banda, with a request that the Assistant Agent would report as to any further restriction of the privileges of exemption from the jurisdiction of the Courts of Law of certain retainers and relations of the Nawab Ally Bahadoor of Banda which might appear to him proper, with reference to the instruction conveyed in Paragraph 5, to the effect that the privilege should be confined strictly to the immediate family of the Nawab and to his relations by blood.

7. The Agent in conformity with the above instructions, submitted a letter from the Assistant Agent at Banda, with its enclosure, recommending that out of 26 individuals who were allowed the privilege of exemption, four only be granted the indulgence, viz. the Nawab himself, and the three Begums[1].

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1844-1852; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of July, August and September 1849, Proceedings 24th. Aug., 1849, Nos. 36 and 37, Proceedings 10th. Nov., 1849, Nos. 12 to 15.

8. The Agent was of opinion, that under the spirit of the Court's order, the eleven individuals first entered in the Assistants list were still entitled to exemption, and that the remaining 15 should be excluded.

9. In reply it was intimated, that the Lieutenant Governor was disposed to concur in the suggestions of the Assistant Agent on this subject, as being most in accordance with the terms of the Honorable Court's Despatch of the 2nd. May last, and with the true position of several parties referred to. But it has doubtless not been the intention of the Honorable Court to abrogate the indulgences which were declared to be conceded in the arrangements authorized by the Government of India on the demise of the late Nawab Zoolficar Ally, and sanctioned by the Hon'ble Court, of which it was a part that exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts was to be continued to "*such dependants as have hitherto enjoyed it, during their lives or incumbency of office.*" This provision would include one or more of the servants of Nawab, whose names are at the close of the list furnished. A revised list, it was added, should be prepared and submitted upon this principle, the first four only of the names at present stated being retained in the final list of the privileged *relations and connections* of the Nawab.

10. Subsequently the Agent submitted a letter from the Assistant Agent at Banda with the revised list called for, from which it will be seen that Mr. Mayne had retained on the list the names of two of the dependants, one a Qazee and the other a Moonshee.

11. As both these individuals had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of exemption from the civil courts the Agent, concluded His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, would see no objection to the privilege being continued to those individuals also.

12. In reply it was intimated, that the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor approved and confirmed the list submitted, to which the privilege of exemption referred to is, in future, strictly to be confined.[1]

Refusal on the part of the Assistant Agent to perform the ceremony of congratulation, on the occasion of a son being born to Nawab Ally Bahadoor.

45. The officiating Agent at Allahabad forwarded a letter from the Assistant, Mr. Mayne, with a Khureeta from Nawab

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1853-60; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. Collection No. 1 of 1856.

Ally Bahadoor, relative to that officers refused to perform the usual ceremony of congratulation, on the occasion of a son being born to the Nawab, on the ground that the mother of the child lived for some time under the Nawab's protection, and that no official intimation had been received of his marriage with the woman. He considered Mr. Mayne to have exercised a sound discretion in refusing to perform any ceremony on the occasion in question and recommended the discontinuance, in future of such forms.

46. His Honor remarked that it would be quite proper, with reference to the present position of the Nawab, to discontinue the former ceremonies of congratulation on the birth of a son, even when undoubtedly legitimate.[1]

Increase of Troops stationed at Banda:

The Commissioner and Agent, Allahabad Division having reported that, in compliance with the requisition of the Assistant Agent at Banda, he had applied to the General Commanding the Cawnpore Division for two Companies of Native Infantry, in addition to the single Company stationed at Banda as a Treasury Guard in consequence of the present disaffected state of the dismissed and retained troop of the Nawab Ally Bahadoor, it was intimated in reply that the Lieutenant Governor entirely approved of the measure with reference to the circumstances stated in the Assistant Agent's application.[2]

To,

The Right Honorable the Governor General of India.

The humble Memorial of Nawab Ally Bahadoor of Banda Bundelkhund

My (May) it please your Lordship,

The object of your Memorialist in submitting this Memorial to the gracious notice of your Lordship is to obtain that orders (order) which the nature of the case may merit.

[1]Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1853-60; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. Proceedings 11th. February, 1856, Nos. 24 to 26.

[2]Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1853-60; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for 1856, No. 7.

Your Memorialist in the first instance would beg to bring to your Lordship's gracious notice that in 1802 your Memorialist's grand-father Nawab Ali Bahadoor was the Governor of the provinces of Bundelkhund in the East Indias (*sic*,). After the death of " Nawab Ali Bahadoor ", my paternal uncle, " Shumshar Bahadoor ", his elder son was declared his successor and with him the British Agent, Captain John Ballie, concluded engagement in 1804 and which were formally renewed in 1812, by which the British Government granted to him a pension of four Lacs of Rupees per annam (annum), in perpetuaty (perpetuity) generation after generation. " Shumshar Bahadoor " died in 1823; he was succeeded by his brother " Nawab Zoolficar Ali Bahadoor ", my father, as the next legal heir in which capacity he had been recognized by a testamentory (testamentary) paper left by his brother, " Shumshar Bahadoor ", and the British Government acknowledged his succession as both justice and expedient and from a letter from the Governor General in Council to Lieut. Modie (Lieutenant Modie) the acting Agent in Boondlkhund (Bundelkhand) at the time of my father's succession to the Musnud it is plainly understood there, in the Governor General's approval of the succession, that the four Lacs of Rupees should be granted to him generation after generation and that every respect which is due to the rank of the Nawab should be manifasted (manifested) to him and his heirs and successors generation after generation, on the part of the British Government, and due notice would be taken by them of any acts derogatory to the rank and honor of the Nawab and his heirs on the part of others. All these considerations and prevelleges (privileges) confirmed by the British Government, on my father were in effect during his life time. He died in 1849 and I, his son was declard (declared) his successor by the British Govt., but before your Memorialist proceeds further with his case he would begs (beg) to bring to your favorable notice that when your Memorialist's uncle, " Nawab Shumshar Bahadoor ", became a stipendiary to the British Government, He (he) was allowed with the senction (sanction) of the British Government to keep up a well deciplined (disciplined) force of all arms consisting one company of fort artillery with four guns, four pounders each, three Companies of Infentry (Infantry) and two Troops of Cavalry, in all about four or five hundred men. It was costomry (customary) to five (fire) 6 (*sic*) 8 guns on the morning and one on the evening, on the purpose of giveing (giving) notice to the inhabitants of " Bandah " to be ready to purform (perform) their ablootions (ablutions) previous to their prayer, and moreover these guns were only used for salutes on any of the

Mohammeden Festivals and on other joyful occassions (occasions). The sepies (sipahis) were used as sentries over the whole astiblishment (establishment) of the Nawab. The Cavalry acted generally as an escort and a Guard of honor. The services of disoplined (*sic,*:—disciplined) troops have been on several occassions (occasions) called for by the British Government, and their wishes have always been complayed (complied) with cheerfully and willingly, and on all these occassions (occasions) the men have inscreably (*sic,*) behaved bravely and always confirmed with the orders of those British Officers under whose command they acted in proof of which your Memorialist have several letters from very high British authorities both civil and mallatry (military). The above forces were kept up to the death of your Memorialist's father.

In the 2d (2nd.) instance your Memorialist begs to bring in to your Lordship's favourable notice that both my uncle, "Shumsher Bahadoor", and my father, Zoolficar Ally Bahadoor, enjoyed the privilege of receiveing (receiving) a salute of 15 guns, but a few years previous to the demise of your Memorialist's late father he was to receive a salute of eleven guns; in future, this privilege your Memorialist's father enjoyed up to his death.

In the 3d (3rd.) anstance (instance) your Memorialist would beg to bring into your favourable notice that his uncle and his father during their life time enjoyed the privilege of being addressed, as His Highness the Nawab of Banda, (.) beside (Beside) of all these privileges your Memorialist's uncle and father were granted a thousand Beeghas of land arround (around) their residence in "Banda", which was commanly (commonly) known as Nawab of Banda's Contonment (cantonment), and where his father always enjoyed the privilege of having his residence. Immediate family and blood relations were exempt from the jurisdiction of the British Courts, for they were always considered acknowledged masters of their household and "lushkur", otherwise called the Nawab of Banda's contonment (cantonment). Three months after the demise of your Memorialist's late father Nawab Zoolficar Ali Bahadoor a letter from the Governor General in Council dated the 25th. September, 1849 received (reached) me through the Agent of "Banda"; the purpote (purport) of the letter was as followers (follows) that your Memorialist should enjoy the right of the pension of four Lacs of Rupees in purpetuaty (perpetuity) generation after generation and that he should only have the title of Nawab added to his name and that in future he should not be recognized as an independent chief and that he should be allowed in future only to keep up one Company of Infantry and Twenty

five Sawars, and also in future your Memorialist shall receive no salute nor be called the Nawab of " Banda " and that he should receive a " khillut " in future in valuation to what was customarily conferred. On your Memorialist's father's death the whole residence and the tract of land granted to your Memorialist's uncle, which was commonly called Nawab of Banda's cantonment, was gradually ceded to the British Territory and now come entirely under the British jurisdiction. In fact your Memorialist has been deprived of all those privileges which were enjoyed by his forefathers, without the British Government assigning any cause or reason for depriving him of the same. Your Memorialist's forefathers on all occasions most cheerfully, willingly and faithfully complied with all the wishes of the British Government, and your Memorialist has always endeavoured to show himself not only sincere towards the British Government, but he is always ready and willing all times to conform to their wishes. Nevertheless in justice to himself your Memorialist begs to represent to your Lordship, the disgrace your Memorialist suffers by being deprived of these honors and privileges that have been conferred on his forefathers, by the British Government. Your Memorialist's forefathers were highly respected by the Bundelkhund Chiefs and were looked up as their superiors, in consequence of my paternal grand-father having had at one time the Government of the province of Bundelkhund, and it is very hard that your Memorialist as a grand-child of him should suffer such disgrace. Your Memorialist is aware of your Lordship's justice towards.....helpless and as such is your Memorialist's case, therefore your Memorialist has taken the liberty of representing his pitiable case to your Lordship's very gracious notice, with the earnest hope that your Lordship will be graciously pleased to reinstate your Memorialist in these honors that had been so kindly conferred on your Memorialist's forefathers, and at the same time your Memorialist humbly begs that your Lordship will permit and allow him to enjoy all those privileges that were enjoyed by his uncle and late father and in conclusion he trusts that his wishes may meet your Lordship's favourable consideration, for which act of kindness and indulgence with true feeling of gratituid (*sic*) your humble Memorialist as in duty bound shall ever pray.[1]

(Sd.) Illegible.

Banda,
Zillah Bundelkhund,
25th. March, 1856.

[1]Foreign Deptt., Persian letters received. No. 256, dated 15th. April, 1856. National Archives, New Delhi.

FURRUCKABAD

Instructions issued to Agent relative to disposal of lapsed Zeehuq Pensions:

31st. The sum of Rs. 8167 is paid monthly to the Nawab Raees of Furruckabad to be distributed as pensions, or Zeehuq allowances, of which there are two kinds—the one granted unconditionally to the relatives of the Nawab Nasir Jung in perpetuity and the other granted on the condition of service.

32nd. In regard to pensions of the last mentioned description it was decided by the Govt. of India that they could not be considered hereditary but on the demise of the parties enjoying them, the pensions should be appropriated to the benefit of the Nawab and that they should be regarded in the light of allowances on account of the Nawab's household.

33rd. It appeared however that very frequently on the death of a servant receiving the Zeehuq allowance, the amount had been subdivided amongst his family, thereby reducing the original ample allowance for one person to a mere pittance to several individuals, by which the number of attendance (attendants) was certainly increased by their respectability and efficiency considerably diminished, while large sums of money were said at one time to have been obtained in the name of the Raees by the sale of Zeehuq allowances.

34th. The particulars above detailed were brought under the consideration of Govt. by the Agent, who solicited instructions on the following points:

i. Whether the Agent ought not to require as a general rule that these allowances should not be broken, but given as originally granted, to one fit individual.

ii. Whether in cases where the appointment was obtained by purchase the Agent could refuse to sanction it.

iii. Whether the Agent should require that the whole of the amount of such allowances be appropriated as originally intended, or whether the Raees is at liberty to take any portion of the same to swell the privy purse.

35th. The instructions issued to the Agent on the above points were as follows:

i. That in ordinary cases the rule should be as proposed by the Agent, and the service pension should not be so diminished in amount as to form an insufficient provision for those who hold

them. The Nawab therefore should be restricted from making any alteration in these pensions without the consent of the Agent.

ii. The succession to such pensions had been ruled to be so much in the power of the Nawab, that the Agent could not be held empowered to cancel any nomination which the former may deliberately make. He was however at liberty to interpose with his advice when he considered that a discreditable arrangement was in contemplation and if the matter was deemed of sufficient importance he could bring it to the notice of Govt.

iii. That these service pensions must be held appropriated to the object for which they were originally assigned, viz. to support officers of the household required by the Nawab for purposes of state or convenience: any change in the constitution of these offices or in the salaries attached to them, might be carried into effect with the Agent's concurrence, but the funds should not be diverted to the objects foreign to those for which they were granted.[1]

Papers submitted in continuation of the Narrative quoted and relative to further instructions issued to the Agent at Furruckabad respecting Zeehuq Pensions:

22nd. It will be recollected that these pensions were guaranteed by treaty, and are of two kinds namely, with and without conditions of service, the former resumable on lapses or at the pleasure of the Nawab, the latter hereditary and liable to division among the heirs of the original grantee according to the Mahomedan Law of Succession.

23rd. It appeared from a report submitted by the Agent that some irregularity had taken place in the disposal of these pensions, which are paid through the Nawab Raees, as for instance of appropriation by the Nawab of portions of lapsed pensions, the transfer of pensions from one class to another etc. Doubts moreover appeared to exist as to the spirit of the former orders relative to these pensions. The Agent therefore brought the whole subject under consideration and solicited instructions generally respecting the different items of pension and specially on the following points:

i. Whether on the lapse of a pension to which no service is attached, Collateral Heirs of the original grantees are entitled to succeed, when no direct heirs are in existence.

[1]Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1844-1852; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of July, August and September 1847. Collection No. 6.

(ii) If not, should the pension lapse to Government, or should the Nawab be allowed, in concert with the Agent and subject to the approval of the Government, to confer the pension on some other deserving person.

(iii) Whether succession of such pensions can be claimed in a court of law.

24th. The Zeehuq Pensions amount to Rs. 16906-2-4 per mensem and are distributed as follows: viz.

			Rs.	as.	p.
Item No.	1.	Nawab's stipend	9,000	0	0
,,	2.	Expenses for Imambara ...	166	10	8
,,	3.	The Muhul of the late Nawab ...	300	0	0
,,	4.	Dependents and ancient servants	4,830	11	2
,,	5.	Sahibzadas i.e. Himmut Bahadur Hoosein Ali Khan & Hussun Ali Khan	1,166	10	8
,,	6.	Another Sahibzadah i.e. family of Himmut Khan	150	0	0
,,	7.	Sahibzadah's relations of the Nawab	1,208	12	6
,,	8.	Moonshee Khoda Bux ...	resumed		
,,	9.	Ahmud Bux	83	5	4
,,	10.	Himmut Khan	resumed		
			16,906	2	4

25th. Items 1 and 2 required no patricular notice as they would have to be continued so long as the Reeasut was maintained. Items 8, 9 & 10 neither required any notice as the pension would lapse on the demise of recipient.

26th. The substance of the instructions communicated to the Agent respecting the remaining items of Pensions may be briefly stated as follows.

Item No. 4.—service pensions:

27th. The holders of these pensions were bound to attend on the Nawab as officers of the household for purposes of state and convenience. This being the object for which the funds were granted they must not be diverted to others foreign to it. The privilege of dismissing such pensioners on proper grounds and appointing others in their room is allowed (to) the Nawab, but the concurrence of the Agent is necessary to every new appropriation. All proposed transfers to be made known to the Agent, who should satisfy himself that they were made in conformity with the conditions of the grant and resist every effort of the Nawab,

Raees to appropriate any portion of the amount to his own personal use.

Item nos. 3, 5, 6 and 7: Pensions without service.

28th. These pensions were granted to conciliate the Pathan families at the transfer of the sovereignty of the province to the British Government and they must therefore be regarded as the property of the class, hereditary and liable to division among the heirs of the original grantees.

29th. In the event of there being no heirs the Nawab is permitted, in concert with the Agent, to select a successor—the person selected being a proper object of charity. Collaterals of the original grantee to succeed so long as they are members of the same family, and their enjoyment of the pension is consonant with the provisions of the Treaty—no portion of the pension is to go to the private purse of the Nawab.

30th. So long as these pensions are kept appropriated to the objects contemplated by the Treaty, hereditary right in succession is to be regarded and the declaration of the Civil Court to such hereditary right to be received. But should the Civil Courts alienate the pensions from the objects to which they are confined by the Treaty, such alienations will be prevented by the Govenment.

31st. The Agent in concert with the Nawab to settle all questions of succession on the acknowledged basis, but if the Civil Courts come to a different conclusion on question of succession, the Court's decision is to be adopted.

32nd. In regard to the pensions generally the Agent was requested to provide that correct lists of the pensioners are delivered to him and that no change be made on those lists without his approval and sanction. He was further directed to take measures for letting the pensioners know that their names were entered on the list and the amount to which they were entitled, likewise to ensure the punctual payment to them of their respective pensions.[1]

The Misunderstanding between the Nawab Raees of Furruckabad and the Agent 1852-53*:*

7th. Several memorials were submitted to Government by the *Treaty Pensioners of Furruckabad,* complaining against the conduct

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1844-1852; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt., for the months of April, May and June 1852, Collection No. 5.

of the Naib of the Nawab Raees, who was accused of malpractices and specially of treating the pensioner with discourtesy; but upon an investigation of the matter it appeared, that the complaints were groundless, but that the real cause of dissatisfaction arose from the Nawab and his Naib declining to hold themselves responsible for the *debts of the pensioners*, and following up the rule introduced by the late Agent Mr. Allen of paying pensions, when due, to the pensioners themselves, but not guaranteeing them in advance to merchants and others.

Complaints:

8th. The preparation of a correct list of Zeehuq Pensioners which the Agent was required to provide himself with, necessarily required an investigation into abuses which had previously existed, and the reforms which followed were distasteful to many while it (sic.) had aggrieved those who had benefitted by the former order of things. The Naib who is reported to have successfully exerted himself in the performance of this duty, and in the management of the Nawab's household, had excited the jealousy of interested parties and caused himself to be regarded with ill-feeling by them. This was assigned by the Agent as the cause of the several complaints made to Government against the Naib.

9th. A representation was also made by the Nawab himself against Abdool Rezak, the Sherishtadar of the Agent, who was reported to have taken an active part with the Naib in the difficult duty in which that officer was engaged, and necessarily shared in the ill-feeling that had been excited.

10th. The Nawab charged this Official with having abused him to Yar Ali, *one of his Assabardars or Mace Bearers* and with having received bribes from himself and from Nawab Sakhawat Hussein, his half-brother.

11th. It appeared on enquiry that a quarrel had taken place between Yar Ali and the Sherishtadar, during which the latter has made use of abusive language which he applied to Yar Ali as well as his master. The Sherishtadar was fined a hundred Rupees by the Agent and required to tender a humble apology to the Nawab which was duly offered and accepted.

Charges of Corruption:

12th. A public investigation was held by the Agent at the Nawab's residence into the charge of corruption brought against the Sherishtadar but the evidence adduced failed to prove the charge.

13th. In the course of the investigation the Nawab withdrew his charge of bribery against the Sherishtadar, and at its conclusion expressed himself satisfied with the Agent's proceedings.

14th. It will be seen fom the Agent's report that the Nawab was influenced by the bad advice of his relatives, who, apprehending danger to their own interests from too close an investigation into the Zeehuq Pensions and the reforms introduced in the management of the Nawab's household, the effects of which had already been felt by some of them, were desirous to set aside the Naib and the Sherishtadar who were both actively employed in this duty.

15th. The Agent represented that the Nawab's conduct towards himself was such as to render unpleasant for him to keep up further than indispensable communication, unless the Government showed their sense of the Nawab's vacillating conduct, and encouraged and supported the Agent in his endeavours to protect the Nawab from his evil advisers.

The Agent observed that without the check of the agency the *Reeasut* would soon dwindle into insignificance, the property attached to it be dispersed and the Nawab irretrievably involved. The Agent's supervision must therefore continue while the Nawab is incapable of supporting his own dignity or managing his own concern.

16th. The Agent was informed in reply that the Lieutenant Governor approved the measures he had taken for the reform of the Nawab's establishment, and for the introduction of economy and regularity in his household. The Agent was requested to continue to use every effort that he could to withdraw the Nawab from the influence of evil advisers, and to induce him to co-operate with the Agent in the work he had at heart.

17th. The Agent was reminded that by the orders of 23rd. April, 1852, the duty of regulating the pension list and compiling a correct return of all the pensioners was imposed upon him, and that it was also his duty to provide that payment of the pensions be punctually made to those who are entitled to receive them. There were functions connected with his office from the faithful discharge of which no consideration should deter him, and the Government would always be prepared to support him in the most direct and efficient manner.

18th. In regard to the agency through which such operations should be conducted, the Agent was told that his aim should be to render himself independent of the aid of subordinates and to prove to all who were concerned, that his duty would be done

by himself irrespective of the persons whom he might employ as his instruments from time to time. With this view, he was advised to dispense with the services of Wuzeer Ally the Naib, if it was found necessary and to appoint a fit person in his stead.

19th. The Lieutenant Governor approved of the punishment inflicted upon Abdool Rezak and observed that the cloud which hung over his character for honesty incapacitated him from having any further direct communication with the affairs of the agency, but that there would be no difficulty in selecting another person who might with propriety be made the organ of the Agent's wishes.

20th. His Honour pointed out the line of conduct which it was necessary for an officer in the position of the Agent to adopt and which should have in view the early renewal of a free intercourse and the reestablishment of that paramount influence over the Nawab's mind which would be the surest means of accomplishing the benevolent wishes the Agent entertained for his welfare.

21st. It was intimated to the Agent that several persons had directly addressed themselves to Government in this matter, but that they would be officially informed that the Lieutenant Governor had full confidence in the justice of his conduct and in the rectitude of his motives, that they must themselves make known to the Agent clearly and specifically any grievances of which they were sensible and that there was no cause for the interference of the Government in their behalf.

22nd. A few days subsequent to the issue of the above orders the Nawab Raees submitted a Khureeta direct to Government containing allegations against the conduct of the Agent connected with the proceedings in the case of Abdool Rezak.

23rd. The Khureeta was forwarded to the Agent with a request, that he would return it to the Nawab and inform him that no communications would be acknowledged, except such as were forwarded according to established form through the Agent. In the event of the Nawab desiring the transmission of the Khureeta to Government, the Agent was requested to submit it with a translation and any remarks which he might wish to offer regarding it. The Khureeta was accordingly returned to the Nawab and the orders of Government communicated to him by the Agent, who in reporting the same to Government entered into a defence of the charges preferred against him, but stated that he had had several

interviews with the Nawab on the subject of this disagreement, and that the Nawab had addressed a letter to him stating that he had now ascertained that the Agent had really given him no cause for complaint. That interested persons had once made him think otherwise, but that as he had discovered their falsehood and had no ill-will towards the Agent he had no further occasion to forward the *Khureeta* to Government which he had accordingly destroyed. The Agent concluded by stating that the matters had since then gone on amicably and it was hoped that the Cabals against the Naib Wuzeer Ally being now broken up he would be continued in office.

24th. The Lieutenant Governor was glad to learn that a good understanding had been re-established between the Agent and the Nawab and expressed a hope that the Agent's influence would be beneficially exerted to keep the Nawab from bad advisers, into whose hands he appeared at one time to have fallen.[1]

Further correspondence respecting the Zeehuq Pensions of Furruckabad:

75. The Hon'ble the Court of Directors, in paragraph 20 of their Despatch, No. 35, dated 12th. December, 1855, reviewing the Foreign Department Narrative for the first quarter of 1855, observed that they had not received the further report referred to in paragraphs 29 to 35 of the Foreign Narrative for the 1st. quarter of 1854, and in paragraph 9 of their previous Despatch, No. 12, dated 2nd. May, 1855, on the subject of the appeal of Nawab Allea Begum against the decision of the Agent at Furruckabad in a case of Zechuq Pension; on which the Lieutenant Governor remarked, that the report in question, with the orders issued thereon, were rendered in paragraphs 79 to 82 of the Foreign Narrative (No. 1, dated 17th. January, 1856) for the 4th. quarter of 1855.

76. The papers of this Collection, contain the Agent's General Report on the Zeehuq Pensions of Furruckabad, required by paragraph 4 of the Hon'ble Court's Despatch, No. 7, dated 15th. March, 1854, to the address of the Government of India.

77. The following is a List of the Treaty Pensions payable through the Nawab Raees, under the orders of Government, dated 31st. May, 1811:—

[1]Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1853-60; Secretariat Records Office U.P, Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of January-March 1853. Collection No. 5.

		Per month Rs.	as.	p.
1.	Raees's Stipend	9,000	0	0
2.	Expenses for Imambara	166	10	8
3.	The Muhal of the late Raees	300	0	0
4.	Dependents and old servants termed Zeehuqs	5,192	4	0
5.	Sahibzadas, viz., Himmut Bahadoor, Hossein Ali Khan and Hussun Ali Khan ...	1,166	10	0
6.	Sahibzadas, sons of Himmut Khan ...	150	0	0
7.	Sahibzadas, relatives of the Raees ...	1,027	1	10
8.	Moonshee Khoda Bux	333	5	4
9.	Moonshee Ahmud Bux	83	5	4
10.	Mahommed Salah, and after him, Hafiz Gholam Ahmud	83	5	4
	Total ...	17,502	10	9

The Items, Nos. 1 and 2, were paid with reference to articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty. Items 4, 8, 9 and 10, were Zeehuq Pensions with condition of service to the Nawab Raees. Items 3, 5, 6 and 7 were Zeehuq Pensions without condition of service. The Pensions, Nos. 8, 9 and 10 which were provided in article 7 of the Treaty, being Life-Pensions were resumed respectively on the 29th. May, 1819, 27th. August, 1851, and 1st. June, 1848. From No. 4 also, Rs. 179-14-2 were deducted for Batta. The total pensions, therefore, less this sum, and Items 8, 9, and 10, amounted to Rs. 16,822-12-7. The details of the Pensions forming the Item No. 4, were originally prepared under the orders of 31st. May, 1811. Rs. 181-10-8 were at the same time transferred to Item 7, as a Pension without condition of service. Rs. 4,830-11-2 were, therefore, paid under Item No. 4.

78. The Agent observed that many irregularities had been allowed to take place in the payment of these Pensions; but that he did not find that the " succession to Pensions had been allowed to be regulated without the concurrence of the Representative of the British Government ", as remarked in paragraph 4, of the Hon'ble Court's Despatch, No. 7, dated 15th. March, 1854. There had been a great want of system in the management of the different Agents, owing to the confusion in the Agency records, so that many inconsistencies were traceable in their orders. He had, however, remedied this state of things, by having the whole of the records carefully arranged. He had also made it a point to inspect every Pensioner, in order to identify and class them, and ascertain if each

acknowledged the receipt of his stipend, what his capacity was, and if he performed the service alloted to him; and also to assign some duty, where, from negligence on the part of the Pensioner and Raees, none was before offered, or exacted. He added that throughout this investigation, the Raees comported himself towards him (the Agent) with the greatest deference, and that it could not have been so complete, if the Raees had not fully concurred in the propriety of his (the Agent's)proceedings. He approved generally of the mode in which the Raees proposed to adjust the Pensions of the several parties concerned, and he, therefore, requested the authorities to carry them out. He stated that where the Pension, though divided, was sufficient to secure the service and respectable appearance of all the parties concerned, it would not, till death lessened the number, be interfered with, and, in any case of especial hardship, if some of the recipients had no other means of subsistence, a pittance would be left to them; but the larger portion of the Pension would be awarded to one member of the Family, the first consideration being its duty to the Raees. He had succeeded in getting rid of many females on the Pension List, whose male relatives, now admitted as Pensioners, had undertaken their support; a few females, otherwise unprovided for, still remained. All children, and old men, had also been weeded from the Raees's Guards. Another object was to secure a prompt return of the decease of all pensioners. Formerly, months would elapse, and the salary in deposit, pending the appointment of the new incumbent, was usually misappropriated. The old registers of recipients were exceedingly incorrect, and the record of transfers much in arrears. The new ones, being regularly kept up, would enable him, in future, to protect all claims to arrears of Pensions. The statement of the payments made from the Privy Purse, (vide Item No. 1 of the list above cited), submitted with the Agent's reports, showed how much the Zeehuq Pensions had been misapplied, and how many servants the Raees had been compelled to entertain, from the incapacity, or failure in attendance, of the Pensioners of the former class. A statement of Zeehuq Pensions applied to the Toork Sowars, also submitted, showed that the items forming the sum, which (including some Bawurchies and Kahars) they drew, were made up of various vacant offices, and the amount, Rs. 208-10-7, with the sanction of Government, dated 30th. May, 1835, was devoted to the payment in part of the Naib Ahmud Yar Khan's salary, on whose death, the Raees applied for permission to extend it (Rs. 83-5-4) being added from another vacancy), in the entertainment of some Toork Sowars, &c. This arrangement was sanctioned by the Agent, on the 26th. March, 1840, the object,

as in the Naib's case, being to relieve the Privy Purse. It was, however, clear that horses could not be kept on such small allowances. The term of Sowar was, therefore, a misnomer; and of Guards than which The Toork Sowars were literally nothing more, the Raees had a great number. He was, therefore, of opinion that the Toork Sowars should be discharged, and the offices orginally vacated, should be restored to the persons of the same description, who were at present paid from the Privy Purse, to which a real relief would thus be afforded. In the number of the Guards of the Raees, may be included all the Sowars (Zeehuq Pensioners), nineteen out of forty two of whom drew less than Rs. 12 a month, and were, therefore, available for such employment.

79. The following orders and instructions were communicated to the Agent, on his report of the Furruckabad Pensions:

80. Items, Nos. 1 and 2, in the List of Pensions, the continuance of which had been guaranteed by Treaty to the Chiefship, and Items 8, 9 and 10, which had lapsed to Government, by the death of the incumbents, required no remarks.

81. In regard to Items Nos. 3, 5, 6 and 7, or Zeehuq Pensions without condition of service, the Agent was referred to the correspondence forwarded to him with orders of 14th. March, 1854 (vide paragraphs 13 to 18 Foreign Narrative—3rd. quarter of 1854). He was instructed to be careful to guard against the appropriation of lapsed Pensions of this class to the use of the Nawab, and in all cases of failure of heirs to persons included in this class of Stipends, to report the circumstances to Government, with a view to the resumption of the allowances.

82. It having come to the knowledge of the Lieutenant Governor that claims of Treaty Pensions had, by reason of former admissions of Government to a hereditary right of succession, b made the subject of a civil suit, and the Honorable Court als having referred in paragraph 9 of their Despatch, No. 14, under date the 20th. April, 1853, to the correct principle, that Courts of Justice were not the proper authority to decide on the interpretation of Pensions of this nature, His Honor re-enjoined the principles laid down by the Hon'ble Court in the Despatch above quoted, wherein they declared that it would be the preferable course to withdraw such cases, as those now under notice, altogether from the cognizance of the courts, rather than to allow them to be instituted and adjudicated on, when the Government were not bound to abide by the decisions arrived at by those authorities. Whenever, therefore, it might come to the Agent's notice that a suit over this kind had been instituted in any court, he should file

a petition on behalf of the Government, as Third Party, pleading that the matter was one of Treaty Stipulation, not cognizable by the civil courts.

83. With reference to Item No. 4, or Zeehuq Pensions with condition of service, which formed the principal subject of the Agent's report, the Lieutenant Governor remarked, that conflicting orders would appear to have been issued, at different times, by the Supreme Government, in regard to these allowances, and that it would, therefore, be best to be guided by those of the latest date, (2nd. April, 1832) the tenor of which appeared to be approved by the Hon'ble Court in their Despatch of 20th. April, 1853. The orders quoted, left the patronage of these allowances in the Nawab's hands, his disposal of them being, however, regulated with the concurrence of the Agent.

84. The Lieutenant Governor had had carefully under review the register of these Pensions, which accompanied the Agent's report, and was of opinion, that the changes proposed to be made, were generally judicious and expedient. Caution, however, should be used, so as not to carry out the measures of reform too precipitately, or harshly, and the claims of parties, who, by long enjoyment of their present receipts, might be fairly thought entitled to a continuance of the support, to which they had hitherto been encouraged to look without apprehension of its withdrawl, might be respected during their lives.

85. It appeared to the Lieutenant Governor that a list should be prepared, and submitted to the Government, of such offices, with their designations and appropriate duties, as the Nawab should, in the opinion of the Agent, be required to keep up, for the proper maintenance of his dignity and position at Furruckabad. The salaries to be enjoyed by the officials, who might be nominated hereafter to such posts, should be stated; and occasion might be taken gradually, both on occurrence of lapses, as well as by resumptions, where these might be proper, to place the establishment on a becoming footing.

86. Having provided for the permanent establishment of a suitable number of Officers and Attendants, near the person of the Nawab, as stated in the preceding paragraph, and having fixed the funds, which must not be alienated from that purpose, the remaining amount if any, of the sums now drawn by the Zeehuq Pensioners with condition of service, might thereafter be left, without question on the part of the Agent, to the free disposal of the Nawab.

87. The Agent was accordingly requested to submit a List such as is indicated above, with any suggestions that might

occur to him. The scale of offices and salaries having been once approved by the Government, no further report need be made on individual cases, except where a reference might become necessary, in consequence of the objections raised by the Agent, and not deferred to by the Nawab, on the occasion of any proposed nomination.

88. In a separate address, the Agent at Furruckabad forwarded a Khureeta, with its Abstract Translation, from Nawab Firoze Jung, claiming two Pensions, one of Rs. 388-14-3, and the other of Rs. 166-10-8, and reported particulars connected with both Pensions.

89. In reply it was intimated that the claim in question was satisfactorily shewn to be deserving of no notice, and the Agent was requested to inform the Nawab accordingly. But it was stated that it should be shewn under what circumstance half of the Pension enjoyed by the late Reeazutoolnissa Begum, alluded to by him, was bestowed on the Nawab Raees, and whether, with reference to the remarks contained in paragraph 3 of the orders of Government on his report of the Furruckabad Pensions, this allowance was now not liable to resumption.

90. The Agent reported that the half Pension belonging to the late Begum Reeazutoolnissa alluded to by him was bestowed, at her death, by the Agent of the time, on the late Nawab Raees who was stated to be her nephew, and that the mis-statement only became known to him, in investigating the claims made to the other half of the Pension vacated by its recipient, her husband, Nawab Himmut Ali Khan. This was adjudged by him to belong to the surviving descendants of Oomrao Begum, mother of Reeazutoolnissa Begum. On similar grounds, he considered the half Pension enjoyed by the Nawab Raees, who had succeeded to it, on the death of his cousin, the late Nawab, to belong to these persons, and he accordingly resumed it from the Nawab, and assigned it to them. The Nawab Raees was dissatisfied with this decision, as his cousin and himself had enjoyed the Pension so long; but they could not dispute the justice of the order, since they were illegitimate descendants of Moozuffer Jung, by a slave girl, while the parties to whom the Pension had been awarded, were the legitimate descendants of Moozuffer Jung—by his wife Oomrao Begum. Under these circumstances, he did not consider the Pension in question resumable by Government.

91. In reply, the Agent was referred to the 2nd. paragraph of his former communication, wherein he did not state, as he had now done, that the half Pension of late Reeazutoolnissa had been

resumed by him from the Nawab Raees, and distributed to the surviving descendants of Oomrao Begum. It was intimated, that there could be no objection to this proceeding, and it was with the view of suggesting some such measure, and under the impression that the half Pension was still enjoyed by the Nawab, that the enquiry, in respect to this Pension, was made.

92. In a further communication, the Agent explained that he was unable before to report, that he had resumed the half Pension of Reeazutoolnissa Begum from the Nawab Raees, and distributed it to the surviving descendants of Oomrao Begum, as the orders had not been passed until the 14th. of January last, whereas his letter, submitting the claim of Nawab Firoze Jung to the two Pensions in question, bore date the 12th. October 1855. The Agent enquired whether it was not the intention of Government, that Heirs General should succeed to the Zeehuq Pensions of the first class, or those without condition of service.

93. In reply, the Agent was informed that it was certainly the intention of Government that Heirs General according to the Mahomedan Law of Inheritence, should succeed to the first class of Zeehuq Pensions referred to, but that, on the failure, in any case, of such heirs he would, of course, in conformity with the General Instructions already conveyed to him, report the circumstances to Government, with a view to the resumption of the particular allowance.[1]

DELHI

Information called for respecting Rao Golab Singh:

14th. The Lieutenant Governor having remarked the frequent mention of the name of Golab Singh in the Precis of Palace Intelligence, and of that individual having received special notice as well as a Title from the King of Delhi, the Agent was asked to furnish some account of him and his object in visiting the Court.

15th. It appeared from the Agent's report, that the individual in question had visited Delhi with the ostensible object of witnessing the marriage of the daughter of Wuleedad Khan, with the Prince Mirza Jawan Bukht, but that on the occasion of the Chouthee or ceremony of fetching the bride home on the 4th. day,

[1]Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1853-60; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt., 2nd. quarter of 1856. Collection No. 15.

which was performed by him as a friend of the bride's father, he had presented a horse with appointments and a Nuzzur of some Gold Mohurs and that the King had in return conferred on him a Khillut consisting of six pieces of wearing apparel and three articles of jewellery, and a staff with the title of Dilawar-ool-Moolk Rajah Golab Singh Bahadoor Futteh Jung."

16th. On learning of the circumstances the Agent called upon Golab Singh for an explanation of his conduct, informing him at the same time that the presentation of Nuzzurs and receiving of Khilluts and Titles by any but the personal servants and dependents of His Majesty were strictly prohibited by Government, and directing the return of the presents received by him, he was informed at the same time that he could not assume the Title conferred on him by the King without incurring the displeasure of Government.

17th. The explanation submitted was unsatisfactory, but the presents were forwarded to the Agent and retained by him, until the irritation exhibited by the King, who remonstrated against the Agent's proceedings, had subsided.

18th. The Lieutenant Governor approved of the Agent's proceedings, and a copy of the correspondence was forwarded to the Commissioner of the Meerut Division in order that any attempt of Rao Golab Singh to obtain official recognition of the Title may atonce be prevented.[1]

Relative to the serious indisposition of the King of Delhi and the instructions issued as to the measures to be adopted in the event of His Majesty's demise:

1. In September last very unfavourable reports were received from the Agent of the King's health. The sickness, which at first was only a dysentery, subsequently assumed a more serious aspect and gave cause for apprehensions that it would terminate fatally, but His Majesty's health rallied and he has since been reported to be perfectly restored.

2. During the more serious stage of the King's sickness, the Agent deemed it necessary to solicit the orders of Government as to the measures to be adopted in the event of His Majesty's demise and the Proclamation of his successor.

[1]Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1844-1852; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of April, May and June 1852. Collection No. 4.

3. The points submitted for the consideration of Government were:

i. The period that should elapse between the demise of the King and the accession of his Heir.

ii. The internal management of the Palace and the payment of the Royal Stipend during the interregnum.

iii. Removal of the parties residing within the precincts of the Palace and compensation for their residences.

4. The Agent proposed that, when the time arrived, it be intimated to the Prince that the ceremony of placing him on the Throne should take place at the Royal Residences at the Kootub, so soon as His Royal Highness with his family attendants and troops, vacates the Palace. He also proposed that after the Proclamation of the new King, the Agent take possession of the palace in the name of the British Government.

5. In regard to the interior management of the Palace during the interregnum, he suggested that, the Prince as the head of the family be vested with control over the Nijabut and mounted force, and the Nizarut and Khansamanee Deptt. but that the Stipends of the Royal Family be distributed through the Agency.

6. The Lieutenant Governor considered that it would be harsh and unfeeling to hurry the King's successor against his will from the Palace till the expiration of the customary period of mourning, which was believed to be 40 days, but his recognition as sovereign and installation should not take place till he moved to the Kootub. On his removal the Agent was authorized immediately to recognize him as King and to proceed with the ceremony of placing him on the Throne, after which he was to take immediate possession of the Palace and to prevent the King's return thither.

8. His Honor approved of the Agent's proposal respecting the internal management of the Palace, but observed that all matters of a criminal nature must be referred to the Agent or his Assistant.

9. The Agent was authorized to assure the owners of houses within the enclosure of the Fort that, the Govt. would respect all rights of private property, and would give the owners pecuniary compensations for the loss they would sustain, or assign them suitable residences elsewhere of corresponding value. He was also informed that it was the desire of the Govt. to meet all such

claims liberally and to dispose of them promptly, and he was requested to report at his earliest convenience how he would propose to proceed in the disposal of these cases.

10. The Agent was also informed that the Lieutt. Governor was aware that it would be an undertaking of considerable difficulty to induce the numerous residents within the Fort, to vacate their dwellings, but he had full confidence that the Agent would proceed in the execution of the duty with firmness and conciliation.[1]

Further Correspondence relative to the arrangements to be adopted in the event of the demise of the King of Delhi:

2. In a resolution recorded by the late Lieutenant Governor in March 1843 it was determined that on the demise of the King of Delhi the allowance of 500 Rupees per mensem to the Agent should terminate and the Commissioner required to discharge the duties of the Agency without any addition to his established allowance.

3. The Hon'ble Court in para 30 of their Despatch, No. 19 of 1844 observed with reference to this subject that a vacancy in the office of Commissioner would be a more appropriate occasion than the demise of the King for making the retrenchment.

4. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe who far many years held the offices of Commissioner and Agent died on the 3rd. Nov. last. In appointing a successor to Sir T. Metcalfe effect was given to the wishes of the Hon'ble Court.

5. On the appointment of Mr. S. Fraser to the Office of Commissioner and Agent his attention was directed to the instructions issued to his predecessor in regard to arrangements to be made on the demise of the present King the substance of which was reported to the Hon'ble Court in the Narrative quoted at the head of this notice. He was also informed that the Lieutenant Governor relied on his promptitude and discretion in carrying out those orders to their full spirit and purport and at the same time with all due consideration for individual feelings.[2]

[1]Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1853-1860; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of July, August and September 1853, Proceedings 15th. September, 1853, Nos. 21-34. Collection No. 1.

[2]Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1853-1860; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the months of October-December 1854. Proceeding of 22nd. November, 1853, Nos. 30 and 31, 8th. December, 1853, No. 4. Collection No. 2.

Mirza Mogul Beg Khan Jagheerdar of Havellee Palum in the Delhi District:

8. In paragraph 6 of the Hon'ble Court's Despatch No. 7, dated 20th. Febr., 1856, in reply to paragraphs 31 to 39 of the Foreign Narrative for the second quarter of 1855, regarding the request of Mirza Mogul Beg Khan, Jagheerdar of Havellee Palum, in the Delhi District, that his Jagheer or an equivalent money payment may be continued to his heirs the Lieutenant Governor remarked, that subsequent correspondence connected with this subject, had been reported to the Hon'ble Court in paragraphs 34 to 36 of the Narrative of the Proceedings of this Government in the Foreign Department for the Ist. quarter of 1856.[1]

Return of office establishment of the Delhi Agency, for the half year of 1856:

17. The correspondence held with the Agent at Delhi, respecting the demise of His Royal Highness, the Prince Mirza Mahommed Sooltan Futteh-ool-Moolk Shah Bahadoor, late heir-apparent of Delhi, and the question of the Succession, on the demise of the present King, to the throne of Delhi, having been referred, with the observations and suggestions of the Lieutenant Governor, for the consideration and orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, the papers are omitted from this Narrative, as the subject will be duly reported by the Government of India to the Hon'ble Court.[2]

OUDH

Annexation of Oudh—A robbery:

".....What is true of the orchard stealer must necessarily be true of the annexation hero also; and if in the one case, the offended dignity of moral science uttered a denunciation over the petty culprit, in the other we should suppose, the same thunder ought to ring in a higher key to confound the usurper

[1] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1853-1860; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the 2nd. quarter of 1856. Proceedings 14th. May, 1856. Collection No. 6.

[2] Agra Narratives, Foreign Deptt., 1853-1860; Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Hon'ble Lieutt. Governor of the North Western Provinces in the Political Deptt. for the 3rd. quarter of 1856. Proceedings 12th. July, 1856. Collection No. 36.

and spoliator. Oude is misgoverned, therefore annex Oude, say 'the Indian Political'. Hyderabad is oppressed, away then with the Nizam. But the deluded reasoners little imagine that if the argument were allowed its full stretch, no kingdom upon earth would be safe from the aggression of its neighbour; for a hue and cry of misgovernment will be raised every time that it suits the purpose of the ambitious, unprincipled and powerful to destroy the rights of the weak whose misfortune it may be to be the owner of a desirable subject.

"The cry recently raised for the annexation of Oude is as unjustifiable by the general rules of international morality as by the positive engagements in force between our Govt. and that state. Admitting even that Oude is as misgoverned as the advocates of the annexation policy represent it to be, admitting that Mr. Fredrick Shore was a dolt & men's eye-sight a delusion, admitting that 'huftum & punjum' are positive luxuries, and that the plunder and burning of a village cause less misery when it is done by an indigo planter's lattyals than when it is done by the inhabitants themselves, admitting that a state of things in which a babe learns to perjure & forge in pure self-defence is less demoralizing than one in which the able-bodied of a district turn out once in six years to thrash a rapacious tax-gatherer, admitting after all that the past conduct of the Govt. of India is not, in the slightest measure, responsible for the misgovernment of the Oude Kingdom, it yet wants the example of civilized nations to justify the intermeddling of one Govt. with the internal affairs of another, until the security of the former is compromised by the mismanagement of the latter. Nor do the existing treaties, with Oude, warrant the proposed annexation. The clause upon which reliance is placed fairly construed, runs counter to the wishes of the annexationists.

".....If Oude be misgoverned, whose fault is it? We do not ask this question with reference to the support by arms afforded by our Govt. to the Oude Durbar against the chastening efforts of the subject population, but with reference to the terms of treaty itself. It empowers our Government to render its advice. Have our representatives done so in a spirit of earnestness and sincerity? Insensible as the Oude Durbar may be to its duties, it would not have dared to reject that advice. The treaty next empowers our Govt. to take the administration of any part of the Oude territories into its own hands which may be grossly misgoverned. The provision was evidently made in order to add strength and efficacy to the tender of the advices above referred to, and to secure the object aimed at, namely, a reform in local

administration, in the extreme case of the Durbar rejecting the counsels of the representative of our Govt. Almost all treaties that were executed with the native states on the continent of India after the fall of the Mahratta power contained a provision of this nature. They empowered our Govt. to administer the territory of the other contracting party in cases of gross misgovernment—but for limited period only; and it was fully understood, even where it was not expressly stipulated, that the territory, so sequestered, after its administration was set in order, was to be returned to the reigning prince or his next in succession. There is not a single plea in equity to be argued for annexing Oude to the British territories in India.....The Oude Durbar are not charged with rejecting advice tendered by our Govt. on any specific occasion. Had they done so and gross misgovernment been manifest in any part of the Oude territories, it would have afforded occasion for the temporary sequestration, as provided for by treaty, of a portion of the king's territories. This has not been done, and we may therefore reasonably infer that, in the eyes of our Govt. at least no such gross misgovernment exists. Yet the worst state of things would not justify annexation unless the sequestration were opposed by force of arms.[1]

British Policy towards Oude criticised:

" .....Let us, however, to oblige Mr. Lewin give some of his thoughts for the inspection of the reader.....

" A late Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, speaking of the loans received from the King of Oude, calls them 'unwilling contributions extorted by fear of our power'. Of our subsidiary forces, the Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, remarks, ' 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 on their ruler that effectual check of general revolt by which Eastern rulers are best controlled '. It is not necessary to multiply authorities in proof of the value acquired by the seizure of Oude—as well might the value of a purse of gold be made a question by a robber; the difference between the two is that the acquisition of the gold though unlawful is not associated with the hypocritical pretence of conferring benefits,—in the respect the robber takes higher ground than the Indian Viceroy,—he has but one crime to atone for ".

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, August 24, 1854; pages 267 & 268 " Annexation vs. Equity ".

" Hear what an English man says on English alliance with the princes of Oude.

' Our alliance with the Princes of Oude has for a series of years been little more than a series of extortions; when weak we have soothed them, when power was in our hands we have threatened, keeping always in view the fate of the victim, until circumstances should concur to favour the opportunity.....

" The historian Mill informs us, that during many years ' unjustifiable extortions, to the extent of Thirty four Lacs per annum, had been practised on that independent Prince '. Bishop Herber says, ' The King lent the British Government all that would have enabled him to ease the people of their burdens '; referring to another loan he remarks—' Of the two millions which his father had left the King had lent one to Lord Hastings to carry on the Nepaul War. For this he was to receive interest, but unfortunately for which he accepted, instead of all payment, a grant of fresh territory under the Himalya mountains, which is unproductive, being either a savage wilderness or occupied by a race of mountaineers, who pay no taxes without being compelled to do so, and he had not the means of compelling them '. It would seem a strange policy to make over to the King of Oude the distant territory of another, while we were ever reproaching him with being unable to manage his own ".

" Acting on the policy announced by Lord Dalhousie a few months after his arrival in India, that 'it is not possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of any just opportunity for consolidating the territories that already belong to us by taking possession of states that may lapse in the midst of them....."[1]

Annexation of Oude

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,

[1] *The Hindu Intelligencer,* May 4, 1857; page 139, " Mr. Lewin's Last Pamphlet ".

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 commended 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 had 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 (*sic.*) 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.[1]

INCLOSURE 12 IN NO. 4.

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

Lucknow, February 5, 1856.

Sir,

In a fit of petulance, the King had ordered all his troops, at the capital, to be atonce 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 those 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

[1] *Parliamentary Papers:* Oude; pages 287 to 289. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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.[1]

I have, &c.
(Sd.) J. OUTRAM.

INCLOSURE 13 IN No. 4.

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

Lucknow, February 7, 1856.

Sir,

I regret to have to report that the King has declined to execute the Treaty. His Majesty's resolution was conveyed to me at

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*: Oude Enclosure 12 in No. 4; Pages 189 and 290 Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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 Lac 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 or him, to raise the offer from twelve Lacs to fifteen Lacs. 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 Lac or two per annum; especially as, had more money been his object, the

promise of the additional Lac 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 enclose, 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 manoeuvre has also 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 favourable consideration of Government.

The Minister, and the chief officers of revenue and police, appeared at a conference held at 12 o'clock, when the assupmtion 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.[1]

I have, &c.

(Sd.) J. OUTRAM.

SUB-INCLOSURE I 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, upto 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.

[1] *Parliamentary Papers:* Oude; pages 291 and 292. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

SUB-INCLOSURE 3 TO INCLOSURE 12 IN NO. 4.

(B)

First Proclamation.

To All Amils, Talookdars, Malgoozars, Zemindars, Military Officers, Thanadars, 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. (Hijri)
(Jan.-Feb., 1856)

SUB-INCLOSURE 4 TO INCLOSURE 12 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.[1]

[1] *Parliamentary Papers:* Oude; pages 291 and 292. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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 Lac 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 Lac 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 lst. 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 to 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.[1]

ASSUMPTION OF CHARGE[2] 1856.

7th. Feb., No. 1.

To

Major Banks, Commissioner Lucknow.

" Directs he will assume charge of the city of Lucknow with Captain Weston for an assistant as a temporary measure, and take immediate steps of securing tranquillity and the confidence of the people. For the present *the police and other city establishments to be maintained on their present footing conditional on their fidelity and obedience to the new regime.*"

7th. Feb., 1856. No. 2.

Secy. to Govt. of N.W.P.

" Intimates that Major General Outram has this day assumed charge of the administration of the affairs of Oudh agreeably to proclamation accompanying."[3]

NAWAB OF OUDH PROTESTS AGAINST ATTACHMENT

From Secy. to Govt. of India

No. 1095 dated 23rd. Feb. 1856.

" In answer to No. 14 of the 14th. instant communicates the sentiments of the Governor General in Council respecting the intended visit of the King of Oudh to Calcutta for the *purpose of appealing against the attachment of the country to the British Dominions* and conveys instructions regarding the stipend of the King and the contingency of his wishing now to sign the Treaty ".[4]

[1] *Parliamentary Papers:* Oude; page 294. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

[2] Oudh Abstract Proceedings of the Political Deptt., from the 7th. to 16th. Feb., 1856, Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner, Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow.

[3] *Ibid.*, 7th. to 16th. Feb., 1856.

[4] Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Political, 7th. Feb. to Dec. 56; No.15 for the week ending 1st. March, 1856. 27th. Feb., 1856, Procgs. of Chief Commissioner. Secretariat Records Office U.P. Lucknow.

NAWAB'S REFUSAL TO SIGN THE TREATY

From Secy. to Government of India.

26th. Feb., 1856.

" In answer to despatch of the 7th. instant communicates the Governor General's approval of the proceedings of the Chief Commissioner as *regards the refusal to sign the Treaty and the subsequent occupation of the country* and the determination of his Lordship in Council respecting the stipend of the King and the Queen mother ".[1]

NAWAB'S STIPEND: (8th. March)

From

Secretary to Govt. of India.

Dated 4th. March No. 1262.

" With reference to Telegraphic message relative to the allowance to be made for the King and the house-hold, states that the annual stipend is to be 12 Lacs of Rupees ".[2]

SALE-PROCEEDS OF NAWAB'S LIVE-STOCK. (17th. March)

To

Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow.

" States that the whole of the live-stock whether hitherto reserved for the personal use of the Ex-King or otherwise, must be brought to the hammer on the 20th. of March but requests opinion as to what portion of these animals should be considered personal as distinguished from state property. The proceeds of sale to be held in reserve till further instructions are received ".[3]

[1] Oudh Abstract Procgs. Political, 7th. Feb. to Dec. 1856. Procgs. of the Chief Commissioner for the Week ending 1st. March, 1856, No. 18. Secretariat Records Office, Lucknow.

[2] Oudh Abstract Procgs. Political, 7th. Feb. to Dec. 1856. Abstract of the Procgs. of the Chief Commissioner for the affairs of Oudh for the week ending with 8th. March. No. 25. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

[3] Oudh Abstract Procgs. Political, 7th. Feb. to Dec. 1856. Abstract of the procgs. of the Chief Commissioner of the affairs of Oudh for the week ending with 22nd. March, 1856. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

AUCTION OF NAWAB'S STUD. 5th. March

Electric Telegraph Message

From

Secretary to Govt. of India..

Dated 4th. March.

" Directs sale by public auction of the entire stud and other animals belonging to the late King. The proceeds to go to His Majesty ".[1]

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WAJID ALI & CHIEF COMMISSIONER REGARDING THE DETENTION OF THE MINISTER.

From

The King

" Expresses astonishment that notwithstanding repeated requisitions the bail bond of the Minister had not been returned. Adds that the Minister is on no account responsbile to the Chief Commissioner. ".[2]

To

The King

" States that, as has already been communicated, his Minister's departure cannot be permitted till the settlement of public affairs ".[3]

NAWAB'S JOURNEY TO CALCUTTA. 13th. March, 1856:

To

Secretary to Govt. of India..

" Reports the King's departure from Lucknow on the night of the 13th. instant and the steps taken to communicate to him the...(?) of Govt. respecting the object of his journey to Calcutta as

[1] Oudh Abstract Procgs. Political, 7th. Feb. to Dec. 1856. Procgs. of the Chief Commissioner for the week ending with 8th. March, 1856. No. 10. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

[2] Abstract of the Procgs. of Chief Commissioner of Oudh in the Political (Vernacular or Persian) Deptt., March 1856 to Jan. 1857. Procgs. for the week ending 8th. March, 1856; 6th. March, 1856. No. 15. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

[3] *Ibid.*,..... No. 16.

expressed in their despatch, which was received on the following day "[1].

From

The King.

Dated 13th. March, 1856.

" Informs of his being obliged to travel alone and subject to various inconveniences on account of his Minister being prohibited to accompany him although he was accountable for nothing. States that he leaves *Ukhtur Muhal Sahiba* with the Minister, under the protection of the Chief Commissioner ".[2]

JOURNEY TO CALCUTTA.

To

The King.

" States that the letter of the Chief Secretary, relative to his journey has been received to the effect that although no restraint is put upon his liberty to move wherever he likes with a view to proper arrangements being made for the supply of provisions his retinue ought not to exceed 500 men, and on his arrival at Calcutta he should make his own arrangements, for his accommodation, for *he will be looked upon as an uninvited guest.* In fact he is going to undertake this journey against the wishes of Govt. Adds that a person named Gholam Jeelanee, by some artifice obtained access to the Chief Secretary and entered into conversation upon state matters. He has however been ignominiously dismissed and orders have since been passed that he is not to be admitted anywhere in the character of his agent. Observes moreover that appointment of men like him does not add to the reputation of His Majesty ".[3]

KING OF OUDH AT CAWNPORE

On the 14th. of March, 1856, the King of Oudh reached Cawnpore, on his way to Calcutta. Hedayut Ali reached that

[1]Oudh Abstract Procgs. Political, 7th. Feb. to Dec. 1856. Abstract of the Procgs. of the Chief Commissioner for the week ending with 15th. March, 1856. Dated 15th. March, 1856. Nos. 44 and 45. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

[2]Abstract of Procgs. of Chief Commissioner of Oudh in Political (Vernacular or Persian) Deptt., March 1856 to Jan. 1857. Procgs. for the week ending 15th. March 1856. 14th. March, 1856. No. 93. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

[3]Abstract of the Procgs. of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh in Political (Vernacular or Persian) Deptt., March 1856 to Jan. 1857. Procgs. for the week ending 15th. March, 1856. Procg. 14th. March, 1856. No. 92. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

city on the same day. He remained there six days, and had frequent interviews with the King's vakeels, courtiers, and servants; as did also the principal people of Cawnpore, and many of the native officers and sepoys of the regiments stationed there; all of whom were indignant at the King's dispossession. The Vakeel of Nana Sahib was among the visitors, and took pains to increase the excitement, by saying how displeased and grieved his master was by the conduct of the English. Shortly after, Hedayut Ali proceeded to join his corps at Lahore, and marched thence to Bengal. On the way, he learnt that the Native Infantry at Barrackpoor were showing symptoms of mutiny; and this, with other intelligence, he, from time to time, communicated to his commanding officer[1].

Action against Nawab's Associates.

To

Collector of Cawnpore.

"Forwards for delivery parcha to the address of His Majesty the Ex-King of Oudh requesting the surrender of *Hyder Hossein Khan Etmadood-Dowlah and Mirza Hossein Khan Ikramood-Dowlah* both these individuals being responsible for arrears of revenue and unless they furnish security to the extent of their liabilities they are to be sent over to Lucknow by the Magistrate".[2]

Detention of Ikramood-Dowlah.

From

The King.

"Requests that the Chief Commissioner after causing Ikramood-Dowlah to execute a power of attorney will grant him leave to return to Cawnpore, as his services will be urgently required during the journey".[3]

[1]R. Montgomery Martin, "*The Indian Empire*" Vol. II, p. 113.

[2]Oudh Abstract Procgs. Political, 7th. February to December 1856. Abstract of the Procgs. of the Chief Commissioner for the week ending 22nd. March, 1856. Procg. 18th. March, 1856, No. 13. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

[3]Civil Secretariat Records Room. Abstract of the Procgs. of Chief Commissioner of Oudh in Political (Vernacular or Persian) Deptt., March 1856 to Jan. 1857. Procgs. for the week ending 29th. March, 1856, 29th. March, 1856, No. 39, Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

To

The King.

"In reply states that unless Ikramood-Dowlah liquidates a large balance due by him or furnishes security he can by no means be allowed to leave Lukhnow".[1]

MAHOMMED MUSTUFFA KHAN SUSPECTED OF REBELLIOUS ATTEMPTS.

From

Secretary to Govt. of India.

Dated 31st. March, No. 1789.

"In reply states that the Governor General does not consider it necessary to banish from Oudh Mahommed Mustuffa Khan a reputed elder brother of the King: but he may be warned that should he lend himself to any rebellious attempt he will be at once exiled".[2]

CHIEF COMMISSIONER'S ALLEGATIONS AGAINST IKRAMOOD-DOWLAH

To the King in reply to his Parcha Pyams dated 23rd. March and 7th. April 1856.

"States that the account now prepared exhibits a sum of nearly 50,000 rupees to be justly due by Ikramood-Dowlah, and the Chief Commissioner is, therefore, desirous to ascertain whether, in case of default, on the part of Ikramood-Dowlah the amount is to be deducted out of the 12,00,000 of His Majesty's personal allowance? (*sic.*) Requests he will explicitly acquaint him with his wishes on the subject".[3]

To

The King.

From

Chief Commissioner

"Ordered by the Judicial and Financial Commissioner that a reply be written to the effect that the Officer-in-charge of Public

[1]Civil Secretariat Records Room. Abstract of the Procgs. of the Chief commissioner of Oudh in Political (Vernacular or Persian) Deptt., March 1856 to Jan. 1857. Procgs. for week ending 29th. March, 1896. Proceedings 29th. March, 1856. No. 40. Secretariat Records office Lucknow.

[2]Oudh Abstract Proceedings. Political, 7th. Feb. to Dec. 1856. Abstract of the Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner Oudh in the Political Deptt. week ending 5th. April, 1856. Proceedings 4th. April. No. 23. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

[3]Abstract of Proceedings of Chief Commissioner of Oudh in Political (Vernacular or Persian) Deptt., March 1856 to Jan. 1857. Proceedings for the week ending 19th. April, 1857. 17th. April, No. 22. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

works is at liberty to adopt any measure he may deem advantageous to the city; and it is therefore unadvisable of His Majesty to take the trouble of writing on such matters".[1]

NAWAB'S APPEAL TO BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

From

Secretary to Govt. of Bombay.

Dated 9th. April 1856, No. 1613.

"Forwards copy of a letter from Meer Kazim Ali, an inhabitant of Bombay, wherein he informs the Govt. that the Agent of the Ex-King of Oude has concluded arrangements with one Mirza Ali Ackbar, to bring the case of the King before Parliament".[2]

NAWAB'S INDIGNANT REPLY TO CHIEF COMMISSIONER.

From

The King.

"Expressive of extreme astonishment at the noncompliance of the Chief Commissioner with his repeated requisition, in reference to setting at liberty Ikramood-Dowlah, a relative of his, adding, that it was quite unfriendly on the part of the Chief Commissioner to refuse even the acknowledgement of his Parcha Pyam d. 22nd. Rujjub 1272 Hijree (March 29, 1856) and since the liability of Ikramood-Dowlah involves only the 4½ kists which are due to himself, (the King), he cannot perceive the Chief Commissioner's reason for declining to comply with his request. Hopes that the Chief Commissioner will admit Ikramood-Dowlah's Mookhtarnameh and grant him permission to join him without delay, as his services cannot be dispensed with during the journey."[3]

[1] Abstract of Procgs. of Chief Commissioner of Oudh in Political (Vernacular or Persian) Deptt. March 1856 to January 1857. Procgs. for the week ending 3rd. May, 1856. No. 12, Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

[2] Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Political, 7th. Feb. to Dec. 1856. Abstract of Chief Commissioner's Proceedings for the week ending 19th. April 1856. Procg. 19th. April, 1856. No. 19. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

[3] Civil Secretariat Records Room U.P. Lucknow. Abstract of the Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh in Political (Vernacular or Persian) Deptt., March 1856 to Jan. 1857. Proceedings for the week ending 19th. April, 1856. 17th. April, 1856. No. 21. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

Detention of Nawab Ali Nukee Khan

From

Secretary to Govt. of India.

Dated 24th. April, No. 2195.

"In reply to No. 119 dated 5th. April, intimates that it has all along been the intention of the Govt. that Nawab Ali Nukee Khan (Ali Naqi Khan) should be detained at Lucknow as long as there is any public reason for it."[1]

Rumours of Nawab's Restoration in Bahraich

From

Commissioner, Bahraich.

No. 38, dated 15th. May.

"Brings to notice certain idle rumours spread abroad by some discharged Najeebs from Lucknow regarding the King's restoration. Observes that the circulation of such reports tends seriously to unsettle men's minds and prevent institutions from taking root, to inspire doubts in the permanence of our Govt. and to intimidate the lower classes and keep them in abject submission to the great Land-holders. Recommends the issue of a Proclamation by the Chief Commissioner to disabuse (*sic.*) the public of these delusions which the machinations of designing men have spread. States that he has ordered the Police Officers to arrest all persons they find in the act of circulating such reports; and has directed the magistrates to proceed against them under Act V of 1848, and to demand heavy pecuniary security from them, as being guilty of acts dangerous to the public security."[2]

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings Political, 7th. Feb. to Dec. 1856. Abstract of the Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh in the Political Deptt. for the week ending 26th. April 1856, No. 4. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

[2]Oudh Abstract Procgs. Political, 7th. Feb. to Dec. 1856. Procgs. of Chief Commissioner of Oudh in the Political Deptt. for the week ending 24th. May, 1856, Procg. 23rd. May, 1856. No. 26. Secretariat Records Office Lucknow.

GENERAL DISARMING OF OUDH TALOOQDARS AUGUST 1856:

COPY

No. 340 of 1856

From

M. C. Ommanney Esqr.,
Judicial Commissioner, Oudh.

To

George Couper Esqr.,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

D/ Lucknow The 18th. Aug., 1856.

Sir,

I do myself the honor to submit a List of Forts in detail and an abstract for all districts of this Province, except that of Mohumdee, the return for which district has not been received.

2. My Circular was issued in May and the returns should have been sent in sooner; and I regret the delay which has occurred, and that this Register should still be incomplete.

3. These returns shew an aggregate of 574 Forts, or fortified houses of which 351 are as stated to be in a state of repair and 186 out of repair; and of 37 in the Sultanpore District no account is given.

4. The number of Forts in each Division are as follows:—

Khyrabad ...	126	exclusive of Mehndee (Mohumdee) of which no return has been received.
Lukhnow ...	233	
Buraich (Bahraich)	50	
Fyzabad ...	165	
	574	

I shall treat each district of a Division separately, and afford such information as I had collected or been furnished.

Khyrabad Dn. Sitapoor :

5. The Commissioner reports, there is nothing which can be called a strong fort in this district; many have surrendered their guns, but there remains still five (Khyrabad, Pershadpoor,

Kaihmara, Bhuraoosa, Nursingpoor) in which guns still exist, and some no doubt have been buried.

Mullaon:

6. Forts and fortified houses are stated to be more numerous in this district, than in Sitapoor, but the returns do not shew this result. There are three forts with guns—Goree Rehmanpoor, Dhurmpoor, Soorteepoor in Bangur, and four land-holders, not possessing fortresses, are reported to have one gun each.

Lucknow Dn:

7. The District of Lucknow contains 92 Forts. These are in Tehsil.

Lukhnow	...	8
Dewan	...	35
Nawabgunj	...	23
Ramnuggur	...	19
Goosaingunj	...	7
		92

The only fort represented as having guns is that of Bijnour, in Tehsil Goosaingunj. The forts in Tehsil Ramnuggur are reported to be in good condition,and some of these are stated to be tenanted by thieves.

Poorwah:

8. In this district are 51 forts, some of which could, however, be more correctly designated fortified houses, 32 of the forts are in good repairs; two Jajamow and Serassee, have one small gun each.

9. In this district (?) are 89 Forts, 55 of which are in fair repair, and 34 in a greater or less state of decay. Mr. Benson has not stated whether there are guns in any, but the Extra Asstt. Ali Reza, and Ex. Kotwal, informed me that there are many guns concealed, and buried; and as this district has for years been in a disturbed state, and the Land-holders in constant collision with the King's authorities, there can be no doubt, that his information is correct.

Fyzabad Dn. District of Fyzabad:

10. There are 45 forts in this district; the population have a warlike character, and have always been considered refractory.

Most are in good order, more are represented as being particulary strong or formidable. The number of guns is not stated, but having held an official position for many years in Jounpoor, I know well that all have armaments. Rustum Sehaiee was well known to me by reputation. He has six forts, and no Oudh functionary ever prevailed against him. The Rajkoomar Thakoors, Amerej Sing and Chumrej Sing, have also 6 forts. They had a fairer reputation than many others, but the Rajkoomars are perhaps the finest Rajpoot tribe in India,and are by no means to be despised or lightly regarded. There is a fort Seekeepoor, respecting which I shall have a few remarks hereafter to offer.

Sultanpoor:

11. This district has 54 forts, some strong and formidable; one of these is Bhurtureea, belonging to the Rajkoomar Thakoors—Duswant Sehaiee, Bishonath Sehaiee Rajkoomars—and which has a garrison of 250 men. There is the Gurhee of Ramnuggur in Amethee, said to contain a garrison of 1400 men, very strong, defended by three lines of circumvallation and situate in a dense jungul (*sic.*). Some of the guns of this renowned fortress have been surrendered to Lieutt. Coll. P. Goldney, but the Raja Mutto Sing, still doubtless possesses many. There is again Muhona, the fort of Ali Buksh a man of ill repute, respecting a trick. I also have sound remarks to offer. The Deputy Commissioner has given no information respecting the number of guns.

Salone:

12. This district has 66 forts, of these Maieen, Sunkurpoor, Samaspoor, Kala Kunkur, Dhooropoor, Bhudree, Dhungurh, Chandapoor, Khalookass, Sunree seem to have considerable pretensions.

13. The returns of this Dn. were sent back for some information respecting the number of guns, which has not been supplied. The guns in this Dn. must be numerous, though some have been given up. The people are warlike from profession, from early habits, and the incessant warfare which was carried on with the King's authorities, and amongst themselves. Since annexation there have been in this Division three affrays, in which fire-arms were used—one at Seeheepoor in Fyzabad district, one at Muhona, and another at Muksoodee, in the Sultanpoor district. In the first case, the Talookdar sent an armed body to aid some Chuprassees deputed to collect revenue. They surrounded a village at night, and

were fired upon, but the assailants carried off four of the defaulters and some property to the fort of Dulputpoor. When the Police arrived, they were refused and did not gain admittance into the fort. No notice of this contempt has been taken by the local Officers.

In the case at Muksoodee, a small Talookdar who keeps a band of armed retainers, had a quarrel with a distant relative, and co-partner. He deliberately turned out with his armed men and fired into his opponents, wounding two, one of whom was finally despatched by sword-cuts.

In the third case, the owner of the Muhona fort sent a party of his retainers to rescue from the Fort at Bursura, a person detained for a balance of revenue. In the contest, which ensued, there was bloodshed and one life lost.

14. These incidents are significant. These occurrences have only casually come under my observation. The omission, to report them, has been noticed, and proper orders passed in each case.

Bahraich Division:

15. In this Division there are altogether 50 forts.

Baraich has	...	13
Gonda	...	29
Mullapoor	...	8

Mr. Wingfield says that all the forts of any note mounted guns, but since annexation, the embrasures have been closed, and the guns buried or concealed. The Ikona Rajah has surrendered some guns in payment of revenue. Raja Kissen Dutt who held a number of forts, on the rumor of annexation becoming strong, removed all his artillery into Nepaul.

Bahraich District:

16. Of the 13 forts in this district, but two are reported in tolerable order, one at Bondee, belonging to Hurdut Singh Raikwar, and another at Rehooa. The guns of both are supposed to be buried. The fort of Bankee belongs to the Toolsheepoor Rajah. It has two guns. The fort of Churda is described as very strong. It has three guns to the knowledge of the authorities, and may have more. It successfully resisted the Nazim last year. Tepraha is also described as very formidable, that now mounting no guns. It is defended by a double row of thick-set bamboo heldges (*sic.*) besides broad deep moats.

Gonda:

17. This district has 29. forts. The fort of Gonda is described to be strong, and the Raja ill-disposed, feeling the loss of his authority. Dhanapoor is also stated to be formidable. It was the stronghold of Rajah Kissen Dutt Sunowlee, and also Mutteepoor belonging to the same person are also described as formidable, and Kindaha in Toolsheepoor is likewise described as a naturally strong position.

Mullapoor:

18. This district has eight forts, none of any pretensions, or now armed; but Easanuggur had guns, for it opened fire last year on Captain Orr. The fort of Sallpoor occupies almost an impregnable position flanked by 3 streams and assailable only on one side. Its owner under the late Govt. was considered a very contumacious character.

19. I have thus received, as far as my means admit, the strongholds of this Province. They should be levelled or rendered incapable of resistance at an early date. They keep up the remembrance of lawless times. They might not prove formidable to the forces of the British Govt. but while they remain, they encourage the disaffected, furnish hopes to any evil-disposed persons.

20. To Police operations they are effectual barriers, a refusal of admittance is an affront not to be overlooked and a few contumacious characters ensconced behind walls can at any time cause infinite trouble.

21. I would therefore venture to recommend, that the work of demolition be immediately commenced. There can be no objection to those Chiefs who use them as residences retaining their habitations, but gates should be removed, large openings made in the mud walls, and water courses so directed as to undermine, and lead to the destruction of the enceinte generally.

22. The cases I have above noted may be repeated at any time, while a proud haughty baron is allowed to dwell in the fancied security of his defences. Time is gradually and rapidly effacing the dread we first inspired. Our Establishments are far advanced in organization. The large Talookdars have paid up, and discharged the greater portion of their armed retainers, and the task will now be an easy one.

23. A proclamation should issue requiring the surrender of all guns or military stores, and the retention of any such after a

certain date, be pronounced and an offence against the State, punishable as a misdemeanour.

24. The manufacture of gunpowder or of arms has already been prohibited, and the bearing of arms in the Cities of Fyzabad (Judicial Commissioner to Secretary Chief Commissioner No. 81 d/11 April 1856. Secretary Chief Commissioner's reply No. 137 d/12 April 1856. Judicial Commissioner to Commissioner of Lukhnow and Fyzabad d/16th. Apl/56 No. 100 and 38 respectively) and Lukhnow. The effect of these orders was in this city almost magical-wounding ceased, and crime generally has marvellously diminished.

25. The question of generally disarming the entire Province remains for consideration. The arguments against it are, that in our older Provinces it has not yet been done and in this the peaceable behaviour, and the quiet submission of the people have given no cause for any measure, which might be regarded as aggressive or punitive. But on the other hand, the inveterate habit and custom of the people of the Province is, to resort to arms for the most trifling cause, and for the least provocation, and thirdly that the circumstances of this Province differ from the Punjab which was a conquered country.

26. By disarming the population and rendering the wearing of arms illegal, security of life, and tranquillity is made certain; and any thing like organized resistance thereby rendered impossible. The quiet, well-disposed and timid are assured.

27. Exceptions might be made in favor of such land-holders under engagement with Govt. as Commrs. of Divisions may think deserving, and I would urge that that privilege, be extensively conceded. Each Thakoor or Landholder, might himself be licensed to possess a sword and Matchlock, and allowed one retainer similarly armed for every hundred Rupees of revenue for which he is possessed, but the rabble should be disarmed, and advantage should be taken of the presence of the overwhelming force now in the Province to execute the order.

I have &c.
(Sd.) MANATON OMMANNEY,
Judicial Commr., Oudh.

Lukhnow, Judicial Commrs.' Office,
The 18th. August, 1856.

True Copy
(Sd.) GEORGE COUPER,[1]
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

[1]Foreign Political Consultation, No. 136/52 dated 31st. Oct., 1856. National Archives, New Delhi.

No. 596 of 1856

From

G. Couper Esqr.,

Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

To

G. F. Edmonstone Esqr.,

Secretary to the Govt. of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta.

Dt. Lucknow, Chief Commr's Office, 3rd. Septr., 1856.

Sir,

I am directed to forward for the consideration and orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council the accompanying correspondence regarding the Forts in this Province from which his Lordship in Council will perceive that they are 623 in number, of which 351 are in a state of repairs.

2. In the Division of Khyrabad there are 175 forts. Two of which belong to the Rajah of Mutholie who is said to have concealed 10 or 15 guns; and there are eight others in which guns may be found. The others are of little importance.

3. There are 93 forts in the Lukhnow Division, in 3 of which there are guns. And there is reason to believe that there may be more cannons in the District of Durriabad.

4. There are 165 forts in Fyzabad some of which are strong and believed to possess guns, especially Bhurtmeer, Ramnuggur, and Muhona. Our Officers of Police have been denied admittance to the last fortress when in the execution of their duty; but the owner, who is the only Zemindar who has openly evinced any signs of disaffection, is reported by the Commissioner to be on the point of death, and his fort to be incapable of resistance. In the District of Fyzabad a party sent to arrest a defaulting Talookdar on a late occasion had the gate of his mud fort shut against them, but the defaulter afterwards submitted, and paid the balance due from him.

5. In Bahraich there are 50 forts, of which Churda, Tepraha, Gonda, Dhaunpore, Junowlee, Nutteepore and Lallpore are represented to be strong and it is probable that guns may be concealed in some of them.

6. Under the above circumstances the Chief Commissioner has this day issued a proclamation (a copy of which and of its

enclosures is annexed) commanding the surrender of the several forts throughout Oudh with their guns and warlike stores by the 1st. Poos.

7. The Chief Commissioner does not anticipate any opposition on the part of any of the landholders, whose powers for effecting mischief or for opposing the Government has been diminished if not completely annihilated by the Revenue settlement, which has been made with the village proprietors wherever they were forthcoming, but has considered it necessary to issue this notice of the illegality of retaining any strong places of defence or warlike stores, before adopting measures for reducing during the cold weather any that may still be disposed to resist the District authorities.

8. The Chief Commissioner deems it proper to bring to the favorable notice of the Governor General in Council the good conduct of the Rajah Madho Singh of Amethee, who is the owner of the Ramnuggur Fort in Sultanpore, and the head of the Bhyares (*sic.*) Thacoors, in delivering up his guns to the Commissioner Colonel Goldney, for which he has received the thanks of the Chief Commissioner; who also submits for the favorable consideration of the Governor General in Council the recommendation of Colonel Goldney for conferring a Khillut on this respected Chieftain. With the sanction of Government the Chief Commissioner proposes to confer on the Rajah this honor and mark of confidence on the occasion of his visiting Sultanpore in October next.[1]

(COPY)

No. 608

From

G. Couper Esquire,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

To

M. C. Ommanney Esquire,
Judicial Commissioner, Oudh.

Dated Lucknow, Chief Commr's. Office.
6th. September, 1856.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 385 dated 2nd. September relative to the discovery of valuable public documents in the Motee Mahul

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, No. 136/52 dated 31st. Oct., 1956. National Archives, New Delhi.

I am directed to intimate that the Officiating Chief Commissioner duly appreciates your exertion in obtaining the records of the state property.

2. The enquiry should be pursued and the property duly protected against plunder by inventories being taken of it, and by its being placed in safe custody until the orders of Government can be obtained regarding it.

3. Mr. Thornhill has been appointed Special Assistant in the Lukhnow division for superintending the survey and recording the tenures of land within the city. His services might also be made use of for securing possession and preparing a record of any valuables—the property of the state.

(COPY)

From

George Couper, Esquire,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

To

M. C. Ommanney, Esquire,
Judicial Commissioner, Oudh.

Sir,

Referring to Nos. 169 to 172 of your Abstract of Proceedings for the week ending 6th. September, I am directed to request that you will not take possession of any of the King's property without consulting the Chief Commissioner, but leave it with those placed in charge of it by the King.

I have &c.
(Sd.) GEORGE COUPER,
Secy. to Chief Commissioner.

Lucknow,
The 25th. September, 1856.

A True Copy

Sd. / Illegible
Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Oude.

(COPY)

No. 475

From

M. C. Ommanney Esquire,
Judicial Commissioner, Oude.

To

G. Couper Esquire,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oude.

Dated Lucknow, 3rd. October, 1856.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 749 dated 30th. ultimo, calling for an explanation on certain points contained in a letter of the 14th. ultimo addressed to the Right Hon'ble the Governor General by the late King of Lukhnow.

2. My letter No. 385 dated 2nd. ultimo to your address will have fully explained the grounds upon which it was decided to require the King's officers to render an account of property belonging to the state under their custody.

3. Your letter No. 608 dated 6th. ultimo conveyed the approval of the Officiating Chief Commissioner to the proposed enquiry, but as it was necessary to adopt immediate measures to prevent further abstraction and misappropriation, I, on the same day that I addressed the letter in the foregoing paragraph, desired Captain Carnegie to immediately require the custodians of the state property to give personal.....engagements that they would not quit the place without permission.

4. It is notorious that large quantities of property have been made away with, and I consider that the Government has a clear right to require Miftah-ood-Dowlah and Sehut-ood-Dowlah, since he has been associated with him, to render an account of the stores and public property under their charge.

5. At present, the state property, to give an instance, the military stores in Chand Khan's Kothee, which has come into our possession has been casually discovered and Miftah-ood-Dowlah has studiously kept from us all the information he possessed. It therefore occurred to me that it was time to require Miftah-ood-Dowlah to give the locality and an inventory of the contents of the different repositories of public or private property under his charge.

6. The result of this enquiry has not been reported to me, but in the square of the Furhah Buaksh Palace and the enclosures

of the Terhie Kothee, numbers of locked up godowns have been opened of which Miftah-ood-Dowlah had somewhat unaccountably retained possession, though the entire building was taken over by our Government in March last, under the order communicated in the Secretary's letter No. 1 dated 18th. February last.

7. Amongst the miscellaneous collection of state property which has thus been taken possession of, there may be some few articles which may be regarded as private and personal, and which therefore may be given up, but the greater portion consists of military stores similar to those now being disposed of by auction at the Chand Khan's Kothee.

8. There has been no scrutiny or search in any building or palace occupied by the King's families, or reserved for his future use, and Mr. Thornhill was desired on no account to interfere with any property which might be within the precincts of such places.

I have &c.

(Sd.) M. C. OMMANNEY,
Judicial Commissioner.

Lucknow,
The 3rd. October, 1856.

True Copy
Sd/- Illegible
Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Oude.[1]

No. 796

From
G. Couper Esquire,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

To
G. F. Edmonstone Esquire,
Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta.

Dated Lucknow, Chief Commissioner's Office, 8th. Oct., 1856.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 4822 dated 19th. September I am directed to observe that my letter No. 630 dated 10th. September

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, No. 556-560, dated 18th. December, 1857. National Archives, New Delhi.

will have already placed the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council in possession of the particulars relative to the Chutr Manzil but that on receipt of your letter above quoted, a further explanation was called for from the Judicial Commissioner regarding the additional causes of complaint noticed in the letter from the King.

2. His letter of the 3rd. October, 1856, No. 475 herewith submitted explains the measures adopted by him on receipt of my reply No. 608 dated 6th. September to his letter No. 385 of the 2nd. Idem. The Judicial Commissioner had reported his having found all the late records, relating to state property in the utmost confusion but at the same time of a date anterior to the accession to power of the late minister (*sic.*) had been discovered containing inventories of property of great value, for which the authorized custodian should in his opinion be called to account. The Judicial Commissioner at the same time expressed the want of an officer to assist in bringing to light any property that might have been secreted.

3. He was told in reply to pursue his enquiry and to protect state property against plunder by taking inventories of it, and by placing it in safe custody until the orders of Government could be obtained regarding it, and that Mr. Thornhill who had been appointed Assistant in the Lucknow Division for the Special duty of superintending the survey and recording the tenures of the land within the city might be employed in securing and preparing a record of any valuables-the property of the state.

4. Mr. Ommanney was afterwards privately warned by the Officiating Chief Commissioner against in any way infringing the privacy of the palaces reserved for the King's use, and in the explanation now submitted states that previous to the receipt of any letter he had required the custodians of the state property to give personal engagements that they would not quit the place without permission, that it is notorious that large quantities of property have been made away with and that the Government had a clear right to require those persons to render an account of the public property under their charge.

5. It is certainly true that those persons had refused to open several godowns in the Muchhlee Bhowun fortress, where military stores, with other valuable property were afterwards discovered, until the Officiating Chief Commissioner had proceeded to the spot taking with him the Deputy Commissioner and the Military Secretary, that the peremptory orders which the Officiating Chief Commissioner then gave for those places being opened were rendered

necessary and expedient, in consequence of that place being a commanding military position in which thirty five pieces of cannon had been discovered a few days previously and of the rumours of an intended emente during the Mohurrum the truth of which has been partially confirmed by subsequent enquiries; and Mr. Ommanney now reports that property of considerable value has been discovered in the buildings of the Furrah Buksh and Terhee Kothee which were taken possession of, in accordance with the orders of General Outram dated 18th. February. An inventory has been taken of these and the orders of Government will be requested regarding their restoration to the custody of the King's officials lately incharge of them or their retention as state property. It is presumed that any (*sic.*) which can be considered of a personal or private nature will be restored to the King and will not certainly have been injured, though they may have been preserved both from plunder and decay by an inventory having been made of them on inspection by an officer of Government, in the presence of the parties who claimed to have a charge on the part of the King.

6. It will be observed from the concluding para of the Judicial Commissioner's letter, that there has been no attempt to extend these enquiries to any of the palaces or buildings occupied by the King's families or reserved for his future use.

7. Copy of a letter addressed to the Judicial Commissioner No. 707 dated 25th. September desiring him not to take possession of any state property without consulting the Chief Commissioner is herewith submitted.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) GEORGE COUPER,

Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.[1]

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, No. 556-560, dated 18th. December, 1857. National Archives, New Delhi.

(Copy)

No. 385 of 1856

From

M. C. Ommanney Esquire,
Judicial Commissioner, Oudh.

To

G. Couper Esquire,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

Dated Lucknow The 2nd. September, 1856.

Sir,

With reference to the recent discovery of state property in the Muchhee Bhowun it occurred to me to require the native superintendent who under my orders is examining the Ex-Minister's records to look for any inventories which might throwa light on the locality of repositories or on the articles they contain.

2. The records in the state paper office were all found in the utmost imaginable confusion. The effect doubtless of contrivance and design—almost every important document has been made away with. But it came to my notice that valuable records of a period antecedent to the present Minister's accession to power, were in the Motee Muhul.

3. Amongst these I have found inventories of jewels and valuables which it appears to me that the persons within whose custody they are recorded to have been placed should be called upon to account for.

4. The ancient custodian of state property was Fatteh Ali, styled 'captain' and his office has descended to his sons—Mujd-ood-Dowlah, Ikbal-ood-Dowlah and Miftah-ood-Dowlah. These men and Sehut-ood-Dowlah the Mootwasil are acquainted with each store, and its contents and their records should be taken possession of.

5. All recent inventories have been sedulously removed by the Wuzeer's creatures, Muhumad Hossein, Wuzeer Khan and Goor Sahaee, Chundee Sahaee.

6. We have not therefore the aid which these records would afford, but it sems to me that the property of which we find Memoranda should be traced and accounted for and its Custodian required to surrender it or to explain what has become of it,

7. The papers I now have consist (of) (i) an inventory of property extant on the death of late King, presented to the present King, with an order to his personal attendant Feroza Unjoom-ood-Dowlah to make the articles over to the custody of the parties named in paragraph 4.

ii. An inventory of valuables in the possession of Imtyazool Nissa ordered to be placed in the public store closets, with the exception of a few necessary articles of daily use.

iii. A similar list of articles belonging to a female named Beeban ordered to be taken away.

iv. Three inventories of perishable articles of wearing apparel.

8. The localities of these kothas or repositories are mentioned in the papers.

9. I shall immediately direct Captain Carnegie to require the custodians of the Jowahir Khaneh a list of articles in their possession and I shall desire him at once to take charge of their records.

10. But to look well after these matters requires more time than Captain Carnegie or Mr. Simson or any officer engaged in heavy current duties can devote, and I suggest that separate officer be appointed to search for the state property which is in the hands of officers of the late Government and much of which has disappeared.

11. If much property turns up a small Establishment will be required to make the inventories.

I have &c.

(Sd.) M. C. OMMANNEY,
Judicial Commissioner, Oudh.

Judicial Commr's. Office, Lucknow,
The 2nd. September 1856.

(True Copy)

(Sd.) GEORGE COUPER,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.[1]

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, No. 556-560, dated 18th. December, 1857. National Archives, New Delhi.

Opposition to General Disarming by Oudh Talooqdars.

(COPY)

No. 558 of 1856

From,

G. Couper, Esquire,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

To

M. C. Ommanney, Esquire,
Judicial Commissioner, Oudh.

Dated Lucknow, Chief Commissioner's Office, 25th. Aug., 1856

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 340 D/ 18 Aug. forwarding a List of Forts in this Province, I am directed to observe, that a description of those Forts should be made, which may be expected to give any trouble, particularly of Ramnuggur and Muhona in Sultanpore; the district officers should obtain full particulars of them and of the approaches to them, in which they may be assisted by officers of the Public Works Department.

2. With reference to para 5 of your letter the Offg. Chief Commr. observes that the owners of the 5 forts in *zh.* Seetapore and of 3 in *zh.* Mullaon, in which guns are still said to exist, should be required to deliver them up within such time as the Commr. of the Dn. may think proper to allow and which should not extend beyond the 1st. October; or be coerced into doing so, by a military force if necessary.

3. The Fort of Bhurtureea in zillah Sultanpore, belonging to the Rajkoomar Thakoors....., referred to in your 11 para, should also be reduced if necessary by a military force. The Dy. Commr. Captain A. Orr should be able to give information respecting the number of guns belonging to the two forts of Ramnuggur and Muhona, and should be requested to do so, in order that the necessary military measures may be adopted for their reduction, if not given up before the 1st. October.

4. You are requested to state whether the affray which occurred at Seheepore, in the Fyzabad District, to which allusion is made in your 13 para was ever reported. The fort of Dulpatpore

in which the assailants took refuge, should be reduced at once, or as soon as the season permits.

5. The Talookdar who was the instigator of the affray at Muksoodee, should be apprehended, with the aid of the military if required, and made to pay the penalty of his crime.

6. Rajah Kissen Datt, the owner of Forts in the Bahraich Division, should be sent for, and interrogated on the subject of his having removed his artillery into Nepaul, on the rumour of annexation.

7. I am directed to inquire why the owner of the Fort of Churda in the Baraitch district, referred to in your 16 para, has not been required to give up his guns.

8. The fort of Dhanapore in the Gonda district, should be reduced, unless given up by the owner Kissen Dutt Pandeh before 1st. October.

9. The Commr. should be requested to state who is the owner of the strong fort of Lallpore, in *zh.* Mullapore, referred to in your 19 para; and how he has conducted himself towards the District authorities.

10. On the subject of the surrender of guns and military stores, the Offg. Chief Commr. has been pleased to authorize the issue of a proclamation, declaring the retention of any such, after the 1st. October/56, an offence against the state, punishable as a misdemeanour; and you are requested to furnish full particulars at an early date in September of those forts against which it may be necessary to direct military operations, in consequence of the continued contumacy or resistance to the civil authorities of the parties in possession.

11. The practice of bearing arms, including iron-bound lathees, bows and arrows should be generally prohibited, and their possession, except with the knowledge of headmen of villages who will be held responsible for their not being retained by persons of doubtful character. The exception you propose to make in favor of Landholders under engagement with Govt. is considered judicious and has the Offg. Chief Commr's. entire concurrence.

I have &c.

(Sd.) G. COUPER,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

(True Copy)

(Sd.) G. COUPER,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

(COPY)

No. 363 of 1856

From

M. C. Ommanney Esqre.,
Judicial Commissioner, Oudh.

To

George Couper Esqre.,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

D/ Lukhnow, The 26th. Aug., 1856.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 340 D/18th. instt. I have now the honor to send a return of Forts in the Muhumdee district.

2. The List contains 49 Forts, of which the two in Mitholie alone, are considered to be at all formidable. It is moreover stated that the Rajah has concealed by inhumation 10 or 15 guns, and his character is that of a violent arbitrary exactor.

3. In submitting this additional List I wish to bring to the Offg. Chief Commr's. notice, a circumstance with which I was previously unacquainted, illustrating in a stronger light, the necessity of rendering defenceless, these strongholds at an early date.

4. Rooshun Sah of Dehra, whose Forts I have noticed in my report of the 18th. instant, para 10, when summoned by the Dy. Commr. to pay a balance of revenue, closed the gates of his Fort, and in the same manner Man Singh closed his gate, and refused admittance to Lieutt. Husburn.

5. These contumacies have been committed in the Fyzabad Division only. But it is not a light thing that our authority has been in a measure so repeatedly defied and acts of lawless violence that have been brought to light, have occurred in the same quarter of this Province which convince me of the necessity of adopting some early measures to display our power, and prove to the proud Barons in Sultanpore, and Fyzabad, that our authority is not to be set at nought with impunity. I regret to state that the omissions of the local authorities in the Fyzabad Dn. compel me to represent that proper measures to repress turbulence, and a rebellious spirit have not been adopted.

6. I think the demolition of Forts may be left to the local authorities, but there should be some officer, perhaps

an Engineer, to go round and see that it has been effectually done.

I have &c.

(Sd.) MANATON OMMANNEY,
Judicial Commissioner.

(True Copy)

(Sd.) G. COUPER,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

(COPY)

No. 595. Circular No. 5 of 1856.

From,

G. Couper, Esqre.,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

To

All Commissioners.

D/Lukhnow, Chief Commr's. Office, 3rd. Septr., 1856.

Sir,

I am directed to annex the copy of a Notice to be served on owners of Forts requiring them to surrender them together with all warlike stores or artillery, by the 1st. of October, 1856, and to render them incapable of defence; and to request that you will cause a copy to be served on each owner of a Fort, and will take the necessary steps for enforcing compliance with the order.

2. Extracts of a letter addressed to the Judicial Commr. on the 25th. ultimo on the subject of the Forts in your Division, are also annexed for your information and guidance.

3. Any case in which you may anticipate any opposition to these orders should be reported immediately for the orders of the Officiating Chief Commissioner and you will at the same time explain whether any, or what military force is required for carrying them out.

I have &c.

(Sd.) G. COUPER,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

(True Copy)

(Sd.) G. COUPER,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

Notice to be served on the owners personally, or affixed to the doors of Forts:

1. You are hereby required to surrender all warlike stores or artillery in your possession to the authorities on or before the 1st. of October, 1856.

2. You are further required to surrender the Fort in your possession or to render it incapable of defence; but may continue to occupy the same as a residence.

3. Failing compliance with the above orders you will be liable to discretionary punishment by fine and imprisonment and any resistance to the authorities will be punished by confiscation of property.

4. Any person giving information which may lead to the discovery of concealed guns or military stores, shall be entitled to a reward, proportioned to the importance of the information given.

(Sd.) G. COUPER,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

Extract from a Notice to be served personally on the owners, affixed to the doors of Forts—Paras 5 *and* 6*:*

5. Public servants of Govt. on duty, or Landholders under direct engagements with Govt. are allowed to carry arms; and a licence may be granted, at the discretion of the Dy. Commr. to any one to carry arms, on payment of the prescribed fee. But after the 1st. of October, 1856, any other person carrying offensive weapons, including fire arms, swords, iron-bound clubs, and bows and arrows, will, on conviction, be punishable, for the first offence, by a fine not exceeding 50 Rs., or one months' imprisonment; and to a fine not exceeding 100 Rs. or 2 months' imprisonment for every repetition of it.

6. Landholders are held responsible for not allowing parties known to be thieves or notorious bad characters, to retain possession of any of the offensive weapons above described, and for giving information to the Police of persons suspected of having arms concealed in their houses or premises.

(True Extract)
(Sd.) G. COUPER,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

No. 770

From

G. Couper Esquire,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh.

To

G. F. Edmonstone Esquire,
Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Dated Lukhnow, Chief Commissioner's Office,
The 3rd. October, 1856.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 4882 dated 23rd. September regarding the measures adopted for the surrender of forts and warlike store.

2. In reply the Officiating Chief Commissioner desires me to explain for the consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, that Mr. Ommanney, the Judicial Commissioner's report on Forts and of the several occasions on which they had harboured offenders, or resisted the police did not reach this office until the 18th. August. The Officiating Chief Commissioner was under the impression that the Government only awaited a favourable opportunity for reducing these forts, and the issue of a notice on the holders of them appeared necessary to prevent their repairing the extensive damages caused to them by the late heavy rains, and to warn them of the illegality of their conduct in retaining any strongholds to oppose the authorities constituted by Government. Any delay in issuing this notice might have been misconstrued into a permission for the continuance of these nuisances, and might have rendered it necessary to postpone their reduction beyond the period of the year best adopted for that operation, and until the departure of the Regiments named in the Relief.

3. The notice was directed to be served individually on every holder of a Fort, and not promulgated as a proclamation, and the service of that notice, though it gave the parties a proper warning, in no way necessitated the instantaneous adoption of coercive measures in consequence of its not meeting with due attention.

4. The Officiating Chief Commissioner exceedingly regrets that the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council has disapproved of the conduct in committing the government to a course

of action not chosen by itself, and will in future use greater caution in consulting their wishes before taking any step in any new measure of general importance. But the urgent requisition of the Judicial Commissioner for the prevention of so anomalous and illegal a practice as resisting Government officials, by means of Forts held by subjects of the state seemed to justify the issue of the notice, while awaiting the result of the reference submitted to Government on the subject.

5. In carrying out the measure now sanctioned the Officiating Chief Commissioner will give every attention to the Instructions contained in the letter conveying that sanction.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) GEORGE COUPER,
[1] *Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.*

ANNEXATION OF OUDH.

An anonymous application dated 16th. March, 1856 from Cawnpore to Governor General received on 26th. March, 1856:

1. The annexation of Oudh cannot be justified on any ground.

2. King of Oudh did not fight against the British like the rulers of Lahore and Gwalior. King of Oudh ordered the army to be disarmed and removed the guns. The act of British Govt. was unmagnanimous and tyrannical.

Government of Oudh was accused of mismanagement. But on the other hand no body had any complaint against the rule of the King of Oudh.

3. Everyone abides by the agreement and the Governments should not break the same.

4. Ghaziuddin Haider was raised to the dignity of king from that of a minister. If the Government intended to degrade the king, it ought not to have bestowed kingship on the Nawab.

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, No. 146/52 dated 31st. October, 1856. National Archives, New Delhi.

5. King of Oudh was compelled to affix his seal against his wishes.

6. Thousands of people who were attached to the Court of Oudh are now ruined.

7. Never such an act had been committed in the past by any ruler.

The applicant in the end submitted that he had no connection with the Govt. of Oudh but he had submitted it as a well-wisher of the British Govt.[1]

[1]Foreign Deptt. Persian letters received, No. 213, dated 26th. March, 1856. National Archives, New Delhi.

OPPRESSION & CORRUPTION

CHAPTER TWO

N.W.P. IN THE MAKING

REVENUE POLICY

EXCISE—SALT

JAIL ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

EDUCATIONAL POLICY

MALADMINISTRATION

Creation of two Presidencies—Fort William and Agra:

38. And be it enacted, that the Territories now subject to the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal shall be divided into two district Presidencies, one of such Presidencies, in which shall be included Fort William aforesaid, to be styled the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and the other of such Presidencies to be styled the Presidency of Agra;[1] and that it shall be lawful for the said Court of Directors, under the control by this Act[2] provided, and they are hereby required, to declare and appoint what Part or Parts of any of the Territories under the Government of the said Company shall from time to time be subject to the Government of each of the several Presidencies now subsisting or to be establised as aforesaid, and from time to time, as occasion may require, to revoke and alter, in the whole or in part, such Appointment, and such new Distribution of the same as shall be deemed expedient.

Suspension of the provision for creating Presidency of Agra:

15. The provisions of the said Act of the Third and Fourth Years of King William the Fourth, relating to the Division of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal into Two Presidencies, and to the measures consequent thereupon which have been suspended under the Authority of the Act of the Session holden in the Fifth and Sixth Years of King William the Fourth, Chapter Fifty-two, shall remain suspended until the Court of Directors, under the Direction and Control of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, shall otherwise direct; and during the continuance of such Suspension the Provisions of such last mentioned Act, authorizing the Appointment of a Lieutenant Governor for the North-Western Provinces, then under the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and the Appointments and Arrangements made thereunder, shall remain in full force.[3]

[1]The arrangement proposed here was postponed by an Act of 1835, which provided for the appointment of a Lieutenant Governor of the North West Province.

[2]Charter Act of 1833. (3 and 4 Will, IV, c. 85).

[3]The Charter Act of 1853. (16 and 17 Vict., C. 95). (An act to provide for the Government of India, August 20, 1853).

Dates on which the various portions of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh came into the possession of the East India Company:

Tract of country	Year of acquisition	Remarks
Benares division (except the southern part of the Mirzapur district)	1764	Ceded by the Mogul Emperor at Delhi. In 1766 the Company handed the Province over to the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, it was resumed by the Company in 1775.
Allahabad Fort	1798	Ceded by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh.
The Ceded Provinces (i.e. the present Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand divisions and south Mirzapur, Naini Tal Tarai and the Allahabad, except tahsil Handia) Fatehpur, Cawnpore, Mainpuri, Etawah and Etah districts, also the district of Farrukhabad. This last was administered by the Nawab of Farrukhabad, who handed over the administration to the Company shortly after the territory had been ceded by the Nawab Vizier.	1801	Ceded by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh.
The Conquered Provinces (ie. the present Muttra, Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar and Saharanpur districts and part of the Agra district, together with the Delhi Territory, e.g. Delhi, Gurgaon, Rohtak, Hissar, Sirsa and Karnal).	1803	Surrendered by the Peishwa after conquest by Lord Lake.
Parts of Banda, Hamirpur and Jalaun ...	1803–1804	Surrendered or acquired by lapse of Himmat Bahadur's grant.
Part of the Agra district	1805	Acquired by treaty from the Raja of Bharatpur.
Kumaun and Dehra Dun	1816	Acquired by conquest from the Nepalese.
Tahsil Handia (Allahabad district) ...	1816	Ceded by the Nawab of Oudh.
Part of Bundelkhand, the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. ...	1817	Ceded by the Peishwa.
Ilaqa of Khandesh (Banda district) ...	1818	Ceded by the Raja of Jalaun.
The remainder of the Jalaun district ...	1840	Acquired by lapse.
Portions of Jhansi and Lalitpur ...	1842–44	Ceded by the Raja of Jhansi.
Part of Hamirpur	1849	Acquired by lapse.
The remainder of the Jhansi district ...	1853	,, ,,
Oudh	1856	Annexed.[1]

A. *Province of Benares:*

By a treaty signed on May 21, 1775, the sovereignty of the province of Benares was ceded in perpetuity to the East India

[1]Douglas Dewar, I.C.S., *A Handbook to the English Pre-Mutiny Records* in the Government Records Room of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, p. 484.

Company. The newly-acquired province was placed under the immediate authority of a Resident who was controlled in revenue matters by the Board of Revenue at Fort William. In 1795 the Resident at Benares was replaced by a Collector, who was also subordinate to the Board of Revenue at Fort William until 1809.

B. *Lieutenant Governor and Board of Commissioners:*

On November 10th. 1801, the Nawab Wazir ceded to the Company in lieu of the annual subsidy paid by him for the protection of his dominions a large portion of territory, which included roughly the present Moradabad, Bareilly, Etawah, Mainpuri, Etah, Farrukhabad, Cawnpore, Fatehpur, Allahabad, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, and Basti districts, which came to be known as the Ceded Provinces.

The immediate supervision of this territory was entrusted to a Lieutenant Governor and a Board of Commissioners. The Hon. Henry Wellesley was appointed Lieutenant Governor; he was also made President of the Board of Commissioners, which consisted of Messrs. Leslie, Seton, and Fombelle, with Mr. Mercer as Secretary. This temporary commission was dissolved on February 21, 1803.[1]

C. *Administration of Ceded Provinces:*

On February 21, 1803, the Governor General in Council issued the following orders for the administration of the Ceded Provinces:—

" The temporary Commission issued by the Governor General on the 14th. November, 1801, for the provincial administration and settlement of the provinces ceded by the Nawab Wazir, is hereby dissolved and all officers, authorities, and powers constituted within the said Provinces by that Commission shall cease and determine from this day.

" The Provinces ceded by the Nawab Wazir are formed into a division denominated the Provinces ceded by the Nawab Wazir. The said division consists of seven zillahs or districts.

" The seven zillahs or districts of the Ceded Provinces are denominated Moradabad, Bareilly, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Cawnpore, Allahabad, and Gorakhpur.

"A judge and magistrate is appointed for each zillah and also a collector for each district excepting Farrukhabad of which the

[1] Doublas Dewar. *A Hand-Book of Pre-Mutiny Records:* Chapter VII, p. 38.

revenues are to be managed by the Agent of the Governor General at Farrukhabad until further orders.

" Registers (*sic*,) and assistants are appointed to the courts of circuit and appeal and the judges and magistrates and collectors of the several zillahs and districts.

" The customs and duties within the said provinces are to be managed by the collectors of the land revenue until further orders. The superintendence and control of the land revenues in the Ceded provinces is to be conducted through the Board of Revenue at Fort William, and the several collectors of revenue are to be ordered to correspond with the Board of Revenue at Fort William according to the form established for the correspondence of that Board with the collectors of revenue in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Benares.

" For the purpose of facilitating the despatch of the extensive and complicated affairs of which the detail will now be added to the current business of this presidency, an additional Secretary to the Government is appointed, and is denominated Secretary for the affairs of the Provinces ceded by the Nawab Wazir. For the same purpose the fourth seat at the Board of Revenue, abolished by the order of the Governor General in Cuncil passed on 1st. April, 1801, is revived.

Secretary for the affairs of Ceded Provinces:

" All Civil Officers stationed within the Ceded Provinces are to be directed to correspond with the Secretary for the affairs of the Ceded Provinces in all cases in which Civil Officers of a similar description in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa or Benares now correspond with any of the Secretaries of Government, and all correspondence between the Government and the courts of Sudder Dewany and Nizamut Adawlut, the Board of Revenue and Trade or any Public Officers or individual respecting the affairs of the Ceded Provinces, is to be conducted through the Secretary on the affairs of the Provinces ceded by the Nawab Wazir. A separate account is to be kept by the Accountant to the Board of Revenue of the Ceded Provinces. For the purpose of carrying the preceding order into execution, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following appointments— Mr. M. Leslie, Member of the Board of Revenue, Mr. John Fombelle, Secretary to Government for the affairs of the provinces ceded by the Nawab Wazir. Mr. Graeme Mercer, Acting Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor of Board of Commissioners, is directed to perform the duty of Secretary to the Government for the affairs of the provinces ceded by the

Nawab Wazir. until Mr. Fombelle's arrival at Fort William; and, until further orders, Mr. W. Leycester is appointed collector of zillah Moradabad, Mr. Thornhill, collector of zillah Bareilly, Mr. Cuningham collector of zillah Etawah, Mr. John Richardson, collector of zillah Cawnpore, Mr. Richard Ahmuty, collector of zillah Allahabad, Mr. John Routledge, collector of zillah Gorakpur ".

D. *Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces:*

In 1807 the Governor General in Council resolved that the Ceded and Conquered Provinces should be permanently settled and, in order to exercise the close supervision which such a settlement required, it was deemed necessary to create a special Board of Commissioners. With this object Regulation X of 1807 was passed.

Regulation X of 1807*:*

" Whereas ", runs the Regulation, " It has been deemed advisable to appoint a local Commission for the superintendence of the ensuing settlement in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces and for the general control of the collectors in the discharge of that and of their other public duties, a Commission shall be constituted consisting of two members ".

" The Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces are hereby invested with all the duties, powers, and authority which have hitherto been exercised by the Board of Revenue in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. The primary object of the present Commission being the superintendence of the ensuing settlement of the land revenue it shall be the duty of the Commissioners to superintend the performance of that duty by the collectors, as for (*sic.*—far) as circumstances will permit, on the spot, by proceeding from time to time into the different districts accordingly as they may be of opinion that their presence may be necessary or advisable....."

It was found that the control of the Province of Benares in addition to the Ceded and Conquered Province (*sic.*) gave the Board more work than they could manage; consequently Regulation I of 1816 appointed a local Commission for the superintendence of the revenue in the Provinces of Benares and Bihar.

Regulation 1 of 1819 transferred the superintendence of "the district of Gorakhpore" from the Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces to the Board of Commissioners in Bihar and Benares.

E. *Board of Commissioners in Benares and Bihar:*

On January 5, 1816, Regulation 1 of 1816 received the assent of the Governor General in Council. This regulation appointed "A local Commission for the superintendence of the revenue in the Provinces of Benares and Bihar". This Commission was constituted for the purpose of relieving, on the one hand, the Sudder Board of Revenue at Fort William, and, on the other, the Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, of part of their work.....

Regulation 1 of 1819, which was passed by the Governor General in Council, on February 5, 1819 further modified the jurisdiction of the Board of Commissioners of Bihar and Benares by extending their authority to the "district of Gorakhpore", but removed from their management to the Board of Revenue at Calcutta "the districts of Dinagepore and Rangpore".

After the addition of the Gorakhpur district to their jurisdiction, the name of this district is added to the title of the Board.

F. *Board of Revenue in the Western Provinces:*

On March 26th. 1819, a Commissioner had been appointed in the Delhi territory, who had under him four assistants, one for each of the divisions of the territory, namely, the Central, Northern, Western, and Southern divisions. The assistants were collectors of land revenue and presided over the revenue, civil and criminal courts: they were empowered to refer to Sudder Amins all civil suits in which the sum at stake did not exceed Rs. 1,000. From the Sudder Amin an appeal lay to the Assistant Commissioner. The Commissioner had the power of granting a special appeal to his own court from the decisions of his assistants either after such appeals or in the first instance. The Commissoner acted as a court of circuit.

Over the Commissioner was the Resident who was authorized to withdraw from the court of the Commissioner any suit for political reasons.....

The jurisdiction of the Western Board extended over the following districts, in addition to the Delhi territory: Bareilly, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Shahjahanpur, Agra, Aligarh, Meerut, and the Northern and Southern divisions of Saharanpur.....

During the period of seven years through which the Western Board sat its jurisdiction underwent a number of changes. Kumaun was added in 1814. In 1824 there was a considerable re-arrangement in the boundaries of the various districts in the Western

part of the provinces. After these changes had come into operation the jurisdiction of the Board comprised the following collectorates: Agra, Aligarh, Bareilly, Bulandshahr, Mainpuri, (Etawah), Farrukhabad, Saharanpur North, Saharanpur South (Meerut), Saidabad, Moradabad, Saheswan, and the sub-collectorates of Pilibhit, Etawah, Sirpura, Muzaffarnagar, and Bela.

Delhi Separated:

In 1825 the control of the Delhi territory was taken away from the Board of Revenue in the Western Provinces, and the Government resolution, dated May 20th., 1826, divesting the Board of their jurisdiction in tht tract of country, says:—

" The authority of that Board (i.e. the Board of Revenue in the Western Provinces) within the Delhi territory will cease from the date on which Sir C. Metcalfe may assume charge of his office (i.e. that of Resident of Delhi).

" The sphere of their jurisdiction embracing the collectorships and sub-collectorships noted in the margin,[1] it appears to be obviously desirable that their headquarters should be fixed at some central place within their jurisdiction. The Governor General in Council is disposed to think that Bareilly would be the most appropriate station, but before coming to any final resolution His Lordship in Council is desirous of receiving a communication from the Board of their sentiments on the subject. .....

4. ".....The Board.....will still retain the denomination of the Board of Revenue for the Western Province."

The Board actually relinquished its control over the Delhi territory on the 22nd. October, 1825.[2]

G. *Board of Revenue in the Central Provinces:*

This Board was constituted along with the Boards for the Western and the Lower Provinces by Regulation III of 1822.

Its jurisdiction consisted of the Province of Benares and the districts of Gorakhpur, Bihar (Ramgarh), Shahabad, Saran, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Banda, and Kalpi.

[1]Agra, Bareilly, Etawah Sub-collectorship, Farrukhabad, Saharanpur-Northern and Southern divisions, Meerut, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Saheswan, Bela Sub-collectorship, Pilibhit Sub-collectorship, Sirpoorah Sub-Collectorship, Muzaffarnagar Sub-collectorship, Saidabad, Kumaun Commissionership.

[2]Douglas Dewar, *A Handbook of Pre-Mutiny Records:* Chapter VII, pp. 38-46.

The transfer of the last four districts was not effected until September, 1822, there being some delay in carrying out the provisions of the Regulation.....

H. Between 2nd. February, 1829 and 30th. July, 1830 there was no separate Board of Revenue for the Province of Agra. The work of the Western and Central Boards was performed by Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit under the control of the Sudder Board of Revenue at Calcutta, in the case of those of the 2nd. to the 9th. Divisions and of the Resident at Delhi, in the case of the Commissioner of the Ist. Division.....

I. *The Sudder Board of Revenue on Deputation:*

In order to ascertain the progress made in the settlement of the Upper Provinces under Regulation III of 1822 some members of the Sudder Board were placed on deputation to tour through the Upper Provinces.....

J. *The Sudder Board of Revenue, North Western Provinces:*

The work of the Sudder Board of Revenue on deputation served to demonstrate the advisability of placing the Upper Provinces under a separate administration. Accordingly in 1831 a series of Regulations were passed which practically gave these provinces an independent administrative existence.

Regulation VI of 1831 *constituted a Supreme Court, both Civil and Criminal, for the North Western Provinces.*

The reason for this change being thus stated in the preamble:—

"Whereas the distance from the Presidency of the districts comprised in the North Western Provinces and the difference of their climate from that of Bengal are so great as to deter individuals from personally resorting to the highest appellate authority to obtain redress against any act or orders of the subordinate courts". The previous jurisdiction of the Presidency Sudder Dewany and Nizamut Adawluts in the North Western Provinces was abrogated and a *new Supreme Civil and Criminal Court was established at Allahabad.* The powers of the new tribunal extended over " the Province of Benares, the Ceded and Conquered Provinces including the districts of Meerut, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, and Bulandshahr, which had been subject to the Commissioner of Delhi and included criminal jurisdiction in the province of Kumaun and the Saugor and Nerbudda territories.

This Regulation was passed on the 1st. November, 1831 and on the same day Regulation X became law, transforming the deputation of the Sudder Revenue Board, then sitting in the Upper Provinces, into a supreme and independent Board of Revenue. The territorial jurisdiction of the new body was substantially the same as that of the new Sudder Court, which was likewise to be ordinarily settled at Allahabad. This jurisdiction was made up on the one hand at the expense of the Resident of Delhi, who lost the revenue powers vested in him by the law of 1829 over the districts of the Northern Doab, namely, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, and Bulandshahr; and, on the other hand, at the expense of the Presidency Board of Revenue, which lost its control over the province of Benares and the remaining districts in the Upper Provinces.

These two Regulations, constituting a Sudder Court and Board of Revenue, came into force on the 1st. of January, 1832.

Regulation X of 1831 did not make any change in the personnel of the Sudder Board on deputation; it merely separated the existing Board from that sitting at Fort William.

This Board, created by Regulation X of 1831, still exists. Changes have, from time to time, been made in its jurisdiction. Thus Regulation V of 1832 placed the Delhi territory under the control of this Board, and the Board continued to exercise such jurisdiction until Act XXXVIII of 1858 was passed. This Act repealed Regulation V of 1832, except as regards the "Eastern parganas" on the left bank of the Jumna.

Regulation I of 1833 transferred the superintendence of salt, opium, customs, and town duties from the Board of Customs, Salt, and Opium at the Presidency to the Sudder Board of Revenue at Allahabad. Thus the latter from that date became completely independent of the Presidency and exercised control over all the revenues of the Upper Provinces.[1]

REVENUE POLICY

Outline of the history of the Settlement of the Land Revenue in the Provinces of Agra and Benares under the Company:

In 1788 Jonathan Duncan, Resident of Benares, persuaded the Raja to allow him to make the settlement of that province.

[1]Douglas Dewar, *A Handbook of Pre-Mutiny Records:* Chapter VII, pp. 48-50.

After this was completed Lord Cornwallis was anxious that it should be made permanent as the settlement in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa had been done in 1793. The Raja of Benares eventually agreed that the settlement should be made permanent in all parts of this province except his own domains. This was effected in 1795. All settlement operations in the province after that date have been with the object of remedying the defects of Duncan's settlement, of settling of detail talukas that were settled by him *en bloc* and of preparing records of rights. The settlement made by Duncan has persisted in the districts of Benares, Mirzapur, Jaunpur, Ghazipur and Ballia, which, with the Benares Raj, composed practically the whole of the old province of Benares.

In 1801 the Nawab of Oudh made over the sovereignty of the Ceded Provinces to the British Government. These consisted of the following districts; Gorakhpur (including Azamgarh and Basti), Allahabad (including Fatehpur), Cawnpore, Farrukhabad, Etawah, Bareilly and Moradabad. Farrukhabad was under immediate control of the Nawab of Farrukhabad who relinquished his sovereignty in 1802 in return for an annual subsidy.

Immediately on assuming the administration of the Ceded Provinces steps were taken to settle the land revenue with the landholders. The settlement took effect from the beginning of the Fasli year 1210 (September, 1802). This settlement was made for three years and the proclamation notifying it stated that at the termination of this period a further settlement for three years would be made at a *jama* equal to that of the first settlement plus two-thirds of the difference between the *jama* payable under the first settlement and the actual yearly produce of the land. At the expiry of the sixth year, that is to say, at the end of second term of three years a third settlement for four years would be made at the *jadma* of the second settlement plus three-fourths of the increase of the yearly produce during the second three years. After this, that is to say after 10 years from the first settlement a permanent settlement would be made for such land as might be in a sufficiently improved state of cultivation to warrant the measure, on such terms as the Government deemed fair and equitable. This proclamation was embodied in Regulation XXV of 1803.

The Court of Directors confirmed this arrangement on August the 28th., 1804. The first settlement was concluded within two months of the issue of the orders to make it.

" In 1803 more territory was acquired by the Company. This territory was termed the Conquered Provinces and consisted

roughly of the present districts of Saharanpur, Meerut, Muzaffurnagar, Bulandshahr, Agra, Muttra, Etah, Mainpuri, and Aligarh. In the Conquered Provinces settlements for one year were made for 1211 Fasli and 1212 Fasli. In 1805 Regulation IX was passed providing for two triennial settlement to be followed by one for four years which was to be made permanent as in the case of the Ceded Provinces. In 1804 part of Bundelkhund was acquired by the British. This included roughly the present Banda and Hamirpur districts. These districts, which were then known as the Bundelkhund districts and were under one Collector, were settled for one year.

Early in 1805 steps were taken to effect the second triennial settlement of the Ceded Provinces in terms of the above-mentioned Proclamation.

As the produce of the land had not increased to the extent anticipated it was deemed expedient to make this on terms easier than those notified. The *jama* assessed was equal to that paid in the last year of the first settlement i.e., 1212 Fasli. The proclamation cited above declared that a settlement for four years was to follow the second triennial settlement, but so obsessed were the Governors General in Council with the benefits of a permanent settlement that they were unwilling to await the expiry of the 10 years prescribed by the Proclamation before making a permanent settlement. Accordingly Regulation X of 1809 was enacted which declared that the *jama* assessed in the last year of the ensuing settlement, that is to say the third settlement which was to last for four years, would be fixed in perpetuity, provided the Court of Directors approved of the proposal.

In view of this decision it was necessary to conduct this settlement with great care. In order to effect this a Board of Commissioners for the settlement of the Ceded Provinces was constituted. The Board consisted of Messrs. Fox and Tucker. The various Collectors reported against the advisability of the Government pledging itself to make this settlement perpetual. The reports of the Collectors satisfied Fox that the country was not ripe for a permanent settlement and that such a measure would be highly injurious to the interests of the Company and, before he retired from the Board on the 1st. of March, 1808, he recorded a minute to this effect. However, the new Commissioners, Sir Edward Colebrooke and Mr. Deane, did not hold this opinion, and lost no time in saying so. But after less than two months' experience, they changed their views and directed a permanent settlement to be made only in estates in which the uncultivated

land did not exceed one-third of the cultural land. In all other cases they enjoined a settlement for ten years. The Governor-General in Council did not agree to this modification but directed that only in exceptional cases the conclusion of a permanent settlement might be suspended temporarily.

" On February the 27th. 1810, the Court of Directors stated that they were not prepared to sanction a permanent settlement before they had more information. To this the Governor General in Council replied, on August the 31st. 1810, expressing confidence that the information furnished by the Board of Commissioners would entirely satisfy the Court of Directors of the expediency of the proposed measure. On the same date the Board of Commissioners wrote to the Governor General in Council suggesting that the whole of the Northern division of Saharanpur on account of lack of population should be excluded from the permanent settlement. To this the Governor General in Council did not agree. In the following November the Board of Commissioners suggested the exclusion of the whole of the Gorakhpur district from the permanent settlement for the reasons given in the case of Saharanpur.

On February the 12th., 1811, the Governor General in Council submitted to the Court of Directors the settlements of Saharanpur, Cawnpore, and Gorakhpur for confirmation in perpetuity, recommending that exceptions should be made on the special grounds set forth by the Board of Commissioners.

On November the 27th., 1811, the Court of Directors replied disallowing the permanency of these settlements and ordering that the revenue of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces should be administered under a renewed lease for a term not exceeding five years.

The result of this order was the enactment of Regulations IX and X of 1812. These rescinded that part of Regulation X of 1807 which enacted (*sic.*) that the revenue should be fixed for ever and re-affirmed the declarations of Regulation XXV of 1803 and IX of 1805, namely, that at the end of the ten years ending with Fasli 1219 (September, 1812), in the Ceded and Fasli 1222 in the Conquered Provinces, those estates that were found to be in a sufficient state of cultivation should be settled permanently. Regulation IX applied to the Ceded Provinces and Regulation X to the Conquered Provinces. Section 4 of each regulation declared " in all such cases " (i.e., estates in a sufficient state of cultivation to warrant the conclusion of a permanent settlement), " a revision shall be made of the *jama* assessed on the said estates on the principle

of leaving to the proprietors a net income of 10 per cent, on the *jama* exclusive of the charges on collections and a settlement shall be concluded with the proprietors". The *jama* which would be so fixed was to remain fixed for ever. In conducting the settlements enjoined by the Regulations of 1812 Collectors were directed to pay special attention to ascertaining as precisely as possible the amount of land in a sufficient state of cultivation to warrant its being settled permanently.

It was decided that all estates of which one-third of the capable lands were in actual cultivation should as a general rule be considered ripe for permanent settlement but that in some cases the requirement should be not more than one-fourth of uncultivated land.

By 1815 experience showed that it would not be advisable to render any portion of the ensuing or fourth settlement permanent, hence Regulation XVI of 1816 was passed which extended for a further period of five years, that is to say the Fasli years 1225 to 1229, the existing settlement of the Ceded Provinces in order that Collectors might make fresh enquiries into the resources of the country. Similarly Regulation IX of 1818 extended the existing settlement in the Conquered Provinces to the end of the Fasli year 1232.

A general letter, dated January the 15th., 1819, of the Court of Directors ordered " that no settlement shall be declared permanent till the whole of the proceedings preparatory have been submitted to us and till the resolutions of your Government have received our sanction and concurrence ". On receipt of this letter Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government in the Territorial Department was directed to prepare a memorandum based on the statistics then to hand, setting forth, with reasons,the procedure that in his opinion should be followed in the ensuing settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. His memorandum which consists of no fewer than 760 paragraphs has become a historical document and the more important parts of it were printed and circulated. Mackenzie's minute resulted in a number of lengthy resolutions by the Governor General in Council. The Governor General in Council suggested to the Court of Directors that the existing temporary settlement should be continued another 10 or 15 years to enable the Collectors to obtain full statistics of the produce of the country. On August the 21st., 1821 the Court of Directors refused to sanction the continuance of the existing temporary settlement beyond a further period of five years and they directed that specific arrangements should be made to prevent

this renewal of the settlement from impeding in any way the local enquiries in contemplation.

The result of this order of the Court of Directors was the passing of Regulation VII of 1822 continuing the existing settlements of the Ceded Provinces for a further period of five years, this regulation went into some detail and directed that the revision of the settlement in both the Ceded and Conquered Provinces should be village by village and mahal by mahal and that such number of mahals should be revised each year as the order of the Governor General in Council might direct, but the revision should not take effect until 1234 Fasli, that is to say until the five years extension given in Regulation I expired. The Regulation required Collectors to investigate the extent and produce of the lands minutely, the landed tenures and the rights, interests and privileges of the various classes of the agricultural community.

Regulation IX of 1824 extended the existing settlement in the Conquered Provinces for a further period of five years.

By 1826 so little progress had been made in these complicated enquiries that in April of that year Regulation II of 1826 was passed directing that the existing settlement should be continued for a further period of five years, i.e., from 1235 to 1239 Fasli.

On July 13th., 1830 Government called upon the Board of Revenue to report what progress had been made in this sttlement. To this the Board replied that they had no means of framing a satisfactory report on the subject at that time. Consequently in the cold weather of 1830-31 some members of the Board were deputed to make a tour through the provinces and their proceedings are recorded as the proceedings of the Sudder Board of Revenue on deputation. The result of the local enquiry showed that very little progress had been made.

Government then suggested that the existing engagements should be renewed on a summary revision at an enhanced *jama* for periods of from 15 to 20 years and that during this period the detailed survey should continue, so that at the end of the period a settlement could be made on more accurate data. In reply the Board said, on May the 25th., 1831, that it was necessary to curtail the voluminous records that the Collector engaged in settlement had to prepare. "The account" they wrote "for a village of only moderate dimensions we have reason to believe will fill paper that binds into a thick quarto volume."

Meanwhile the opinions of the various Collectors were taken as to the best method of expediting the settlement. When the

replies of the District Officers had been received the Governor General recorded a minute, dated the 20th. January, 1832, in the course of which he remarked " it thus appears to be the general opinion that the minute researches which have been hitherto made can lead to no practical useful results ".

In September, 1832, the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, wrote another long minute setting forth his views as to the manner in which the settlement should be conducted. The minute of January 20th., 1832, and that of September the 26th., 1832, are printed in full in the volume entitled " Selections from Revenue Records N.W.P., A.D. 1822 to 1833 ".

On January the 21st., 22nd., 23rd., 1833, a conference was held at Allahabad which led to the passing of Regulation IX of 1833.

This regulation forms the basis of all modern settlements. The fundamental difference between this and Regulation VII of 1822 was that while the latter directed settlements to be based on the amount of the produce of the land, Regulation IX of 1833 based it on the amount of rent paid to the landholders. When Regulation VII of 1822 was passed the idea was that the landholder should receive as his share of the rent 20 per cent of the revenue paid by him. After the passing of Regulation IX of 1833, the Government revenue was fixed at 66 per cent of the rental assets. Later this was reduced to 50 per cent.

The settlements made under Regulation IX of 1833 were declared to have effect for 30 years in 1843.[1]

Settlement of the North Western Provinces, 1833-42:

Even the briefest account of Bentinck's administration could not afford to leave unnoticed that great measure, known as the Settlement of the North-Western Provinces, which was begun in his time, and completed a few years after his departure. When that portion of the country came under British rule, the settlement officers did their work in a very lax and haphazard fashion. They tried to do justice to all parties, but they knew little of the usages which had governed the tenure of land and the payment of the land revenue under native government; their ignorance was freely traded upon by interested natives, who, in many cases, contrived to get themselves registered as the proprietors of villages which did not belong to

[1]Douglas Dewar, *A Handbook of the English Pre-Mutiny Records*: pp. 8-13.

them; and therefore many of their decisions caused dissatisfaction. It was understood, however, that the settlements which they made might be superseded when the time for a more detailed investigation should arrive. The first step towards such an investigation was taken in 1822, when a Regulation was published, setting forth the principles in accordance with which a lasting settlement was to be made: but circumstances prevented further serious action from being taken till 1833. The officers to whom the work of the settlement was entrusted, laboured with the utmost zeal and perseverance to acquire such a full and accurate store of knowledge for a foundation as would enable them to avoid the false conclusions of their predecessors: but the interests which they had to examine were so numerous and complicated that they often went astray. Moreover, they started with the theory that the settlement ought to be made, village by village, with the actual proprietors of the soil, and not with middle-men. They saw that the proprietary right generally belonged to single families, or to the village communities, which had survived here in far greater perfection than in Bengal. But there was another important class whose rights had also to be considered, and whose generic name of Talookdars is perhaps familiar to all who take an interest in Indian affairs. It was through the medium of these men that the Native Government had collected the revenue; and, though they were technically only hereditary revenue-contractors, they were to all intents and purposes the territorial aristocracy. The settlement officers, however, inspired by the famous Robert Mertins Bird, were full of the idea of promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number: they branded the talookdars as a set of worthless drones; and they determined accordingly to deprive them of the privilege of setting for every foot of land to which they could not show a proprietary title precise enough to satisfy an English lawyer. A few thoughtful men did indeed urge that these sweeping measures would destroy the attachment of the aristocracy to our rule, and that, if they ever turned against us, we should find the villagers, whom we had thought to conciliate, impelled by the force of old ties and old associations to side with their natural leaders. These warnings, however, were unheeded, and their authors ridiculed as alarmists. The mere fact that the settlement aroused discontent does not indeed prove that the principles upon which it was based were false. But perhaps its authors would have succeeded better if they had reflected that the proprietary right was not the only right connected with the soil, and, while taking care to provide valid guarantees for the immunity of the village proprietors from

extortion, and had recognized the existing rights of the talookdars to contract for the collection of the revenue.[1]

Settlement in the North Western Provinces:

The theory of the Settlement officers was that the village Zemindars had an inalienable right in the soil, and that the Talookdar was little better than an upstart and an imposter. All the defects in his tenure were rigidly scanned; all the vices of his character were violently exaggerated. He was written down as a fraudulent upstart and an unscrupulous oppressor. To oust a Talookdar was held by some young Settlement Officers to be as great an achievement as to shoot a tiger; and it was done, too, with just as clear a conviction of the benefit conferred upon the district in which the animal prowled and marauded. It was done honestly, conscientiously, laboriously, as a deed entitling the doer to the gratitude of mankind. There was something thorough in it that wrung an unwilling admiration even from those who least approved. It was a grand levelling system, reducing everything to first principles and a delving Adam. Who was a gentleman and a Talookdar, they asked, when these time-honoured Village Communities were first established on the soil? So the Settlement Officer, in pursuit of the great scheme of restitution, was fain to sweep out the Landed Gentry and to applaud the good thing he had done.*

And if one, by happy chance, was brought back by a saving hand, it was a mercy and a miracle, and the exception which proved the rule. The chances against him were many and great; for he had divers (*sic*) ordeals to pass through, and he seldom survived them all. It was the wont of many Settlement Officers to assist the solution of knotty questions of proprietary right by a reference to personal character and conduct, so that when the claims of a great Talookdar could not be altogether ignored, it was declared that he was a rogue or a fool - perhaps, an atrocious compound of both—and that he had forfeited, by oppressions and cruelties, or by neglects scarcely less cruel, all claim to the compassion of the State. They gave the man a bad name, and straightway they went out to ruin him. A single illustration will

[1] T. Rice Holmes, "*A History of the Indian Mutiny*" (1904), pp. 24-25.

*In sober official language, described by Lieutenant Governor Robertson as "the prevailing, and perhaps excessive, readiness to reduce extensive properties into minute portions, and to substitute, whenever there was an opportunity, a village community for an individual land-holder".

suffice. One of the great landholders thus consigned to perdition was the Rajah of Mynpooree. Of an old and honoured family, distinguished for loyalty and good service to the British Government, he was the Talookdar of a large estate comprising nearly two hundred villages, and was amongst the most influential of the landed aristrocracy of that part of the country. The Settlement Officer was one of the ablest and best of his class. Fulfilling the great promise of his youth, he afterwards attained to the highest post in those very Provinces, an eminence from which he might serenely contemplate the fact that the theory of the Dead-Level is against nature, and cannot be enforced without a convulsion. But, in the early days of which I am speaking, a great Talookdar was to him what it was to others of the same school; and he represented that the Rajah, himself incompetent almost to the point of imbecility, was surrounded by agents of the worst character, who in his name had been guilty of all kinds of cruelty and oppression. Unfit as he was said to be for the mangement of so large an estate, it would, according to the prevailing creed, have been a righteous act to exclude him from it; but it was necessary, according to rule, to espy also a flaw in his tenure; so it was found that he had a just proprietary right in only about a fourth of the two hundred villages.[1] It was proposed, therefore, that his territorial greatness should to this extent be shorn down in the future Settlement, and that the bulk of the property should be settled with the village communities, whose rights, whatever they might originally have been, had lain for a century in abeyance.

Above the Settlement officer, in the ascending scale of our Administrative Agency, was the Commissioner; above the Commissioner, the Board of Revenue; above the Board of Revenue, the Lieutenant-Governor. In this cluster of graduated authorities the Old and New School alternated like the Black and White of a chess-board. The recommendations of George Edmonstone were stoutly opposed by Robert Hamilton. The sharp, incisive logic of the Commissioner cut through the fallacious reasoning of the Settlement officer. " He was of opinion that the value of landed possessions and the importance attached to them could never be made up by a money allowance; that the imbecility of the Rajah, if affording a justification for his being relieved from the management of his estate, could be none for depriving his family of their inheritance; and that it was inconsistent to denounce as oppressive

[1] The exact number was 189, of which it was ruled that the Rajah could justly be recorded as proprietor only of 51. A money-compensation, in the shape of a percentage, was to be given him for the loss of the rest.

in a native ruler the same mesures of sale and dispossession which were adoped by our own Government towards Revenue defaulters.[1] But the Board, of which the living principle was Robert Bird, dissented from the views of the Commissioner, and upheld the levelling processes of the Settlement officer. Then Lieutenant-Governor Robertson appeared upon the scene, and the decision of the Board was flung back upon them as the unjust growth of a vicious, generalising system, which would break up every large estate in the country into minute fractions, and destroy the whole aristocracy of the country. He could not see that, on the score either of invalidity of tenure or of administrative incapacity, it would be just to pare down the Rajah's estate to one-fourth of its ancestral dimensions; so he ruled that the settlement of the whole ought rightly to be made with the Talookdar.[2] But the vicissitudes of the case were not even then at an end. The opposition of the Board caused some delay in the issue of the formal instructions of Government or the recognition of the Talookdar, and before the settlement had been made with the Rajah, Robertson had resigned his post to another. That other was a man of the same school, with no greater passion than his predecessor for the subversion of the landed gentry; but sickness rendered his tenure of office too brief, and, before the close of the year, he was succeeded by one whose name is not to be mentioned without respect- the honoured son of an honoured father—the much praised, much lamented Thomason. He was as earnest and as honest as the men who had gone before him; but his strong and sincere convictions lay all in the other way. He was one of the chief teachers in the New School, and so strong was his faith in its doctrines that he regarded, with feelings akin to wondering compassion, as men whom God had given over to a strong delusion that they should believe a lie,

[1]Despatch of Court of Directors, August 13, 1851.

[2]"The Lieutenant Governor recorded his opinion, that no proof of the Rajah's mismanagement, such as could justify his exclusion, had been adduced; that the evidence in support of the proprietary claims of the Zemindars was (*sic*,) insufficient and inconclusive; that if the Zemindars ever possessed the rights attributed to them, they had not been in the active enjoyment of them for upwards of a century, while the Rajah's claims had been admitted for more than four generations; that, admitting the inconvenience which might sometimes result from the recognition of the superior mulgozar, it would not be reconcilable with good feeling or justice to deal as the Board proposed to do, with one found in actual and long-acknowledged possession. He condemned the practice of deciding cases of this nature on one invariable and generalising principle; stated that he could discover no sufficient reason for excluding the Rajah of Mynpooree from the management of any of the villages composing the Talooka of Minchurnah; and finally withheld his confirmation of the settlement concluded with the village Zemindars, directing the engagements to be taken from the Talookdar."—Despatch of Court of Directors, August 13, 1851.

all who still cherished the opinions which he had done so much to explode.[1]

Supreme in the North Western Provinces, he found the case of the Mynpooree Rajah still formally before the Government. No final orders had been issued, so he issued them. The besom of the Settlement swept the great Talookdar out of three-fourths of the estate, and the village proprietors were left to engage with Government for all the rest in his stead.

It is admitted now, even by men who were personally concerned in this great work of the Settlement of Northern India, that it involved a grave political error. It was, undoubtdly, to convert into bitter enemies those whom sound policy would have made the friends and supporters of the State. Men of the Old School had seen plainly from the first that by these measures we were sowing broadcast the seeds of future trouble. Foremost among these was the veteran Director Tucker, who had been engaged in the first settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, and who knew as well as any man what rights existed on our original assumption of the government of those territories. "The way to conciliate the peasantry", he wrote, "or to improve their condition, is not, I think, by dissolving the connexion between them and the superior Talookdars, for village Zemindars. The lone we have, I fear, entirely displaced; but we cannot destroy the memory of their past or the consciousness of their present state. They were once prosperous, and they and their descendants must feel that they are no longer so. They are silent, because the natives of India are accustomed to endure and to submit to the will of their rulers; but if an enemy appear on our Western frontier, or if an insurrection unhappily take place, we shall find these Talookdars, I apprehend, in the adverse ranks, and their ryots and retainers ranged under the same standard". And a quarter of a century later, one who had received the traditions of this school unbroken from Thomas Campbell Robertson, at whose feet he had sat, wrote that he had long been pointing out that, "although the old families were being displaced fast, we could not destroy the memory of the

[1]See, for example, his reflections on the contumacy of Mr. Boulderson, of whom Mr. Thomason says: "With much honesty of principle he is possessed of a constitution of mind which prevents him from readily adopting the principles of others, or acting upon their rules. A great part of his Indian career has been passed in opposition to the prevailing maxims of the day, and he finds himself conscientiously adverse to what has been done". With respect to these prevailing maxims, Mr. F. H. Robinson, of the Civil Service, in a pamphlet published in 1855, quotes the significant observation of an old Ressaldar of Gardener's Horse, who said to him: "No doubt the wisdom of the new gentlemen had shown them the folly and the ignorance of the gentlemen of the old time, on whom it pleased God, nevertheless, to bestow the government of India".

past, or dissolve the ancient connexion between them and their people; and said distinctly that, in the event of any insurrection occurring, we should find this great and influential body, through whom we can alone hope to keep under and control the rural masses, ranged against us on the side of the enemy, with their hereditary followers and retainers rallying around them, in spite of our atempts to separate their interests". "My warnings", he added, "were unheeded, and I was treated as an alarmist, who, having hitherto served only in the political department of the State, and being totally inexperienced in Revenue matters, could give no sound opinion on the subject.*[1]

Settlement in the North Western Provinces:

In the North West Provinces it was part of the duty of the Settlement Officer to inquire into rent-free tenures, and to resume or to release from assessment the lands thus held. The feelings with which the task imposed upon him was regarded varied with the character and the opinions of the functionary thus employed; but whilst those who were disposed to look compassionately upon doubtful claims, or believed that it would be sound policy to leave men in undisturbed position even of what might have been in the first instance unrighteously acquired, were few, the disciples of Bird and Thomason, who viewed all such alienations of revenue as unmixed evils, and considered that any respect shown to men who were described as "drones who do no good in the public hive" was an injury done to the tax-paying community at large, were many and powerful, and left their impression on the land. Rejoicing in the great principle of the Dead-Level, the Board commonly supported the views of the resumptionist; and but for the intervention of Mr. Robertson, the Lieutenant Governor, there would scarcely, at the end of the Settlement operations, have been a rent-free tenure in the land. There was sometimes a show of justice on the side of resumption, for the immunity had been granted, in the first instance, as payment for service no longer demanded, or what had been originally merely a life-grant had assumed the character of an hereditary assignment. Perhaps there was sometimes more than suspicion that in unsettled times, when there was a sort of scramble of empire, privileges of this kind had been fabricated or usurped; but in other instances strong proofs of validity were ignored, and it has been freely stated, even by men

*Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion. By William Edwards, B.C.S., Judge of Benares, and late Magistrate and Collector of Budaon, in Rohilcund.

[1] J. W. Kaye, "*A History of the Sepoy War in India*" (London 1870), Vol. I, pp. 160-66.

of their own order, that these earnest-minded civilians " rejected royal firmans and other authentic documents ", and brought upon the great rent-roll of the Company lands which had been for many generations free from assessment. Nay, even the highest authority, in the great Settlement epoch, declared that " the Settlement Officer swept up, without inquiry, every patch of unregistered land; even those exempted by a subsequent order, which did not come out until five-sixths of the tenures had been resumed ". In one district, that of Furruckabad, " the obligations of a treaty and the direct ordes of Government were but lightly dealt with; and in all, a total disregard was evinced for the acts even of such men as Warren Hastings and Lord Lake ".* In every case what was done was done conscientiously, in the assured belief that it was for the general good of the people; but the very knowledge that was most vaunted, a knowledge of the institutions and the temper of the natives, was that which they most lacked. They were wrecked upon the dangerous coast of Little Learning.[1]

Overassessment:

1. In this collection will be found statement furnished by Captain Erskine, Superintendent of Jaloan, exhibiting the balances of Revenue, present and prospective of that district for the year 1851/52, or Sumbat 1908. The balance to the end of December 1851 were 79,646-9-4 on the four Kists of the year, of which the collections reported upto the 9th, of January 1852 were 24,492-3-6.

A further collection amounting to 13,000 Rs. was expected within that month and by the end of April the close of the official year, there will be 28,200 more collected leaving a probable balance of 14,000 Rs. which, it is feared, must eventually be remitted. On this subject Captain Erskine will furnish, another report in due course.

5. The village of Sehouree Chilapoor Pergunnah Kunnar in Jaloan being considered to have been over-assessed at the last Settlement,.....".[2]

*Minute of Mr. Robertson, Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, quoted in Despatch of the Court of Directors, August 13, 1851.

[1]J. W. Kaye, " *A History of the Sepoy War in India* ", Vol. I, pp. 172-74.

[2]Foreign Deptt., N.W.P. Narrative of Proceedings 1848-52. No. 5 of 1841. Bundelkhand and the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories. Revenue Department. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of India during the 1st. Quarter of 1852. 23rd. February, 1852. Nos. 1 to 3. Collection No. 1. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

"*Dakhil Kharij*", *or mutation of names by Civil Courts restricted*—1854:

Orders by the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, North Western Provinces.

Circular No. 2474. Agra 15th. Dec., 1854.

To the Civil Authorities in the N. W. Provinces:[1]

13. The Court observe that the 2nd. Rule of them attached to Circular Order of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, Western Provinces, Dated 24th. June, 1842, as cited in the margin[2] will be affected, and require modifications; consequent on this order, the portion in italics will therefore be replaced by the following sentence:—

"That plaintiff's title in the property having been judicially declared, intimation of that fact is given to the Collector, with a view to his effecting the requisite alteration in his books.[3]

Highhandedness of a Collector:

The Collector of Furruckabad (Farrukhabad).

"I am monarch of all I survey,
My right there is none to dispute."

To

The Editor of the Agra Ukhbar.

Sir,

....."In your paper of Saturday the 25th. ultimo, I communicated that a case of *fraud*, under which a *Serishtadar* of the Furruckabad Collectorship and his nephew were committed to the Sessions Court and imprisoned, came on in appeal three days ago before B. Tayler, Esq., one of the Judges of the *Sudder Nizamut* here. Both were released; but the proper reason for their dismissal

[1]Providing that "if the suits before a specific portion of an estate held in pure Zumeendaree, the plaint shall indicate whether it is made for a division, and a separation or merely for the recognition of the share sued for; in the latter case, the decree, if the claim be proved, shall direct that *plaintiff's name is to be recorded in the Collector's book, with those of other holders, so as in no way to interfere with the management of the Collections of the estate made through the Sudder Malgoozar.*"

[2]Agra Government Gazette, Vol. XVI, No. 1: Agra, Tuesday January 2, 1855. pages 8-9. Orders by the Sudder Dewany Adalut N. W. Provinces.

[3]Circular No. 19 of 1854; Dated Agra: 22nd. December 1854 to all Commissioners and Collectors. N. W. Provinces—vide–its para 6th. No. 2. Statement of estates sold, farmed, transferred and made Kham for the recovery of arrears of Revenue— " to show the extent to which the graver coercive processes have been resorted to within the year under report, for the realization of arrears of revenue....."

and commitment to the Sessions is reported to be, to make way for an Omedwar sent by the Collector from Delhi to substitute in lucrative post of Serishtadar ".

" The truth of this is disputed by the Collector of Furruckabad, who says it is a scandal against him, and declares it to be false, stating other prticulars.....

" I will take the trouble to undeceive him in this viz:—

1. Kulbay Abut, (*sic,*) late Naib Serishtadar of the Delhi Collectorship is appointed Naib Serishtadar of Furruckabad.

2. Fuzlay Husun—the late Nazir of the Delhi Collectorship is appointed Nazir of Furruckabad Collectorship and Magistracy.

3. Neeamut Oollah Khan, of Delhi is appointed Peshkar at Furruckabad.

4. Khavajay Ummon (*sic,* Usman?) of Delhi is appointed Kotwal of Furruckabad, and it is said with a plurality of other appointments.

.....

Yours obediently

Agra, 3rd. June, 1844. The Communicator.[1]

Native Grievances—Oppression by Revenue Officials:

Copy of an Address made to His Honor J. Thomason Lieut. Governor Agra.

" Humbly reluctant as the Natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present Rulers of India coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people whose languages, literature, manners, customs and ideas are almost entirely new and strange to them cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with real circumstances as the Natives of the country are themselves.

" The occasional wars and internal feuds in which the Native powers were engaged, pressed us to the last degree of distress. When the English planted their standard on the plains of.....we were filled with sanguine hopes of enjoying peace and tranquillity....., but it was to our great

[1] *The Agra Ukhbar.* 6th. June, 1844, pp. 116.

misfortune that we were excluded from the privileges of an enlightened Government by *being placed in* (sic,) *the mercy of a partial and unjust public officer and tyrannic Umlahs*, who instead of endeavouring to promote our happiness and interest, is searching for an opportunity to ruin us.

Revised Settlements:

"The proposal of the revision of the settlement under Reg. XI of 1833 was a foresight of our further aggrandizement and benefit, which we found afterwards to be the error of our understanding, *for the settlement itself was an instrument of our destruction*, not for any irregularity or anything of the kind, but from its beginning there arose a great disunion between two public[1] officers placed by Government, to rule us, and matters began to wear a different tincture, and instead of our feeling the least interest we were put to the greatest anxiety.

.....Mr.....went away and Mr..... .....took charge of the Collector's office, and began the same oppressions under which we laboured in the times of our Native Rulers. The first illegal order which he passed was the reappointment of his old Sheristahdar in the room of a Tehseeldar of 250 Rs. salary, who resigned his office when Mr..... was acting as Collector: the sole cause of which was the fear of being seized in his deceits, (being himself a man of very bad character) by that officer who would without any distinction have inflicted severe punishments on him..... In case of false appeal made to the Board by..... men of degenerate character, who also resigned the respective offices at the time of Mr..... as the Serishtadar did (they were his creatures) order was passed that they will never get employment in the district, and no sooner Mr..... went away then they took their respective places, and the only inference drawn from it, is that Mr.....knows nothing and could not work without them, and your Honor would be the best judge to decide what will be the misfortune of us, if our Rulers confide so much power to their subordinates as to become Lords of Decree and Dismissal, whoever will fee them with money will gain their causes and the result will be that the poor will be slaves of the rich and subject themselves to the *oppression of the great.*[2]

[1] *The Agra Ukhbar*, 5th. February. Correspondence: Copy of the address sent to the Editor for publication (1845).

[2] *The Agra Ukhbar*, 5th. February, 1845. Copy of the Address sent to the Editor for publication (Correspondence).

" .....Another very strange thing is that Govt. prohibits relatives of any of the Sudder Umlahs to be appointed in any mofussil offices, here Mr.....is employing all the relatives of his Sheristehdar in all the high and responsible mofussil offices and *they will oppress the poor Zemeendars beyond measure.*

" In conclusion, we beg to state that we have written these lines that they may catch the eye of His illustrious representative the Lieut. Governor; may His Honor quickly attend to our prayers else we will be destroyed beyond redemption.

" Our prayers that some arrangements may be made to remodel the whole of the Revenue Department of this district and some impartial and just officer may be sent *to protect us from the oppressions of the great, and from all the calamities to which we are subjected*.....

" The sovereign flourishes when the country is at ease. In short we earnestly request to be pardoned for encroaching on your Honor's valuable time and patience.

We have &c.
(Sd.) Certain Citizens of.....

The 1st. February, 1845.

We have deemed it advisable to leave blank the names of person and places[1].

State of the country before the revolt:

The North Western Provinces, so called, are not now our most northern and western possessions in India, but obtained their designation before the Punjab was annexed. Stretching from the sources of the Ganges and Jumna on the north, to the Caramnasa on the south, the territory is parcelled out into six great divisions, comprising in all thirty one Zillahs or districts, with an area of 72,000 square miles, and a population of thirty millions.[2] Each division takes in five or six districts. At head-quarters (civil) in every division besides the Commissioner, with authority in police and revenue affairs over the district officers, designated " Magistrate and Collector " in each district of the division.

Courts of civil and criminal justice under Zillah Judges are held at the different stations, the jurisdiction of the judge extending over one or sometimes two districts.

[1] *The Agra Ukhbar:* 5th. February, 1845.
[2] The reader who may wish for further statistical information is referred to Appendix A, in which the area, population, and revenue of the North Western Provinces are detailed.

The Commissioners of revenue and police, the Zillah Judges, and the Collector Magistrate, all belong to the Covenanted Civil Service of the East India Company.

To superintend the working of this system, we had at Agra, when the mutiny broke out, a Lieutenant Governor, the Sudder Court (Sudder Dewanie and Nizamut Adawlut[1]) and the Revenue Board.

Just one year before the mutiny, I was summoned from the Punjab to take my seat as a judge of the Sudder Court. Having been for three years Commissioner of Lahore, I had opportunities of comparing the systems of government in the Punjab and North-Western Provinces. My prepossession in coming to Agra was in favour of the Punjab plan. I still retain that prepossession. I therefore, in describing the state of the North Western Provinces from May 1856 to May 1857, write without any prejudice in favour of the system of government within that territory, to which system, as will hereafter be shown, I entertain strong objections. But I had, as forming a part of the local administration, excellent opportunities of observing the general working of the government and state of the people.

I have already described the condition of the people[2] in the North-Western Provinces at the period of the annexation of the Punjab. Making some little abatement for the youth and zeal of the writer, I still adhere to that description, and on my return to the provinces from Lahore, I found no deterioration in the state of the people. Mr. Colvin, who in 1853 had succeeded Mr. Thomason as Lieutenant Governor, had worked hard and well; the operations of the police were closely supervised, the Lieutenant Governor watching the conduct of each Magistrate, I may almost say of every criminal case, with untiring vigilance; numerous proclaimed offenders, who had been at large for the last twenty years, had been apprehended and brought to trial. Murderous affrays were gradually becoming more rare.

[1]Chief Civil and Criminal Tribunal. Has power of life and death. The judges formerly were the Governor General and members of Council: and now, under Her Majesty's warrant, have precedence in India over other civil Officers not Governors or members of the Executive or Legislative Councils. Appeals in civil cases of 1,000/-/ and upward, lie to Her Majesty in Council. In other cases the orders of the court are final.

[2] "*Notes on the North Western Provinces of India*" published by Chapman and Hall in 1852. In alluding to this book, I would apologise by observing, that most of it was written when I was very young, and consequently in too ambitious a style. Since I wrote it, my feelings towards the people of India may have been changed by late events; but, nevertheless, the principles advocated in the Notes are, I believe, sound. It may be difficult hereafter to love the people of India, but we must nevertheless still cultivate their affections if we would hold the country.

It was no fault of Mr. Colvin's that our civil courts were still nearly as unpopular as ever. He had done what he could to reform them, and the tendency of legislation towards simplicity and rapidity of procedure had been sufficiently marked. A great change[1] for the better was in contemplation, when the mutiny put a stop to all further progress in the road to civilisation.[2]

N.W.P. ADMINISTRATION 1856.

From

C. Raikes, Esq.,
Commissioner of Lahore, and Officiating Judge in the Courts of Suddar Dewy. and Nizt. Adawlut, North-West Provinces, Agra.

To

H. Rickets, Esq.,
Commissioner for the Revision of Civil Salaries and Establishment throughout India.

Dated Agra: the 4th. October, 1856.

Sir,

I have the honour now to reply to your letter of the 30th. April, and to give you my opinion on the several subjects mentioned by you. I have already informed you that as in my present office I have no time to spare from my daily duties, when the Civil Courts are open, I have been compelled to defer my reply to the present time of vacation.

2. Before answering seriatim the several questions proposed by you, and, indeed, to enable me to answer them at all in an intelligible manner, I must explain my sentiments on the form of Indian Government in general.

3. There are two systems of government on this side of India, which may shortly be called Regulation and Non-Regulation Systems.

4. I have served in what are called the Regulation Provinces from 1831 to 1853, and from the beginning of 1853 to the beginning of 1856, in the Non-Regulation Province of the Punjab. Lately I have again been attached to the North Western Provinces, and

[1]The new Code of Civil Procedure, prepared by Her Majesty's Commissioners in London, was about to be introduced when the mutiny broke out.

[2]Charles Raikes, "*Notes on the Revolt in the North Western Provinces of India*", (London 1858) pp. 4-6.

in a post which has enabled me to observe the general working of the system of Government, and specially in the departments of Civil and Criminal Justice.

5. In speaking of the two systems, I shall call one the Punjab, and the other the Regulation System.

6. It would be tedious, and is unnecessary, for me here to trace the various steps which have led to the development of the government of the North Western Provinces in its existing form. But for the sake of contrast with the Punjab System, I must briefly describe the component parts of the administration in these provinces.

7. In the North Western Provinces there are thirty one districts, containing a population, in round numbers, of thirty millions.

To control and administer Civil and Criminal Justice, and to collect the public Revenue in these thirty-one districts, there are six commissioners, each receiving salaries of 38,000 rupees per annum; 19 civil and sessions judges, receiving salaries 30,000 rupees per annum each; one additional judge at 24,000 rupees per annum; and 31 civil officers holding the joint appointment of magistrate and collector on salaries of 27,000 rupees per annum. Under the magistrates and collectors are 22 joint magistrates with salaries of 12,000 rupees per annum. 10 of the same grade at 8,400 rupees per annum, and (say) 40 junior assistants with average salaries of 4,800 rupees per annum.

8. Thus we have for the district local, civil administration in the North Western Provinces (without taking into account the institutions of Government, Finance, Audit, the high Courts of Appeal, and the Revenue Board at the seat of Government) the following machinery:—

		Rupees
6	Commissioners of Revenue and Police at ...	2,28,000
19	Civil and Session Judges at	5,70,000
1	Additional Judge at	24,000
30	Magistrates and Collectors at ...	8,10,000
2	Independent Joint Magistrates at	24,000
20	Joint Magistrates at	2,40,000
10	Joint Magistrates at	84,000
40	Junior Assistants	1,92,000
	Total ...	21,72,000

These appointments are held by the regularly appointed civil servants of the East India Company.

9. The agency subordinate to Judges and Magistrates and collectors, exercising judicial functions, or acting as deputies to the collectors of districts are next shown:

Uncovenanted Deputy Collectors.

	Rupees per annum
2 at 600 per mensem	14,400
20 at 450 per mensem	1,08,000
8 at 360 per mensem	33,600
15 at 250 per mensem	45,000
Total ...	2,01,000

Uncovenanted Judges.

	Rupees per annum
6 Principal Sudder Ameers (*sic*,) at ...	43,200
14 Principal Sudder Ameers at ...	67,200
14 Sudder Ameers at	42,000
24 Moonseiffs at	43,200
74 Moonseiffs at	88,800
	2,84,400
Add for Uncovenanted Deputy Collectors	2,01,000
	4,85,400

10. We thus have a staff of Covenanted

	Rupees per annum
Civil Servants, costing ...	21,72,000
Civil Servants, not Covenanted ...	4,85,400
Total ...	26,57,400

11. In considering the administration of the North Western Provinces, I will refer first to the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction, and then briefly to the Revenue management.

12. Our judicial system was imported from Bengal, and rests virtually upon the code of 1793. For the regulations enacted in the beginning of the present century, for the ceded and conquered

provinces are mostly copies from those which had been promulgated at an earlier date in Bengal and Benares.

13. It is important to bear in mind the fact that the system which wise and able men found in one country, and in one state of society, has been introduced, with few if any modifications, into another country, and into a different state of society. For I may safely assert that the social and physical condition of the North Western Provinces in 1856, differs very widely from what was the social and physical condition of Bengal in 1793.

14. In Bengal sixty years ago, it was rightly considered safer and better to rely upon institutions rather than upon men. Hence, to use the words of an able modern writer, we have a judicial "system which does not depend for its success upon extraordinary individual efforts, but which is susceptible of effective superintendence and development". (Preface to Macpherson's Procedure of the Civil Courts of the East India Company).

15. To carry out this "strictly organised and regulated" system, we have an apparatus of highly-paid Judges, whose powers are limited to the administration of civil justice, the trial of criminal cases at the Sessions, and the hearing of appeals from orders passed by the magistrates in criminal trials.

16. Under them again (are more or less) 125 native or other uncovenanted judges, the bulk of whom receive a very scanty salary, and who decide civil suits, giving occasional aid to the magistrate in cases of small importance in the criminal department.

17. The salary of the judge is not much more than that of the magistrate and collector; his duties are of a description less interesting, less stirring, and on the whole more irksome. Though the judge is the superior officer in the district, the magistrate is the more important and influential personage. The magistrate is to the people the direct and powerful representative of the Government, has large patronage, and a wide discretion and power, which the judge may fetter or restrain, but cannot exercise in his own person.

18. The result of this is, that where the judge, and the collector and magistrate are both earnest and zealous men, there is a probability of a conflict of opinion, and a possibility of great soreness and discontent on the part of the magistrate when the judge reverses his orders.

19. To glance hastily at the Revenue system (*sic*,). Here we find that the orders of the highly educated European magistrate and

collector in Revenue cases, concerning rent, replevin, or ouster are liable to be revised and reversed in a regular suit before a half-educated native moonsiff, on a salary of 100 rupees per mensem. (The natives are never tired of wondering at anomalies of this sort).

20. Again, the magistrate and collector in Police and Revenue matters is subordinate to the Commissioner. Whatever may be the cause, the effect of the relative position of the two officers as at present regulated is not always harmony and order, and in a word, what it ought to be, subordination. It has been the generous custom of the senior members of the Civil Service to encourage freedom of opinion and discussion amongst the juniors; but this has been carried too far in many instances, and owing to this, and to the divided authority under which they labour, the magistrates and collectors, especially the more earnest men, have sometimes allowed themselves to forget the respect due to their official superiors. That such feelings have not formed the rule instead of the execption, is due to the good feeling and high principle so general in the service.

21. I feel quite sure that the divided and remote nature of the control exercised by the judge and by the commissioner has a tendency to provoke opposition; and as the native ministerial officers and suitors, with a weakness common to their race, delight in fomenting quarrels, and in widening those branches of courtesy which may unfortunately find place in official communications, no efforts on their part are wanting if they fancy there is an opportunity for creating or for increasing discussion.

22. The result of all this is, that our system of district administration, though in many respects efficient, can hardly be said to work well. There is too much friction in the component parts of the machinery, and too little unity of action. The evil-disposed intriguing part of the native population takes advantage of this to set one officer or one system against another. If they cannot prosecute an enemy successfully in the criminal department, they try to harass him in the Civil Courts; if they find a magistrate or collector too active and vigorous, they endeavour to set the judge or the commissioner in opposition to him.

23. The idea, so natural to the European mind, that it would be unjust or impolitic for one and the same man to act as District Chief in matters of Revenue, Police, and Civil Justice, never entered into the mind of a native in India. They laugh at the division and consequent frittering away of power in the Regulation Provinces, and take advantage of the liberal and noble spirit of the

Government to impede and restrict the free course of truth and justice.

24. In a word, the natives of India are not fit, and will not be fit, to judge from the past, for centuries to come, for a Government carried on upon these principles, which suit a people who (like their rulers the British) are capable of self-government.

25. To give them a Government on those principles is to retard their progress, to set the mass of the people against the ruling power, and to benefit sycophants and rogues.

26. Social progress under the simpler quasi-Oriental system is far more rapid than under the artificial system of checks which is established in the Regulation Provinces. I boldly assert that in the Jullunder Doab, the Lahore and Jhelum Divisions, and doubtless other parts of the Punjab, a greater progress has been made in five years than has been made in any of the Regulation Provinces in fifty. I know this to be a fact; and a reference to the Criminal Statistics of those Divisions will prove the truth of my assertion.

27. The people there find themselves under a District Chief who has all legitimate power in his hands. Should he abuse or exceed that power, they have the Commissioner to look to for redress. The public interests of the Commissioner and of the Deputy Commissioner being identical, and the Deputy being unable (if he wished so to do) to resist the will and authority of his principal, the work goes on smoothly, harmoniously, and well. If it does not so go on, it is not the fault of the system, at all events; and my own experience is, that a Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner work together LIKE ONE MAN.

28. My experience, on the other hand, in the Regulation Provinces is, that when an energetic, earnest Magistrate and Collector works in perfect harmony with his Judge and Commissioner, it is owing to unusual temper and tact on the part of the subordinate, or extreme forbearance on the part of the superior officer.

29. I therefore consider that, for India, the sytem introduced by our late Governor General in the Punjab is the best.

30. But both Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab are overworked and underpaid; and I therefore give below the scale of pay and the number and designation of officers which I would suggest for the North Western Provinces, so far as the District work is concerned.

Proposed scale of Officers and salaries for the North Western Provinces, on the Punjab Plan, modified and improved:

Covenanted Officers

No.	Office	Salaries of each per mensem	Salaries of all per annum
		Rupees	Rupees
15	Commissioners	3,000	5,40,000
30	Deputy Commissioners ...	2,000	7,20,000
10	Assistants, 1st. grade	1,000	1,20,000
20	,, 2nd. ,, ...	700	1,68,000
40	,, 3rd. ,, ...	400	1,92,000
115			17,40,000

Then for Uncovenanted Assistants.

No.	Office	Salaries of each per mensem	Salaries of all per annum
		Rupees	Rupees
10	Extra Uncovenanted Assistants ...	600	72,000
20	,, ,, ,, ,, ...	400	96,000
90	,, ,, ,, ,, ...	200	2,16,000
120			3,84,000

Total Expense of District Administration in the North Western Provinces

		Rupees
As at present	...	26,57,000(*sic,*)
Proposed on Punjab System ...	...	21,24,000
Annual Saving by Punjab System	Total	53,300(*sic,*)

Thus each District would have a Deputy Commissioner with two Assistants, with one Extra Assistant at 600 Rs. (*sic*,) or 400 Rs. (*sic*,) per mensem, and three Extra Assistants at 200 Rs. (*sic*,) per mensem. With this staff, and with Tehseeldars exercising Judicial and Criminal as well as Revenue, powers,—the Deputy Commissioner trying, in general, Appeals only (in Civil suits), and educating his first Assistant as a Judge, by giving him the heavy Judicial cases; with one Commissioner over two Deputies, who could not only support these Deputies, but also keep them in perfect order,—the work would be done with *complete despatch and efficiency*, and at a considerable saving.

31. If the districts were thus managed and the Punjab Arms Act introduced, as it ought to be, across the length and breadth of the land, as well as a simple code of civil procedure, and a modification of the existing criminal law, there would be more order, prosperity, and internal tranquillity in Hindoostan than in any part of the world. At present we are in advance of many European countries and but little behind England in these respects. With the alterations I have sketched we should soon be unrivalled in the world. For the Indian races are amongst the most industrious, commercial, orderly, and contented people in the world, if only kept in order.

32. The Asiatic system of a mild despotism suits them, and it is only under a system of paternal or despotic restraint that they will ever become capable of self-improvement and consequently fit for self-government.

33. Intelligent, honourable, and industrious Englishmen, guided, controlled, or stimulated by the able hands of such men as have been always selected for the post of Lieutenant Governor or Chief Commissioner in the Upper Provinces will, when free to act as in the Punjab, accomplish wonders and bring unexampled social order and commercial prosperity over the land.

34. Such men will not waste their lives, abilities, and prospects in India on niggardly salaries such as may suffice for the judge of a country court or a stipendiary magistrate in England. Superior men will not accept inferior emoluments, and we want superior men for this work. A few able men well-paid will do more for India than larger staff of average mediocrity.

35. The distant threats of cutting down salaries have already, I observe, taken effect; and it is notorious in England that a petty living of 200 *l* or 300 *l* per annum already holds out greater inducement to men of learning and talent than the Civil

Service of India. The candidates for examination this year are far too few and only half in number of those of last year, although this year we have peace and last year were plunged in war.

36. I need not allude to the higher offices of state held by the members of the Sudder Court and Board of Revenue at Agra, as some such machinery of Government must be kept up and at the present expenses. But with reference to the proposed constitution of the High Court will only express my conviction that it is a mistake, and a very dangerous one, to place natives into appointments where they will have to control European officers.

37. I would ask whether is more of moral courage, self-reliance, candour, and intellectual light required in the office of a chief-justice or of a general of division?

38. When natives are found fit to command our armies, brigades, or even regiments, it will be time to place them on the bench of the High Courts.

39. They have as much physical courage as their English rulers, are as well fitted for soldiers, but are not fit to command their own countrymen, still less are they qualified by nature or habit to command Englishmen.

40. If then it be true, as who will doubt, that natives are unfit to command our armies, so are they equally unfitted to rule over councils, or as judges in the courts of appeal to exercise supreme control over our judicial and magisterial officers. Why should an English judge be placed under a Mahometan or Brahmin judge any more than an English colonel be put under a Brahmin general?

41. Having ventured at some length to place before you my opinion as to the most really economical and effectual mode of district administration in these provinces I proceed to answer the queries proposed in your letter, which after the full explanation of my sentiments here given may be very briefly recorded.

42 First Question.—Would it be advantageous to introduce grades of salaries in the judicial and revenue departments? How many grades of magistrates, of collectors, of judges, and of commissioners would you have?

Answer.—I have fully asnwered this question in paragraphs 30 to 31, but I may add here that I think that every district chief should get a salary of 24,000 Rupees per annum. If grades are introduced as a matter of economy so much the worse for the country, in my opinion. It is inconvenient to the local government to attach certain salaries to certain very large or difficult

districts, because every district has its own peculiar difficulties, and the man who may be invaluable in one comparatively easy district from his local knowledge, may merit as high a salary as another officer who is selected for the charge of a very large and important district. I advocate one rate of salary of 2,000 rupees per mensem for every magistrate and collector, deputy-commissioner.

43. Second question.—Could we advantageously make further use of native agency by increasing the powers of Deputy-Collectors, Deputy-Magistrates, monlovees (*sic*, moulovees) pundits, moonsiffs, and tehseeldars?

Answer.—Collectors can at present make over most cases, however difficult or important, to be decided by their Native Deputies. I would not increase the powers of native subordinates, as they have now, when authorized by Government, as much power as the convenanted European Deputy Collector or Joint Magistrate.

44. Third Question.—Would it be advantageous to separate the Police altogether from the Magistracy and to have a Superintendent of Police in each District?

Answer.—I think it would be a step in the wrong direction to separate the Police and the Magistracy. All power in India, to suit the genius and wants of the people and their simple state of civilisation, should be placed in the same hand. The degree of power only, and not the nature of power, should be strictly limited and defined. This is the secret of successful government in Asia.

45. Fourth Question.—Would it be advisable to increase the powers of Magistrates and to give them authority to pass sentence of Seven or Ten Years' Imprisonment, their notes in English, with an abstract of the case, to be forwarded for the information of the Session Judge when the sentence may exceed three years?

Answer.—If the District Chief receive (*sic*,) a salary of 24,000 rupees, it is reasonable to suppose that he will be an officer of 10 years' standing. In that case I think it would be an improvment to increase the powers of the Magistrate in the manner here proposed.

46. Fifth Question.—Does your experience tell you that to give a Session's Judge the power to set aside a Magistrate's order is productive of much mischief, and that it would be beneficial to rule that a second opinion should be taken before an order is reversed?

If you think a second opinion should be taken, by what measures could a reference be most conveniently provided?

Answer.—I have already,in paragraphs 17 to 30, shown what I consider the best remedy for the clashing between Judge and Magistrate, and Magistrate and Commissioner. The way to correct this is to give the Judge or Commissioner an identical interest, differing only in degree with that of the District Chief. I think that it would be better for Judges to reverse Magistrates' orders as they do now than to complicate the machinery of Government further by requiring a second opinion before a Judge could reverse. If, however, a referee be required the Commissioner should be the man. But I could never recommend so cumbersome a check.

47. Sixth Question.—Could the quantity of business now carried to the Sudder Courts be advantageously diminished by the Establishment of District or Divisional Court with a European and two Native Judges sitting together for the disposal of certain classes of cases now carried to the Sudder Courts ?

Answer.—In taking up appeals from Sudder Ameers or Moonsiffs, I should not object to see two Native Judges employed instead of one. Differences of opinion to be submitted for the orders of the District Judge, whose decision would be final. I should not wish to see a European Judge and two Native Judges on the same bench.

48. Seventh Question.—How could the position of Sale Ameers under regulation 1 of 1839, be improved? Should other agency for the sale of distrained property be provided, or should the power of distraint be altogether withdrawn? Would it be well to transfer the trial of summary suits to Moonsiffs, or to station Deputy Collectors in the Mofussil, with powers to try them?

Answer.—My experience only enables me to suggest, with reference to the last of these queries, that in the North West Provinces I think it very desirable that the local government should have and exercise the power of investing the Tehseeldars with powers to try summary suits, subject to appeal to the Collector, who might make such appeals over to his Deputies, covenanted or uncovenanted. I adopted this plan in the Punjab and found it answer very well. In Bengal, where the services of Tehseeldars are not available, I presume it would be a good plan to make summary suits over to the Moonsiffs.

49. Eighth Question.—Might it not be advantageous to increase the powers of Collectors and Commissioners, and to allow no appeals in cases which can be carried into the Civil Courts?

Answer.—The best plan, in my humble opinion is that which I have sketched in Paragraphs 17 to 30 of this letter. But as it is not very probable that my suggestions will be adopted, I certainly think that it would be an improvement on the existing system if all suits for land and rent were decided entirely by the Collector and Commissioner, and were no longer preferred in the Civil Courts. This would put the agricultural interest, as such, under one set of masters.

50. In conclusion, I beg to apologise for my own opinions thus hastily put together, by one more remark.

51. There are, as I have remarked, two systems for Indian Government strangely growing up side by side, and each receiving daily fresh development.

The one, the *legal* or Regulation System, just in theory but unsuited in practice to the wants and genius of Asiatics. This is the system which finds favour with English lawyers, who guide the public mind of England in such questions. And this system, itself faulty, is being patched and perverted by certain pseudo-philanthropists at home who fondly believe that an English gentleman, when once landed in India, forgets the habits, instincts, and religion of his forefathers, and becomes an advocate for injustice, torture, and tyranny. These gentlemen philanthropists over-estimate the native capacity for Civil Government and for Self-Government in proportion as they undervalue the integrity, ability, and public spirit of their fellow-countrymen in India.

53. The other system, combining the Oriental plan, and therefore so far suiting the people, with the virtues of Christianity and so far protecting them, is the Punjab system as introduced by the Marquis of Dalhousie. The object of this Scheme of Government is to combine all the avowed excellencies of the Revenue System of the North Western Provinces, with a sure and simple form of Civil and Criminal Justice.

54. Officers are as far as possible well selected, well-supervised, and freely trusted. They ought to be also better paid than is now the case.

55. Under Lord Dalhousie's Government and the mixed system of English and Oriental Government, many parts of the Punjab have progressed from anarchy to civilization at a rate

which is incredible to those who have not, as I have, witnessed and examined the marvellous change.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) CHARLES RAIKES.
Commr. and Supdt. of Lahore, and Offg. Judge of the Sudr. Dy. and Neizt. Adwt. N.W.P., Agra.

Agra, the 4th. of October, 1856.[1]

THE RYOTS

To

The Editor of the Friend of India.

My dear Sir,

"In your issue of the 2nd. instant there is an article on the sufferings and condition of the poor and helpless ryots of this country.

"Your description of the treatment they receive from the hands of zemindars, and of the causes which preclude them from obtaining justice from the courts of law is quite accurate. But it is very difficult, indeed, almost impossible to depict a true and exact picture of their deplorable state, and state in writing all the grievances of those ignorant tillers of the soil.

"The zemindar is armed with extraordinary powers over his tenants for the realization of the rent; but these he always uses for purposes other than that intended by law. The conduct of the zemindars towards their ryots has been so often laid before the public, that it is unnecessary to repeat those tales of woe over again.

"I will only here mention an instance of the advantages enjoyed by the lord, and the disadvantages suffered by the tenant in our court of justice. It is this—the zemindar can take out a single process of attachment against as many ryots as he likes, but

[1] Charles Raikes, "*Notes on the Revolt in the North Western Provinces of India*", (London 1858), Appendix B, pp. 181-195.

the latter, who may be the distraint in a Civil Court, must each of them sue the zemindar separately agreeably to the principle of construction No. 860. Now consider Mr. Editor, the vast difference made by law between two classes of its subjects whom it ought to have treated alike. The zemindar has only to put down the names of as many ryots as he chooses in a bit of paper, and send it to the Sale Commissioner, who will immediately attach all property of the poor cultivators, whose only alternative is either to deposit the amount demanded or see his whole estate carried away and sold. In this way the landlord can bring to sale the property of fifty cultivators by means of a single application to the Sale Commissioner; but the ryots if desirous to try the justice of the distraint, must institute fifty different suits, pay the cost of each suit separately, and moreover, satisfy the Izhar Navees every time the evidence of witness is recorded in each suit. But even after doing all these, he is not sure of obtaining justice. The zemindar is an influential person, so that it is very difficult to find witnesses who will speak the truth for the insignificant Ryot.

" In cases of distress, the Ryots can indeed jointly sue against it in the Revenue Department summarily. But the case of the Ryots in the Collectorate is worse than in the Civil Court. In the latter place they have the satisfaction in the generality of cases of obtaining a hearing, and of having their proofs taken into consideration. In the former, they cannot have recourse to the Collector or his Assistant without bribing the Amlas, and paying Bukhshish to the Chuprasees to do which they have no money, and consequently they cannot lay their grievances before the Sahib in person. They must then do so in writing, and employ a Mookhtar. Very good. They do so. They pay the Byana to the Mookhtar and the usual fee (mind, not sanctioned by law) to the Mohurrir, and present their petition. But what justice do they obtain? Their application when filed, is referred to the Tahseeldar for report, who records the depositions of the Putwarry and returns the case to the Collector, who bases his decision upon the evidence of the Putwarry. Now for justice sake, can this be called justice? Is this the way of redressing the wrongs of the poor Ryots? The conduct of the Putwarries is well known to need a comment. They are the creatures of the zemindar and entirely under his influence. Government has lately made some arrangements for remedying this evil by bettering the condition of the Putwarries, but no beneficial effect has yet been obtained. In almost all the districts in these Provinces, the Putwarries are notorious for their never speaking the truth, and always leaning towards the zemindars,and the Ryots fear them more than they are

afraid of the Amlas, for the entries made by the Putwaries are as valid in the Mofussil as the decrees of the Supreme Court. Now then, these are the two tribunals to which the ryots can have recourse to for justice. In one strictly speaking, all justice is distributed by the Putwaries, and in the other, the costs of litigation are so exorbitant that very few do and can repair to it. As soon as this state of things is changed, so soon the better both for the prosperity and well-being of the country and the Government".[1]

Yours Obediently,
N.W.P. A Native Judicial Officer.

SETTLEMENT IN OUDH.

To

The Financial Commissioner.

"With reference to para 35 of the Chief Commissioner's instructions regarding the adjustment and demarcation of boundaries, observes, that while the approach of the hot weather and the consequent want of time, together with the avowed summary nature of the settlement about to take place, preclude the possibility of a careful adjustment of disputes upon the principles observed in the N.W.P., yet a consideration of the peculiar character of the people of these provinces, and of their readiness to resort to violence in protection of their real or supposed rights, points to the urgent necessity of a speedy adjustment of boundaries. Considers that this should be the first work of the Deputy Commissioner during the ensuing cold weather tours; and requests that Financial Commissioner will if he be of a similar opinion, issue instructions accordingly. If not, begs to be favoured with his views on the subject and directs that Mr. Edmonstone's injunction in regard to village boundaries in uncultivated tracts, be impressed on the officers entrusted with this duty".[2]

To

The Financial Commissioner.

"Refers to paras 38, Et Seg. (*sic,*) of Chief Commissioner's instructions in regard to the necessity of entering immediately upon

[1] "*The Friend of India*" April 16, 1857, pp. 370-71.

[2] Oudh Abstract Proceedings. Revenue, 23rd. February to 17th. October 1856. Abstract of the Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner's Office for the week ending 23rd. February, 1856. 19th. February, 1856. No. 5, Secretariat Records Office, U.P. Lucknow.

the investigation of claims to rent-free holdings in the Province of Oude. Observes that the 5th. circular of the Punjab Board of Administration, which the Government desire should be the rule in such investigations, requires the attendance of the putwaree and lumberdars before the officer entrusted with the investigation, in order that their evidence might be taken and recorded. Considers it desirable that each officer engaged in the summary settlement about to be introduced, should, while on the spot, avail himself of the opportunity to take the evidence of the putwaree and headman of each village in regard to rent-free holdings in it. Points out that the slight additional labour which will thus be entailed on the settlement officer, is of little consequence in comparison with the importance of disposing of these vexatious cases in the most satisfactory and expeditious manner possible.[1]

Revenue Administration of Oudh

Financial Commissioner.
No. 69 dt. 21st. March.

" Forwards copy of correspondence with the District officers, and draft of a circular proposed to be issued, on the subject of the approaching summary settlement, to this effect viz.

1. That the calculation of the village assets shall be based on the average of the 5 years back collections, and of the Kudem Sowaiei.

2. That Nakkar Choukedaree Tax, road, and school funds and the quarter per cent district dak shall be deducted from the assets and that the Government demand shall be fixed at half of the remainder leaving the other moiety for the Zemindars.....

No. 125.

" In reply communicates the following observations:—

The C.C. concurs with him that considering the additional period which the District officers have now got for the completion of the Summary Settlement, their investigations may embrace claims to Malikana preferred by the ousted Talookadars—under the conditions he prescribes subject to certain qualifications but he is not disposed to assent to his proposition that Malikana claimed on a strong prescriptive title shall be guaranteed to the holder and his heir for the term of the revized (revised) settlement. Is of opinion that no such requests will be preferred unless

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings. Revenue, 23rd. February to 17th. October, 1856. Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner for the week ending 23rd February, 1856., 20th. February, 1856, No. 9. Secretariat Records Office, U.P. Lucknow.

the out of which they are to pay the Putwarrees and the wages of the pulluhers (*sic*,).

3. That the settlement shall be made with the actual proprietors, and enjoin the District officers to be careful that they do not confound the proprietors with the Malgozar of whatever description who have hitherto been paying the Government demand.

4. That the claims of the excluded Talookdars to Malikana shall be decided upon when it can be done without burthening (burdening) the assessing officer with too lengthened an enquiry and lay down that all such claims shall be set aside when the title has manifestly been recently acquired by violence or fraud; but that in cases where the village proprietors have been so long dispossessed of the malgozaree engagement that the Talookdar has acquired a prescriptive right to it Malikana-shall be guaranteed to him, and his heirs for the term of the revized (revised) settlement, while in instances where his prescriptive title is not so strong—it may be assigned to him for his life only; in cases where a mere prolonged enquiry is desirable, these parties are to be informed that their claims shall be disposed of as soon as possible after the settlement has been completed.

claimants be instigated thereto by the Settlement Officer himself. It will suffice to tell such a Talookddar that, his claims will be acknowledged during the Summary settlement but if he should make further enquiries, he should be informed that at the revised settlement all claims will be brought under investigation, and his among the number more—the C.C. would not advise. The question as to whether one half of the Malikana of 10/- per cent which he directs to be allowed to the ousted Talookdars—shall be defrayed by Government is reversed for further consideration by the C.C. Requests him to impress upon the Settlement Officer-that all claims to Malikana must be viewed, and admitted with extreme caution. The C.C. concurs with him that a flagrant, and wilful defaulter among the proprietary occupants who shall fail to pay the rubbee (rabi) balances due to his Malgozaree after the warning, he proposes to issue in such cases—may be excluded from entering into direct engagements with Government for the Settlements but a summary enquiry—and a regular award of balance due—must be made before the issue of the notice. Adds that the C.C. entirely approves of the rest of his instructions.[1]

[1]Foreign Deptt. Oudh Abstract Proceedings. Revenue, 23rd. February to 17th. October, 1856. Proceedings of the Office of Chief Commissioner for the week ending 5th. April, 1856. Dated April 14, No. 29. Secretariat Records Office U.P., Lucknow.

5. The Malikana allowance at 10/- per cent, half of which is to be defrayed by Govt. and the other half by the Zemindars.

6. That byenamahs or deeds of sale obtained by force, or fraud must altogether be rejected and that such instruments are nowhere to be accepted unsupported by other evidence of the deed having really been a voluntary one, when the Talookdar has been Amil of the Ilaqa.

7. That wherever any flagrant and wilful case of default on the part of a proprietary occupant may occur, a notice shall be issued requiring him to pay up the rubbee balances due to his Malgozar, by a given date failing which, he shall be excluded from engaging for the summary settlement.

8. That the item of salt be wholly excluded from the assets.

9. That in villages the proprietors of which have hitherto been under direct engagements with Government the former headmen shall be retained, and where such has not been the case, the proprietors shall be allowed to nominate their own lumberdars.[1]

From *Financial Commissioner.*
No. 84. Dated 5th. April.

Reply to No. 125 dt. 4th. instant—Resubmits for further

[1]Foreign Deptt., Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Revenue, 23rd. February to 17th. October, 1856. Proceedings of the Office of Chief Commissioner for the week ending 5th. April, 1856. April 4, No. 28. Secretariat Records Office U.P., Lucknow.

orders his corrected Circular, for the Summary Settlement & with reference to paragraph 13 of No. 125, in which he is told that the District Officers should be informed that the Summary Settlement leaves the Government unfettered in dealing with any question of right at the regular Settlement.....[1]

From *Financial Commissioner.*
No. 107. dated 14th. April.

No. 163.

Reply to No. 154, of 14th. instant, concurs in the propriety of substituting the words 'they (the Talookdars) shall be held to have forfeited for ever all right and title whatever, in every village for which they now shall fail to discharge the Rubbee demand', in lieu of the words proposed in his letter viz. that 'for no village for which they fail to discharge the Rubbee demand will they be permitted to engage at the Summary Settlement'. States that when rents are fairly due to the Talookdars by the villagers, they should be supported in making distraint. Adds that in instances where the feeling between the Talookdar & the villagers is sufficiently bitter to endanger the peace, the former should be set aside without prejudice to any right he

In reply agrees with him that when rents are fairly due to the Talookdars by the villagers, they should be supported in distraining. States that the Judicial Commissioner has been requested to cause the Police throughout the Province to be instructed to lend ready aid in cases of this nature. Concurs with him that in instances where the feelings between the Talookdar and the villager is sufficiently bitter to endanger the peace, the former should be set aside without prejudice to any right that he may possess, and engagements made direct with the villagers.[2]

[1]Foreign Department, Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Revenue, 23rd. February to 17th. October, 1856. Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner for the affairs of Oudh, Revenue Department for the week ending 12th. April. April 7, No. 1. Secretariat Records Office U.P., Lucknow.

[2]*Ibid*.....for the week ending 19th. April, 1856. April 15, No. 26.

may possess and the villagers admitted to engagements".[1]

From

Financial Commissioner,
No. 1194. dated 19th. Dec.

No. 1898.

With reference to No. 1593 dated 17th. ultimo: forwards for information a letter in original from the Commissioner of Fyzabad on the subject of the general discontent as well as over-assessment in the Sultanpoor District".[2]

"In reply states that Colonel Goldney's letter is an able and satisfactory explanation of the numerous camplaints made to the Chief Commissioner on his tour through the district of Sultanpoor, and that the general rendering of *Jamabandees* has, it is presumed, by the time been completed and its (it is) unnecessary to allude further to the subject except by stating that if Talooqdar or Zemeendars presented false *Jamabundees* at the summary settlement with the fraudulent object of obtaining low assets there would have been no injustice in limiting their rental demands to the *Jamabundee* so presented as a retributory measure for their fraud."[3]

From

Financial Commissioner.
No. 1148. dated 8th. Dec.

No. 47.

Reply to No. 1614 dated 18th. November. States that his proceedings Nos. 388/389 consisted

In reply observes that he appears to have entirely disregarded the fact that the Chief

[1]Foreign Deptt., Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Revenue, 23rd. February to 17th. October, 1856. Proceedings of the Office of Chief Commissioner for the affairs of Oudh in Revenue Department for the week ending 19th. April, 1856. April 15, No. 25. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

[2]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Deptt., Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 3rd. January, 1857. Dated 31st. December, 1856, No. 32. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

[3]Ibid., No. 33.

of a reference No. 298 dated 5th. October by the Commissioner of Baraitch, on the subject of the mode of recording the shares and liabilities of Putteedars, as adopted by Mr. Wingfield, in giving effect to the general instructions contained in Chief Commissioner's order No. 797 dated 1st. August last; that Mr. Wingfield pointed out in para 5 of his letter that Resolution I of those instructions was practically neutralized by Resolution II; that the Chief Commissioner in para 5 of the letter under reply observed that it should hardly be necessary to point out to the Commissioner that such discrepancy did not exist; that he much regrets the issue of the present orders, as he had hoped to avoid a discussion which is now inevitable. The discrepancy between Resolutions I and II appears to him clearly to exist and the Commissioner of Baraitch is not the only officer who has noticed it. A similar reference upon the same question raised by the Deputy Commissioner Poorwa reached him through the Commissioner of Lucknow, and was disposed of in the same manner as that from Baraitch; that in his order upon both these cases he carried out the provisions of Resolution II and ignored Resolution I as he conceives that both cannot be enforced, for they appear to him to be opposed to each other. Resolution I provides that "A Record of village proprietary Commissioner had expressed himself in favour of the formation of a record of proprietary shares in Bhyachara villages, though he had given in letter No. 797 dated 1st. August his opinion of the impracticability of forming such a record as might be admitted to be an authoritative proof of title on the imperfect data obtained at the summary settlement, which would also it appeared to him be indefinitely protracted by the attempt and by the numerous disputes it would give rise to; that the Chief Commissioner in para 6 of that letter stated "there can be no objection to a list of recognized and undisputed share-holders being drawn out where it can be done without difficulty and delay. Accordingly Resolution I of that letter directed that a regular Kheywut or record of village proprietary shares will not necessarily form a part of the summary settlement though every District Officer will use his discretion in recording in the Settlement Ikrarnamah the names of those coparceners whom the Zeminders or Lumberdars, admitted to engage, desire to associate with themselves in their engagements. But whilst guarding against the delay that would be incurred in effecting a detailed Kheywut or record of share-holders at the summary settlement that would be entitled to any trust and against the disputes that the attempt, to effect it, in a super-

shares will not necessarily form a part of the summary settlement". Resolution II requires that " the extent of each coparcener's responsibility " shall be recorded. Whereas the amount of responsibility is governed by the extent of share to record the one is equivalent to making a record of the other. Observes that the term " *Tureek Kheywut* " means no more than " system of dividing responsibilities " and the provision of Resolution II is in effect nothing more than what was proposed by Rules I and III of his letter No. 584 dated 24th. July; that he entirely dissents from one important principle involved in Resolution I. So long however as it was virtually neutralized by Resolution II, he did not deem it necessary to make it a subject of reference. But the Chief Commissioner's present communication compels him to do so, and he accordingly respectfully requests that the question may be submitted for the orders of Government, as it is one of great importance; that it was especially mooted and brought forward in paras 12 to 16 of his letter No. 584 above referred to; that Resolution I appears to have been framed in opposition to the view taken by him. For it was thereby provided that no record of shares was necessary " though every District Officer will use his discretion in recording in the Settlement Ikrarnamah the names of those ficial and imperfect manner would give rise to, the Chief Commissioner was well aware of the importance of effecting as speedily as practicable through the village Putwarees a record of each shareholder's liability to the lumberdars or zemindars for his portion of the Revenue assessment; and accordingly, by Resolution II, he directed that such a record should be prepared without delay. The Chief Commissioner certainly cannot understand that the two Resolutions are incompatible; on the contrary one appeared to be a necessary consequence of the other. The village record would moreover be one of each man's liability and of the extent of his holding when in possession of a distinct Puttee. The Kheywut proposed by the Financial Commissioner to form part of the summary settlement would have been on the contrary an authoritative recognition of title on imperfect data or must have given rise to endless disputes. States that as the Financial Commissioner observes in para 7 of his letter under reply, that his Tareek Kheywut meant nothing more than " a system of dividing responsibilities " and that the provision of the Chief Commissioner's Resolution II is in effect nothing more than was proposed by his Rule I, the Chief Commissioner cannot but feel gratified that that Resolution met his views as was intended, without delaying the summary settle-

coparceners *whom the zemindars or Moocuddums, admitted to engage, desire to associate with themselves in their Revenue engagements*"; so that the record of a Putteedar's name would depend upon the Lumberdar's pleasure "to associate him or not"! Of course as has been observed to him by the Deputy Commissioner, Poorwa, the Lumberdars would rarely or ever make it their pleasure so to do and consequently all Putteedars' names would be excluded from Record. States that the result of such a system would be interminable quarrels and balances—and affrays and bloodshed. For there is no more fruitful source of animosity and quarrel, than denial of the just dues of a Putteedar by a Lumberdar. And by this summary settlement it may often possibly have happened that the party who had the better claim to be the Lumberdar, was from the summary nature of the proceedings not admitted. Refers the Chief Commissioner to the remarks recorded by him in para 2 of his letter No. 266 dated 14th. October in reply to the reference by the Commissioner of Baraitch which forms the subject of this reference. Observes that para 29 of the instructions of the 4th. February which is twice referred to by Mr. Jackson in the letter under reply, appears to him to have no application to the case. For it refers to the decision of dispute. With reference to para 9 of his letter the Chief Commissioner observes, that he is not aware of any remark of his, at the conference which would bear the construction imputed to it, or a desire to ignore the rights of the Putteedars; that the construction given by him in para 10, to Resolution I is a forced one and at variance with the text of the letter which preceded it; the absence of a record of a Putteedar's name at summary settlement though it might be partly caused by the Lumberdar's desire not to associate him with himself on the Revenue engagement, would not involve his dispossession any more than the absence of a Khusra or Khutteeonee at the summary settlement would be followed by the dispossession of every cultivating occupant; on the contrary both wants could be subsequently provided by the village papers proposed under Resolution II. The Chief Commissioner admits the importance of a record of each coparcener's tenure, but he objected to such a record being prepared in a hurry and on imperfect data. He concludes that the Financial Commissioner is of the same opinion, and he can therefore perceive no object that is to be attained by referring the matter to Government. As regards Captain Evan's objection submitted by him so long ago as the 15th. October but only forwarded with

puted claims, whereas the question now under discussion involves no more than the record of acknowledged rights; that he cannot in any way recognize "the strict accordance of the Chief Commissioner's resolutions with them"; that the Chief Commissioner in para 7 of his letter No. 797 dated 1st. August observed "that proprietary titles in land are now recognized for the first time in this Province" which he begs to assure the Chief Commissioner is a mistake; that he is inclined to believe from all that he has seen and learnt in Oudh that where Bhyachara or Putteedaree communities were allowed to engage direct with the Amil without the intervention of a Talooqdar *the village constitution was not interfered with*, that the Headman engaged as respresentative only; and the Putteedars enjoyed their proportionate rights. Such he knows to have been frequently the case, so that in all cases of this description, by carrying out Resolution I, of the Chief Commissioner's order No. 797, the sharer would be in a worse condition as respects the Lumberdar, under our Government, than they had been under the native Government; that every District Officer of the Province with whom he has discussed the question appears convinced of the his letter of the 8th. December he might have been informed that the objection of a Lumberdar to associate any coparceners in his Revenue engagements would not cause their dispossession; on the contrary that para 6 of Chief Commissioner's letter of 1st. August, specially noticed the discretion left to the District Officers to make a list at summary settlement of recognized and undisputed shareholders. As the records of all share-holders are now, or should be, in course of preparation, there can be no ground for referring the matter to Government; however, if he thinks it advisable to submit the correspondence the Chief Commissioner has no objection to that course and though there are some parts of his letter in which the Chief Commissioner cannot concur more particularly the remarks that the shares would be by the summary settlement without a Khewut in worse condition under our, than the Native Government, he avoids entering into discussion on speculative notion of this kind.[1]

[1] Foreign Deptt. Oudh Abstract Procgs., Revenue 3rd. Jany. to 23rd. May, 1857. Procgs., of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 17th, January, 1857. Dated 12th. Jany. 1857. No. 10 Secretariat Records Office U. P. Lucknow.

necessity of some Record, and anticipates confusion and balance from its absence in all Bhyachara and Putteedaree communities. This opinion is evidently held by Mr. Wingfield; it is held by the Deputy Commissioner Poorwa; and is, he understands, held in the Fyzabad Division in respect of the large Bhyachara Putteedaree communities which obtain there. *Moreover the expectation of this record has been every where raised,* and he has had before him in appeal many orders of Mr. Christian in which claimants are referred to the "Khefayut (*sic*,—Kaifiyat) Proceedings" which they were informed would closely follow the conclusion of the summary settlement. Requests that the correspondence in this case, which is submitted, may be laid before the Government of India, to elicit orders *whether a record ought not to be made of all acknowledged shares and liabilities,* or whether as provided in the Chief Commissioner's Resolution I, the names of those coparceners only shall be recorded whom "the *Moocuddums desire to associate with themselves in their Revenue engagements*." Adds that copies of the Chief Commissioner's letter have been forwarded as directed, to the Commissioners of Baraitch and Fyzabad.[1]

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Deptt. Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 17th. January, 1857. Dated 12th. January, 1857. No. 9. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

From

Financial Commissioner.

No. 229, dated 24th. Dec.

No. 51.

In continuation of former correspondence, reports the return of Rajah Man Singh, a revenue defaulter; and requests to know whether the Chief Commissioner has any orders to give regarding him. States that his arrears of revenue will be arranged immediately; and with the exception of a very few Maafee villages the whole of his talooqua has been distributed among the occupant zemindars. Thinks that he has suffered sufficiently for any default, or other contumacy he may be judged to have been guilty of.[1]

In reply states that his opinion, regarding the penalties incurred by the Rajah for any act of contumacy merit (merits) every attention; and the matter is not one which calls for the interference of the Chief Commissioner.[2]

From

Deputy Commissioner,
Sultanpore.

No. 417 dated 23rd. December.

Reply to No. 1631 dated 10th. November, regarding the petition of Narain Sookul, complaining that although the settlement of the village of Poorwa in the Amaithee Pergunnah had been made with him, the revenue was demanded from Rajah Madho Singh. States that the Petitioner's statement is false; and that the

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Deptt., Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 17th. January, 1857. Dated 13th. January, 1857. No. 16. Secretariat Records Office U.P., Lucknow.

[2]*Ibid.*, No. 17.

settlement of the village in question was made with Rajah Madho Singh.[1]

No. 64.

To

Deputy Commissioner,
Lukhnow.

Forwards copy of a Petition presented to the Chief Commissioner by Nawab Nishat Muhul Saheba praying that the revenue of her Jagheer may not be reduced, and that the settlement be made with her agents; and requests him to report briefly the measures that have been adopted regarding this Jagheer and whether they have prevented the Petitioner from realizing the rents.[2]

No. 65.

To

Deputy Commissioner,
Lukhnow.

Forwards copy of a Petition presented to the Chief Commissioner by Nawab Nishat Muhul Saheba complaining that her gardens are being used by Troops as encamping grounds; and requests him to report

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Deptt., Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 17th. January, 1857. Dated 14th. January, 1857. No. 28. Secretariat Records Office U.P., Lucknow.

[2]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Deptt., Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of the Proceedings of Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 17th. January, 1857. Dated 16th. January, 1857. No. 40. Secretariat Records Office U.P., Lucknow.

No. 42.

From

Commissioner, Fyzabad.

No. 1, dated 3rd. January.

Reply to No. 609 dated 9th. July last, regarding the Petition of Mooslihoos Sooltan. States that the land being considered Nuzool was taken up as such by the District Officer in April last, there being no one present on the part of the petitioner to claim the land, which was ultimately farmed for Rupees 265, the *Juma*, the land had hitherto borne. On the 17th. August the District Officer decided the land to be Government property, and called for the Firmans of claimant on the subject. The case was protracted until October, when it appears to have been compromised by consent of the party concerned as follows:—A garden valued at Rupees 125 per annum has been released to the applicant, and the rest of the land which is under the plough will remain on Farm, the proceed being held in deposit pending whether these lands have been taken up for military purposes, and if so, why compensation has not been allowed to the proprietors.[1]

No. 66.

To

Judicial Commissioner.

Observes that the explanation of the Commissioner of Fyzabad is not altogether intelligible; and the Chief Commissioner does not see the reason why the District Officer should have called for the claimant's Firmans if he had already decided the land to be Government property. The compromise too, if the Government was the other party concerned, which was apparently the case, does not seem to have been a proper course—for either the land was Government property, or it was not; and a decision on the point ought to have been one way or the other rather than recourse to a compromise with the opposite party. Forwards copy of the correspondence; and requests him to obtain a full explanation of the irregularities apparent in the disposal of this case, and submit the same to the Chief Commissioner with his opinion.[2]

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Deptt., Revenue 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 17th. January, 1857. Dated 16th. January, 1857. No. 41. Secretariat Records Office U.P., Lucknow.

[2]*Ibid.*, No. 43.

the production by claimant's Attorney of the Firmans bearing on the case. The Petitioner himself being absent with the Ex-King in Calcutta, much delay has occurred; and the Commissioner apprehends that a further reference will be necessary.[1]

From
Financial Commissioner,
No. 31. Dated 20th. January.

Forwards abstract of his proceedings for the week ending 7th. January ".[2]

No. 148.

To
Financial Commissioner.

With reference to entry No. 56 of his abstract requests that a copy of the letter expressing the Chief Commissioner's approval of Colonel Goldney's able explanation relative to the numerous complaints made to the Officiating Chief Commissioner on his tour, *of over-assessment in the Sultanpoor District,* on which he (Financial Commissioner) has passed no orders, be forwarded to the Commissioner of Fyzabad for his information.[3]

From
Deputy Commissioner,
Lucknow.
No. 4. D/ 24th. January.

Reply to No. 64 dated 16th. January. Submits report on

No. 179.

A letter having been recd. from Nishat Muhul Saheba, requesting that the rule settling Jagheers at half assests may not be extended to her Jagheers in

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Deptt., Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Procgs. of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 17th. January, 1857. Dated 16th. January 1857. No. 42. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

[2]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 7th. February, 1857. Dated 6th. February, 1857. No. 53. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

[3]*Ibid.*, No. 54.

the petition of Nawab Nishat Muhul Saheba praying that the Revenue of her Jagheer may not be reduced.[1]

Zillah Lukhnow; the petitioner was informed that from the report of the Deputy Commissioner of Lukhnow it appears that nothing has been done towards settling her Jagheer, beyond the preparation of the necessary papers. The Deputy Commissioner states that his rule is to settle Jagheers at 1/2 assets, the zemindars paying in addition the Sowaie Cesses, Road, Putwary, and Chowkeedaree funds, and if the settlement at 1/2 assets is not equal to the value of the Jagheer as specified in the holder's firman he has no one but himself to blame for the exactions which have impoverished his villages. The manner in which the Deputy Commissioner proposes to dispose of the case is in accordance with the rules issued on the subject.[2]

From

Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow.

No. 5, dated 26th. January.

Reply to No. 63 dated 16th. January. Submits a report on the petition of Khoord Muhul and others, protesting against their Jagheers being assessed at 1/2 assets, and settled with the zemindars.[3]

No. 183.

In reply states that his explanation is satisfactory.[4]

No. 184.

A letter having been recd. from the Officiating Deputy

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 14th. February, 1857. Dated 11th. February, 1857. No. 54. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

[2]*Ibid.*, No. 55.

[3]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 14th. February, 1857. Dated 12th. February, 1857. No. 63 Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

[4]*Ibid.*, No. 64.

Commissioner, Lucknow, No. 5 dated 26th. ultimo, reporting on the petition of Khoord Muhul, Sooltan Jehan Muhul, Hazrut Muhul, Syudah Muhul, Furkhoondah Muhul, and Mirza Birjees Kudur, protesting against their Jagheers being assessed at 1/2 assets and settled with the Zemindars, the petitioners were informed that the Jagheerdar is only entitled to receive the amount which would in Khalsah-lands have been payable by the Zemindar to the Government; and that that amount has been ruled to be one half of the ascertained assets.[1]

No. 216.

To

Financial Commissioner.

With reference to Nos. 273/74 being correspondence with the Commissioner of Fyzabad regarding the position of Talookdars and Malgozars in his Division, observes that if the parties were allowed to engage at the summary settlement for defaulting Talookas, on the same terms as other Malgozars, the intention expressed in para 17 of placing them in the position of *Moostajirs*, or holders of 3 years leases, cannot be considered otherwise than a breach of engagement. Such engagement,

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 14th. February, 1857. Dated 12th. February, 1857. No. 65. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

in the opinion of the Chief Commissioner, can only be rescinded at the regular settlement, the preliminary enquiries for which should therefore be no longer delayed after the summary settlement has been reported and confirmed.[1]

From

Accountant General.

No. 465. Dated 11th. February.

Enquiries whether Guns and Tumbrils are received in satisfaction of Revenue demands throughout the Province, or in particular districts only; and whether any orders of general application have been issued regarding their adjustment.[2]

No. 260.

To

Financial Commissioner.

With reference to Chief Commissioner's letter No. 43 dated 5th. March, 1857, requests him to call for a return shewing the number and value of *Guns taken in lieu of Revenue in each district.* Intimates that the provisions of the circular authorizing the taking of Guns were only applicable to the Rubbee demand, and therefore no Guns should be received in lieu of money due on the summary settlement.

It is presumed that in the majority of instances the Guns were at once broken up, sold, and the amount credited to the land Revenue in lieu of which they had been taken. Directs him however to make enquiries on this point; and *where this has not already been done the District Officer should be directed at once to breakup and sell such Guns,* crediting

[1] Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 21st. February, 1857. Dated 19th. February, 1857. No. 58. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid...* .....week ending 7th. March, 1857. Dated 2nd. March, 1857. No. 1. Secretariat Records Office, Lucknow.

the amount realized to land Revenue. If the guns were fairly valued this in itself ought to suffice to expunge the item in the accounts. But in cases where the amount realized falls short of the amount credited, instances of which, it is hoped, will be rare, a bill for the balance should be submitted in order that the sanction of Government may be solicited to its payment—thereby removing the time from the public accounts.

Adds that the above observations will not have reference to guns sent in to be parked at Lukhnow, bills for the value of which might at once be submitted in districts where this has not already been done.[2]

From
Deputy Commissioner,
Lucknow.
Dated 20th. February, 1857.

No. 261.

In reply to No. 65 dated 16th January calling for a report on the petition of Nishat Muhul Saheba, states that her lands have been taken to form part of the parade ground for Major Gall's Cavalry Regiment, and that due compensation will be allowed. Intimates that her Imambarah and Musjid will not be interfered with.[1]

Petitioner informed that her Imambarah and Musjid will not be interfered with; but that *lands required for the parade ground must be taken*, for which compensation will be given.[3]

[1] Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 7th. March, 1857. Dated 2nd. March. 1857. No. 3 Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 4.

From

Commissioner, Khyrabad.

No. 10, dated 24th. February.

Acknowledges receipt of No. 1195 of 24th. September and No. 1534 dated 27th. December and replies to the allegations of the Financial Commissioner,that he deliberately ignored his orders and those of the Government to make the settlement with the village occupants and not with the Talookdars and that in one instance where he had taken engagements with a Talookdar on the strength of a deed of mortgage extorted by force and the Financial Commissioner had reversed his decision in favor of the village proprietor he informed the Financial Commissioner that in the event of the Talookdar bringing forward his claim again in the shape of a civil suit he would decree in his favor.[1]

No. 308.

To

Financial Commissioner.

States that in his letter No. 875 of the 17th. September he represented that in the case of Dalnunda who claims the zemindaree of Dalmow khas in Zillah Mullaon, Mr. Christian deliberately ignored his orders and those of the Government to make the settlement with the village occupants and not with the Talookdars and that in one instance where Mr. Christian had taken engagements with a Talookdar on the strength of a deed of mortage (*sic,*) (mortgage) extorted by force, and after he had reversed the decision in favour of the village proprietors. Mr. Christian informed him that in the event of the Talookdar bringing forward his claim again in the shape of a Civil suit he would decide in his favour. Observes that the allegations are of a general nature and advert to several matters which have been disposed of; that Mr. Christian explains on satisfactory grounds his constructon of para 15 of the Government Instructions, and assigns a cause for addressing the Chief Commissioner direct in some instances which is entitled to consideration viz.

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 14th. March, 1857. Dated 11th. March, 1857. No. 15. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

that he, Financial Commissioner, omitted or delayed to forward his remonstrances when addressed to himself and did not furnish him with copies of orders in cases of which the appeals had been rejected. States that the matter calls for no further remarks except that the general imputations conveyed against the official character of Mr. Christian and of the Extra-Assistant Hurgobind appear to be void of foundation.[1]

From

Commissioner, Baraitch.

No. 311.

No. 48, dated 25th. February.

Office Memo.

In reply to No. 139 dated 4th. February explains that it was protracted and wilful default that led to the exclusion of the Raja of Esanuggur from engagements at the summary settlement.[2]

Directing that Raja Runjeet Singh Talookdar of Esanuggur be informed in reply to his petition that the arrangements entered into in consequence of his wilful and protracted default cannot be disturbed.[3]

No. 324.

To

Financial Commissioner.

Forwards for such orders as it may call for a correspondence

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 14th. March, 1857. Dated 11th. March, 1857. No. 16. Secretariat Records Office, U.P , Lucknow.

[2]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 14th. March, 1857. Dated 11th. March 1857 No. 20. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

Ibid., No. 21.

with the Commissioner of Fyzabad from which he will perceive that two zemindars of Sultanpore having complained that their *Juma* had been assessed at Rs. 566 in excess of that paid to the late Government. The matter was referred to Colonel Goldney for report who replied that the assessment had undergone revision and been reduced by Rs. 470 and the Deputy Commissioner added that he did not consider the present *Juma* excessive; but the Commissioner is silent upon that point although the *Juma* is still Rs. 96 in excess of that-said to have been paid under the former Government.[1]

From

Financial Commissioner.

No. 209 dated 17th. April.

No. 555.

Reply.

In reply to No. 373 dated 20th ultimo requesting him to explain what are the circumstances peculiar to the Rubbee of 1263 F.S. which, in his opinion, justified a suspension of the indisputable right of land-holders to sue the holders of subordinate tenures for rents due on that harvest; submits for Chief Commissioner's perusal, the Commissioner of Fyzabad's

Intimates that the Chief Commissioner is of opinion that the course he adopted in declining to answer the general question put to Colonel Goldney whether landholders have the privilege of suing summarily for their rents due on the harvest of 1263 at any period within 12 months after their falling due was prudent and correct.[2]

[1] Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 14th. March, 1857. Dated 13th. March, 1857. No. 48. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

[2] Ibid ...., for the week ending 2nd. May, 1857. Dated 30th. April, 1857. No. 57, Secretariat Record Office, Lucknow.

(*sic*,) letter with his reply thereto, from which it will be seen that the question put by Colonel Goldney is a general one which he declined to answer. Considering the Rubbee season of 1263 F.S. exceptional, in as much as the rents claimed could be supported by no documentary evidence, the Ryots being everywhere required to pay according to previous usage much above the written Puttahs, such cannot occur again. Malgozars covenanted, on being admitted to engage, not to claim possession beyond the first of Asarh, if the succeeding settlement should be made with another.[1]

From

Financial Commissioner,

No. 232, dated 22nd. April. No. 649.

With reference to No. 362 of the 19th. ultimo forwarding an original petition of Byj Nath, Ram Lall &c. and requiring an explanation of the several allegations contained therein, states that an appeal was preferred to him in this case on the 19th. September, and he reversed the orders of the lower courts on the ground that the petitioners were adherents and relatives of Raja Man Singh, and that altho (although) their Byenama is 37

In reply remarks that it appears that the Assistant Commissioner of Fyzabad settled certain lands with the petitioners on the strength of a Byenama dated 37 years ago which they held from the resident cultivators who were Syuds. The Syuds appealed against this order to the Deputy Commissioner and to the Commissioner of Fyzabad both of whom upheld it on the ground that enquiry could not then be made into the merits of

[1] Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 2nd. May, 1857. Dated 30th. April, 1857. No. 56. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

years old, that is of no consequence because the founder of Man Singh's family entered that Ilaqa before that time. His instructions were that all Byenamas extorted by persons in authority were to be set aside as valueless and as the family of Man Singh was notorious for having acquired its possessions by rapacity and by the extortion of deeds of sale he directed the engagements to be made with the Syud resident cultivators whereby he conceived himself to be properly carrying out the orders of Government to deal with the actual occupants of the soil and not to suffer the interposition of middlemen such as Talookdars &c.[1]

the Byenama, but on an appeal to him, Financial Commissioner has reversed the orders of the lower courts. Observes that he argues that the Government have forbidden settlement to be made with a Talookdar. Man Singh is a Talookdar and the petitioners are his representatives, therefore settlement cannot be made with Petitioners, and if his premises be just his conclusions are also sound. But the petitioners point to the Seer land which they hold, the wells which they have dug and the gardens which they have planted in proof of their proprietary or zemindary right which they purchased 37 years ago from the resident cultivators who now dispute the validity of the deed. The local authorities did not make the settlement with them as Talookdars but as Zemindars, and he himself observed to the Commissioner of Fyzabad that in Captain Reid's proceedings the Rajah is treated off as a Talookdar and the petitioners as if they were villagers with independent interests, and there is nothing in the Misl to shew that Captain Reid's conclusion was erroneous, and that the petitioners actually are Talookdars. The question whether there are two separate properties in the village could be easily determined. If these be, perhaps he was right in ousting

[1] Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 16th. May, 1857. Dated 12th. May, 1857. No. 34. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

the petitioners. But if not and if the petitioner's tenure is Zemindary the Chief Commissioner is of opinion that it would not be just to oust them under the instructions of Government which refer to only the cases of Talookdars who have acquired their holdings by violence or fraud. Neither would it be right to summarily eject them from land which they had held for nearly a generation, merely on the assumption that the Byenama was fraudulently obtained without any sort of enquiry into its validity as has been the case in this instance. The Chief Commissioner's opinion is very decided that by the orders of Government the parties in possession ought to have been maintained for the Summary Assessment, and the Syuds left to plead in the Civil Court or at the revised settlement. The Chief Commissioner thinks that he has mistaken the views of Government and will therefore be glad if he will order the settlement to be made for the remaining two years it has to run with the Brahmins, leaving the Syuds to prove their case at the revised settlement. If he still maintains his own views, the Chief Commissioner begs that he will submit any further explanation that he may desire to have laid before the Government of India.[1]

[1]Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Foreign Department, Revenue, 3rd. January to 23rd. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Office of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh for the week ending 16th. May, 1857. Dated 12th. May, 1857. No. 35. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow.

The Settlement of Oude:[1]

"The settlement of the land revenue in an Indian province has truly been described as equivalent to the reconstruction of its society. The process involves not only the regulation of the principal tax paid by the inhabitants, but the adjustment of the mutual relations of all the grades into which they are socially divided, and even the all important relations between the ruler and the ruled. M. de tocqueville remarks that the tenure of land have a greater effect upon the formation of national character and the fortunes of a people than any other single circumstance whatever ..... Undoubtedly, the material condition of an Indian population is more influenced by the system of land-taxation to which they are subject than any other circumstance.....

"Unfortunately, the settlement question is involved in a mass of the strongest party prejudices. In fact, it is the only question of domestic interest which divides Indian politicians into parties. Unfortunately also, as we conceive it, it is the party which is in the wrong that has for the last 30 years had the upper hand in the making of land settlements in India..... *These have helped to throw one province after province under the operation of a system the soundness of which has laterly come under universal suspicion.* ..... That system is now in course of extension to the newly annexed province of Oudh.[2]

Influence of barber minister and mehtranee mistresses:

"In spite of reports and romances we believe that landed property had attained in Oude a degree of security superior to that in which it is held elsewhere in India beyond Bengal. The government revenue indeed was usually yielded only to the demands of artillery, and the landholder levied his rents by a process strictly similar..... in Oude the *merass* has descended through generations without deflecting in the slightest degree from its prescribed course per fear or favour of the *barber—ministers* or the *metranee* (*Mehtranee*)—*mistresses* who ruled the sovereign of the day. This security of landed possessions is likely to be compromised by the operations of the settlement now being carried on in the province.

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot.* April 30, 1857, pp. 140-41.

[2] Campbell: *Memoirs of my Indian careers Oude* chapter vii. and *Systems of Land Tenure* published by the Cobden Club, U.K., under the heading "Tenure of Land in India".

"There had always been two schools in India in regard to the land, that which upheld the claims of the aristocrates, and that which maintained the claim of the people".

Letter from a Zemindar:

"A letter which appeared a fortnight ago in the columns of the "*Englishman*" confirms all that we had suspected or heard before about the arbitrary, and in many cases the unjust nature of the settlement operations. This letter embodies a remonstrance on the part of a zemindar dispossessed of his lands by the settlement officer, who proceeded, it seems, to enter into engagements directly with the tenants. The remonstrance is extremely well argued on the ground of law and public justice, though it does not touch the question of policy or social necessity.[1]

Extracts from a letter of a zemindar dispossessed in Oudh:

"..... It must be borne in mind that the Government of India, in making laws for the province of Oude, which is to be governed for the future under a British commission, cannot set aside the rights of property, or those principles of justice which have hitherto regulated those rights; such laws, if made, will be virtually inoperative, because the power of Government acquired by the rights of conquest or in the tranquillization of a province whose people were in open rebellion with their lawful sovereign, do not extend to the province of Oude. The people of Oude, therefore, whether servants of His Majesty the King of Oude, or persons belonging to the common masses, have forfeited no rights; they therefore could not be deprived summarily of the enjoyment of all existing rights by the servants of a Government that has of its own will taken the administration of the country into its own hands. In this friendly mission even, it was necessary first of all to prove a wrong possession before the party possessed could be dispossessed; for it is the immutable rule of justice, that a wrong must be first proved before it can be corrected.

Alienation of Landed Property in Oudh:

"There is no question but that many grievous wrongs have been done, in the alienation of landed property in Oudh, and that violence, fraud and murders have been committed for the possession of such property; but in these extreme cases, even the presumptions only of the subordinate British officers in Oudh (men almost ignorant of the real policy of their own government, and from their want of training and experience, men ignorant of the first principles of justice), are not alone sufficient for depriving men of property which was found in their possession, and then leaving

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, April 30, 1857, pp. 140-41.

them the unattainable redress of contesting the acts of the settlement officers, who will be the judge of the judicial courts of the future day, sitting in judgement on his own motives and actions, when it would be difficult for him to decide if he had been guilty of any wrong at all. It will be sufficient law for him that his Government encouraged what he had done, and his superiors had approved of the appropriation,.....the equities or justice..... of the case, naturally immerging in the obligations of duty'.....

No. 560.

From

George Couper, Esquire,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

To

G. F. Edmonstone, Esquire,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department, Calcutta.

Dated, Luckhnow, 4th. July, 1856.

Sir,

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit the correspondence called for in your letter No. 3264 dated 10th. ultimo, together with the following observations:

2. In his letter No. 216 dated 14th. ultimo, in submitting for approval a form for reporting the pending summary settlement, which he referred at the instance of the Commissioner of Khyrabad, the Financial Commissioner stated that he was impelled to solicit the Officiating Chief Commissioner's interference to put a stop to a style of writing, offensive and disrespectful to his authority and injurious to the public service in which Mr. Christian had long indulged. He went on to say that there was scarcely a letter among those then submitted which did not in more than one place comment upon what the Commissioner of Khyrabad was pleased to consider undue delay in the issue of instructions for the summary settlement, which (the Financial Commissioner asserted) could not have issued earlier as his time was most fully occupied in matters which could even less brook delay.

3. In reply the Chief Commissioner observed that the letter of the earliest date submitted with his despatch was that

[1] Letter appeared in the '*Englishman*', April 1857, reproduced by *the Hindoo Patriot*, April 30, 1857.

from the Commissioner of Khyrabad dated 1st. May, 1856 in which he adverted to the receipt of the Financial Commissioner's Circular No. 99 dated 23rd. April calling for suggestions as to the best mode of reporting the summary settlements.

4. In paragraph 2 of that letter Mr. Christian complained that the Financial Commissioner's instructions regarding the summary settlement dated 9th. April reached him on the 11th. and were so voluminous that copies could not be supplied to the District Officers till late in that month. He did not offer the suggestion sought for but proceeded to state that, owing to the delay in the receipt of instructions, and adverting to the importance of collecting informaton in the form in which its proceedings would be ultimately reported, he had, in contravention of the Financial Commissioner's prohibition against the issue of any orders at all regarding the settlement, circulated the form of which he annexed a copy, and of the divisions of which the rest of his letter was an explanation.

5. On the 5th. May the Financial Commissioner circulated a form with a letter inviting amendments and suggestions. On this the Chief Commissioner observed that the form should have accompanied the instructions issud on the 9th. April, or it ought, at least, to have been sent with his circular of the 23rd. idem inviting suggestions on the subject.

6. The Chief Commissioner went on to say that the prohibition against the issue of any orders at all regarding the settlement, and the despatch of instructions without any form for reporting it, was calculated to perplex the Divisional Commissioner and to induce him, in the performance of what he considered the duties of his office to act in accordance with the dictates of his own judgment. Further that the Financial Commissioner's circular of the 23rd. April requesting him to suggest a form, and of the 5th. May inviting him to suggest amendments to the form proposed by himself evinced a want of decision on his part in a matter on which definite instructions were urgently required.

7. In his letter to the Commissioner of Khyrabad of the 5th. May, the Financial Commissioner entered into a discussion regarding the merits of his form, and explained that the prohibition especially directed against his issuing any orders regarding the summary settlement, was elicited by his failure to refer doubtful points respecting the adjustment of the demand on the Rubbee Kists. What those points were his letter did not explain, nor did it appear that he thought proper to submit for the decision of the Chief Commissioner the discrepant opinions entertained by himself

and the Commissioner of Khyrabad on them before prohibiting his using his own discretion and judgment in the exercise of his authority in another matter, but which restriction he did not consider necessary to extend to other Commissioners. So invidious a distinction the Chief Commissioner observed was certainly calculated to irritate the feelings of an able and zealous officer of Government, and to excite that querulous spirit which he then called upon the Chief Commissioner to allay. From this, and from the delay in supplying a proper form for reporting the settlement the interest of Government had materially suffered and unnecessary labor had been imposed upon the District Officers. In conclusion he was told that the Chief Commissioner disapproved of the style of Mr. Christian's letter and he was requested to tell him to adopt a less acrimonious tone when remonstrating against the orders of his superior. In reply Mr. Gubbins expressed his regret that by not more fully entering into particulars he should have led the officiating Chief Commissioner to suppose that the prohibition against issuing any orders regarding the summary settlement was addressed to the Commissioner of Khyrabad only. So far, he said, from this being the case, it was a Circular evoked, it was true, by his experience of Mr. Christian's mode of issuing his own instructions without reference at the Rubbee revenue adjustment; but issued to all to avoid "invidious distinction". To this the Chief Commissioner replied that the restrictions on the exercise of his legitimate authority in a particular matter imposed on Mr. Christian in consequence of a discrepancy of opinion in a matter totally distinct from it was in no way justified by his having extended the same restriction to all the Commissioners of the Province, but that the impropriety of the order was aggravated by its having been made general.

8. Such is an epitome of the case called for by the Government of India upon which the Chief Commissioner leaves His Lordship in Council to form his own conclusions. But he deems the present occasion a suitable one to bring to notice a correspondence which has taken place between him and the Financial Commissioner on Mr. Christian's report of the settlement of the Rubbee demand of his Division, and to submit for the consideration of the Supreme Government some other acts and omissions of the Financial Commissioner.

9. Mr. Christian entered his Division on the 11th. February, and having received no instructions from Mr. Gubbins, he proceeded forthwith to act upon those of the Government of India. He summoned the officials of the late Government and

compiled through them returns of *juma* and *Nankar* for 3 years ending with 1262 Fasli, omitting 1263 as he found the demand for this year unsettled or disputed in many Mahals. On the average of these three years he had no difficulty in commencing a settlement of the demand for the Rubbee by fixing a moderate *juma* for the year, and determining the proportion payable for the Rubbee harvest according to former custom and present assets. He took care at the same time not to fix the Rubbee demand at more than could be realized from the assets of that harvest—the only tangible security. But while matters were progressing so satisfactorily the Circulars of the Financial Commissioner began to pour in. No less than sixteen of these were issued with respect to the settlement of the Rubbee demand alone, the majority modifying or explaining those which had preceded them. When Mr. Christian received his orders to disobey Government instructions and to make two settlements, one for the 7½ Kists of 1263 Fasli, and the other for the three Fasli years of 1264, 65 and 66, he remonstrated at the infractions of the Government directions and showed that the assumption that the proportion of the *juma* of the year 1263 Fasli due to the British Government was 7½ Kists out of 12 was by no means of universal application. But his representations being unavailing he ordered his District Officers as a general rule to take 10 annas for the Rubbee, that being in the proportion of 7½ to 12.

10. In sending up his report of the settlement of the Rubbee demand Mr. Christian represented in warm and too forcible language the inconvenience and perplexity which the issue of so many conflicting circulars had caused him and his District Officers. And he showed how much better and earlier the settlement would have been effected had the Financial Commissioner not chosen to ignore the Government instructions, in two most important particulars.

11. The Financial Commissioner, in forwarding the letter of the Commissioner of Khyrabad, submitted a rambling explanation of his conduct, in which he endeavoured to show that his Circulars were not in the least too numerous, and were entirely unexceptionable. Also that there was no other way of determining the amount of *juma* due to the British Government save that which he adopted viz. taking 7½ Kists out of 12. That no complaint had come from any other quarter, and those of Mr. Christian were dictated by an impatience of control. And in fine that his arrangements were perfect, and the observations of Mr. Christian exaggerated and altogether uncalled for.

12. With regard to the above statement the Chief Commissioner is aware that the constant Circulars of Mr. Gubbins excited the greatest perplexity and discontent among all the officers—throughout the Province, although it is true that no other gave vent to his feelings, officially, as Mr. Christian did. He believes the best way of putting His Lordship in Council in possession of his sentiments on the entire subject will be to quote the following Extract from his reply to Mr. Gubbin's despatch:

" He (the Chief Commissioner) remarks that the extracts from the Government instructions No. 12 of the 4th. February annexed to your Circular No. 8 of the 16 idem were not complete. For instance of paragraph 14 a considerable portion is omitted which directs the District officers atonce to proceed to the formation of a summary settlement which should be fixed for 3 years from 1st. May, 1856 and binding on those entering into engagements beyond that period until another settlement—summary or regular—should be made ". And it further enjoins that " the settlement must be founded on the accounts of past collections which will be procurable either from the officers of the late Government or from village accounts or the information which a District Officer of intelligence, activity and energy can always command, and in such personal inspection of the country, as the shortness of the time will admit ".

" A considerable portion of para 15, though of less importance than the preceding, is also omitted in the extract forwarded by you to the Divisional Commissioners. In para 6 of your circular referring to para 13 of the instructions of Government you direct the District Officers to claim 7½ Kists out of 12, the number erroneously assumed as that for the entire year, demandable by the former Government; and in paragraph 8 of that Circular you direct the Divisional Commissioners to make the 3 years settlement from 1264 to 1266, and to make separate engagements for the Rubbee with the parties in possession ; in fact to make two summary settlements instead of one, in direct contravention of the orders of Government in that part of paragraph 14 of the instructions which you had withheld from their knowledge."

*Road fund, Chowkeedaree, Putwarees, Schools:**

" In paragraph 11 of the same Circular No. 8 you directed cesses in addition to the *juma* to be taken as per margin (asterisked above) at fixed rates in addition to the assessment. Whereas the Government instructions authorized a Cess in addition to the *juma* for roads and Chowkeedaree only ".

" In paragraph 22 you anticipated the displacement by the summary settlement of many who had engaged for the Rubbee Kists. The Government instructions on the contrary directed that the summary settlement should be made village by village with the parties in possession for three years from the 1st. May, 1856 ".

"In your Circular No. 40 dated 24th. February last to prevent any misunderstanding of para 11 of your former Circular No. 8 directing the cesses to be added to the *juma* you direct the cesses to be deducted from the *juma* of 1263, and in your Circular No. 13 of the 17th. March, as if to make up for the heavy deductions of the cesses from the *juma*, in contravention of the Government instructions, and in direct contradictions of your own previous orders, you direct that the *Rukoom Sewaee* (of which you had received information from Rajah Bal Kishen) be included in the Revenue engagements ".

" Again in your Circular No. 17 dated 17th. March, in modification of your Circulars No. 8 and 40—one adding the Putwaree's fees to the *juma*, the other deducting them –you authorized their being collected as before, from the agriculturists ".

" It certainly is not a matter of surprise to the officiating Chief Commissioner that the Commissioner and his subordinates were perplexed by such conflicting orders; and that, under the circumstances, Mr. Christian should have considered himself justified in acting up to the spirit of the Government instructions so far as they were communicated to him; whilst the withholding of many material points of these instructions from the Divisional Commissioners, with the manifest object of inculcating different and impracticable views of your own, is considered most reprehensible. Though anxious to support your authority and to exact from your subordinates a becoming respect for your official orders and position, the Officiating Chief Commissoner cannot concur in the reflections recorded on Mr. Christian in your letter under reference ".

"Adverting to the subject of the Khureef balances, the system of Kists noted in the *Kyfeeut* of Rajah Bal Kishen, (attached to your Circular No. 25 of the 13th. March) would show that the division into 7½ and 4½ adopted in your Circular No. 8 was erroneous; and that you would have acted more judiciously in adhering strictly to the letter of paragraph 13 of the Government Instructions in fixing the demands for the Rubbee crops. The course there prescribed would also have distinguished the demand of the Khureef and the Rubbee more effectually than the division

into Kists on a purely imaginary assumption of one being payable for every month, and left less room for discontent when it was subsequently resolved to realize the Khureef balances. Even the reprehensible expression in paragraph 18 of Mr. Christian's letter, that the people had been deceived, is palliated by your departure from the Government instructions in the matter of the Rubbee Revenue; whilst blame cannot justly be imputed to him for quoting in defence of the course pursued by him, those parts of the Government instructions which you had failed to communicate officially to him."

" The Officiating Chief Commissioner does not find that your letter of the 5th. March affords any satisfactory solution of the difficulties reported, in Mr. Christian's of the 27th. February, to attend the carrying out of your orders for realizing 7½ Kists on the Rubbee harvest; and the tabular statement now submitted by Mr. Thornhill of the settlement, village by village, of the Rubbee demand, would show that your proposed division of the Rubbee and Khureef balances was at variance with that which local circumstances and pre-existing engagements rendered practicable".

" Having after mature deliberation formed the opinion above recorded of the merits of the remonstrance of the Commissoner of Khyrabad against your orders, and of your charge against him of ignoring those orders, the Officiating Chief Commissoner cannot approve of the tone of some of the observations contained in Mr. Christian's report. He trusts that the restrictions already placed on the issue of Circulars from your office will remove the cause of these unseemly altercations and also ensure a greater degree of deference to your authority.

13. The Chief Commissioner now proceeds to show that the steps taken by the Financial Commissioner for the realization of the 4½ Kists of 1263 were calculated to excite the greatest distrust and suspicion among the people, to unnecessarily harass and perplex the District Officers in the highest degree, and were in direct contravention of the orders of the Government of India respecting them.

14. The realization of these balances was resolved on by the Supreme Government, after taking into consideration all the objections raised to it. The 12th. paragraph of the letter of the Secretary to Government, No. 1788 dated 28th. March, directed that the Commissioners of Divisions should be authorized to exercise a wide discretion in surrendering claims not clearly due, or which could be established only after long and intricate examination, or which the defaulters, from their poverty or other

cause, would find it impossible to meet, without the prospect of destitution or ruin. The Financial Commissioner did not give full effect to these instructions. On the contrary, the first of the nine circulars which he issued on this subject restricted the discretionary authority of Divisional Commissioners to ascertaining the collections, without prescribing any rules for ascertaining them, for submission to Maharajah Balkissen, while the second only so far modified this most objectionable order as to direct that the collections so ascertained should be submitted in a prescribed tabular form in the vernacular language, leaving a blank column for Rajah Balkissen to insert the deductions or *Moojraee*; thereby giving a latitude of authority to Balkissen in adjusting these demands, which was never intended by the Supreme Government, and taking the duty out of the hands of the Divisional Commissioners to whose discretionary authority it was ordered to be entrusted. It is true that in column 6 of the tabular form it was noted that it would be filled up by himself in consultation with Rajah Balkissen; but the object of preparing it in the vernacular was apparently to enable Rajah Balkissen to fill it up himself in making the adjustment, as directed in his first Circular 71, on submission to the Rajah of the accounts of collections supplied by the District Officers.

15. Such was the state of affairs on the arrival of the Chief Commissioner who consequently told the Financial Commissioner that he had left the adjustment of all demands against Chukladars and Amils, for sums realized by them, entirely to Maharajah Balkissen, under the impression, it would appear, of the king's Duftur under his charge as Finance Minister containing the only record of disbursements made by those officers which had been duly authorized. At the same time he had prohibited the District Officers employed in ascertaining and reporting the sums collected by the employees of the late Government.....was, under his orders, to be ascertained from the malgozars or village papers, in the absence, and without listening to the objections, of the Amils of other parties whom it concerned; and that the disbursements, subsequently alleged by Rajah Balkissen to have been duly authorized, being deducted from that amount, the difference was to form the sums with which they were to be charged.

16. The Chief Commissioner considered that this mode of proceeding placed the gist of the enquiry in the hands of Balkissen, and deprived the Government of the more legitimate and trustworthy agency of their own officials; that it was further objectionable in placing them in a position subordinate to an officer of the late Government, whilst it left the interests of our Government

entirely in the hands of an ex-functionary of the King, to whom it might become a source of profit and exaction from the parties against whom the enquiries were directed, and who would have good grounds for complaining that they had not had a fair hearing in the proceedings for determining the amount with which each was to be eventually charged.

17. The Chief Commissioner could not but think that the Duftur of the Maharajah Balkissen should have furnished record of all sums which the respective Amils or other employees were authorized to disburse, or, at least, of all those sums that had been disbursed by them on account of the revenue of the current Fasli year, as well as of those items of revenue, with the collection of which they were Ex-Officio chargeable. These accounts being sent to the District Officers, or to those employed in conducting the enquiries as they related to the resident of Lucknow, would have afforded data for determining, in the presence of the parties concerned, and after listening to their objections, as well as to those of the malgozars, the amount with which they were severely chargeable. An enquiry conducted in this open manner would have given confidence, and the result arrived at would have been satisfactory. That enjoined by the Financial Commissioner, on the contrary, left every thing in the hands of Maharajah Balkissen, and, as pointed out before, deprived him in a great measure of the legitimate and trustworthy agency of the Revenue functionaries subordinate to his office.

18. In his letter No. 279 dated 27th. May, the Financial Commissioner denied that these balances were adjusted by Rajah Balkissen; and gave the following explanation of the aid he derived from him. He stated that the manner in which the Oudh Revenue Officials received credit, was by the process termed *Moojraee* which generally took place at the end of the year. There appeared to have been two charges or deductions only, which Balkissen was empowered to pass without the especial sanction of the minister. These were the *Huqq Tehseel*, allowed to Amanee Tehseeldars and the feed of the Gun Bullocks. All other *Moojraee* charges were laid before the minister and passed by him by special order upon each, allowing it in whole or in part. A copy of the *bund oozurat* with the minister's orders thereupon was issued to Balkissen, who passed them in his accounts accordingly.

19. From the above description he attempted to show that little or no authority was allowed to Balkissen in passing these accounts. Indeed he said little was to be made out of the 2 items which he was autorized to pass. The *Huqq Tehseel* varied from

8 to 10 per cent, and the number of Gun Bullocks could not much be exaggerated. Could there have been found, therefore, an honest minister,the system would have worked well,but such could not be found. The most flagrant and unblushing fraud and corruption was practised by the minister, and in the plunder of the Government Revenue, thence resulting he confessed that Balkissen acknowledgedly shared.

20. He went on to say that the manner in which the *Moojraee* and deductions were actually managed was the following: Towards the close or at the end of the year, the Amanee Amil in person, or through Agent, effected his "*fysula*" with the minister Ally Nukkee Khan, through the latter's Dewans Chundee Suhaee and Goorsuhaee. The notorious corruption of which these two men were the instruments is known to every one in Lucknow. The bribes payable to the minister's Begum and other relatives, as well as the Dewan's were on the one side agreed on; and on the other, the amount of *Moojraee* which the Amil should be allowed. His *Bund-oozrat* was prepared accordingly, to exceed the stipulated sum. It was passed by the minister, who made show of honesty, by striking off the superfluous items, and thus reduced to the stipulated sum, it was passed on in copy to Balkissen.

"And here", Mr. Gubbins said, "Balkissen did not fail to improve his opportunity. The deductions passed by the Minister were so grossly excessive and improper, that the Accountant might fairly object to them. Openly he dared not do so for Ally Nukkee was all powerful, and had complete possession of the King, and he would not have failed to remove an uncomplying accountant. Nevertheless, by treat of opposition he could generally secure large *douceurs* to himself; though if resisted by any one having particular favor with the minister, he was obliged to give it up, and there were not a few such favorites".

"It is but fair to Balkissen here to state that he can produce authority for his share of (illicit) gains. On his restoration to office, after a temporary suspension 14 years ago, he presented a Petition to the King, stating that it was his resolve not to share in these peculations, called in the Petition "*Huqq Tehreer*", without authority, and praying for orders. On this, the King's order was recorded, assigning 5 annas in the rupee of such gains to Balkissen. Since then he was regularly remitted the King's share, viz. 11 annas,to the Private Treasury,and he holds the regular Treasury receipt for the same". The Financial Commissioner says that he is reputed to have acted with honesty in the division, "but it is

surprising if he did. He acknowledges that his 5 annas share amounted to about 3,000 Rupees per mensem ".

" I have explained ", Mr Gubbins writes, " the native system of account; I have shown that under an honest minister it would have worked extremely well. I go on to explain that I now occupy the place of that minister ".

" The Ex-Officials of the late Government now present their *furd Moojraee* or *Bund oozrat* to me. It is sent from this office with an order to Balkissen directing an explanation—" *Kyfeeut* "—to be sent for each time of deduction claimed. When this has been furnished, it is examined by myself in presence of the Amil or his Agent, Balkissen and some other official of the late Government being generally in attendance too. In doubtful items, further explanation is required of Dubbeer-ood-Dowlah, and finally an order is passed on each, admitting or rejecting in whole or in part. Balkissen cannot pass one single item without receipt of my order. It is true that he advises, but that advice is on record, is given openly and he can at any future time be called to account if it has been improperly given. At any rate some advice we must have, and it is wisdom I think to get it officially from the responsible officer, checking it in every way one can ".

" The items for which *Moojraee* is claimed are such as to admit of no assistance from local scrutiny. They are admitted or rejected chiefly with reference to past year's admissions. If an Amil claims a deduction of 5,000 Rupees for instance for " *Sepahion Mushroot* " or the force of Sepahies stipulated as necessary to collect the Revenue, we do not call for lists of them, and their receipts, but simply refer to the number allowed to him in past years, and pass or reject accordingly. And so with every other charge. I have only had occasion to make one reference to District Officers; and that not for a particular or special account, but to ascertain what was the general practice in regard to a deduction claimed for Sheynahs, which Balkissen would have admitted, but which Dubeer-ood-Dowlah opposed ".

" It is therefore evident enough that the District Officers have not the means,and are therefore unable to scrutinize and pass decisions upon deductions claimed. To require it of them would only involve them in a mass of detail, from which they could only extricate themselves by a reference in each case, through this office to Balkissen and the Treasurer. If these accounts were at all honest they might be scrutinized and settled by the ordinary methods with which we are familiar. But they are in no case honest. They are fraudulent attempts to cheat Government with the connivance

of the dishonest minister of that Government; and the native and summary mode of dealing with such frauds (accounts they cannot be called) is the only one that can be adopted ".

21. To this the Chief Commissioner replied, that it appeared from para 4 of his letter that all adjustments of *Moojraee*, or deductions, as well as those of Revenue demand were effected on the orders of the minister; and consequently that the record of those orders should have been forthcoming in the office of Balkissen as a preexisting authority for settling the accounts at the close of the year, and that no valid excuse could be alleged for not furnishing the accounts of the *Moojraee*, or deductions, at the same time as those of the Revenue demands. Further that the postponing the production of the accounts of the *Moojraee*, until the amount of realizable demand had been ascertained through the District Officers, was only a pretext for making that adjustment of *Moojraee* subservient to private interest.

22. He observed that in the Financial Commissioner's 7th. paragraph he explained that the *Moojraee* deductions were generally adjusted at the end of the year, and that besides those effected under the recorded orders of the minister, Balkissen sanctioned on his own authority those of *Huqq Tehseel*, to Amanee Tehseeldars, and of feed for gun bullocks. Why accounts of these should not have been prepared in April, when the account of the Revenue demands for the 4 Kists was given in by Balkissen, did not appear. The Commission or *Huqq Tehseel* was calculated at a rate of 8 or 10 per cent, and the charge for food of bullocks, ought, the Chief Commissioner remarked,to have been determined by the number forthacoming. He did not consider the fact—that adjustments were left generally by the late Government, till the end of the year—was a sufficient reason for Mr. Gubbins allowing a course which opened so wide a gate for peculation, and for neutralizing the labors of the District Officers in ascertaining demands and collections, by leaving the adjustment of authorized deductions to the subsequent report of the accountant Balkissen. That such a course was generally followed under the King's Government was not an admissible reason for permitting it under our own, when it was clear that the more satisfactory course was practicable of obtaining in the first instance a detailed account of all duly authorized items of *Moojraee* and deductions for *Huqq Tehseel* and feed of bullocks. The other items of *Moojraee* on the authority of the recorded orders of the Prime Minister, only required to be detailed in accordance with those orders. The Chief Commissioner further went on to say, that it seemed that besides the two items

of *Moojraee* or deductions under the sole authority of Balkissen, he came in for a share of the plunder obtainable on other items of *Moojraee* specially authorized by the Prime Minister, with or without any ostensible purpose, and which Balkissen had discretionary power to reject or admit. He thought it hardly necessary to point out to an officer of Mr. Gubbins experience the impropriety of permitting the continuance of so objectionable a system.

23. He could not concur in the opinion noted in the Financial Commissioner's 9th. paragraph that under the system described little or no authority was allowed to Balkissen, as it appeared that he might make his own charges under two heads of considerable expenditure, without check or limit, that he had discretionary authority in checking the deductions authorized by the *Prime Minister*, and that he acknowledgedly shared with him in the plunder of the Government revenue. Yet it was with some surprise observed that the Financial Commissioner considered the want of an *honest Prime Minister* the only defect of this system, and that Balkissen, the acknowledged participator in the plunder of the state was the party to whom the officers of the British Government were directed to submit their reports, and to whom was left by the Financial Commissioner the final adjustment of the amount due from the malgozars and employees of the late Government.

24. The system approved of, and the manner of working it, he remarked, was more accurately described in the 10th. paragraph of the letter under reply from which it would appear that it was one of plunder, in which all connected with the Government participated, but the onus of which was put, by the Financial Commissioner on the Prime Minister and his Dewans. The Prime Minister and all his relatives in fact paid themselves by receiving bribes for granting orders of *Moojraee* to Amils whose *bund oozrat* was made to exceed the stipulated sum, and the minister made a show of honesty in rejecting that excess. But Mr. Gubbins did not explain why he thought proper to allow the continuance of so corrupt a system, or why the adjustment of the *Moojraee*, claimed in the manner described, was left to Balkissen, and the deductions not restricted by him to authorized payments for troops stipends and servants, of which the accounts might have been furnished with those of the Revenue demands.

25. As Balkissen's *Kyfeeut* appeared to be the only authority for adjusting every item of *Moojraee* or deduction, its examination by the Financial Commissioner in the presence of the Amil or his agent, could not be expected to throw more light on it and certainly

would not afford grounds for rejecting any item admitted by Balkissen.

26. The wisdom, assumed in paragraphs 18 of the Financial Commissioner's letter, of referring for adjustment of *Moojraee* to Balkissen as the responsible person, was considered very questionable. His character was shown in the preceeding paragraphs of the letter referred to, and the Officiating Chief Commissioner would hesitate to confer on him any share of responsible authority in adjusting deductions. The records of his office should have shown all authorized deductions in previous years for Gun Bullocks and *Huq-oot-Tehseel.* The audited *Kubzas* alone should have been admitted in lieu of cash payment. Further attempts on the part of Amils to obtain recognition of items of *Moojraee* under the name of *Bund oozrat* or set off, should have been first reported on by the District authorities, who should have rejected all which were not for a specifie purpose, and in which full proof was wanting of the application of funds to that specific purpose. The adjustment so made by the District Officers would have been open to revision by the Commissioners of Division and Finance.

27. The Financial Commissioner made a reply which amounted to little more than a repetition of his former arguments and attempts to expose misunderstandings of his former letters by the Chief Commissioner which, if made, were only caused by the loose wording of Mr. Gubbins's despatches. For instance the Chief Commissioner remarked that Balkissen " came in for a share of the plunder obtainable on other items of *Moojraee* specially authorized by the Prime Minister which Balkissen had discretionary power to reject or admit ". The Financial Commissioner denies that his words will bear this constructions; and the Chief Commissioner therefore is fain to refer His Lordship in Council to paragraph 11 of his letter No. 279 dated 27th. May in which he says, speaking of deductions passed by the Minister, and presented to Balkissen for audit—" and here Balkissen did not fail to improve his opportunity. The deductions passed by the Minister were so grossly excessive and improper that the Accountant might fairly object to them—Openly he dared not do so, for Ally Nukkee was all powerful, and he would not have failed to remove an uncomplying accountant. Nevertheless by threats of opposition he could greatly secure large *douceurs* for himself ".

28. The Chief Commissioner now turns to the conduct of Mr. Gubbins with respect to the payment of the debts due from the late King.

29. In your letter No. 1788 dated 28th. March the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council suggested that the duty of scrutinizing and adjusting these claims might be specially entrusted either to the Financial Commissioner, to one of the Secretaries, or to some one Officer at the capital, and that he might be required to carry on this scrutiny and adjustment in concert and constant Communication with the Chief Commissioner and to consult him on all points of a doubtful nature, before committing the Government by authoritatively recording his own opinion and award. The Financial Commissioner was consequently asked to undertake this duty by General Outram with the observation that the knowledge which he had already acquired in the course of his former investigations into these matters would render the task comparatively lighter and easier in his hands than in those of any other officer. If however he had neither the time nor the will, General Outram intimated that he would entrust the duty to an officer who for the period during which he was employed in this service would be absolved from all other business whatever.

30. In reply the Financial Commissioner recommended that the 1st. item of debt relating to Royal stipendiaries should be investigated by Captain Hayes, that the 3rd. item or the wages of menials and others registered in the office of the Asoph-ood-Dowlah should be investigated by the Deputy Commissioner while he would himself undertake the investigaton of the 2nd. and 5th. items viz. the Loans accounts, and salaries registered in the office of the Treasurer Dubeer-ood-Dowlah, and the feed of cattle. This arrangement received the sanction of the Chief Commissioner and of Government.

31. In a letter No. 127 dated 21st. April, the Financial Commissioner reported as follows regarding the debts incurred on loans by the late Oude Government:

"These were estimated at Rupees 2,45,619-8-3 but have been reduced in the present account to Rupees 2,35,842-7-3 (the reasons for this reduction were not given). The loans are due to Sahoocars of Lucknow and were all negociated (*sic*,) through the official Shurf-ood-Dowlah who was formerly himself a Hindoo and a Bunniah. I have employed his proffered services in effecting an adjustment of these claims and have consulted also Maharajah Balkissen. Official return and *Kyfeeut* of these debts was rendered under the seal and signature of the Treasurer Dubeer-ood-Dowlah. Shurf-ood-Dowlah has effected a settlement of these loan claims to the amount of Rupees 1,71,610-8 at a

reduction of 10 per cent upon the sums claimed and recorded to be due. The Sahoocars have in each case attended personally or by authorized agent before me, and attested the accompanying applications setting forth their readiness to give acquittances in full of their claims upon receipt of this reduced amount ".

32. He requested that Rupees 1,71,610-8 less 10 per cent, or Rupees 1,54,449-8 might be placed at his disposal to pay these creditors; and said that there remained 4 items for adjustment aggregating Rupees 64231-15-3 which he hoped to be able to settle in the same way.

33. This arrangement was approved by General Outram. In the interval between that officers departure and the arrival of the present Officiating Chief Commissioner, Mr. Gubbins reported that this very Shurf-ood-Dowlah through whose instrumentality the above arrangements had been made, and who was himself a claimant to the amount of Rupees 65,220, owed the King a private debt of Rupees 50,000 which His Majesty had advanced to him for purposes of trade. On being taxed with the fact he atonce admitted it, and the amount was consequently deducted from his claim.

34. In his letter No. 206 dated 12th. May, the Financial Commissioner reported that the remaining items had been settled at the same reduction of 10 per cent (but whether this arrangement was effected by himself, or through the agency of Shurf-ood-Dowlah was not stated); Rupees 57,808 was consequently due by Government. But as he had saved Rupees 50,000 by the discovery of the debt due by Shurf-ood-Dowlah, he only required a further advance of Rupees 7,808–12–3 for the disbursement of which he requested sanction. He was told in reply that he had not explained how information of the 50,000 Rupees due from Shurf-ood-Dowlah had been obtained. Also that the remarks appended to his list of the loans were deficient of all information regarding their origin; and it moreover did not appear that any stringent enquiries had been made regarding them. It was observed that their existence had been admitted on the word of Balkissen, and of Shurf-ood-Dowlah the latter of whom was shown to be the principal party interested in them—the claimants produced also readily assented to the offer of payment after a reduction of 10 per cent. " The faith of the Government ", the Officiating Chief Commissioner remarked, " was not pledged to the payment of any debts, but those established on full and complete investigation, and as the chief claimant's conduct was characterized by a total want of faith, further payments are to be suspended for the present ".

35. In reply the Financial Commissioner denied that the existence of the debts had been admitted on the word of Shurf-ood-Dowlah, or on that of Balkissen. His authority was the official return of the Treasurer Dubeer-ood-Dowlah.

36. He observed that there did not appear the slightest reason to doubt the genuineness of these loans; had they not been so they would certainly not have been recorded by the Treasurer and confirmed by Balkissen. In further attestation of their authority the mahajans held *duhanid* orders. He denied that Shurf-ood-Dowlah was the principal party interested in these loans for he was only interested in two loans amounting to about one third of the total amount claimed, and said that Shurf-ood-Dowlah's receipt of Rupees 50,000 from the King was a *private* transaction. He also denied that the claimants readily acceded to the offer of payment after a deduction of 10 per cent. So far from this being the case several of them acceded to the demand with the greatest difficulty.

37. He wound up by saying that the Chief Commissioner seemingly looked upon the saving of 10 per cent upon the loan claims and the discovery of Rupees 50,000 making a total saving of 31 per cent so much a matter of course that he was obliged to state that it was not affected without much personal application, and much more in the same strain; and added that as he had laid a total return of these loans before the Chief Commissioner in a letter in which the authority, on which the statement was based, was explained, and the mode of settlement reported, and having stated in that report that there remained 4 items for adjustment which he hoped to settle in the same way and having received the Chief Commissioner's approval to the arrangement which he had come to for the payment of the loan account debt owed by the late Oude Government he naturally concluded himself to be at liberty to discharge the remaining items so soon as the claimants had agreed to accept the reduced amount, and filled acquittances in full. He hoped therefore that the Chief Commissioner would direct the payment of the balance advanced upon his personal responsibility.

38. The Financial Commissioner was told in reply that in his letter No. 127 dated 21st. April he stated that Shurf-ood-Dowlah had negociated (*sic*,) all the loans, and that he had thought proper to cavil at the expression of those claims being admitted on the word of Balkissen, and of Shurf-ood-Dowlah who, he stated in his former letter were the persons he consulted regarding the loans, and had further explained that Dubeer-ood-Dowlah had also certified their existence under his seal. But he had not met the

objection that little or no enquiry had been instituted by himself regarding them; and though he called Dubeer-ood-Dowlah's certificate on "official return" it clearly was not, as it was given by a person not officially responsible to the British Government. He explained, the Chief Commissioner observed, for the first time that most of the creditor mahajans held *duhanid* orders issued by Shurf-ood-Dowlah upon various Amils and Malgozars for the recovery of their loans; and he was asked why these *duhanid* orders were not mentioned before, or if known to him, why they were not subjected to strict scrutiny, and why was the amount of each and its apparent authenticity not reported on by him when submitting a statement of the loans instead of being thus only alluded to after he had in anticipation of authority paid Rupees 57,808-12-3 claimed on the loans. The Chief Commissioner observed that he still argued that if these loans were not genuine they certainly would not have been recorded by the Treasurer, and confirmed by Balkissen, and it might be granted that the *sultanee* and *duhanid* orders would have afforded prima facie evidence of their existence had they been produced at first, and subjected to proper scrutiny, but they were not entitled to equal credit when only alluded to after all claims had been satisfied. As he had anticipated the authority asked for in his former letter by directing payment of the balance of the sums claimed, no further orders were called for in the matter at present. But the Chief Commissioner observed that he could not suppose that much labor or secret enquiry had been employed in a scrutiny which resulted in the admission of all the claims advanced, subject merely to a general deduction of 10 per cent. And the Chief Commissioner was utterly unable to reconcile his statement that several of the Mahajans acceded to the reduction with the greatest difficulty with that contained in paragraph 7 of his letter No. 127 dated 21st. April in which he said that " the Sahoocars have in *each case* attested setting forth their *readiness* to take 10 per cent less—" the arrangement was said to have been effected through Shurf-ood-Dowlah. Nor was there the slightest allusion to either of them having had the smallest scruple on the part of the Mahajans to contend with. In his letter No. 102 dated 12th. April announcing his.....began the settlement of the feed of cattle he wrote, " I instructed Shurf-ood-Dowlah, aided by Dubeer-ood-Dowlah and Maharajah Balkissen to undertake the audit of these charges ".

39. The Chief Commissioner has next to lay before the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council the conduct of the Financial Commissioner with respect to Rajah Balkissen—the

Accountant of the late Government. The character of this astute and corrupt individual has been set forth in many extracts from Mr. Gubbins's own letters contained in previous paragraphs of this despatch. "The most flagrant and unblushing fraud," Mr. Gubbins writes, "was practised by the Minister, and in the plunder of the Government revenue thence resulting, Balkissen avowedly shared". Again "the deductions passed by the Minister were so grossly excessive and improper that the Accountant might fairly object to them. Openly he dared not do so. Nevertheless by threats of opposition he could generally secure large *douceurs* to himself". Mr. Gubbins observes that he was reputed to have acted with honesty in dividing his illicit gains with the King. But adds—"It is surprising if he did". And yet this is the man who is held up as the type of honesty, and under whom the Revenue system would have worked well could an honest minister have been found.

40. As a proof that Balkissen is to the full as corrupt now as he was formerly, I am directed to state that an Amil claimed a deduction on account of *Sheynahs*, or watchmen, deputed to prevent the crop from being removed from the ground before the revenue was paid. Balkissen admitted the validity of the charge. But it subsequently appeared that the expenses of these *Sheynahs* were invariably defrayed by the villagers whose corps they were sent to guard, in the same way that the pay of *muzkooree* peon is debited to the village to which he is deputed in our own territory. It is impossible that Balkissen could have been ignorant of this fact, yet he did not scruple to pass the deduction. It was to this man that British Officers, by order of the Financial Commissioner, were directed to "submit" their accounts of collections; and it is of this man that the Financial Commissioner in a letter No. 88 dated 5th. April writes in the following strain: "You will probably decide on the claims of this high functionary in the Political Department. All therefore that I need here say is to record by unqualified satisfaction with his conduct since I have been thrown in daily connection with him. He has rendered every aid and assistance in his power, furnished promptly the required returns and advised prudently and beneficially in every matter and they have not been few in which I have wished to consult him. The Chief Commissioner having expressed a wish that I should name an allowance for the Rajah which I would think suitable, I name the sum of Rupees 2,000 per mensem which I think would satisfy him, and below which I would not advise the allowance to be fixed. I should be glad if in enjoying the provision which the liberality of the Government may assign to him he should be retained at

the head of the office, over which he for so many years ably presided. Doubtless our references to him will continually decrease. But still for a long time they will be numerous enough to give him occupation, and I should feel it now as a most severe indeed irreparable loss if I should lose him as a referee in disposing of the many questions which are brought forward".

41. In spite of many remonstrances from General Outram, and more peremptory ones from the Officiating Chief Commissioner, Balkissen has been suffered to remain in entirely unrestricted charge of his office without the slightest supervision on the part of the Financial Commissioner or of any one acting under his orders until last week.

42. The Chief Commissioner now draws to the conclusion of a painful duty. He had hoped that repeated verbal and written remonstrances and rebukes would have had their effect upon the Financial Commissioner. But he regrets to say that such is far from being the case. From the above paragraphs His Lordship in Council will perceive that the principal faults of Mr. Gubbins are three in number, any one of which would unfit an officer for his position, viz. *habitual and reckless disobedience of superior authority, even that of the Government of India, a blind confidence in natives, and a disregard of strict veracity in his official correspondence.* The first fault is perhaps the most serious in its consequences, and the Chief Commissioner has little hesitation in recording his conviction that Mr. Gubbins's disobedience has been the cause of the loss of several thousands of rupees to the state. Had the wise and simple orders of the Government of India regarding the summary settlement been carried out in the first instance that operation would have been concluded at the end of March, and the District Officers, instead of being, as they now are, immersed in all the duties of a second settlement in an uncongenial season, would be devoting their attention to the introduction of Civil and Criminal Justice, and the other measures of reform which attend the advent of our rule.

43. The rains have set in, but the plough is not yet in the field owing to the reluctance of the cultivator to commence agricultural operations until the settlement be made and he knows how much he has to pay. All these disadvantages, nay positive evils, are to be attributed to the reckless and shortsighted determination of the Financial Commissioner to carry out his own measures in preference to those laid down by the Governor General in Council, and in defiance of his orders. The same remarks hold good with respect to the realization of the Khureef balances. The orders of the Supreme Government that the recovery of these

balances should rest with the Divisional Commissioners were clear and simple, and if carried out, would probably have ensured the realization of the greater part of these dues without any particular trouble. The Financial Commissioner however, so far from giving effect to these orders, gave the District Officers the most positive instructions to confine their investigations to the certification of the amount which the defaulters had collected, for submission to Balkissen, in conjunction with whom the Financial Commissioner proposed to make a settlement of these claims at the Capital. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the unstatesmanlike absurdity of such an arrangement. It disgusted the District Officers, put all the power in the hands of the corrupt Balkissen, and would have delayed the settlement of these balances almost indefinitely. The Chief Commissioner has however directed that they be now investigated by the District Officers as desired by the Government of India.

44. The settlement of the loan accounts exhibit in a two-fold manner this unhappy failing of Mr. Gubbins.

45. The Government of India originally directed that the investigation of the whole of the King's debts should be entrusted to one officer. The Officiating Chief Commissioner has little doubt that this course would have been the better one. The Financial Commissioner however recommended that the..... items should be distributed..... different officers, and General..... assented. How Mr. Gubbins..... out the share of the investigations entrusted to him will have been seen from paragraphs 29 to 39 of this despatch. But it will not fail to have struck His Lordship in Council that so far from " carrying on the scrutiny and adjustment in concert and constant communication with the Chief Commissioner and consulting him in all points of a doubtful nature before committing the Government by recording his own opinion and award ", he actually advanced the sum of Rupees 57,808 upon his own responsibility in anticipation of sanction.

46. Of the four items of accounts undertaken by Mr. Gubbins, viz. loans, accounts and salaries, and the feed of cattle, only the first and fourth have been reported on, and he now expresses his desire to transfer the item of accounts to the Judicial Commissioner, and that of salaries to the Deputy Commissioner of Lukhnow.

47. The Chief Commissioner is further reluctantly compelled to state that the Financial Commissioner while professing the most ready obedience remonstrates, instead of carrying his orders into effect. Three positive directions to give in his covering letter the English purport of any vernacular proceeding which he may

see fit to issue to his subordinate officers has met with as many remonstrances.

48. With respect to the 2nd. charge, I am desired to observe that his confidence in Balkissen, in Shurf-ood-Dowlah, and in other corrupt officials of the Court has been sufficiently exemplified in the foregoing paragraphs. The Chief Commissioner has little doubt that the preposterous scheme of settling the Khureef balances at the capital, was suggested by Balkissen for his own aggrandizement. *The Chief Commissioner has no suspicion whatever of the pecuniary integrity and probity of Mr. Gubbins; but he is convinced that his own confidence in that respect is not shared by the people of Lucknow; and he is obliged to admit that the Financial Commissioner could not have taken more effectual measures for inducing the native population to believe in his venality than he has done.*

49. With respect to the third and last charge against Mr. Gubbins, viz. a want of strict veracity in official correspondence, I am directed to observe that it pervades nearly the whole of the papers which have been epitomized in this despatch.

50. In paragraph 8 of his letter No. 304 dated 4th. Instant he writes: "In my remarks to the detailed statement submitted with my letter No. 127, I stated the fact that *most* of these loans had been negociated (*sic,*) through Shurf-ood-Dowlah. The Chief Commissioner has carefully examined the detailed statement and can find therein no remark whatever of the above nature. But in the letter itself (paragraph 3) Mr. Gubbins wrote as follows — "the loans are due to Sahoocars of Lucknow, and were all negociated (*sic,*) through the official Shurf-ood-Dowlah". The letter No. 304 was intended as a refutation of some strictures on the way in which the settlement of these loans had been effected. One of which was that their existence was admitted on the word of Shurf-ood-Dowlah who was shown to be the principal party interested in them. Mr. Gubbins denied that he was a party principally interested because he was only interested in claims amounting to about one third of the total amount, forgetting apparently his former statement that they had all been negociated (*sic,*) through him. Instances might be mutliplied. But this despatch is already sufficiently long; and they are too obvious in themselves to need enumeration.

51. As the Chief Commissioner has before observed he had hoped that remonstrances and rebuke might have had their effect on Mr. Gubbins—they have not been successful. His self-esteem is such as to render him impervious to either; and he is therefore reluctantly compelled to declare that he has no confidence in

that officer; and that he does not think that this administration can prosper so long as he is suffered to remain as Financial Commissioner.

52. With these remarks he respectfully leaves the case in the hands of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council.[1]

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant

Lukhnow,
The 4th. July, 1856.

GEORGE COUPER,
Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Oude.

Faulty Revenue System:

ADDENDA
No. I page 73

Our revenue system had in native estimation many faults. These chiefly consisted in the severity and lasting nature of the punishment with which we visited default. The landed property of a defaulter was liable to sale by public auction: and when thus sold, he lost for ever what had perhaps been the inheritance of many generations. A milder process was that of "transfer" by which a landholder lost possession of his estate, for periods varying from five to fifteen years. Both of these processes were disliked; but the former is viewed by the land proprietors of Upper India, with a hatred and disgust almost equal to that which they feel towards our Civil Law Courts. The former penalty I have never enforced in my capacity as a revenue officer. And I hold it in almost equal detestation as the native landholder himself. That of transfer ought very rarely, indeed scarcely ever, to be used. But to avoid using it, the British revenue officer must be watchful, and must understand his duty. The native villager has as little forethought, or self-denial, generally, as a child, and will squander upon expensive marriage ceremonies, and other charges, which redound to his repute, any ready money which may come into his possession. As themselves express it -"They eat, they drink, they enjoy themselves;" and when the Government Collector comes, there is nothing to pay. To prevent this, the tax-gatherer must watch the ripening of the crops; and must present his demand

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, 24th. April, 1857. Nos. 164 & K.W. National Archives, New Delhi.

before the money has been dissipated in marriage festivals and other follies. But to do this the Collector must not be asleep; but must ever be wakeful. With these exceptions our revenue system and laws generally gave satisfaction. The processes were quick and simple. And business was transacted without the intervention of native lawyers and pleaders, directly by the villagers themselves with the British revenue officers.[1]

Disaffected Zemindars at Mulheeabad, May 1857:

Now, however, some of the disaffected bagan to manifest their ill-feeling. Some of the worst-disposed talooqdars began to repossess themselves of the villages which they had lost, and especially the Zemindars of Mulheeabad and its neighbourhood, distant about eighteen miles west of Lucknow, manifested marked disaffection. They are descendants of Afreedees, originally from the Khybur mountains, greedy, poor, and idle. They began assembling in their villages, and threatened the local treasury at Mulheeabad. To repress them, Captain Weston, with a party of military police, was detached, with apparent good effect.[2].....

Talooqdars who joined Rebels:

By this time it had become known that some of the native talooqdars had joined our besiegers, with their followers. These latter were chiefly Pasies whose predatory habits have been already described, and who were usually armed with sword, and bow and arrows, or matchlock. We learnt the names of two talooqdars who had thus joined our enemies, and who were Rajah Goor Buksh Singh, of Ramnugger Dhumeyree, and Rajah Newaubaly Khan (Nawab Ali Khan) of Mohumdabad (Mahmudabad). The Afreedees of Mulheeabad had also come in, and were known to have charge of that part of the investing posts which lay to the west of my enclosure.[3].....

EXCISE—SALT

Notification

Headquarters

Separate Revenue Department, the 9th. May, 1855.

No. 956 A.—I.—The Lieutenant Governor, North Western Provinces, is pleased to establish a Customs Line, for the levy of

[1]M. R. Gubbins, *The Mutinies in Oudh* (London 1858), p 439.
[2]M. R. Gubbins, *The Mutinies in Oudh*, pp. 36-37.
[3]M. R. Gubbins, *The Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 207.

a duty on Salt in the territories under the superintendence of the Commissioner of the Saugor division, to run from the junction of the rivers Jumna and Scinde, through the districts of Jaloan, Jhansi, Chandeyree, Saugor and Nursingpoor, to a point on the river Nerbudda, at or near the south-eastern frontier of the state of Bhopaul, and thence along the left bank of the Nerbudda to the western boundary of the territories above mentioned.

II. The following duties will be levied on Salt imported into Customs' jurisdiction of the said line.

On that portion of the line lying more than ten miles north of the town of Saugor, two rupees per maund.

On that portion of the line lying between the portion above mentioned, and the Nerbudda, one rupee and eight annas per maund. On that portion of the line lying south of the Nerbudda, one rupee per maund.

And all Salt brought within Customs' jurisdiction, must be covered by a Rowannah previously obtained at one of the Customs Houses, established for the issue of the same.

III. Customs House jurisdiction shall extend for a breadth of fifteen miles, or over all territory in British possession within that space, throughout the line, excepting the town of Jhansi, and such other towns or places as may be hereafter notified to have been excepted.

A list of open Chokies for passing Salt, and a specification of the limits of Customs' jurisdiction, will be exhibited in the offices of all the officers in charge of the districts through which the line will run, and likewise at each Customs House, at each open Chokee, and at the Tehseeldarees and Thanahs adjacent thereto.

IV. The system, rules, and penalties, now obtaining, and which shall from time to time obtain, on the north-western frontier Customs Line are, *mutatis mutandis*, made applicable to the new line, and the Officers of Customs are invested with the same powers as the corresponding Officers on the existing line.

The manufacture of Alimentary Salt in the territories under the Government of the North Western Provinces, east and south of the Customs Line established by this Notification, is prohibited, and all persons importing, or manufacturing Salt, in contravention of this Notification, or otherwise infringing the rules hereby made applicable, will be liable to the same penalties as persons guilty of the like acts or omissions in the Regulation Provinces.

V. Customs Houses are established at Jhansi, Saugor, and Hoshungabad, and the Deputy Superintendents and Deputy

Commissioners of districts in which Customs' jurisdiction is established, and their establishments are invested with the powers of Customs House Officers to enable them to check the illicit importation of Salt.

VI. Notice is hereby given, that so much of the present north-western frontier line as extends from the junction of the rivers Jumna and Scinde along the line of Jumna, and thence southwards to the frontier of the Mirzapoor district, will be abolished after the expiration of 6 months from the date of publication of this order.

The Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to make the following appointments:—

Mr. G. Wright to be Collector of Customs for the Jhansi and Saugor line.

Mr. W. Bell to officiate as a Deputy Collector of Customs at Hoshungabad.

Mr. R. K. Bartie to officiate as a Deputy Collector of Customs at Jhansi.

The Superintendent at Jhansi is hereby authorized to exercise powers of the nature specified in Section 9, Act XIV, 1843, within the districts under his control. The Commissioner of Saugor is vested with the like powers in the other districts of the Saugor division.

(Sd.) W. MUIR,
Secretary to Government, N.W.P.[1]

NOTIFICATION

Re-revised Tariff of Transit duties in Rewah. Agra:

Foreign Department—the 10th. October, 1856.

No. 360.—The following Notification issued by the Government of India in the Foreign Department, under the date the 19th. ultimo, No. 4870, is re-published for general information.

[1]Agra Government Gazette, Vol. XVI, No XX. Agra. Tuesday, May 15, 1855. Page Nos. 435-437.

No. 4870.

Fort William, Foreign Department, the 19th September, 1856.

Notification.—The Governor General in Council is pleased to publish for general information the following Rules and revised Tariff of Transit Duties leviable within the Rewah State:—

The following Rules and Tariff of Transit Duties (*Zakat*), leviable within the Rewah State, have been fixed, as arranged by Lieutenant Helbert, Officiating Political Assistant in Bundelcund and Rewah, and the Government of His Highness the Maharajah Ragho Raj Singh Jodeo Bahadoor, Chief of Rewah, and are not to be deviated from in any particular, but under the sanction and approval of the Agent Governor General for Central India:

Article I. Four Chowkees will be established, one on the Allahabad Road, another on the Mirzapoor Road, a third at Rewah Khass, and the fourth on the Jubbulpore Road.

Article II. Any trader or merchant proceeding from Allahabad or Mirzapore towards Jubbulpore, or vice versa will be stopped only at two places at the Frontier and at Rewah Khass for the payment of Duties. As for instance, a trader going from Mirzapore to Jubbulpore, will have to pay Duties at Hanooman and at Rewah, while only a Pass will have to be shown at the third Chowkee.

Article III. Any trader entering the line at any intermediate point will have to pay the Duties fixed for the two Chowkees. As for instance a merchant coming from Raipur to Rewah with goods will have to pay the Duty payable between Hanooman and Rewah.

Article IV. Any trader, desirous of paying at the first Chowkee the amount of Duty due for the whole line from the Hanooman to the Jurnah Nullah Chowkees, will be at liberty so to do; the Darogha of such a Chowkee will give him a Receipt for the whole amount and a Pass, which the trader will have to show at the other Chowkees.

Article V. Traders willing to pay separately at each Chowkee will be at liberty so to do; in that case the Jemadar of each Chowkee will give a Receipt and a Pass on payment of the Duty.

Article VI. A copy of the Tariff will be put up in Oordoo and Hindee at each Chowkee.

Article VII. Officials of the Rewah Government will be stationed at the four Chowkees to collect Duties according to the Tariff.

Article VIII. Any party attempting to smuggle dutiable articles will, on conviction, be liable to such punishment as the Chief of Rewah will adjudge, information of the same being given to the Agent, the property thus detected being kept under sequestration, or released on security, till a reply from the Agent be received.

Article IX. Any party aiding and abetting in the act of smuggling, or making an effort thereto, will also, on conviction, be liable to punishment.

Article X. Any Official of the Customs Department (*Purmut*) in Rewah, taking more than the fixed amount of Duties, or charging any article not in the Tariff with Duty, will, on the traders complaining the conviction, be liable to a fine of 200 Rupees and imprisonment with labor for six months.

Article XI. Any official of the Customs Department (*Zekat*) in Rewah, maltreating or subjecting to violence in the way of extortion not authorized by the Tariff, any merchant traveller, will, on conviction, be liable to a fine of 500 Rupees and imprisonment with labor for two years; all such cases being disposed of by the Rewah Government, and reported to the Agent Governor General and the Political Assistant.

Article XII. His Highness the Maharajah will appoint a (*Moontazim*) Superintendent for the management of the Customs Department, and all business belonging thereto.

Article XIII. Any Zemindar, Jagheerdar, or other individual under the Government of Rewah, levying Duties on goods, but for the Rewah Government, or in any way offering violence to traders will be liable to a fine of 1,000 Rupees and three years imprisonment.

Article XIV. Any merchant or trader having to bring forward complaints relating to over-charge, &c., will have to prefer them in the Court of the Manager of the State, "*Moontazim Reasut*", who will forthwith dispose of the case brought to his notice.

Article XV. Any complaints as to excesses in merchants and traders being subjected to an over-charge of Duties beyond the prescribed rates, preferred against the Rewah Officials, not being enquired into and provided for by the Chief and the collection of the Customs falling into mismanagement, will leave the British Government the power of making proper arrangements for the said collections; the surplus, after an account of the expenses

incurred in the collections is made, being, at the end of each year, or every six months, payable to the Rewah Government.[1]

(A true translation)
(Sd.) R. JENKINS,
Officiating 1st. Assistant Agent Governor General for Central India.

EXCESSIVE TOLL COLLECTION

Toll Collectors suspended:

No. 4 A of 1856-57—Toll Department.

Chief Engineer's Office, North Western Provinces, Agra, the 10th. September ,1856.

MEMORANDUM

To

The Executive Officers and Toll Collectors of The Grand Trunk Road.

The Toll Collectors at the Raja-ka-Talao and Byragee-ka-Nulla Toll Stations, having without authority directed the levy of tolls at higher rates than fixed in the Schedule, which accompanied the Government Notification No. 15 A of the 25th. January, 1856,. (copies of which were despatched from this office and distributed previous to the 1st. March, 1856) and the public having consequently been unlawfully taxed when passing these gates between the 10th. May and 6th. of June, 1856, these proceedings having been brought to the notice of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor North Western Provinces, His honor, to mark his severe displeasure at this illegal conduct of the two Toll Collectors concerned, has ordered their suspension from duty and pay, for a period of six months.

2. The Executive Officer of the 3rd. Division Grand Trunk Road, is accordingly directed to relieve Mr. J. Giddens and Mr. J. Barrett, of the charge of the Raja-ka-Talao and Byragee-ka-Nulla Toll Gates respectively; communicating in due form to each, his suspension for a period of six months from the date on which

[1]Agra Government Gazette, Vol. XVII, No. XLIII, Agra, Tuesday, October 21, 1856, pp. 681-83.

this order may be communicated to them; and the Chief Engineer trusts that the serious consequences which these Toll Collectors have brought upon themselves, will operate as a warning to all persons in the Toll Department, to adhere strictly to the instructions issued for their guidance.[1]

(Sd.) J. T. BOILEAU, Colonel.
Chief Engineer, North Western Provinces.

SALT IN OUDH.

No. 327 of 1856.

From

G. Couper Esqre.,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

To

G. F. Edmonstone Esqre.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department, Calcutta.

Dated Lukhnow, Chief Commissioner's Office, 28th. May, 1856.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 2672 dated the 16th. Instant, I am directed to observe that the Officiating Chief Commissioner, taking into consideration the distress that will be occasioned by a prohibition of the manufacture of alimentary salt throughout this province, has, in the exercise of the discretion therein left to him, thought proper to suspend the issue of the orders to that effect, and to submit the following explanation for the course which he has adopted.

2. At present the information obtained regarding the manufacture of salt in this Province is limited to the replies of the Commissioners of Fyzabad and Baraitch to certain queries contained in a circular of the Financial Commissioner.

3. To the south of the Gogra in Fyzabad Division the soil in many places yields the same description of salt of which the manufacture in Jounpore was abolished in 1843. This salt was

[1]Agra Government Gazette, Agra. Tuesday, October 21. 1856. pp. 203. Circular orders by the Chief Engineer, N.W.P.

taxed under the late Government like any other product of the soil, the amount being included in the *Juma* assessed on the land, and the Malgozars were allowed to make their own arrangements with the manufacturers; though occasionally the officers of Government assumed the direct management of the manufacture and the entire profit derived from it.

4. The salt produced was of the following qualities and prices:—

1st. sort	Chootiya	selling at	14	seers	per	Rupee.
2nd. sort	Kateeb	selling at	21	seers	per	Rupee.
3rd. sort	Kharee	selling at	28	seers	per	Rupee.
4th. sort	Sujje or subcarbonate of soda and by soap-boilers		30	seers	per	Rupee.

and was more than sufficient for the population; but the more wealthy consumed as an article of luxury the Sambhur and Lahore Salt imported from British Territory after paying the duty of 2 Rupees a maund. The quality of the Oudh Salt is said by the Commissioner of Fyzabad to have been not good enough to cause any great demand for it from without the province, or to render it a profitable article of export to British Territory even had it been permitted. But the report of the Commissioner of Customs, and of the Benares Division to the Sudder Board of Revenue, North Western Provinces induce a belief that the preventive line on the Oudh Frontier was ineffective, and that the common Oudh Salt was consumed in considerable quantities by the village population of the Benares Division, who must otherwise have been entirely deprived of salt in consequence of the high prices at which the Sambhur and Belumbar Salts are sold after paying a frontier duty of 2 Rupees a maund, and a second duty of 8 annas on the Allahabad line.

5. Enquiries instituted under the orders of the Government of North Western Provinces and a comparison of the quantity of salt paying duty with the population of the country, shew that the consumption of the duty paying salt was confined to a very small portion of the population of the North Western Provinces, and that, in the Benares and Allahabad Divisions, liable to an entire (*sic*,) duty of 8 annas besides the increased cost for carriage, the luxury of good edible salt was enjoyed by the affluent only, whilst the bulk of the population consumed the common earth salts of the country, brought from Oudh, or clandestinely prepared in private houses by some expeditious process, or that obtained from the refuse of salt-petre works, subjected to various degrees of purifications.

6. The salt manufactured in this Province to the North of the Gogra is reported by the Commissioner of Baraitch to be of very inferior quality, such as no human being could use except under the pressure of extreme poverty.

7. The Officiating Chief Commissioner has lately, (as a member of the Suddur Board of Revenue, North Western Provinces) had opportunities of observing the effects of the law prohibiting the manufacture of salt. The high duty of 2 Rupees per maund on its import from Foreign Territory renders it impossible for the great buck (*sic*, bulk) of the population to supply, by legal means, their wants of a condiment which is so necessary for the preservation of health and existence.

8. In the Agra and Delhi Division, and in parts of the Doab Divisions, the prohibition of the manufacture led to the reduction of the land tax at the last revision of settlement, and the Kore Salt Works in Jounpore yielding an annual revenue averaging half a Lac of Rupees were closed in 1843; but the double duty imposed in that year has not been attended with the increase anticipated to the customs Revenue, notwithstanding the more stringent rules for its realization, and the great additional cost at which the preventive Establishment has been increased and organized under European Officers.

9. At the commencement of the operation of Reg. 14 of 1845 a considerable increase was obtained; but the returns have not progressively increased with those of population, and the conclusion is thus arrived at that only the affluent are able to consume the taxed salt, and that the poorer classes are supplied in the Agra, Delhi, and Doab Divisions, with salt obtained in the manufacture of salt petre, whilst those of Rohilcund, and Benares obtain it from Oudh or clandestinely prepare a deleterious substitute by a rapid process from the saline earth of the country.

10. Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner of the Benares Division has made use of very strong language in reporting officially on the subject, representing the miseries inflicted on the great mass of the population, and expressing satisfaction from motives of humanity, at the facilities offered by the saline products of the country for evading the high import on a necessary of life.

11. The late Commissioner of Allahabad in reporting on the impoverishment and depopulation of the two large pergunnahs of Barah, and Khyragurh, to the south of the Jumna, attributed them to heavy assessment, and the want of salt causing disease, and epidemics.

12. Late arrangements have changed the customs line from the course of the Jumna, below the confluence of that river, and the Chumbul to a line directly south through Jhansi, and Saugor, to Hoshungabad on the Nerbudda, so as to include within it the Saugor and Nerbudda Division and the whole of Bundelcund. These are not salt-produing countries, and the already impoverished District of Banda, will thus be subjected in common with the Independent Bundelcund States, and the Saugor Territory, to a tax from which it was hitherto free. The duty levied on this new line is graduated and diminishes as it recedes from the Jumna to 1-8-0 at Saugor, and 1 Rupee at Hoshungabad in consequence of the circuitous land carriage from the Salt Lakes, and the duties levied by the intermediate Foreign States in transit inducing a belief that the lower rates will be sufficient at these places. But an unforeseen difficulty has arisen: it is found, that the sea product salts of Surat, and the Ran of Cutch paying duties of 12 As. per maund to the Bombay Government are brought round the southern extremity of the line, and if their introduction can be prevented by its extension, that the inferior kinds of salt extracted from the soil in the vicinity of Ellechpoor will be used by the bulk of the population throughout the extensive, but not very productive regions now placed within the preventive Line. The Board of Revenue have consequently suggested the expediency of reducing the Import duty to 1 Rupee throughout the entire extent of the customs line, and of allowing the free importation of Bombay taxed salt.

13. In advocating this measure the Board have also alluded to the injury inflicted on the inhabitants of the North Western Provinces by their being compelled to purchase Sambhur or Belumbur salt from a foreign state, whilst a salt, which though not equally good, answers all the domestic wants of the poorer classes, could be obtained at their own doors.

14. It is evident, that under the press (*sic,*) of the high rates of duty the Sambhur and Khanseer salts continue to be consumed as articles of luxury by the wealthier classes, and it is probable that the reduction of the British Frontier duties now levied on them will be followed by additional import in their transit through the intermediate foreign states. These reasons have, it appears, operated in inducing His Honor the Lieutenant Governor to recommend that the present rate of duty be maintained on those two descriptions of salt whilst consenting to its reduction on all others to 1 Rupee per maund, and it is proposed to subject to a similar rate of duty, all salt manufactured within the country or extracted from the refuse of salt-petre.

15. The customs officers, native and European, now patrol the country in every direction in search for salt clandestinely manufactured, or illicitly obtained from salt-petre works. Convictions are frequent, and are followed by sentences of severity, but the illicit manufacture is not checked, whilst the temptations are so great. The unauthorized exactions of the native Officer must at the same time greatly distress the population, and the benefits accruing to Government from their inquisitorial proceedings, are very trifling in (*sic*,) a pecuniary point of view whilst the state in fact is a loser by any illegal exaction from the agricultural classes as well as from their being kept in a constant state of alarm on account of the apprehended search of customs officers.

16. All these inflictions might it is apprehended, be removed and a considerable increase to the revenue obtained by legalizing the manufacture of salt in our own territory, and the system proposed will apply to this province, and save the population of a country new to our rule from the heaviest calamity that has been inflicted in the provinces long habituated to it.

17. It is found that a high rate of excise duty can be levied on Spirits, Bhang, Charas etc. of which the expenses of manufacture or production are trifling and the temptation to illicit trade in them proportionately great, by the simple arrangement of allowing certain parties to contract for it within defined limits, who have consequently a direct interest in preventing any interference with their contract by illicit dealer or manufacturers, and who effectually prevent smuggling, or contraband salt, without any cost to Government for maintaining preventive Establishments.

18. The manufacture of salt is necessarily restricted to those soils which are known to produce it, and consequently the levy of an excise on the same system will be easier than in the case of spirits or drugs.

19. The privilege of manufacturing salt should, it is urged, be leased to contractors, the limits of each salt producing tract should be defined by certain village boundaries, and made the subject of a district contract; zemindars should be allowed to contract for the licence to manufacture in their own village at rates estimated on the capabilities of the soil for producing salt, and on the duty leviable of 1 Rupee per maund of purified edible salt. On their recusance the contract should be made open to the competition of other offers. The impure common salt to the north of the Gogra, should be left free as they will be chiefly consumed

by cattle, but taken into the account of village assets, in assessing the land revenue.

20. The views entertained on the subject by the Lieutenant Governor North Western Provinces and by Mr. Gubbins the Financial Commissioner are recorded in the letters which are annexed. On receiving the permission of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council the Officiating Chief Commissioner proposes to issue, after consulting further with the Financial Commissioner and Divisional Commissioners, definite rules for legalizing the manufacture of salt, within certain limits, and for collecting a duty of 1 Rupee per maund on the principles above described.[1]

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant
(Sd.) G. COUPER,
Secretary to Chief Commissioner.

Lucknow, Chief Commissioner's Office,
The 28th. May, 1856.

No. 44 of 1856.

From

C. Wingfield Esqre.,
Commissioner for the 3rd. or Baraitch Division.

To

M. R. Gubbins Esqre.,
Financial Commissioner, Oudh.

Dated, the 8th. April, 1856.

Sir,

I have the honor to forward the result of my enquiries, and of the reports received from the district officers in the form of categorical replies to the questions put in your letter No. 22 dated 31st. March on the manufacture of salt.

Question 1 (Para) 2. No duties whatever were imposed upon the manufacture of salt by the late Government; the

[1]Foreign Political Consultations Nos. 195/200. 12th, Dec. 1856 (National Archives, New Delhi.)

zemindars levied cesses on it in the villages in which it was made, in the same way as they did on every branch of industry under the denomination of *puchotra*. So also salt paid a transit duty like any other article of Commerce.

Question 2 (Para) 3. The salt made in the Mullapore district is of the worst description such as no human being could use except under the pressure of extreme poverty. That manufactured in Baraitch and Gonda is a trifle better but still of very inferior quality. It is styled; Oojla, and it is difficult to give its selling price, as it is hardly a marketable commodity, being consumed mainly by the poor who make it.

(Para) 4. The better sort of Oojla salt, and a description called Choolecah are imported from Bhynswarah, in the Fyzabad division, they sell at from 12 to 14 seers the Rupee, but do not appear to be consumed at any great distance from the Gogra.

Question 3 (Para) 5. Most certainly not. I have already said that salt is brought from Bhynswarah, but it is also imported from the British Territories for the consumption of all whose means enable them to purchase it. The kind of salt thus imported, is, styled Gooraree; it is brought from the west through Shahjehanpore and Pillibheet by Banjarras who take rice in exchange; the same salt is also purchased in Goruckpore by the Bunniahs and inhabitants of the counterminous part of this division.

Question 4 (Para) 6. None. I at once saw that no immediate measures were called for, and now that I have derived full information on the subject it is clear to me that for the present at least the Government monopoly runs no risk of being endangered by the unrestricted manufacture of salt in this division. To impose a tax on it would be merely to inflict gratuitous suffering on the poorest classes, as not a fraction would be paid by the wealthy, or tolerably well off.

(Para) 7. My own idea is that the soil of this division, from its exceeding dampness, and proximity of water to the surface, is peculiarly unfitted for the manufacture of salt. I have rarely seen traces of it in the earth. The driest part is towards Fyzabad, and there the bulk of what is produced is manufactured; the dampest part is, towards the hills at Mullapoor, and there no salt whatever, fit for human use, is manufactured.

(Para) 8. Some salt petre is made at Hissampore and Puckurpore in Baraitch, and in parts of Gonda but it is not likely when tolerable salt cannot be made outright that the opportunity should

be seized of purifying alimentary salt obtained, in the manufacture of salt-petre.

I have &c.

(Sd.) C. WINGFIELD,
Commissioner.

Commissioner's Office,
3rd. Baraitch Division,
The 8th. April, 1856.

(True Copy)

(Sd.) G. COUPER,
Secretary to Chief Commissioner.

(COPIES)

Nynee Tall,
17th. April.

My Dear Gubbins,

I will ask Drummond about the Bhudawar people at once. Vansittart has been supplying information of the prodigious resources of Oudh for the production of salt and some anxiety is experienced as to what course your administration will take in the matter.

The works are probably of much the same character as the wells and vats which were shut up throughout Jounpore etc. in 1843.

But the feeling has changed since then, and the cruelty of stopping a legitimate source of beneficial trade where worked in such a manner as to be at all compatible with the Revenues of Government will, I doubt not prevent this course being carried out in Oudh at least where the works are not sparse, but in clusters, capable of being easily supervised. Mr. Colvin has asked me to mention to you his general views on the subject, and ask what the notion at Lukhnow has been or now is regarding it.

It will be some little time before the official papers on the subject get to you.

But this mention is strictly confidential because any suspicion of a charge would disturb the present trade.

Mr. Colvin's idea is, that on the footing of strict equality which must be admitted between Oudh, and our provinces, your administration might license such works, or clusters of works as are capable of supervision at the rate of 1 Rupee per maund, in which case, he would propose that our import duty on all the inferior salt (Sambhur Kansia etc. being maintained at the present rate) be also reduced to 1 Rupee. Wherever, as in Jounpore, we have tracts which like those worked in Oudh, are capable of supervision, we would license them too. Let me hear your opinion.

Your &c.

(To) (Sd.) W. MUIR.

M. R. Gubbins Esqr.

Lucknow, April 23rd. 1856.

My Dear Muir,

I reply to your letter from Nainee Tal of the 17th. regarding salt.

Our administration is now without a regular head. Ommanney and I, are carrying on the administration until General Outram's successor arrives. The opinion expressed therefore must be received with so much reservation, as necessarily attaches to it, from the absence of the Chief Commissioner.

I have been calling for information from the several Commissioners, regarding the Oudh salt works and enquiring myself; little information has been sent to me by the Commissioners. Yet what has come, goes to shew no salt work of any size in Gonda, Baraitch, but very extensive ones in the Fyzabad Divisions, particularly on the Jounpore Frontier. The Tax realized in one small Talooqa having once amounted to Rs. 5,000 per annum.

At the same time it appears that all the Oudh salt is inferior in quality. And Sambhur etc. imported salts are consumed by all the upper classes.

But I learnt from Barcley Thornhill, who passed through this enroute to Nynee Tall a few days ago, that a very intelligent Customs Officer from Allahabad had under Mr. Vansittart's orders been traversing the whole line of country, where the salt works chiefly

lic. From him your Government will obtain more correct, and full information than I can send you.

The works appear much of the same nature as those stopped in Jounpore.

Personally, I entirely concur in, and am prepared strongly to support, Mr. Colvin's liberal views regarding the licensing of those Oudh Salt works which are capable of supervision, and I presume, though here I speak with diffidence, that the best kinds of Oudh Salt may bear the duty of 1 Rupee per maund proposed for them, and the salts of the contiguous Provinces of Jounpore, Azimgarh etc.

Were it possible however, it would be much better, because easier, and more certain, to license the salt pan. It would not be difficult to ascertain the average quantity of salt which can be made in a Pan of given dimensions, and then license this for the year. Punish heavily unlicensed ones and the interference with the people will be reduced to a minimum. And the Tehseeldar will I presume be able to arrange the collections.

This system is recommended by having been that pursued by the Oudh Government; under it salt formed an item in the assets of a Talooqa. And the Zemindar or Talookdar imposed his tax upon the salt pans. I should think it the best plan, every way.

I quite concur in the injustice and hardship of summarily stopping extensive salt works, as was done in Jounpore. You should remember that a good deal of very inferior salt is made, which is used for cattle, and in manufactories. How does Mr. Colvin propose dealing with this if the tax per maund be imposed? If the pan-tax be kept up, there will be little or no difficulty.

I am yours &c.

(Sd.) M. GUBBINS.

(True Copies)

(Sd.) I. P. ADELS,

Superintendent.

(Sd.) G. COUPER.

Secretary to Chief Commissioner.

No. 753.

(COPY)

From — No. 63 of 1856.

The Commissioner and Superintendent,
Fyzabad Division.

To

The Financial Commissioner,
Lucknow.

Dated, Sultanpore 17th. April, 1856.

Sir,

In reply to your circular No. 42 of 22nd. ultimo on the subject of the Salt Tax and manufacture of salt, I have the honor, in supercession of former reports, to state as follows -seriatim (*sic*,). 2nd.

1. Duties: There was no fixed scale of duty under the late Government the revenue demand from salt was in most instances included in the general *Juma* of each village, the Malgozars making their own arrangements as proprietors of the salt works, with the parties who undertook the manufacture; occasionally the Government Officer worked the pans on account of Government, paying all expenses and disposing of the produce. I can discover no fixed rate per maund or per pan by which the Government demands was (*sic*,) regulated.

Description:

2. The salt was of the following qualities and prices.

1st. Sort Chootya	...	seers 14 per rupees
2nd. Sort Kuteela	...	seers 21 per rupee.
3rd. For Cattle Kharee	...	seers 28 per Rupee.
4th. Sujjee, a sub-carbonate (inferior) of soda used by the soap boilers	...	seers 20 to 30 per Rupee.

Quantities:

3. The salt was more than sufficient.....for the population, though superior salt was imported from Sambhur,

and Lahore for the use of the more wealthy. There was no importation from Bengal. Exportation was checked by our preventive system, but the quality of the Oudh Salt was not good enough to cause any very great demand from without: the bulk and weight of salt render it unprofitable to carry the inferior descriptions to a distance.

Tax:

4. No alteration has taken place in this Division in the levy of revenue from this source.

3 (*sic,*). The prohibition in your circular No. 72 dated 1st. April para 42nd. seems to me to render any detailed reply to your sixth paragraph unnecessary: the simplest tax is undoubtedly that of the old Government viz. contract, by which the manufacturer pays so much for the privilege of erecting his works; the capabilities of each Muhal are well known, and I had taken pains to procure some papers showing amount of collections in Salone on this head for 1249 Fasli; it will be a work of time however to divaricate the salt tax from the land revenue with which it is generally mixed up; suffice it to say that in some villages the principal part of the *Juma* arose from salt, and that it aggregated from 80,000 to 1,00,000 Rs. per annum for the Division.

4 (*sic,*). If any tax is to be levied I deliberately recommend the tax on the pans as least expensive and most efficient, it requires no extra Establishment, and is easily collected.

I have &c.

(Sd.) P. GOLDENEY.

Commissioner and Superintendent

Sultanpore,
Commissioner's Office,
17th. April, 1856.

(TRUE COPY)

(Sd.) G. COUPER,

Secretary to Chief Commissioner.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 12th. December, 1856. Nos. 195/200. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

Salt in Oude

(COPY)

No. 600 A of 1856.

From

C. B. Thornhill Esquire,
Officiating Secretary to Government,
North Western Provinces.

To

C. C. Jackson Esquire,
Officiating Chief Commissioner of Oudh, Lucknow.

Dated, Head Quarters, Nynee Tall, The 26th. May, 1856.

Sir,

In continuation of Mr. Muir's letter No. 1107, of February 16th., I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to forward copy of a letter No. 74A, of the 6th. instant from the Suddur Board of Revenue, and of its enclosures, in regard to the policy to be pursued regarding the manufacture of Salt in Oudh.

2. There appears to the Lieutenant Governor to be no alternative between a strict suppression of the salt works in Oudh, which are described to be of very large extent and productiveness, and the introduction of a system of licensing as respects all works lying within limits which may admit of efficient control. The rates of these licences must, of course be such as not to leave inducement for any considerable illicit manufacture.

3. You are fully aware from your recent experiences as a member of the Board of Revenue at Agra, of the comparatively small proportion of taxed salt which enters into the consumption of the North Western Provinces and Oudh. It is most desirable on general grounds, to lower the N.W. rate of frontier duty, so as to draw at least the same amount of Revenue from a wider consumption of the taxed salts. The proposal of the Lieutenant Governor to the Supreme Government would therefore, be to reduce the duty on the Customs Line to one Rupee a maund for all the ordinary salt, that is, for all excepting such salts as the Sambhur, Kansia, or Burragar qualities which, in different parts of the country, form the supply of the wealthier classes.

4. It must be a strong additional argument against the maintenance of the uniform customs rate of 2 Rupees a maund that, if the Oudh works be closed, a population for the first time

brought under British Rule, which has been long accustomed to cheaper salts, must upon such a rate have no licit means of obtaining a necessary of life, excepting at a heavily enhanced price, and that, if a plan of licensing be authorized the rate of 2 Rupees a maund would be undoubtedly too high to keep down smuggling.

5. The practical point for inquiry seems to be whether a licensing rate of 1 Rupee a maund would be suitable to the circumstances of the saline tracts in Oudh. The process of manufacture in those tracts may, doubtless, be much improved. And the local produce will always have, at an equal rate, a decided advantage over the salts imported across the distant Customs Line.

6. The question under discussion is of much importance, as the administration of licences in Oudh must of course lead to the re-opening, upon like terms, of the manufactures in the salt tracts in the neighbouring District of Jounpoor—and elsewhere in the Benares and other Divisions, and to the withdrawal of the special frontier line which is now thought requisite as a protection to the additional duty of 8 annas a maund, levied on salt, passing Eastward of Allahabad.

7. But the Lieutenant Governor feels well persuaded that, in this, as in other cases a liberal policy in regard to commerce or duties will be forced eventually to be the most sound and beneficial one. It is shown by clear statistical evidence that in some manner or other, there must already be a large illicit production and use of a common kind of salt Westward of the Bihar frontier. And if this is not found to interfere, in any sensible degree, with the Salt Revenue of Bengal, so there need be no reasonable fear that fixing the duty and licensing rate at one Rupee a maund for all the ordinary Western salts, will be a real danger to that Revenue. The population generally within the Bengal limits, who now consume the Bengal taxed salt, are doubtless of a class to whom the less pure Western Salts would not be acceptable.

8. The Lieutenant Governor has thus stated his views on the whole question because it is fit that it should not be treated merely as a local one. The effect on the Salt Revenue of the Lower Provinces is fairly and maturely to be considered, though the case for justice and relief to the population of Upper India, is a very urgent one.

9. The Lieutenant Governor will be obliged by the communication of your deliberate opinion on the subject, both in principle and in detail, after you have consulted the most qualified officers connected with the financial administration of Oudh.

10. It is very necessary that, whether or not the Supreme Government, may think it proper to give to this Government any control over the arrangements in regard to salt manufacture within Oudh, the two administrations should be guided, as concerns the connection of those arrangements with the Customs Revenue of the North Western Provinces, by a common spirit and purpose.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Sd.) C. B. THORNHILL

Officiating Secretary to Government, N.W.P.

Head Quarters,
Nynee Tall,
The 26th. May, 1856.

(TRUE COPY)

(Sd.) C. B. THORNHILL,

Officiating Secretary to Government, N.W.P.[1]

(COPY)

No. 826.

From

The Deputy Commissioner of Poorwa.

To

The Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow.

Dated, Bunnee, 7th. October, 1856.

Sir,

I have the honor to bringto your notice that no arrangements have been as yet made for the salt contract.

2. The manufacture has hitherto been in each district or village in the hands of the Ijaradar or Malgozar, bound up with the Land Revenue. In the 3 years summary settlement it has been excluded and different arrangements were understood to be introduced.

3. But as nothing has as yet been done, and as this is the season for preparing the salt pits, I do myself the honor to bring the subject to your notice.

4. Enclosed is a statement of the amount of Salt Revenue received by the different Ijaradar and Malgozars in the 3 Tehseels of Bhugwuntnuggur Poorwa and Oonaw Hurha, in which 19/20th. of the salt of this district are made.

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, 12th. December, 1856, Nos. 204/6. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

5. This amount has been taken from Thuthuus (*sic,*) and where possible from more trustworthy papers, i.e. those given in by retiring Ijaradars who had no object in magnifying or diminishing the amounts. It has been allowed for in the settlement of each village.

6. I have not yet ascertained the amounts in the Nawabgunge Russoolabad, and Mohan Tehseel, but shall have it in a few days. But as it is very trifling and the season is advancing, I am unwilling to delay referring the subject any longer as arrangements should be made forthwith.

7. Meanwhile I have directed the Tehseeldars to permit the preparation of the salt pits as usual as this will not interfere with any arrangements that may be subsequently made.[1]

I have &c.

(Sd.) H. L. EVANS,
Deputy Commissioner.

The Poorwa,
Deputy Commissioner's Office,
Bunnee, 6th. August, 1856.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

Fort William, the 16th. October, 1856.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 517 dated the 29th. ultimo desiring to be informed of the views of the Board in respect to the proposition of the N.W. Government to do away with the special duty levied on salt passing Eastward from Allahabad, I have the honor to state as follows:

2. From 1850/1 to 1854/5, inclusive there has been a progressive increase in the importation of salt by Allahabad. In the first years, the amount imported was 4,52,846 Mds., in 1853/4 the amount had increased to 6,63,168 Mds. and in 1854/55 it rose to 9,76,296 Mds. thus shewing that the duty did not operate as a bar to the consumption of this salt in the Benares and Bihar Divisions. In 1855/56, however the amount imported fell to 4,92,727 Mds. being but little in excess of what it was in 1850/51 and being less

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, No. 826. 12th. December, 1856. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

than what was imported in 1851/52. Whether this sudden decrease was in any degree owing to illicit traffic it is impossible to state precisely;but the Board think not,in view of the progressive increase adverted to. They are inclined to consider it more ascribable to the large stock on hand caused by the great increase in importation in 1854/55 and that, under the present rate of duty,the importation had exceeded its limits.

3. This view, the Board think, is supported by the returns of the Western Salt for the first four months (May to August) of the present year 1856/57. During that period the importation of salt from Allahabad into Bengal have amounted to Mds. 2,36,623 (omitting fractions) which will give an average of Mds. 7,09,959 for the entire year, being not much in advance of the amount imported in1853/54.

4. The Board do not think that a decrease of 8 annas in the Customs duty levied at Allahabad will in any way affect the revenue derived by the Bengal Government from Punjab or Boiled Salt, but it will, they are of opinion, most probably have this effect on the importation of Solar-evaporation-Salt from the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and from foreign ports. But the introduction of the licensed manufacture in Oudh and the saliferous parts of our old Districts, will have the same effect, as it will introduce into the adjacent districts a wholesome alimentary salt at a less cost in the place of an article (Kunkutch) injuriously and fraudulently adulterated. The Board do not think that the interest of the Madras and Bombay manufacturers or foreign importers should be allowed to preponderate over those of the North Western Provinces, Oudh, and the consumers in the N.W. ports of Bengal and the Benares Division.

5. The Board are inclined to think that the reduction on the duty will have a great effect in increasing the consumption of the N.W. and Oudh Salt, and that the liberal view of the question advocated by the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces might be adopted without endangering to any extent the local Bengal Salt Revenue.[1]

I have &c.
(Sd.) E. T. TREVOR,
Officiating Secretary.

(TRUE COPY)

Illegible
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

[1]Foreign Political Consultations. Nos. 207/8. Dated 12th. December, 1856. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

Statement of Salt Pits in Tehseel Poorwa Oonaw Hurha Bhugwuntnuggur, in Zillah Poorwa.

No.	Name of Pergunnah	Name of Tehseel	Amount of Jumma	Remarks
1.	Bhugwunt-nuggur	Bhugwunt-nuggur	1,774 0 0	By enquiry from Zumeendars there being no Putwarees on the whole Pergunnah and therefore no Thuthurs.
2.	Doondea-Khera	—do—	63 0 0	Ditto. Ditto.
3.	Punhun	Ditto.	22,954 9 6	By Thuthurs in part and by enquiries from the Kanoongoes and Malgozars.
4	Mugroa	Ditto.	13,829 0 0	The amount allowed for in making the summary settlement. In F. 1262, it is shewn by trustworthy Thuthur's to have been Rs. 13,706-15-0 in the 3 chief villages where it is now stated to be Rs. 13,229-7-0; the remainder is in two villages and is on the declaration of the Putwarees unsupported by documents.
5.	Patun bahur	Ditto.	14,991 4 0	According to Thuthur of this year Rs. 16,167-8-6 and of Fasli 1262 Rs. 14,027-15-3. The amount allowed in the settlement is Rs. Rs. 14,991-4-0; the Thuthurs are not trustworthy.
6	Poorwa	Poorwa	1,539 0 0	By Thuthu
7.	Hurha	Oonaw Hurha	8,710 0 0	By Thuthu
8.	Oonaw	Ditto.	520 1 6	By Thuthu
		Total	64,390 15 0	

Zh. POORWA.
Deputy Commr.'s Office.
Bunnee 6th. October, 1846.

Sd. H. L. EVANS.
Deputy Commr.
(True Copies) *Sd.* G. COUPER.
Secy. to the Chief Comm Oudh.[1]

Salt in Oudh:

The reference which has been made to the Government of the North Western Provinces and of Bengal respectively the proposal of the Officiating Chief Commissioner in Oudh to legalize the manufacture of salt in that province by leaving it to contractors has been answered in .....(?) of the scheme.

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, No. 826. 12th. December, 1856. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

Under the Native Government a tax was levied upon salt as upon any other product of the soil, as an asset of the land Revenue.

In the Fyzabad District, south of the Gogra a salt was obtained good enough to be consumed by the bulk of the people, but unable to compete for consumption by the richer classes with the pure Sambhur and Western Salts imported from British Territory at a duty of 2 Rs. a maund.

Fyzabad Salt however has found its way into the British Territory in large quantities, notwithstanding the frontier line of Customs, and is there consumed by those who cannot afford to purchase the highly taxed Western Salt.

North of the Gogra the salt which is produced is very impure, and fit only for cattle, Sambhur salt, in fact (*sic*,).

The proposal of the Officiating Chief Commissioner is to define the limits of each Salt producing District, making each the subject of a separate Contract; to allow the Zemindars to contract for the manufacture in their own villages at rates estimated on the capabilities of the soil for producing salt, and at a duty of 1 Rupee per maund of purified edible salt; and to open the contracts to competition if the Zemindars should refuse to take them.

It is not proposed to put any restriction upont he manufacture of the impure salt North of the Gogra.

The reference made to the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces has led to the expression of his opinion that the same system of licence must be allowed in Jounpore and Goruckpore as in Oudh; that the duty now levied on the Western Frontier should be reduced from 2 Rs. to 1 Re. per maund; and that the duty of 8 annas taken upon salt passing to the Eastward of Allahabad shd. (should) be removed.

The Lieutenant Governor and the Bd. (Board) of Revenue of Bengal .....(*sic*,) no objection on the score of Revenue to the proposed system of licence in Oudh; and they are in favor of the abolition of the Allahabad duty of 8 annas.

The question as regards Oudh is not necessarily connected with all the other questions which have been brought under discussion.

I am of opinion that the Officiating Chief Commissioner should now be authorized to put his scheme in execution.

The Customs Line between Oudh and the North Western Provinces may be abolished without any material risk. This Line

has never been effective. Oudh Salt has defied it without difficulty; and if the withdrawal of it shd. (should) bring that salt within the reach of some who do not now obtain it, so much the better, but Oudh Salt cannot compete with Western Salt even in Oudh itself, and it is not likely to do so in the North Western Provinces.

I also think that the prohibition agst. (against) the manufacture of salt in Jounpore shd. (should) be removed.

But the abolition of the Allahabad duty, which is also urged by the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces is not necessarily consequent to the system now proposed for Oudh. The object of that duty is to protect the Revenue from the loss which wd. (would) arise by the substitution of pure Western Salt paying 2 Rs., for pure Bengal Salt paying 2 Rs. 8 per maund; and this object will still remain after the manufacture of the impure Oudh Salt shall have been licensed.

The reduction of the duty on the Western Frontier from 2 Rs. to 1 Re. is also a separate question. The sanction of the measure proposed for Oudh will in no way interfere with the measures to which a consideration of the general question now before the Government in W. Plowden's report will lead.

(Sd.) Illegible.
Nov. 15. 1856.
(Sd.) Illegible.
17th. Nov. 1856.
(Sd.) Illegible.
Decr. 8th. 1856.[1]

JAIL ADMINISTRATION.

The Emeute in the Chuprah Jail—Voice against the new messing system:

" The reader will not perhaps have forgotten that order was issued to Mr. Wilkins, the Magistrate of Chuprah in 1843, to enforce the messing system among the prisoners in his jail, *and that the attempt excited such resistance within its walls, and such sympathy among the inhabitants of the town,* that he was necessitated to write to the nearest military station for a detachment of troops.

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, 12th. December, 1856. Nos. 207/8.

Second Insurrection, 1845:

" ..... The whole body of prisoners, not less than 800 in number, then proceeded to the store and armed themselves with the handles of the Kodalies (hoes) and paraded the Jail with shouts of defiance, which were responded to by the multitude without, who had by this time assembled to the number of 2 or 3000..... In 10 seconds the prisoners completely routed the whole detachment, and followed them *en masse* to the gate.

.....

(The insurrection could be suppressed with the aid of Nujeebs.)

" ..... Government had fully approved of the conduct of the public authorities, and resolved that the system shall be enforced, even if it be necessary, by the aid of the military, in those jails which have hitherto been exempted from it, and that some of the most refractory of the prisoners shall be removed to other jails.....

" Such a plan has been already adopted in the North Western Provinces, and cannot be too soon introduced into Bengal ".[1]

Clean Shave Circular for Jails:

The Phoenix reports the proceedings of the Mahomedan Association. Its members have taken umbrage at a circular, which has been issued from the office of the Inspector of Jails, ordering that all prisoners shall have the hair shaved off from chin and face. The Committee in a letter to the Inspector of Jails, state that " No Mahomedan can contemplate without acute pain the social and the spiritual consequences of throwing off the hair on his chin ". The Inspector of Jails has very properly refused to reply without the sanction of the Government. The circular of the Inspector of Jails contained no such provision. *The beards and whiskers are simply to be trimmed, the moustaches to be retained.* If no appeal is preferred, then the head and face of each prisoner is to be shaved.[2]

The Bombay Gazette publishes a letter upon " *Converts and their Dress* ". When a native changes his religion, he wishes to change his dress. He oils his hair, and brushes it with great

[1] *The overland Agra Ukhbar*—reproduced from *the Englishman* of Wednesday last—as well as *Friend of India*, August 7, 1845.

[2] The Weekly Epitome of News. Thursday, March, 26, 1857. *The Friend of India*, April 2, 1857, pp. 318.

neatness. He puts on tight pantaloons. He wears boots. He casts off his turban. To the unconverted Christianity thus becomes another name for boots, cap, long hair etc. Religion and dress with the native invariably go hand in hand.[1]

Outbreak in Lucknow Jail

(Copy)

No. 1197.

From

G. Couper Esquire,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.

To

M. C. Ommanney Esquire,
Judicial Commissioner, Oudh.

Lucknow, Chief Commissioner's Office, 27th. December, 1856.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 690 dated 16th. December relative to the emeute in the Lucknow Jail, and in reply to communicate the following observations:

2. In your letter No. 602 dated 15th. November you reported a serious outbreak in the Jail, at the same time stating that you refrained from further comment until the Deputy Commissioner had completed his enquiries regarding its origin and the circumstances attending it. As nine days intervened between the event and your letter the Chief Commissioner expressed his surprise that you were not then in possession of any particulars though you at the same time thought proper to stigmatize the military police by imputing the entire blame to them.

3. From a perusal of the correspondence which accompanied your letter the Chief Commissioner inferred that great blame must attach to others than the military police guard, as it appeared that the outbreak originated with the large number of 160 prisoners irregularly detained in the Havalat overpowering the Burkundaz guard who were searching them on their return from Kutcherry. After being joined by the convicts in Jail under sentence, the whole rushed out by forcing the gate and arming themselves with the lathees from the workshops in the passage dividing the two Jails; they succeeded in making escapes through the gate at the end of the passage. The Burkundazes were said to have fought

[1] The Weekly Epitome of News. Thursday, March 26, 1857. *The Friend of India,* April 2, 1857. pp. 318.

well, but the sepoy guard to have behaved pusillanimously, and though the fact of none of the convicts having been wounded by a sepoy was held by you to be sufficient proof of the misbehaviour of the sepoy guard, it does not appear that any had been wounded by the Burkundazes.

4. The Officiating Chief Commissioner was not disposed to take the same superficial view of the matter; he did not think it right to impute blame to either description of guard in consequence of their not having wounded any convicts under circumstances so vaguely stated. He was of opinion that so large a number as 160 men should not have been detained in the Havalat, and he inferred that even that excessive number would not have obtained the aid of the convicts, under sentence, if the latter had been properly assured in their respective wards, the absence of which and the general disorderly state of the convicts when visited the Jail had strongly impressed him with the opinion that at that time an outbreak could have been effected with little or no difficulty. Further than this, the manner in which the united body of men under trial and convicts forced the gate of the Jail, and obtained access to the workshops in the passage, where they armed themselves with lathees, was not explained and certainly the emeute as reported showed that fault was imputable to higher quarters than the Burkundazes or sepoys. As the functionary performing the duty of Inspector of Jails the Officiating Chief Commissioner pointed out these circumstances to you, which evinced disorganization and an absence of proper system for regulating the confinement of the convicts, and desired you to make enquiries by proceeding yourself to the Jail.

5. You are pleased to protest against the impropriety of the Chief Commissioner's addressing these remarks to yourself as the highest Judicial functionary in the province and would probably have made other or additional objections if the Officiating Chief Commissioner had addressed them to the Deputy Commissioner or Divisional Commissioner except through you and your objections on those grounds can only be attributable to that excessive arrogance which prompts you to resist any attempt on the part of the Chief Commissioner to point through you or directly to themselves any faults in the conduct of their duties by your subordinates.

6. You at the same time state that it was not the intention of Government that you should submit such a matter as this outbreak for the Officiating Chief Commissioner's orders, and would apparently infer that an outbreak of some two or three hundred

convicts into the City of Lucknow is not of sufficient importance to render it incumbent on you to report it and that your having noticed it at all was only for the purpose of stigmatizing the Military police, for which purpose you considered it unnecessary to obtain by enquiry or report the full particulars.

7. The Chief Commissioner takes a difficult view of the matter; he considers that it was your duty to obtain by enquiry a knowledge of all the circumstances attending this serious event, the importance of which rendered its report to him an imperative duty whether or no (*sic*,) it was necessary to impute blame to the sepoy guard or to other parties.

8. The animadversions of the Officiating Chief Commissioner had reference to the delay incurred by you in making enquiries regarding all the circumstances attending this outbreak, to the disorganization of the Jail, which was the apparent cause of it and to your relieving every one of responsibility for it, except the sepoy guard, to whom you did not hesitate to impute the entire blame on such imperfect information and insufficient enquiry.

6. In para 5 of your present letter you assume that the Commissioner as the Jail Visitor is responsible to you for the order and condition of Jail; but if you think the responsibility terminates with him or yourself, the Chief Commissioner cannot concur in the assumption. He considers himself charged with responsibility to Government that in the matter of Jails or any other matter, that degree of supervision is exercised by you which is requisite for exacting a proper attention to their duties by those holding authority subordinate to your own, and he will not fail in his duty of pointing out instances of neglect or irregularity in the performance of those duties, which, from their importance or other circumstances, appear to call for his notice.

10. He does not think he had in any way mistaken your functions when he desired you as the supervising authority in Jail matters, to proceed to the Lucknow Jail and ascertain what were the peculiar circumstances of disorganization or negligence which led to so serious an outbreak, though you seem to assume that no functionary above the Deputy Commissioner could have condescended to make such enquiries without derogating from the importance of his position. In such false ideas of authoritative importance the Chief Commissioner does not concur. The importance of the matter or duty not the personal or authoritative importance of the functionary should regulate the necessity for his personal exertions, and Chief Commissioner regrets that you have indulged in what he cannot but consider an erroneous assumption

of your importance, by neglecting to make enquiries in the manner pointed out by the Officiating Chief Commissioner, as that best calculated for obtaining promptly a correct knowledge of matters which are still left in obscurity.

The Chief Commissioner not having the same false pride of position has not hesitated himself to visit the Jail, and he consequently is able to state from personal inspection that the outside of the Jail is still in a ruinous condition, and though greater security has been given both to the gate of the Jail whence the outbreak was effected and to that at the end of the passage, that there are few Jails which he has visited in the provinces which are not both better-secured and better-adapted for the purpose. He observed in the workshops in the passage a great number of pointed iron bars which would readily form weapons of offence in the hands of a desperate and infuriated collection of convicts exceeding 1,000 men should another outbreak be effected. He also remarked that the sepoy guard alleged to consist of 48 men is placed in the same passage with the workshops, though at the opposite end that the outbreak was effected by breaking through the gate of the Jail which was either left open for the ingress of the Havalat prisoners, or had been ill-secured after their entrance that after getting out through the Jail gate the prisoners turned to that end of the passage in which the workshops supplied them with lathies, and to the gate at that end of the passage which if not open, was not properly secured and being guarded by only one sentry was easily forced naturally avoiding the other end where the guard was stationed, and as it was dusk and the whole event must have occurred in a short space of time, the Chief Commissioner is still not prepared to impute the entire blame to the Guard. He considers that under proper supervision both the Gate of the Jail and that of the passage should have been properly secured; that an effective guard should have been placed outside the last, and not inside the passage and at the end opposite to where the workshops are. *For these bad arrangements the district officers are responsible*; it was with the view of amending them that the Chief Commissioner called upon you to proceed to the Jail. The details of the event have been now supplied by Major Banks and illustrated by a sketch of the Deputy Commissioner Mr. Martin, while the bad location of the Guard and the workshops, and the bad construction of the gates, have not, it appears, been remedied; and in consequence of your litigiously opposing the Chief Commissioner's official directions to proceed to the Jail as derogatory to your importance, it is not improbable that the attempt to break Jail may be repeated with more serious consequences

of bloodshed even if confined to the convicts being wounded by the sepoys, than the former one, for which the chief if not the sole responsibility will rest with yourself.

11. As regards the imperfect condition of the building used as Jail you appear to exult in the opportunity of reverting to the order of the Chief Commissioner about correspondence with the Chief Engineer as an excuse, though you could hardly have supposed these orders extended to correspondence on Judicial buildings as provided in the Government Instructions, and had been long since informed that they were only intended to prevent your calling on the officers of the Public Works Department for surveys and plans and estimates of works to be executed at the expense of Local Funds.

12. The Chief Commissioner desires to bring to your notice another matter to which the outbreak may be in a great measure attributable. He understands that both the Civil Surgeon and Dr. Partridge who acted for him, and Dr. Dempster the Superintending Surgeon, have recorded their deliberate opinions that great mortality has been caused among the convicts by deficiency of food, and that the peculiar disease of the Cornea ending in blindness has prevailed among them to a considerable extent which is attributable to want of nutriment. It appears that no messes have been established among the convicts, and that even the supply of food according to the punjab (Punjab) Rules, which does not include the Chubeny daily allowed to convicts in Jails of the North Western Provinces is not properly cooked in consequence of *the fuel supplied being insufficient for each man's separate cooking.* These matters have been brought to your notice by the medical authorities, but the evil has not been remedied; and as an instance of it, it has been reported to the Chief Commissioner that out of a party of six prisoners removed from the Lucknow Jail to Mohumdee for trial three died from apparent inanition soon after their arrival. *Intense hunger would give the courage of despair to persons otherwise inoffensive and submissive, and the desperate character of the present outbreak must have no doubt been partly caused by want of food.* The Chief Commissioner requests you will report on this subject and supply him with copies of the opinions recorded by the Civil and Superintending Surgeons on the matter in the Jail Books, and with the protests addressed by them to you on the subject. The Chief Commissioner has had no previous experience of your official career but he does not hesitate to state that several matters have come under his notice which certainly lead to his belief that some parts of your official duties are neglected and that you assume independent authority and arrogantly dispute on every

occasion all attempts on his part to bring them to your notice. With reference to that part of your letter to the Divisional Commissioner which regards the pardon or release of convicts previous to the expiration of the period of confinement to which they have been sentenced as a reward for any signal service performed by them in Jail the Chief Commissioner desires me again to point out to you that in sanctioning in my letter No. 232 D/18th. June the Instructions issued by you, to the Inspector of Jails, it was specially ordered by the Chief Commissioner that no prisoners should be released for any act of signal service, without his previous sanction being obtained.

I have &c.

(Sd.) G. COUPER,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

(TRUE COPY)
(Sd.) G. COUPER,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.[1]

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

202. What followed at Meerut is matter of History, and involves the painful fact that no instant and prompt retributive pursuit followed upon the heels of the cowardly and traitorous designers of the movement. The delay at Delhi, at first unhappily unavoidable from impreparation, startled those who had hitherto believed in the unassailable strength of the British power. When impunity from chastisement, and immunity from wrong-doing had *succeeded apparently*, every man with a grievance to redress, or an enemy to injure, began to pluck up heart. Many men of old family, anciently opulent, who had whether rightfully or wrongfully lost their possessions since 1803, naturally desired a total subversal of Government, in the hope of recovering under Native rule some portion of their wealth and position. The instance of *Wullee-dad Khan*, of Malagurh, in the Boolundshuhur District, is in point; He was one of the most active and virulent insurgents, and his case had been heard and settled by every Resident of Delhi since the time of Sir David Ochterlony, and by almost every

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, Nos. 253-258, dated 24th. April, 1857. (National Archives, New Delhi.) For further discussion on the Subject cf. Foreign Political Consultations, dated 24th. April, 1857; Nos. 293/358. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

Governor General in Council. The last decision, intended to be definitive, was by Sir Charles (late Lord) Metcalfe; and yet being a family quarrel it had been periodically re-opened, and was hardly closed finally, when I held the office of Agent in 1855; and still rankled in the minds of many of the family.

203. There were a vast number of persons similarly situated throughout the country. Our Civil Courts, whose procedure calls loudly for simplification, had done incalculable mischief; the hasty remandings for new trials, upon mere perusal of two or three individual papers from a file embracing many hundred documents, and upon Utopian points of unmanageable law, brought ruin upon thousands. Those who were opulent looked upon such a decision as conclusive, and the rightful claimant was forced to "*compound*" or to starve. Our Revenue system also, with a well-intentioned, but a vain desire to record every conceivable responsibility and liability in an estate, and to insist on every detail of internal management, and account being assimilated and made public, had sent aged Lumberdars to school to learn Mensuration and Land Surveying; and had ejected hereditary *Putwarees* for failing as *actuaries*. The principle was sound, but it was refined too far; many small privileges and perquisites, never grumblingly paid, were taken away arbitrarily by these measures from the elected headman of a village, whose tenure of office was yearly becoming more frail. Estates became infinitesimally divided, and the soil was unequal to the furnishing of food to its numerous sharers; in several properties, of from 2 to 300 acres each, in *Futtehgurh*, the number of shares had increased to *half thousand*. Still there was no real disaffection, and under the improving character of our administration, there would have been remedy, but the outbreak found many poor and starving. Plunder was around them the rule; money was to be taken by the strong hand, order had been disorganized, and thousands after the commission of theft and murder joined the ranks of the rebels, the idea at whose attempt they would have laughed to scorn not six months before.

204. If to this list be added the number of desperate ruffians who were released, or had effected their own release from the Jails of the North Western Provinces, in June and July, 1857; and the vast body of the dangerous classes which are to be found in every town and even village;—there is no difficulty in understanding, that what began as a *Mutiny*, should seem to assume the proportions of a *Rebellion*, when, as I firmly believe, four-fifths of our native subjects had no sympathies with it, though contented passively to

deprecate the movement, and to wait in fear, and under grievous oppression, the return of peace and order.

205. If the element of arbitrational process be more largely infused into our judicial system; if the multiplication of useless, tedious, and expensive forms of procedure be abandoned; if judgment be given more promptly and decisively, appeals, except upon real *points of law*, reduced in number; and if, in our Revenue management we abstain from sale of *real property*, which in many instances may be considered to be virtually and morally *entailed*; the alienation of which in execution of decrees for simple contract debts unfairly visits the "*sins of the fathers upon the children*", and reduces whole families to run for no *laches* of their own; if the inquisitorial interference with the management of landed properties be restricted to returns, containing only what it is *essential* for Government to know;—then I have no doubt that a more general attachment to British interests will be encouraged, and will be attended with a more universal recognition of our intentions to govern to the best advantage of the people and the country, than at present exists.[1]

EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Letter from the President of the Board of Control to the East India Company dated 2nd. October, 1858:

(Paragraphs of the President's letter referred to.)

1. Many letters have been lately before me, reviewing the state of education in different parts of India under the instructions sent by the Court of Directors in 1854, and I confess that they have not given me the impression that the expected good has been derived from the system which was then established, while all the increase of charge which might have been expected appears to be in progress of realization.

2 to 4. In 1854-55, a year only partially affected by the new scheme, the charge was just within ten Lacs (9,99,898).

In 1855-56 it had increased to seventeen Lacs and a quarter (17,25,664).

[1] G. F. Harvey, Commissioner, Agra Division, Narrative of Events, Attending the Outbreak of Disturbances and the Restoration of Authority in the Agra Division in 1857-58, pp. 41-42. For further discussion on the subject, cf. Charles Ball, "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*", Vol. I, pp. 40-43, and Montgomery Martin, '*The Indian Empire*,' Vol. II, pp. 6-8.

In 1856-57 the estimated charge was rather above twenty-one Lacs and a half (21,64,050) making an increase in two years of eleven Lacs and a half.

6. In all the North Western Provinces, and in Bihar, the schools will generally have been suspended through the mutinies, and I can have no hesitation in recommending that where this shall have been the case the aid of Government should not again be afforded unless there should be an unmistakable desire on the part of the principal landowners and of the people that the connexion between the Government and the schools should be renewed.

9 and 10. To send a female child to any school at which any man whatever can be present is so entirely at variance with native feelings that it is hardly credible that the attendance of any such children can have been really voluntary on the part of the parents.

There is throughout India, especially amongst the higher classes, a strong prejudice in favour of domestic education.

11. I believe we rarely, if ever, induce parents above the lower class to send their children to our schools, and we should practically, if we succeed in extending education as we desire, give a high degree of mental cultivation to the labouring class, while we left the more wealthy in ignorance.

14. Education and civilization may descend from the higher to the inferior classes, and so communicated may impart new vigour to the community, but they will never ascend from the lower classes to those above them; they can only, if imparted solely to the lower classes, lead to general convulsion, of which foreigners would be the first victims.

20 to 26. I do not observe in the letter of the Court in 1854 any direct explicit instruction to afford aid to schools under the charge of missionaries; but the expressions of the Court in that letter have been interpreted as permitting, if they do not direct, such an application of public money, and it has been so applied.

This measure, even guarded as it appears to be, by restricting the aid of Government to the secular education of the natives in missionary schools, seems to me to be of a very perilous character.

The Primary object of the missionary is proselytism, &c. &c.

27, &c. I must express my doubt whether to aid by Government funds the imparting even of purely secular education in a missionary school, is consistent with the promises so often made to

the people, and till now so scrupulously kept, of perfect neutrality in matters of religion.[1]

MALADMINISTRATION

Misrule under the Government of India:

European Intelligence 1857:

" In the letter of the late Sir Charles Napier published in *The Times*, the public were presented with a few samples of the *beneficent* Government of India during late years.

Unpaid Porters:

" We were there told of porters pressed by thousands to carry a Governor General's baggage, and then left for above a year and a half unpaid, of cultivators dragged from their fields, along with their carts and bullocks, to carry the baggage and stores of the army, and so taken hundreds of miles, often without any remuneration, till their bullocks died on the road and their carts had fallen to bits.....of men detained in this way months and sometimes years from their homes, and then finding on their return their wives in the keeping of the officials who had pressed them .....and of organized debaucheries on the part of the governing class calculated to drive the dart deep into the natives' soul....."

Debauch Residents and Civilian Officials:

" We have reason to believe upon the best authority that one Resident turned his residency into a scene of wholesale juvenile prostitution.....

" We have heard, too, of other high functionaries acting over again the part of Angels with Isabella. We could name an Indian civilian who has boasted openly that when either of the parties to a suit before him was a woman, and a pretty one, he always made the sacrifice of her honour the price of his decree.

" We could point to a district where the feeling of the people on the subject of the misconduct of women is so strong that the discovery of this behaviour invariably entails death on the erring sister, or daughter, or wife, and as a consequence the execution

[1] *Papers relating the East India* (Education), 1860. Notes on a letter from the President of the Board of Control to the East India Company by W. Gordon Young Esq., Director of Public Instruction, dated 2nd. October, 1858. Only letter reproduced, notes omitted. pp. 19-23. cf. Gubbins, *The Mutinies in Oudh*, pp. 81-85, and also see Memorandum of Sir George Clerk, *Papers relating to the East India* (Education), 1860.

afterwards of the husband, father, or brother, who has thus wiped out, as he supposes, the family stain. And in that district a regiment composed largely of the lowest caste men has been openly encouraged by its commanding officer in schemes of systematic seduction and abduction; and he has used language so gross when remonstrated with by the police officers and the magistrates that it would have ensured his expulsion with ignominy from any other service in the world. Yet that man has enjoyed the protection of the government because he happened to have interest with the governor, and the regiment has been notorious for its outrages and infamies from that day to this.

Role of East India Directors:

" ..... Their maxim throughout has been " *Collect for us as much money as possible*; and as to the rest do just as you like, only do not trouble us ".

" Machiavelli tells us that the most absolute despotism may long flourish, provided that the ruling class abstains from violating the rights of property in the vanquished, and from every thing like outrages on the female sex. The East India Directors, however, appear not to value Machiavelli, for their whole system has been one continued breach of the law which he thus lays down:

" The extent to which the rights of property have been violated was explained very lucidly in the Conservative leader's late speech, and the extent to which outrages on women have been tolerated, the accounts of the outbreak in Cabul, the letter of the late Sir Charles Napier, and the tales one hears in Indian Society disclose. Nor is it only the poorer class of women that have been the sufferers. At Cabul the ladies seduced were nearly all women of family, and in one of several instances quoted the victim of the judge was a woman of considerable social rank.

Nagpore Princesses:

" In the case of Nagpore princesses, also, though their virtue remained untouched, the insults heaped upon them were so dishonouring as to arouse the feelings of the most cold-blooded to vengeance. One of them, we have been informed, was so heart-broken by the treatment received at the hands of our officials that she has since sunk into grave.

Press Gagged:

" When such is the nature of the rule to which, as disclosed in its naked deformity, we have subjected the people of India,

it is not very surprising that the advisers of Lord Canning should have prevailed upon him to try and stifle all inquiry into the causes of this rebellion by putting a gag upon the Indian press.....

" ..... after all the battle of Indian wrongs and Indian remedies must be fought out here, and not at Calcutta " .....Press. (U.K.)[1]

Exploitation of India 1857.

The Pecuniary Value of India to the British Empire:

" There is, to begin with, a little item of something under 4,000,000 Lb. a year remitted to England on " Home Account ". Of this sum about 1,000,000 Lb. is paid for stores, and may be considered as a matter of trade. The remainder, or 3,000,000 a year, consists of pensions, furlough pay, soldiers wages, salaries, allowances, interests on debts and on proprietors' stock and some other items. This sum is spent exclusively in England, without return to India in meal or malt; *it is in short, a direct tribute paid by the dependency to the sovereign power.*

"To this amount must be added an equal one, or 30,00,000 Lb. more (to speak precisely 2,850,000 Lb.) paid to England for family remittances. These remittances include not only those allowances to children and relatives made by every family in India, the payments for education, for old debts, for outfits, and such like things, but soldiers, remittances, and above all, the fortunes which, though not so gigantic as of old, are still remitted year after year by successful Indians to England. It includes, of course, the remittances on partnership account, by which men long since retired from active business are enabled to live in luxury in England, and there still larger sums by which senior partners in European mercantile firms in India possess a ruinous influence over apparently stable houses. *This sum is also a tribute.*[2]

It is given to England for no quid pro quo in coals or candles, and in as much a portion of the great Indian tribute as the Directors' salaries. It is a direct addition to the wealth which falls under the shares of the commissioners of the income-tax, and represents wealth amounting even at 5 % to 12,00,00,000 Lb. sterling. It is therefore on the clearest rate of business incumbent on this nation to spend 120,000,000 Lb. sterling and one farthing of *its own* money (not Indian money) *before it surrenders India to the sepoys.*

[1] *The Englishman*, Monday, 5th. October, 1857, pp. 4. Reproduced from the Press under the Caption ' European Intelligence '.

[2] *Economist* (London) reproduced by *the Englishman* (Calcutta) Monday, October 5, 1857, p. 4.

" That sum represents about six years of stern, determined, blood-letting warfare. The capital of the East India Company is 6,000,000 Lb. and under the Act of 1833, which extinguished the trading powers of the Company, it was provided that 2,000,000 Lb. should be set apart as a security fund to be applied ultimately with its accumulated interest, to pay off the 6,000,000 Lb. of stock at the rate of 200 %.

" A parliamentary return published today shows the total receipts on account of this fund upto the present time to have been 4,282,594 Lb. namely 2,000,000 Lb. the original appropriation and 2,282,594 Lb. for dividends. These have been invested in the purchase of 806,420 Lb. cousols, and 3,899,240 Lb. reduced, making a total of 4,705,660 Lb. Three per cent stock, which at the prices of this evening would be worth 4,251,732, or within 30,862 Lb. of its cost price.— *Economist.*[1]

Lax morals of English Officers:

" We are happy to see in the columns of a contemporary a wholesome article reprobating the formation of disgraceful connections between English Officers in the service of Government and the native females of this country.....

" We knew one regiment of Native Infantry when an almost universal celibacy attained, owing to the officers almost to a man having avoided the sacred but indissoluble tie of matrimony in order to form convenient (as they short-sightedly regarded them) alliances with the complaisant *Daliahs* of the land.....

" The Native Harem of the Br. Officer possessed or any at rate disclosed, no prior intelligence of the treacherous designs which were rife in the sepoy lines, his dark eyed concubine proved no safeguard to the Anglo-Saxon friend who had sacrificed his respectability and the principles of his childhood for the illicit charms of her society. Of the Regiment the laxness of whose morality we have above alluded to hardly an Officer escaped massacre; and their Semi-Indian progeny met with the same fate.

" We do hope, with our contemporary, that the time has now arrived when Government will consider it its duty actively to discharge among its Officers the disgraceful connections which have hitherto been connived at to such a degree that they might almost be said to be encouraged.[2]

[1] *The Englishman*', Monday 5th. October, 1857.
[2] *Bengal Hurkaru* and *India Gazette* Thursday, April 15, 1858. page 354.

Translation of a Letter from the King of Oudh to the Right Honorable the Governor General dated 28th. Zilhijja 1272 *A.H. corresponding with* 30*th. August,* 1856):

After Compliments

I beg to inform your Lordship that so many acts of violence, oppression, and indignity have been committed upon me that even one-tenth of them was never exercised upon any of the enemies of the British Government since the establishment of its authority in India. The taking possession of my ancestral kingdom of one century's standing is an infringement of solemn treaties. Thousands of my effects have been confiscated and destroyed; while the edifices, the building of which had cost Lacs of Rupees, and which were the monuments of my ancestors, have after they had stood for six generations, been pulled down. The magnificent building called " Furah Bukhsh, in which the Throne is placed, and which had been erected exclusively for the entertainment of the British Gentlemen, has been used as a dog kennel, and a stable. Guards have been placed over my private offices, even over the Moonshee Khanah, which contains no single document relating to public affairs, excepting only the Sunuds of that (British) Government, and the correspondence between the two States. The doors of my godowns which were locked up, have been broken open, and the property contained therein has been spoiled. The animals, such as horses, elephants, and bullocks have been sold by auction at a very low price. Many other acts have been committed, the mention of which would be improper and tedious. I would never have been willing to utter a complaint on the subject, but as independent of the past acts, every day, (since my arrival at Calcutta) witnesses some fresh occurrence or indignity derogatory to me and as I see no means of obtaining redress but by a representation to your Lordship, and as it is not the part of widsom, to conceal one's ailments so as to render a remedy impossible, I am compelled to intimate to your Lordship that such communications from my Officers employed in Lucknow have reached me, as that a perusal of them has caused me uneasiness beyond description. They are herewith enclosed. Your Lordship will learn on a reference thereto the distressed condition of my Mahals (or Ladies). Under these circumstances I hope that your Lordship will (in equity and the true spirit of friendship, and out of respect to the obligation of treaties) be pleased to send an order by the Electric Telegraph directing the authorities at Lucknow to refrain from causing my houses to be vacated, and from committing such acts as may affect my honor and dignity. I beg your Lordship

will be pleased to set my mind at ease by informing me of the nature of the answers which your Lordship may receive from those authorities.

Every difficult matter may become simple through your attention, whereas every simple one may turn out difficult through your inattention.

(TRUE TRANSLATION)
(Sd.) G. F. EDMONSTONE,
Secretary.

ENCLOSURE NO. 1

Translation of a Petition of Ameer Hyder Ali, Kaem Ali, Meer Wajid Ali, Asghur Ali, Azum Ali, Budhoo Khan, Meean Akeek, Ali Buksh and Meean Yakoot—(which was submitted to the Chief Commissioner who however without perusing it returned it to the Petitioners):

Sheweth,

That Sehut-ood-Dowlah Bahadoor brought a message to the Mahals (or queens) to the effect, that.....you would come to inspect the buildings of "Chutter Munzil", with a view to causing them to be vacated; that though, under the direction of the Ladies it was represented to you that the houses of Chutter Munzil were always the residences of the dependents and wives of the Kings, and that he (Sehut-ood-Dowlah) was requested to represent this fact to you and that nevertheless you paid no attention to this request. Afterwards the Ladies desired your Petitioners to wait upon you and represent to you the above circumstances as well as the fact that General Outram had issued orders prohibiting interference with the dwelling houses of the families of the King; that it would be next to impossible to carry away the heavy things in the rainy season, that the King was absent and that it was difficult to procure suitable accommodation for the Ladies without erecting new buildings, and that the Ladies in making the above observation expressed their hope that you would comply with their request in as much as you have been appointed to do justice to the people, and you will no doubt protect the dependents of the King. Your Petitioners therefore have now waited

upon you to represent the distressed position of the families of the King.[1]

(TRUE TRANSLATION)

(Sd.) G. F. EDMONSTONE,
Secretary.

Translation of a letter from the King of Lucknow to the Right Honorable the Governor General:

D/14 Muharrum 1273 A.H. corresponding with 14th. September, 1856.

After Compliments

Although I feel ashamed to trouble your Lordship repeatedly with letters, yet I cannot help doing so, as I see no other remedy for the redress of the grievances which I am suffering than to make a representation of them to your Lordship. I have therefore to state that on the 7th. Muharrum I addressed a letter to your Lordship to the effect that the building called "Chutter Munzil" which was the place of the residence of my family and dependents had been vacated by their having been turned out of it in the most ignominous manner, though it was one of the buildings reserved by the authorities at Lucknow for my family, I also sent an authenticated copy of the Sunud (relating to that building) on that very day to the Secretary for your Lordship's inspection. The Secretary having looked at it, returned it, saying that it would be called for from the records of the Office if required.

I beg to inform your Lordship without any exaggeration that the indignity with which I have been treated has caused me so much pain that I have been unable to take any food for three days. Your Lordship has communicated with the authorities at Lucknow with regard to the disgraceful acts which have been committed upon me. Before I could get any relief, I found from the reports of my Officers that the authorities at Lucknow had summoned my Officers and taken from them engagements to the effect that they should not go out of the city under pain of a fine of 10,000 Rs. They were strictly ordered to produce immediately lists of the godowns, effects &c. and an account also of the precious stones and

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th. December, 1857. No. 707 and K.W. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

For the discussion on mismanagement in Oudh under Company's rule see *Jawab Blue Book* (Urdu), published under the authority of Wajid Ali Shah.

Jewels if given away by the King to any individual. Mr. Carnegie taking along with him my Officers, posted guards over the godowns. He inquired of these Officers as to how the daily expenses of the family &c. of the King were provided for. They said in reply that the King, at the time of his departure from Lucknow, had left here a few thousand Rupees and Gold Mohurs to meet the necessary expenses of his family and that expenses were defrayed from this money on the receipt of his orders; whereupon an order was issued to the effect: " not a single Cowree shall be paid at all to any one from this day without orders of the authorities, otherwise it will not be well for you ". The issue of such orders plainly shews that my family will perish for want of food, and that the servants not being paid, will go to the length of creating disturbances. It is quite surprising that, notwithstanding my devotion to the British Government and the ancient relations of friendship which existed between that Government and my ancestors, and the co-operation of the latter with the Officers of the former in time of need, the injustice which has been done to me has never been suffered by any one else. If it be taken for granted that none of those acts on our part, each of which should be sufficient to secure to me and my family every respect from the Government, had ever taken place, still for what crime are such acts as these, which have never been committed upon any of the subjects, or even upon enemies of the British Government, be exercised upon me? Let alone the friendship between the two Governments (*sic*,) Whoever within the British Territories brings to your notice his grievances for redress, your Lordship does him even handed justice. I beg your Lordship will in equity and the spirit of friendship be pleased to issue an order at an early period directing the authorities at Lucknow to withdraw the guards from the godowns, and to permit my family and dependents, who are now wandering about, to reside in the Chutter Munzil, and not commit upon me any fresh acts; in order that I may obtain relief from daily heart-rending sorrows, and remain under your protection and be at all times thankful to your Lordship and that the report of your fame for administering even-handed justice be thereby spread far and wide.

(True translation)

Secretary.

Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th. December, 1857. No. 752 and K.W. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

Letter from Nawab Wajid Ali Shah to the Governor General:

I submitted in my letter dated 28 Zilhijja 1272 Hijri, (30th August, 1856) and 7 Muharrum 1273 A.H. (6th. September, 1856) the tyranny done by the Lucknow authorities to me and requested you to stop these irregularities; but in your replies dated 3rd. and 13th. September, 1856, you expressed wonder at these occurrences, doubted the truth of the reports and considered these to be the outcome of false reports and concoctions of the Karindas. Your astonishment was but natural. You had however also promised to institute an enquiry and to inform me of its result. Still, no reply has, even though much time elapsed, been received which gives me to understand that my allegations were clothed in the garb of truth. From the beginning of our relations with the Company, we have all through been so loyal and faithful that we have no match among the brother rulers; still the maltreatment, destruction of royal buildings, furniture and other belongings, maltreatment of our Kiths and Kins at the hands of the tyrannical authorities at Lucknow, is such that the justice-loving English rulers do not tolerate it even with their enemies, what to say, with their own subjects and ryots. As no reply was received, I had to keep quiet. But such practices have not stopped and Mr. Carnegie has now again inspected and got a list of the articles prepared through his own clerks and got the stores of the Farah Buksh transferred to Kothi Lal Baradari where they are heaped pell mell and constantly moved from one place to another. Considerable property has been auctioned with a view to destroy the same. He is again bent upon similar oppressive and destructive measures and is going to pull down the buildings occupied by the Royal Harems. I have no other recourse except to bring this to your notice and to enclose herewith the letters received from Lucknow. I, therefore, considering the cordial relations of the Company and the rulers (of Oudh) and also keeping in view the justice-loving nature of the officials of the Company, request you to order the Lucknow authorities to restore the property thus taken from my Kothis to my officials and servants who were made custodians of the same. It is a matter of wonder; how such tyranny and maltreatment has been allowed in the case of a ruler such as myself when the Company never tolerates lesser tyrannies of the zemindars and rulers of states with their subjects and protects the ryot against their own rulers. I would request you to be so gracious as to honour me with an early reply.

As my last letter dated 14 Rabi-ul-Awal 1273 A.H. (13th. November, 1856) was received by your Secretary with a certain

hesitation and unusual consideration, I am forced to send this letter by mail and hope to be honoured with a reply by mail.[1]

Letter from Nawab Wajid Ali Shah to the Governor General complaining against the excesses at Lucknow:

Received your kind letter in reply to mine. I am particularly indebted to your writing to the officials at Lucknow about the redress of the maltreatment and tyranny done to me. I do not want to put you to any particular inconvenience at this hour about these affairs although I am sure it is absolutely in your power to mend them. Still I feel confident that you will spare no efforts to redress the maltreatment as I am under your protection. Although you will find it difficult to believe what maltreatment I have been put to, still an investigation will reveal the truth and consequently give you pain and trouble for the tyranny done to me. The writing of the officials (*Ahalkaran*) from Lucknow reveal that Mr. Carnegie turned out my family from the Chutter Munzil in such a disgraceful way that the ladies and children were dragged out most disrespectfully. This took place in spite of the fact that when leaving Lucknow I had entrusted them to the care of the English officials with whom we had good relations.

The officials of the Company never tolerate such treatment even in the case of Faujdari criminals and their families. I cannot express the pain I have endured since I learnt of this maltreatment.

As to the maltreatment done to Hisam-ood-Dowlah one of my relations the papers I am herewith submitting will amply bear testimony to and reveal the truth. I am at a loss to understand what crime or fault on my part has caused my family to be put to such troubles.

And after maltreating other royal families and ladies of the Harem, they unlocked the royal store-rooms of Muchee Bhuwan, placed guards over them and ordered the Kotwal to get the lists of the household articles and furniture to be prepared and submitted.

I have submitted all this piece of information on the strength of your justice and love of truth. Still I cannot but submit that all the kindness and good treatment which I deserved as one under your patronage was not allowed to me.[2]

[1]Foreign Department, Persian letters received. No. 135, dated 11th. March. 1857. (National Archives, New Delhi).

[2]Foreign Department, Persian letters received. No. 564, dated September, 1856. (National Archives, New Delhi).

Explanation of the Charges levelled by the King of Oudh against the Government of Oudh:

The King of Oudh has complained to the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of various acts of the Local Administration in Oudh. Reference has in consequence been made to the Officiating Chief Commisioner from whom explanations have been received. The representations of His Majesty are contained in letters addressed by him to the Governor General and dated respectively the 30th. August, 14th. and 28th. Septemper, 1856. The complaints and the answers thereto are as follows:

1. Appropriation of the Chutter Munzil.

1. It is a matter of much regret to the Governor General that the occupation of this Palace by the Dependants of the King should ever have been disturbed by the Local Government although the manner in which this was done has been greatly misrepresented to the King. The Building has again been placed at the disposal of the King who will deal with it at his pleasure.

2. "Thousands of effects" are said to have been confiscated and destroyed, and ancient and costly edifices pulled down.

2. No Royal property whatever has been confiscated or destroyed; on the contrary, much has been preserved from injury. Not a single Ancestral Edifice has been pulled down. The "Jikoah Khana" to which allusion is made, was a mere outer wall of the Furhah Buksh Palace, and being in a ruinous

	condition, and obstructing the thoroughfare, it was pulled down to widen the street.
3. The Furah Buksh Palace has been used as a dog-kennel and stable.	3. The Furah Buksh has never been used either as a dog-kennel or a stable; some out-houses in a Courtyard attached to the Furah Buksh were formerly used by menials of the late Government, and as stables; these are now appropriated to the same purposes as heretofore.
4. Guards have been placed over the private offices of the King.	4. Guards have been placed over public offices only, and no office has been appropriated, the records of which are not strictly of a public nature.
5. The doors of godowns have been broken open and the property spoiled.	5. The doors of no godowns were broken open, but in a search for arms, Miftahoo-Dowlah, an Agent of the King was summoned to open certain godowns, and was informed that force would be used if he failed to comply.
6. The Officiating Chief Commissioner has refused to receive petitions from the family of the King.	6. The property of the King, far from being spoiled, has been preserved from decay. No petitions presented on the part of the King or his family has ever been refused by the Chief Commissioner.
7. The elephants, horses, and other animals belonging to the King were sold by auction.	7. The King was repeatedly asked to state his wishes as to the disposal of the animals, and was requested to take all, or such portion of them as he might desire; His Majesty at first declined to take any, but eventually his agents did select the most valuable of each kind.

Those which were sold had been rejected by the agents of the King, who had also refused to provide them with food.

8. The doors of the Godown called " Muchee Bhuwan " have been broken open; guards have been placed over it, and list of the property contained therein, prepared by the local authorities.

8. The " Muchee Bhuwan " is built as a Fortress with ramparts and bastions projecting into the street. It commands the approaches to the city by the bridges over the river Goomtee, the Chouk, the principal bazars, and the Residency. Thirty five cannons were found in the high grass within the enclosure of this building; other warlike stores were said to be kept in the numerous apartments, and the custodians were required to open them in order that they might be searched. Inventories of all the property found in these rooms have been made, in presence of the King's officials, to prevent plunder.

9. The Library of the King has been removed to the Martinere College, notwithstanding the objection of Hisamood-Dowlah.

9. The Officiating Chief Commissioner inspected the English Library and found it much neglected; he wished to have it placed in some public building; Schut-ood-Dowlah the King's Vakeel, and the Officiating Chief Commissioner believes Hisamood-Dowlah also, expressed their assent, and the Library was accordingly removed to the Martinere College. The Persian MSS are now lying in damp vaulted apartments in the Kaiser Bagh, and to preserve them from injury, the Chief Commissioner wished to remove them also. Hisamood-Dowlah

however remonstrated and they were consequently permitted to remain at the Kaiser Bagh. They are at the King's disposal.

10. The authorities of Lucknow summoned the King's officers to enter into engagements not to leave the city under pain of a fine of 10,000 Rupees.

10. The Judicial Commissioner found among the records relating to state property several papers containing inventories of property of great value. He considered that the authorized custodians should be called on to give an account of these effects, and he took personal recognizances from them to remain in the city pending enquiry.

11. Captain Carnegie prohibited the payment of the allowances of the King's family; they were consequently in distress, and the cattle on the point of starvation.

11. No such order was ever given by Captain Carnegie or any of the Local authorities. The Chief Commissioner believes the assertion as to the starvation of the cattle is equally untrue.

12. Valuable arms were sold by auction at nominal prices without the King's knowledge.

12. The arms were taken possession of by General Outram and removed to the Magazine by order of Officiating Chief Commissioner, the King's Vakeel (Schut-ood-Dowlah) having afterwards represented that the ornamental arms were the private property of His Majesty, they were restored to him, and he was desired to reserve for the King all the arms he wished to retain. He was asked, previous to the sale, whether he had received all he required, and his answer was in the affirmative. The remainder of the arms, which were considered unserviceable, were sold.

13. The authorities, on trifling matters, send for the Daroghas of the Mahuls, by force through the Barkundazes.	13. This is quite untrue. No Darogha has ever been sent for forcibly through Barkundazes. All processes against persons connected with the family of the King are issued through the Assistant to the Governor General's Agent.[1]

Soaring prices at Lucknow:

Application of Salik Ram of Yehiyaganj of Lucknow who submitted that " in former times, the corn dealers used to sell the corn etc. directly to the public and whatsoever was left was taken by the thanas of the market at a lesser rate. The Commission charge of weighing was paid at the rate of 4 pice on each oxload of the corn.

" On account of this, there was no dearness as compared to the present times. After the occupation of Oudh by the British the practice has been reversed, that is when the corn is received in the market, it is purchased wholesale and later sold at the sweet will of the Government, with the result that the poor purchaser has to buy the same at the higher rate. The weigher is also paid the double of the former commission rates. Due to this, the corn is getting dearer and dearer at Lucknow, so much so that the price of wheat has risen to 14 or 15 seers per rupee. Public is very much distressed on account of this. If this servant is ordered, he may so arrange the matters that there would not be any dearness and the corn dealers will also be contented. The applicant would pay Rs. 10,000 more than is at present paid for the contract to the Company, and no loss shall occur to any one."[2]

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th. December, 1857. No. 170 (National Archives, New Delhi), vide Original Urdu consultation in Persian Letters sent. No. 188 of 1857 (National Archives, New Delhi). For further discussion on the subject see G. Couper, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner's Letter to G. F. Edmonstone Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Deptt., Calcutta dated, 8th. October, 1856 (Foreign Political Consultations Nos. 728-740, National Archives, New Delhi), G. Couper Secretary to Chief Commissioner's letter to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Deptt., Calcutta dated October 28th., 1856 (Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th. December, 1857, Nos. 741-744, National Archives, New Delhi, and Abstract of Proceedings of Chief Commissioner of Oudh in Political (Vernacular and Persian Deptt.), March 1856—January 1857. (Uttar Pradesh Secretariat Records Office, Lucknow).

[2]Foreign Deptt., Persian letters received No. 234, dated 2nd. May, 1857. (National Archives, New Delhi).

Application of Thakur Das of Yehiyaganj Lucknow to Governor General:—Complaint against the highhandedness of a neo-muslim contractor of corn of Lucknow (Shurf-ood-Dowlah) on whose account the corn was getting dearer and dearer and, because, no redress could be obtained from the higher authorities of Oudh. The application was received on 20th. January, 1857 and was filed on 28th. January, 1857.[1]

Maladministration and Bribery:

Application of Diljaur Singh Barqandaz against the Government officers of Shahabad to Governor General, received on 12th. January, 1856, regarding the practice of remaining absent, on the part of the officers, for months and disposing of 50 or 60 cases in a day without careful consideration. Witnesses have to wander about for two or three months without any purpose. Complains about the bribery, which was a common feature of the day, and of cases being decided on the basis of bribe.[2]

Rebellion forecast:

Application of Ram Nath, Kishan Lal, Har Narain, Misri Das, Rup Chand,Mata Misr, etc. of Lucknow dated 28th. March, 1857, to the Governor General complaining against the British Officers who were taking bribes.

" Regular dacoities and murders are being committed on the road between Lucknow and Kanpur. Cases of theft at Lucknow cannot be numbered.

"Jagannath grocer who became Muslim in the reign of King of Oudh and was entitled Shurfood-Dowlah has become the Chief Contractor and has got taxes doubled and quadrupled. In collusion with the British Officers,he gets some one imprisoned and some one destroyed. This Shurfood-Dowlah had usurped Lacs of Rupees. *On account of his oppression and the negligence of British Officers, great rebellion might take place at Lucknow which would not be easily suppressed.* Everyone is tired of his own life. Governor General may be pleased to transfer these cruel Officers or they may be

[1]Foreign Deptt., Persian letters received. No. 295, dated 20th. June, 1857 and also see Foreign Deptt., Persian letters received. No. 703, dated 30th. December, 1856. (National Archives, New Delhi).

[2]Foreign Deptt., Persian letters received No. 29, dated 12th. January, 1856. (National Archives, New Delhi).

punished in a manner that other may take lesson from it. There is great hue and cry on account of the demolition of houses on pretext of the construction of roads. Those who had never gone to the Court are compelled to attend it."[1]

[1]Foreign Deptt., Persian letters received. No. 168, dated 28th. March, 1857 (National Archives, New Delhi).

Interesting complaints on the subject by the inhabitants of Oudh may be studied in Foreign Deptt. Persian letters received. No. 34, dated 16th. January, 1857; Foreign Deptt., Persian letters received. No. 8 of 1857, No. 764 dated 19th. May, 1857. (National Archives, New Delhi).

DREAD OF CONVERSION

CHAPTER THREE

CHRISTIAN MISSION IN INDIA

SEPOYS AND CITIZENS DREAD CONVERSION

ANTI-CHRISTIAN FEELINGS

CHRISTIAN MISSION IN INDIA

Progress of Mission in India:

" The Grand Scheme of Missions to the heathen is now being acted on..... It is narrow in its dimensions.

" Still the Scheme is widening everyday."

This country of 200 millions of men has been claimed by the Church, which has sent thither its ministers,to proclaim throughout its length and breadth the way of redemption through Christ. They have traversed the land from North to South. Christian institutions have sprung up in the midst of the people, in many directions. The influence of mission has been felt everywhere. There is scarcely a Hindoo or a Mahommeden who has not heard of Christ. Not a few are well acquainted with the tenets of our religion, and can reason upon them intelligently.

" *The whole land has been shaken by missions to its innermost centre. The Hindoo trembles for his religion, the Mahommedan for his.* Both religions seem to be crumbling away from beneath them. The jeopardy of idolatory before the mysterious powers of the gospel is palpable to every thoughtful Hindoo. He acknowledges the fact, and predicts the downfall of his own religion and the triumph of Christianity..... Predicts *the time when there will be but one religion in all India, the* CHRISTIAN PREDICTS THE DESTRUCTION of idolatory and the extinction of caste, and the universal prevalence of a creed which in his heart he now recognizes and with his lips often avows, to be infintely superior to his own ".[1]

Its Progress in 1857:[2]

" It is, however, in India that we are told that nothing has been done. Is it true? Is it nothing that one entire race, shortly to people an entire province, eagerly embraces Christianity, maintains its own pastors, builds its own churches, and when called upon to suffer for the cause, dies calmly with Christ upon its lips? Those who know the *Karens*[3] know that they have done all this.

" Is it nothing that at this very moment in the jungles of Chota Nagpore, among a race wild as our painted fore-fathers,

[1]Rev. M. A. Sherring: *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion.* Author was formerly a missionary in Benares and later on in Mirzapur. London 1858-59.
[2]*The Friend of India*, February 12, 1857. p. 145. 'Mission Progress'.
[3]Burmese.

three thousand men have declared their eagerness to be baptized, that Government with another wild race to tame, and that race recently in rebellion, can find no civilizers so efficient as Christian Missionaries?[1]

" Is it nothing that among one of the worst and most degraded populations in Asia, the Pariahs of Lower India, one hundred thousand men have embraced the faith and do,so far as the human eye can see, live according to it?"

Decaying Hindooism:

" ..... It has been evident for years to all men with eyes that the old fabric of Hindooism is breaking up..... ..... Who believes in Hindooism? Some few Europeans, the Court of Directors, the British Parliament, but certainly not the Hindoos. Suttee and widow celebacy (*sic*,) are abolished. Polygamy is doomed, and what Hindoo knowing all this raises a hand? There is no heart left in the creed, and though it may exist for generations yet, as the corpse of Roman paganism did, its downfall is assured.....[2]

" But the greatest hope of all remains in this. Our schools and colleges, among the thousands they turn out, may yet produce a Native Apostle. He will ring the knell of Hindooism. We chatter about caste and prejudice, as if Chaitanya had not flung caste to the winds and died with eight million followers--a Christian Chaitanya with the clear brain of a Bengalee. The knowledge of the West, and a faith tending to asceticism, would have thousands round his feet....."[3]

Coalition of Church with the State dangerous:

" In another column will be found a minute recorded by the Queen's Advocate in Ceylon upon the justice and expediency of maintaining ecclesiastic establishments out of the public revenues of that land. The principles discussed by Mr. Selby are, without

[1] Santhals.
[2] *The Friend of India*, February 12, 1857, pp. 145-46.
[3] *Ibid.*, Friday. May 1, 1857—p. 438, May 7, 1857.
The Englishman extracts from a letter of a correspondent in the North West. " All classes of natives imagine that they are to be converted by force. Amongst the native soldiery this erroneous imagination dangerously exists. How far the new cartridge may have given rise to such a feeling, we are unprepared to say. But if religious feeling be at the bottom of the question, then it is assuredly the fear of losing caste, and not Missionary preaching which has brought it about."

exception, applicable to the circumstances of the Christian Church Establishments maintained by the state on the continent of India. The people of India do not profess the religion or religions taught by the ministers who compose those establishments; yet are they made to pay for their support. The Government of India is bound by law and by pledges not to interfere with the religion of the country; yet has it formed a class connection with a sectarian creed represented by a sectarian church, which it encourages by conceding to it high allowances of power, of influence and of money..... The arguments, therefore, which Mr. Selby addresses to the Ceylon Legislature to induce it to repudiate all connection with the Christian Church Establishments hitherto maintained in the Island under the authority of the Executive, lose no part of their strength when applied to the case of the analogous Indian Establishments.

" ..... The last three centuries have witnessed the coalition of the Church with the State almost throughout the Christian world. And what has been the result of the Union? In some countries, as in France, it has destroyed religion; in others, as in Ireland, it has paralyzed the civil power. Every where else it has rivetted the chains of tyranny upon the subject people. No where has it served the cause of human happiness. Nowhere has it allowed religion to exercise its tutelary influence on the human condition, the influence which it never fails to exert when unhampered by a connection with the temporal power. And with all these warnings and examples, that history furnishes, before them, our rulers are still endeavouring on no legitimate tie, no political obligation, no rational necessity.

" The Indian Church Establishment is an abuse and a growing abuse. It has taken deep root in the constitution of the State; its exptirpation, if yet possible, must be the work of an age of untiring and strenuous exertion.....

" ..... Compare the present magnitude of the establishment with its strength at an earlier period. In 1806 there were Chaplains on the

Bengal Establishment	...	11
Madras Establishment	...	6
Bombay Establishment	...	4
Total	...	21

The ecclesiastical establishment in India, as it now stands, is as follows:—

	Bishops	Archdons	Chaplains	Total
Bengal ...	1	1	71	73
Madras ...	1	1	35	37
Bombay ...	1	1	30	32
	3	3	136	142

"The Indian state-paid clergy have multiplied sevenfold within the last half century, and the Bishop of Calcutta still considers a Bishop for Agra the carrying want of India. The party which has charged India with this encumbrance has lost nothing of its power or influence over the administration of the affairs of this empire, and the carrying want will, no doubt, soon be attempted to be supplied at our cost....."[1]

Christianity Versus Caste, 1857:—

"The Bombay Times recognizes in the present mutinies simply the commencement of the great battle between Christianity and Caste. This battle has been impending ever since the English arrived in India, and those who admitted high Brahmins into the army have selected as the battleground the ranks of the army. They, not the missionaries, have converted the battle into Christianity versus the Army. The only cure is, instead of making the army a great Brahmin machine for perpetuating the distinctions of caste, to make the Brahmin become a casteless servant of the state. The whole struggle is Christianity versus Brahmunism not Christianity versus the Inhabitants of India".[2]

Converts' Inheritance Act:

Mr. Whiteside called attention to the petition presented six years ago by the Hindoo inhabitants of these provinces against the Converts' Inheritance Act, and Mr. Vernam Smith, in reply admitted *the Policy of that measure to have been doubtful*".[3]

1 *The Hindoo Patriot*, Thursday, July 13, 1854. "The Indian Church Establishment."
2 *The Friend of India*, May 28, 1857, p. 512, Weekly Epitome of News, 25th. May, 1857.
3 *The Hindoo Patriot*, September 17, 1857, p. 300.

Blow to Hindoo Law:[1]

..... The act was passed in 1850, it subverted one of the institutions most sacred in the eyes of the Hindoos, and was thus worded:

"So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the East India Company as inflicts on any person's forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or effect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing or having been excluded from the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company and in the Courts established by the Royal Charter within the same territories.[2]

"This measure aimed a direct blow at the Hindoo rights of inheritance and law of property, which are bound up with their religion, and the consequence was that it created great alarm amongst the Hindoos, constituting more than one half of the subjects of the British Crown in India. The consequence was that the chief landed proprietors, wealthy persons, and most eminent literary men amongst the Hindoo population of Calcutta, addressed a memorial against the law to the East India Company.[3]

Calcutta Citizens memorialize:

In this document the petitioners declared:—

"The said Act involves a breach of faith on the part of the Government towards the Hindoo nation, a persistence in which will affect the honour and glory of the British Crown. The first acquisitions of the British in India having been made by, or in the name of the East India Company, your petitioners can only appeal to the acts and declarations of that body in support of the above proposition; and these acts and declarations have uniformly held out to the Hindoos the promise of the establishment of Hindoo Law for the Hindoos, and of their being made secure in the enjoyment of their ancient usages and religion. By such declarations and promises the British Government has gained the confidence and allegiance of the Hindoo people, and that the said Act is consistent with them. That such was the early policy of the East India Company is attested by every respectable historian."

[1] & [3] *Morning Herald:* (U.K.) Reproduced by *The Englishman* (Calcutta) in its issue of September, Monday 21. 1857 under the caption 'European Intelligence.'

[2] Speech of Mr. Whiteside in the British Parliament—in which he detailed measures of Lord Dalhousie which became the cause of serious discontent and led to the revolt of 1857.

" It is impossible to conceal the conviction that an obstinate neglect of legitimate appeals of this character, and a most reperhensible determination to act in utter defiance of the right and feelings of the native races, have led to this terrible revolt."[1]

SEPOYS AND CITIZENS DREAD CONVERSION

Dread of Conversion at Delhi:

" ..... I was dreadfully excited and could scarcely stand, but as I felt that I must proceed, I continued my journey: about a mile further, I again met a lot of Mahomedans, who rushed up to me, and said," Here is a Ferungee, kill the Kaffir." They then said to me, "*You Ferungee want to make us all Christians,*" They then dragged me away to a village about a mile or more from the road, and tied my arms behind me after which one of them said: "Kareem Bux go and fetch your sword....."[2]

Conversion of Boys:

" A young Hindoo named Shamaprosad Chatterjee, has addressed a letter to the Editor of the ' Tatwabodhini Patrika ' under date the 1st. instant, stating that he had been converted to Christianity on the 26th. March, 1855 when he was about 16 years of age; but that having since made a deep and candid enquiry into the merits of that religion, he has been satisfied of its doctrines not being " reconcileable with the rational dictates of reason and of moral justice " and he has, in consequence, renounced that faith and become a Bramya. This secession has called forth a sort of disclaimer from the Reverend gentlemen attached to the missions at Bhowanypore, who have come forward with a statement charging the young man with insincerity. Shamaprosad in reply admits that he could not make up his mind to believe in the alleged superior claims of Christianity, and that it was no wonder his conduct was in accordance with the dictates of his inward monitor. This however, affords additional evidence of the fact that *boys are converted to the Christian faith before they have been trained to its doctrine.*[3]

[1] *The Englishman* Monday 21, September 1857.
[2] *The Englishman*, 14th. July, 1857. " Dr. Batson's Account of the Delhi Mutiny and his escape."
[3] *Hindu Intelligencer*, April 27, 1857. " A convert Reclaimed ", Calcutta, Monday, April 27, 1857.

Reaction among Sepoys:

Monday, March 16 (1857).—" There has been a rumour for some days past of an intended mutiny at Fort William. It appeared to have arisen from the sulkiness and insolence of several sepoys who have been placed in arrest. The *Hurkaru* states that the sepoys put forth as the excuse for their discontent, the idea that the Governor General has promised the *Home Government to convert them all in three years.* The garrison at Fort William has manifested considerable sympathy with the 19th. and 34th. Regiments of native infantry, and there is a slight suspicion that if these regiments be punished severely, the sympathy may not only be that of feeling but of action....." [1]

Tuesday, March 24, 1857.—" The Dacca News reports the beating of a Brahmin by four sepoys. It appears that the Brahmin had incurred the hatred of the sepoys; he was supposed to be himself a Christian, and to cherish the idea of converting his countrymen to Christianity ." [2]

Thursday, April 2, 1857.—"The conduct of the 34th. Regiment at Barrackpore calls forth some strictures from *the Englishman,* strictures not upon the sepoys, but upon their officers—*Lieutenant Colonel Wheeler is quite unfit for his post, because he distributes tracts.* " [3]

Colonel Wheeler

To

The Editor of ' The Friend of India '. [4]

Sir,

" Permit me to enquire by what law a man who lives as a Christian, and peaceably endeavours to induce others to be Christians like him, is made an offender ?

" It is rumoured that Colonel Wheeler is to be removed from the command of the 34th. Regiment and I am told that he is guilty of the crime I have mentioned. It is a new offence and I should like to know where it was first introduced into the Statute Book, and where I can discover its legal definition and its penalties.....

[1] Weekly Epitome of News: *The Friend of India,* March 19, 1857, p. 271.
[2] The Dacca News, *The Friend of India,* March 26, 1857, p. 295.
[3] *Ibid.,* April 9, 1857, p. 342.
[4] *The Friend of India.* Original Correspondence, April 16, 1857, pp. 369-70.

" Ten years ago after Mr. Lewin's nonsense at Madras, the Court of Directors sent out orders that none of their servants were to take part in supporting Missions, but Lord Hardinge had the good sense to put that despatch in his pocket.....

" Men of sense ought to know by this time, whither we are tending. The day certainly cannot be very distant, when the conversion of the *natives, sepoys and all, will be accomplished.*

" Orders of silence; patronage of error under the name of neutrality; nothing of that sort will answer the purpose; there is a decree of a higher power than the Government of India in this matter, and assuredly the time will come, when even sepoys will *be evangelised.*

" .....It is simply asserted that he has spoken openly of the truths of Christianity, even to those sepoys who chose to listen....."

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully
April 13, 1857. A lover of Good Men.

THE BENGAL HURKARU AND THE SEPOY'S DISAFFECTION

To

The Editor of 'The Hindoo Patriot.'

Dear Sir,

Sometimes since, your contemporary, the present sagacious Editor of *The Bengal Hurkaru,* took it upon himself to give out that the sepoys have mutinied in consequence of false and unfounded rumours circulated by the Native Press.....
.....(Charges against Native Press refuted).....

As regards the causes of the evil under notice..... I am extremely sorry to confess that it would be very difficult to find out *one single individual among our countrymen who does not hate Englishmen,* at least inwardly. *What is the cause of this?*

Those who have learnt to read and write, can clearly see how haughtily and contemptuously they are treated, how they are spoken of; how their just and humble complaints and petitions

for redress are heard and tried and disposed off in England as well as in India; and how they are regarded by Englishmen from the Premier in England and the Governor of each Presidency here to the lowest British-born official; while those who cannot read and write, learn their own fate from the acts of Englishmen here, as they never fail to observe almost everyday that men like themselves, only differing from them in colour are burning and plundering villages, imprisoning and murdering their inhabitants, forcibly dispossessing them of their lands and heritages, banishing them from their "loved dear homes" and families, and at the same time escaping the hands of justice without the least punishment and even the least plausible excuse.[1]

This is not all. The decisions of the Sudder and Supreme Courts passed in civil and criminal cases between Europeans and Natives have not tended a little to estrange the minds of the latter from their present rulers.

Lately, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal had censured and insulted an upright English Judge because he could not conscientiously pass *a judgment required by missionaries in favour of some Christian converts.*

We need not allude to the judgments of the Supreme Court of the three Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, by which many young unexperienced Hindoo converts who ought to have been placed under the guardianship of their parents, have been with their younger wives, forcibly made over to the Missionaries against the will of the girls themselves.

On one occasion (whether it was in Madras or Bombay I do not recollect) a certain judge of the Supreme Court of that place having delivered a judgment of the above nature, a large concourse of people surrounded the court house and began to fling stones at him, when a regiment being called, he (the judge) was saved and the multitude dispersed.

One such instance and not ten thousand false rumours circulated by the native papers, is sufficient to disaffect a whole nation towards their rulers. In daily official transactions and intercourse between Englishmen and Natives though the latter be superior to the former in respectability, the haughtiness of the former and their complete disregard of the laws of courtesy and common civility have nowadays become so palpable and intolerable, that even a native subordinate officer not to speak of great and

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, April 30, 1857, p. 143.

independent man, unless compelled by necessity, would feel reluctant to approach his English superior.

" However, when such is the conduct of Englishmen towards natives who follow civil professions and such the state of feeling among them, is it possible to suppose that English military officers treat their native soldiers under them better or civilly and kindly at least.

" Whose fault is it then that the sepoys are discontented? "[1]

Colonel Wheeler's Missionary Zeal in the 34th. Native Infantry:

(London Times' comment)

" We beg to be understood as saying nothing whatever against the work of the legitimate and appointed missionary in India. We do not think that *his* office leads to any misunderstanding or complaint on the part of the natives; and, if it did, as a Christian country we must take the risk of it. But the distinction is as plain as it is just. If a colonel of a regiment thinks he has a decided call for a missionary life, by all means let him obey it, but do not let him hold his colonelcy.

" Had Colonel Wheeler, 20 years ago, left the army and devoted himself to the work of converting the natives, nobody could have said a word against him, because a man had certainly a right to select the employment for which he thinks himself most fitted; *but had no right to be missionary and colonel too*.....to assume the preacher's office and still retain the military one.

" It is impossible to say what mischief such a confused and fanatical idea of duty as he has shown has done. Here is a mutiny which, if not the first, is among the first mutinies. The 34th. Regiment is known to have inoculated other regiments. This stated in the Minutes of the Indian Council. Who can tell, then, *how much mischief this one man's forward and impertinent zeal has done, and how much it may have contributed to the whole outbreak*?"[2]

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, April 30, 1857, p. 143.

[2] '*The Englishman*' Tuesday, 6th. October 1857. Similar views were expressed by '*the Scotsman*', in its issue of August 19, 1857. reproduced in '*The Englishman*'. Wednesday, 15th. October, 1857., under the caption 'Colonel Wheeler'. Also see Colonel Wheeler's explanation. Inclosure 4 in No. 12, dated April 4, 1857. Barrackpore and Inclosure 9 in No. 12, April 15, 1857.

EXPLANATION OF COLONEL WHEELER:

Inclosure 4 in No. 12.

Lieutenant Colonel Wheeler to the Officiating Brigade Major, Barrackpore.

Barrackpore, April 4, 1857.

Sir,

"I would beg to remark in the first place, that there is no foundation whatever for my having held language to the men of my regiment; indicating that it was my expectation that they would, sooner or later, be converted to Christianity.....

"With regard to my having addressed the sepoys on religious subjects, I beg to state that during the last 20 years and upwards *I have been in the habit of speaking to the natives of all classes*, sepoys and other, making no distinction, since there is no respect for persons with God, on the subject of our religion, in the highways, cities, bazars and villages (not in the lines and regimental bazars). *I have done this from a conviction that every converted Christian is expected, or rather commanded, by the scriptures to make known the glad tidings of salvation to his lost fellow-creatures*, our Saviour having offered himself up as a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, by which alone salvation can be secured. He has directed that this salvation should be freely offered to all, without exception.

"Should any native, sepoy, or other, come to me earnestly soliciting instruction in the truths of our religion, I should consider myself bound to afford it to the best of my ability. To refuse such a requst I should incur the displeasure of the Almighty."[1]

I have,

(Sd.) S. G. WHEELER,

Commanding 34th. Regiment, Native Infantry.

WHEELER'S SECOND EXPLANATION.

Inclosure 9 in No. 12.

Lt. Colonel Wheeler to the Assistant Adjutant General, Presidency Division.

Barrackpore, April 15, 1857.

Sir,

"In reply to the second communication, I would beg to express my regret that I did not explain myself so explicitly, or

[1] '*The Englishman*' and '*Military Chronicle*', Friday, 16th. October, 1857.

afford so full an explanation, as was expected in my first answer, as regards my addressing the sepoys and others on the subject of religion.

" I would now, therefore, beg to state that it has been my invariable plan to act on the broad line which scriptures enforce, that is, to speak without reserve to every person: when I therefore address natives on this subject, whether individually or collectively, it has been no question with me as to whether the person or persons I addressed belong to this or that regiment, or whether he is a shopkeeper, merchant, or otherwise, but speak to all alike, as sinners in the sight of God; and I have no doubt that I have often in this way (indeed, am quite certain) *addressed sepoys of my own regiment, as also of other regiments at this and other stations where I have been quartered. I have told them plainly that they are lost and ruined sinners both by nature and practice, like myself, that we can do nothing to save ourselves in the way of justifying ourselves in the sight of God;* our hearts being sinful all our works must consequently be sinful in His sight, and therefore there can be no salvation by works, on which they are all resting and depending.....

" As to the question *whether I have endeavoured to convert sepoys and others to Christianity, I would humbly reply that has been my object,* and I conceive is the aim and end of every Christian who speaks the word of God to another, namely that the Lord would make him the happy instrument of converting his neighbour to God, or, in other words to rescue him from everlasting destruction; and if there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth (whether sepoy or other), should not the instrument of that person's conversion join in rejoicing likewise?

" On matters connected with religion, I feel myself called upon to act in two capacities..... ' to render unto Cæsar and to (Government) the things that are Cæsar's and to render unto God the thing that are God's '. Temporal matters and spiritual matters are in this passage clearly placed under their respective heads. When speaking, therefore, to a native upon the subject of religion, I am then acting in the capacity of a Christian soldier under the authority of Heavenly Superior; whereas in temporal matters I act as a Government officer under the authority and orders of my earthly superior....."

I have etc.
(Sd.) S. G. WHEELER, Lt. Col.

Wheeler's answers regarded unsatisfactory:

" ..... I allude to the rumours which reached the Government, that Colonel Wheeler had lately addressed the men

of his Regiment on religious subjects. Colonel Wheeler's answers were not satisfactory."[1]

April 9, 1857. (Sd.) CANNING.

Missionary Colonels Again:

"We have said elsewhere that we see no reason to suppose that the prevalence of disaffection and insubordination in the Bengal Army has been caused by the proceedings of proselytising officers..... Nevertheless we believe that similar or even more disastrous results might be produced by such indiscreet we will add unlawful, displays of Christian Zeal.....

"Always and everywhere the ignorant professors of a creed have its most zealous and fierce upholders; and what more likely to cause general disaffection in any army of illiterate natives than the suspicion of a design against their national faith; what more likely to excite such a suspicion than the spectacle of military Commander, clothed with the influence and authority of his position, teaching and preaching a foreign religion."[2]

"The fanaticism of Colonel Wheeler, and several other officers at different stations, increased the suspicions of the men, and with powerful secret influences at work, to win away the allegiance of the sepoys from the Government, those suspicions speedily became matters of strong belief....."[3]

The Controversy in the Press regarding Missionary Colonels:

"The zeal of *The Friend of India* has carried him too far.[4]..... Our contemporary is content to admit that even zeal cannot excuse the utter want of discretion manifested by a Commanding Officer preaching in the presence of his sepoys;

"Our contemporary fully recognizes the force of these and many other arguments which may be urged, and yet he justifies Colonel Wheeler's interference with the religious opinions of his

[1] Minute by the Governor General, published by *Naval and Military Gazette*, August 17, and reproduced by '*The Englishman*', Friday, 16th. October, 1857.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru* and *India Gazette*, Thursday, May 28th., 1857. 'Spirit of the Press:' *Bombay Guardian* and *Bombay Gazette*, May 18th. 1857 also discuss the subject.

[3] *Ibid.*, May 29th., 1857, p. 507.

[4] *The Friend of India*, April, 1857. Article on Colonel Wheeler and the 34th. N.I.

men. His grounds of justification are vague and undecided, until they become wild and dangerous.

" We are told, for example, that ' offences against taste, or even prudence, are not errors, and *conduct like that attributed to Colonel Wheeler is simply the logical consequence of religious liberty* ', and that ' if it be right to address Hindoos at all for the purpose of conversion,it is right to address the class whose conversion would have the greatest moral weight. If it be the right of every individual to speak freely on religious topics, it is the right also of soldiers *even though they should be in the invidious position of commanding officers*'. We are amazed at such opinions being put forth by a thinking man....."[1]

" Our contemporary justifies the conduct of *Colonel Wheeler* by the example of *Colonel Martin*, which only affords stronger proof of the real cause of the ill-feeling in the Army; and he supports his case by citing the opinion of *Colonel Edwards*, which, besides affording additional proof of the same fact, also shows that Colonel Edwards requires looking after, which " looking after " he will probably experience very soon.

" Then our contemporary says that if we do not force our faith upon the sepoys, they will think we have not any faith ourselves, and will consider us as dogs, and bully and despise us. We are not aware that we ever believe the Natives of India to have no religion, merely because they do not establish missions in England, and because they never went to teach insubordination to the soldiers at Chatham or Knightsbridge.....

" He says that if we cannot hold the Empire without treating Christianity as a crime, let us take the Empire on that issue, and stand or fall with the faith to which we pretend.

" In conclusion, we will merely remark that the least likely way of making Christians of the Natives of this country, is to get turned out of it ourselves,which would happen in a very few months after the Government had performed the insane exploit of adopting the preposterous principles of the Friend of India ".[2]

ANTI CHRISTIAN FEELINGS

Connivance of Canning in converting Indians to Christianity:

" Lord Ellenborough called the attention of the House to the reported mutinies, which, if true he attributed to an apprehension

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru* and *India Gazette*, Friday, April 17, 1857, pp. 362-63.
[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru* and *India Gazette*, Friday, April 17, 1857, p. 363.

on the part of the native population that the Government was about to interfere with their religion. In expressing his sentiment on this subject the noble Lord said: "To my great astonishment—I scarcely believe it now to be true, though I saw it distinctly stated in the papers, that the Governor General himself, Lord Canning, largely subscribes to every society which has for its object the conversion of the natives. I deemed that fact of these subscriptions of Lord Canning, the Governor General of India, to societies having for their object the conversion of the natives, if it be true, to be one of the most dangerous things which could have happened to the security of our Government in India."[1]

A Nawab's reaction before a Magistrate:

"On the 29th. of March, 1857, I was at Bijnour, and went to pay my respects to the Collector and Magistrate of the district; whilst waiting in the verandah, a native, whom the chupprassee called Nawab, also came; I heard he had a brother, who was a Tehseeldar in the district; a jemadar in the Canal Department was present; we were all seated. The Nawab commenced the conversation by observing that two regiments to the eastward had taken their discharge, because the *Kafirs had mixed pigs' and cows' fat with the new cartridges*, that the Kafirs had determined to take away the castes of all Mahomedans and Hindoos, and that these infidels should not be allowed to remain in India, or there would be no difference between Mahomedans and Hindoos, and whatever they said, we should have to do. I replied, that Europeans had nothing to do with other people's caste, and that in every way the inhabitants of India were living at ease. The Nawab answered, 'What ease have we? They are always inventing new laws to trouble us, and to overturn religion, teach out of their religious books, which are also distributed. Is there now any security for Islam, as it used to be?' The jemadar of the Canal Department remarked, that Islam was formerly the dominant religion but there was great injustice".[2]

Publication of Rissalah Jehad:

5. "In 1855, the late Captain Fletcher Hayes, then Military Secretary to the Resident of Lucknow communicated to

[1] *The Englishman'* (Extraordinary), 13th. July, 1857." House of Lords—June 9, "Mutiny of Troops in India".

[2] Supplement to the Narrative of Events in the Meerut Division. Depositions taken at Meerut by Major G. W. Williams. Deposition No. 1. Statement of Francis Shester—Native Christian of Sirdhana given before Major G. W. Williams, Superintendent of Cantonment Police, N.W.P.

me the fact that a seditious Pamphlet had been extensively circulated in and about Lucknow; and as it was of Mahommedan origin, and probably not unknown in Delhi, where I then held the office of Commissioner and Agent to the Lieutenant Governor, I took immediate steps to discover the authors or disseminators. This Pamphlet, the " Rissalah Jehad ", was found in Delhi. A very old copy of it is now before me; it was lying for sale on the Bookseller's stall, and was supposed to have been written by one Moulvee Mahommed Ismail, a Wahabee, some thirty years ago. It had been translated in 1850, or thereabout into Hindee, and some 6 or 800 copies were discovered by Mr. Spankie the Magistrate to have been (1855) recently struck off at a Native Press in Cawnpore. It was inordinately violent in language, and was a vehement exhortation to all true Moslems to take up arms and do battle for their Faith: " You are always (it says) striving, by prayer and penance, and burdensome ceremonies, to wipe off your sins and arrive at Heaven at last; why not scale it at once by dying in Battle with the Infidel? You will have eternal happiness in the life to come, and success and pleasure in the present. Throughout Hindoostan, let there be no sound but, Allah ".

6. The Resuscitation of such dangerous and unauthorized Doctrines, not generally participated in by respectable Mahommedans, however bigotted in India, was to some extent occasioned by feuds with Hindoos in Oudh regarding the site of a Temple at Awud; but it had a deeper meaning, and was a certain indication of the restlessness which periodically ruffles the surface of Mahommedan society, and it was accompanied by invitations to influential Mahommedans at Delhi, to aid in the common cause. The periodical Press in India spoke of possible risings even at Agra in 1855, and called for the annexation of Oudh as the sure and safe remedy".[1]

[1]G. F. Harvey, Commissioner of Agra, Narrative of Events Attending the Outbreak of Disturbances and the Restoration of Authority in the Agra Division in 1857-58, pp. 3-4. ' For Missionary Activities ' cf. Smith, George, " *The Life of Alexander Duff* ", pp. 54-68, Hutchinson ' Narrative of the Mutinies in Oudh ', p. 28.

INTERNATIONAL CHESSBOARD

CHAPTER FOUR

RUSSIO-PHOBIA

THE INDO-AFGHAN RELATIONS

PERSIAN INTRIGUES

INDO-NEPALESE RELATIONS

INTERNATIONAL PRESS

RUSSIO-PHOBIA

"The Bombay Telegraph and Courier says, the spirit of discontent amongst the sepoys has been sown by the emissaries of Russia who are to be found in every country in Asia. It cannot be denied that the Agents of the Czar are at Herat, Kabul, Samarkand and Kokhan, and what is there to prevent them from sojourning at Umballa, Meerut, Lucknow or Berhampore? The Russians did not issue the cartridges nor appoint General Anson Commander-in-Chief".[1]

".....the Kabul Correspondent of the same Journal (*the Delhi Gazette*) mentions that the sons of Yar Mahommed Khan are still alive in Herat. They have been ordered to Tehran.

"There are about 20 Russian Sahibs, some of whom wear clothing after the fashion of the Persians, and others according to that worn by Europeans. They are in the Fort of Herat, and afford counsel in the strengthening of the Fort, in promoting the settlement of traders, and in the general management of the country".[2]

"The same writer reports that Dost Mahommed *considers the English much afraid of the Russians.* For said the Ameer:

"Herat was lost without an effort and if Kandahar is taken in the same way,it is not surprising: and after that, the fall of Kabul could be easily accomplished, and then there will be an attack on Peshawur".[3]

1' *The Friend of India,*' May 28, 1857, p. 511, Weekly Epitome of News. Friday, May 22.

2' *The Friend of India*': the Weekly Epitome of News—Thursday, January 29, 1857 published in the N.P. on February 5, 1857, p. 127.

3' *The Mufussilite*' (Agra), Wednesday, February 4, 1857. 'The following is given as the latest account of the strength of the Persian Army:

Infantry, drilled on the European system	10,000
Regular Cavalry	4,000
Artillery	850
Irregular Cavalry	80,000
Militia (Nizam hadjib)	1,50,000
Total ...	3,44,850

The Militia and about one-third of the Irregular Cavalry may be struck off this list. (Reproduced by '*The Friend of India*'. February 5, 1857, p. 128).

IMPORTANCE OF HERAT

House of Commons, U.K., July 16, 1857.

Troops for India:

Lord Palmerston winding up the debate said.....

" ..... With respect to Herat, if there were no Russia on one side, and no British India, on the other, it would be matter of indifference in whose possession it was. But, Herat being the key of Afghanistan and India, and Persia, a weak power, being next door neighbour of Russia, the possession of Herat by the former would facilitate its acquisition by the latter, and, even without the invasion of India, this would shake the confidence in our power in India, and the fidelity of our allies ".

Mr. Rocbuck's resolution censuring the Government for having prosecuted Persian War without reference to Parliament was negatived by 352 to 38 votes.[1]

Russian Policy towards India:

January 22, 1857.

" We have given due credit to the skill and sagacity displayed by the cabinet of St. Petersburg in recovering with a rapidity and effect unprecedented in history, the position of Russia on the Black Sea, the Armenian frontier, and the north-west of Persia..... and we have now some remarks to make upon the brilliant character of their operations further east, but it will be requisite, for that purpose, to secure to the Imperial Russian Railway Scheme, especially that line leading from Moscow to Nishin-Novogrod, the watergate to Central Asia, and further or not, as the case may be.

" It has often been said that a Russian army might reach India by the route adopted by Alexandar the Great, when the countries through which that route passed are as rich and populous, as capable of sustaining an army as they were in his time, and not till then.....

" It must, however, be here remarked that the English can buy as well as the Russians; that by good management they can

[1] *The Englishman*', Thursday, 3rd. September, 1857. Reproduced from ' *Overland Mail*,' July 27, 1857.

conciliate the Chieftains of Afghanistan in which case a Russian invasion would be hopeless[1].....

The Russian Scare:

"Nana Sahib wrote both to Golab Singh[2] and to Russia, and he got an answer from Russia. In that answer he was told that no assistance could be given to him unless he could take and could hold Delhi; but that, if he could succeed in that, then assistance would be given him to drive us from Calcutta. The letter was sent to Jummoo, and forwarded on from thence by the hands of the people who bring almonds and fruits. The country beyond Jummoo is said to be pure Mussulman, but I do not know anything about it. First Golab Singh joined, and as soon as the union of the Mussulmans and Hindoos was settled, several letters were sent to Russia."[3]

Interesting meetings with the Nana's Agent—Azim-Oollah Khan—in the trenches before Sebastopol:

"Whilst I am writing about it, I may as well relate an incident in connection with one of the Nana's Chief advisers, which I

[1] '*The Friend of India*', January 22, 1857, pp. 82, 83. Reproduced from '*the Morning Post*' (U.K.).

"..... the Shah of Persia, instigated by Russia, thinks that he may venture on his long-desired conquest of Afghanistan, and that we, exhausted by a European War, are in no condition to forbid him or to hold him to his sworn engagements".

'*Economist*', December, 1856. Reproduced by '*The Friend of India*', February 5, 1857, pp. 130-31.

[2] Ruler of Jummoo and Kashmir.

[3] Evidence of an Indian emissary of Nana Sahib before the Honourable H. B. Devereux, Judicial Commissioner of Mysore.. .....quoted by J. W. Kaye in Appendix to his '*History of the Sepoy Mutiny*'. "We deceive ourselves", says J. W. Kaye, "when we think that European politics make no impression on the Indian Public. The impression may be very vague and indistinct; but ignorance is a magnifier of high power, and there are never wanting a few designing men, with clearer knowledge of the real state of things, to work upon the haziness of popular conceptions, and to turn a little grain of truth to account in generating a harvest of lies. That a number of very preposterous stories were industriously circulated, and greedily swallowed, during the Crimean War, and that these stories all pointed to the downfall of the British power, is not to be doubted. It was freely declared that Russia had conquered and annexed England, and that Queen Victoria had fled and taken refuge with the Governor General of India. The fact that the war was with Russia gave increased significance to these rumours; for there had long been a chronic belief that the Russ-logue would some day or other contend with us for the mastery of India, that, coming down in immense hordes from the North, and carrying with them the intervening Mahommedan States, they would sweep us, broken and humbled, into the sea. And it required no great acuteness to perceive that if a popular insurrection in India were ever to be successful, it was when the military resources of the Empire were also absorbed by a great European war". (J. W. Kaye, "*A History of the Sepoy War in India*", Vol. I, p. 342).

mentioned to the Governor General, who appeared much struck with it. After the repulse of the allies in their assault on Sebastopol, 18th. June, an event closely followed by the death of Lord Raglan and a cessation of any operations, except such as were connected with a renewed assault upon the place, I went down for a few days to Constantinople, and, whilst stopping at Misseri's Hotel, saw, on several occasions, a handsome slim young man, of dark-olive complexion, dressed in an Oriental costume which was new to me, and covered with rings and finery. He spoke French and English, dined at the *table d'hôte*, and, as far as I could make out, was an Indian Prince, who was on his way back from the prosecution of an unsuccessful claim against the East India Company in London. He had made the acquaintance of Mr. Doyne, who was going out to the Crimea as the superintendent of Sir Joseph Paxton's Army Works Corps, and by that Gentleman he was introduced to me one fine summer's evening, as we were smoking on the roof of the hotel. I did not remember his name, but I recollect that he expressed great anxiety about a passage to the Crimea, "as," said he, " I want to see this famous city, and those great Roostums, the Russians, who have beaten French and English together ". Indeed, he added that he was going to Calcutta. When the news of the defeat of June 18th. reached him at Malta, he was so excited by it that he resolved to go to Constantinople, and endeavour thence to get a passage to Balaklava. In the course of conversation he boasted a good deal of his success in London society, and used the names of people of rank very freely, which, combined with the tone of his remarks, induced me to regard him with suspicion, mingled, I confess, with dislike. He not only mentioned his *bonnes fortunes*, but expressed a very decided opinion that unless women were restrained, as they were in the East, ' like moths in candlelight, they will fly and get burned '. I never saw or heard anything more of him till some weeks afterwards, when a gentleman rode up to my hut at Cathcart's Hill, and sent me in a note from Mr. Doyne, asking me to assist his friend Azimoollah Khan in visiting the trenches, and on going out I recognized the Indian Prince. I had his horse put up, and walked to the General's hut to get a pass for him. The sun was within an hour of setting, and the Russian batteries had just opened, as was their custom, to welcome our reliefs and working-parties, so that shot came bounding up towards the hill where our friend was standing, and a shell burst in the air at apparently near proximity to his post. Some delay took place ere I could get the pass, and when I went with it I found Azimoollah Khan had retreated inside the cemetery, and was looking with marked interest at the fire of the Russian guns.

I told him what he was to do, and regretted my inability to accompany him, as I was going out to dinner at a mess in the Light Division. 'Oh', said he, 'this is a beautiful place to see from; I can see everything, and, as it is late, I will ask you to come some other day, and, will watch here till it is time to go home'. He said, laughingly, 'I think you will never take that strong place'; and in reply to me, when I asked him to come to dine with me at my friend's, where I was sure he would be welcome, he said, with a kind of sneer, 'Thank you, but recollect I am good Mahomedan'. 'But', said I, 'you dined at Misseri's' 'Oh, yes: I was joking. I am not such a fool as to believe in these foolish things. I am of no religion'. When I came home that night I found he was asleep in my camp-bed, and my servant told me he had enjoyed my stores very freely. In the morning he was up and off, ere I was awake. On my table I found a piece of paper—Azimoollah Khan presents his compliments to Russell, Esquire, and begs to thank him most truly for his kind attentions, for which I am most obliged'.

"This fellow, as we all know, was the Nana's Secretary, and chief adviser in the massacres at Cawnpore. Now, is it not curious enough that he should have felt such an interest to see, with his own eyes, how matters were going on in the Crimea? It would not be strange in a European to evince such curiosity; but in an Asiatic, of the non-military caste, it certainly is. He saw the British army in a state of some depression, and he formed, as I have since heard, a very unfavourable opinion of its *morale* and *physique*, in comparison with that of the French. Let us remember, that soon after his arrival in India he accompanied Nana Sahib to Lucknow, where they remained some time, and are thought by those who recollect their tone and demeanour, to have exhibited considerable insolence and *hauteur* towards the Europeans they met. Afterwards the worthy couple, on the pretence of a pilgrimage to the hills—a Hindoo and Mussulman joined in a holy excursion, visited the Military stations all along the main trunk-road, and went as far as Umballa. It has been suggested that their object in going to Simla was to tamper with the Goorkha Regiment stationed in the hills; but that, finding on their arrival at Umballa a portion of the regiment were in cantonments, they were unable to effect their purpose with those men, and desisted from their proposed journey on the plea of the cold weather. That the Nana's demeanour towards us should have undergone a change at this time is not at all wonderful; for he had learned the irrevocable determination of the authorities to refuse what he—and, let me add, the majority of the millions of Hindoos who know the

circumstances—considered to be his just rights as adopted heir of the Ex-Peishwa of the Mahrattas.[1]

THE INDO-AFGHAN RELATIONS

Role of Dost Mahommed Khan:

153. But successful as (by the hearty co-operation of military and civil authorities) all our measures proved for the maintenance of the peace of Peshawur during this eventful war, there can be no question that if one event had happened, nothing could have saved us—I mean if Dost Mahommed Khan, the Ameer of Kabul, had followed in 1857 his policy of 1848. That policy was a mistake, and the Ameer reaped nothing by it but disgrace and loss of character as a politician. But men do not always profit by the lessons of the past. Some difference in the circumstances too often misleads them again into the former error. The crisis of 1857 was infinitely graver than that of 1848. The embarrassments of the English in India were incomparably greater. The Anglo-Indian Empire had been based on a native army, and that army was in rebellion. If ever we were open to a death-blow, it was now. Our power in India was staked on the recovery of Delhi; to achieve it taxed the whole strength of the Punjab to the very utmost, and left the Provincial Government so weak as to be unable for the moment to put down a petty rising in the Googaira district; a feather more would have turned the scale against us. No reasonable man can doubt what would have been the result had the Afghans sided against us, in September, 1857. That they did not do so is, under Providence, due solely to the treaties which had been made with them in March 1855 and January 1857. By the former, the past was condoned, and we engaged to respect the territories of the Afghans so long as they respected ours; by the latter we went further, sent a mission of able British officers to aid them in defending their western frontier from the Persians, and gave them a subsidy of Lac of Rupees a month to enable them to increase their army while that emergency should last. These were solid proofs of a community of interest, and the policy has been blessed with equally solid advantages to ourselves. That policy was much questioned at the time in India, and, as far as I am aware, has never yet received the approval of the Home Government. It is a satisfaction, therefore, to find it approved by unerring verdict of

[1] Russell, W. H. "*My Diary in India*", Vol. I, London, December 1859. pp. 167-70.

the hour of trial. It may be said that when these treaties were made, no one foresaw that this mutiny would happen, which is true; but treaties are made as anchors are thrown out, to enable the vessel to ride through any storm from whatever quarter it may blow.

154. And here I would beg to acknowledge the very great services of our officers in Afghanistan during the late crisis. At Kandahar, with the Heir-Apparent, were Major Harry Lamsden, Lieutenant Peter Lumsden, and Dr. Bellew, accompanied by Gholam Sirwur Khan Khagwanee. At Kabul, in the Ameer's Court, was Nawab Foujdar Khan Bahadoor, our Vakeel. It was thought to be a service of great enterprise, for the English officers especially, when they set out for Kandahar, even in a time of peace; and their situation became one of decided peril when India was in a blaze with a Mahomedan struggle. But these officers and khans, by soldierly equanimity, by a fortitude equal to the occasion; by a calm trust in the cause of England, by the good feeling which their previous demeanour had created, and by keeping the Kabul Government candidly and truthfully informed of real events, and thus disarming monstrous exaggerations of our disasters, preserved the confidence of the Ameer and his best counsellors, and were largely instrumental in maintaining those friendly relations which were of such vital importance to our success. For these unusual services, I would venture to solicit for all these officers and khans some mark of honourable distinction from Government.[1]

PERSIAN INTRIGUES

The Persian War:

"..... Two Powers are interposed between the Russian and the Indian frontier,—Afghanistan and Persia;—Afghanistan torn to pieces by perpetual intrigues and seditions, Persia ruled by an irresolute, faithless and time-serving government. It is in the interest of Russia, if she still continues to cherish ambitious designs against India, that these nations should be as weak —it is our interest that they should be as strong, as possible

[1] *Parliamentary Papers, Papers relating to the Mutiny in the Punjab, in* 1857, pp. 82-83. For a study of the '*Indo-Afghan relations*' cf. Major Lamsden, "*Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan*", 1857. Chapters IV and V.

"The Ameer is on the verge of the grave; his sons are notoriously incompetent, and his decease will probably be the signal for an outburst of anarchy and blood-shed."[1]

THE INDO-PERSIAN INTRIGUES

Extracts (translation from Urdu) from the "Ashruf-ul-Akhbar", a Lucknow Newspaper, dated 28th. March. 1857:

Iran.—A fresh rumour prevails in all directions that in Arabia, Turkey, and Turkestan those valiant for the faith, and believers jealous of its honour, at their own expense have prepared the material of a "Jihad". Every one, rich and poor, by exhortation and preaching of the learned in the faith and of the guides in religious matters, is ready for "Jihād". Every person is continually fixed in this thought, that to give one's life in God's cause is the good way; every one is enthusiastic for "Jihād", and is bent on defeating in some way or other the army of infidels. Set up the standard of the faith (they say) in the battle-field; accordingly, many warriors for the faith having entered Iran with purpose of fighting the ungodly, having desired help of the Shah, are hopeful of his kind help.

And this also all said unanimously, in presence of the Shah (the refuge of angles): "The Russians are enemies of the faith: faithless infidels, it will never do to ask their assistance. In matters of faith the partnership of unbelievers is unseemly. All we Mussulmans are subject to orders: we are ready to surrender our lives when the order comes. War material is not necessary; we do not ask you for any pecuniary assistance, we have ourselves got ready cannon balls, gunpowder, etc. Thousands of Ghazies, strong as elephants, and trained soldiers capable of breaking through the lines of any enemy, are collected in one place. If it is the Will of God, soon we will overcome the enemies of the faith; we will exhibit Isphahani and Khorasani skill in the day of battle". This strange arrangement has also been made, that the women

[1]From *The Times* (London), December 29, 1856 reproduced by *the Friend of India*, February 19, 1857, p. 179.

The Englishman states that 500 of Dost Mahommed's relations have gone over to the Persians; it is through fear of these rebellious relatives, that the Dost still remains at Jellalabad. A Vakeel sent by the Persians, has arrived at Cabul; he is accompanied by 700 horsemen, many of them Russians in Persian costume. The Russians are gathering in large numbers throughout the Chinese Territory under the pretence of assisting the Chinese. *Ibid.*, p. 295, March 29, 1857.

should sew clothes for the faithful warriors, grind flour, make bread; and let the men, from boy of 12 to man of 40, show their bravery in the day of battle. From this solemn trial let them not flinch; and the weak and old let them arrange for the supplies, so that the brave fighters in this war suffer no want of food and water. Prepared in this matter they stand ready for "Jihād". They only await the order of the Shah. Our correspondent writes that zealous Maulivies and reverend preachers have raised this enthusiasm for "Jihad" in the hearts of the people. Everywhere gatherings for admonitions and sermons are going on. Every one hearing the virtues of "Jihād" is devoted to the way of God' It would not be surprising if the people of Afghanistan also joined them. In matters of faith they should not refuse.

Afghanistan.—In these days Nur Khan, the Commander-in-Chief bringing a brave and countless army, has set out to seize India. He has arrived at Ghazni without opposition, and probably he will soon arrive in the neighbourhood of Kabul; and a great body of men, which is lying outside it, also is advancing daily. Russians in the garb of Iranis go about in every back street with merchandise, and by this device they get information.

Ditto.—Some days ago an ambassador of the Shah of Persia arrived with 700 sowars and footmen; now gradually about 2,000 men have assembled, and daily 10 or 20 horse and foot come in. On being questioned, they say that preparations are being made for a "dawk", hence these arrangements.

Ditto.—Russian and Persian soldiers, coming by Khiva and Kokan, etc., have arrived on the borders of Yarkand. It appears as if after the snow has melted a great military operation would take place. In this Dost Mahommed Khan has a secret understanding with Persia. Thousands of Afghans have gone towards Herat to take service with the Shah, and are going now. The road is no ways closed.

Ditto.—It appears from the pages of "*Subah Sadiq*" that the Shah of Persia sent a friendly letter to the President of the United States. The President on receiving it was much pleased. It is conjectured that the Shah may have applied for assistance. The President sent an immediate reply, and dismissed the ambassador with great honour.[1]

[1] William Muir: *Intelligence Records* 1857-58, Vol. I pp. 527-30, cf. Proceedings on 'The Trial of Muhammed Bahadoor Shah' pp. 69, 72, 80-81 and 90.

INDO-NEPALESE RELATIONS

Our Relations with Nepal:

"……The Court of Nepaul permits its Terai to be turned into an Alsatia and every criminal in Oudh plays a winning game……

Indo-Nepalese Treaty 1801, 8th. Clause:

"If any of the dependants or inhabitants of either country should fly and take refuge in the other and a requisition should be made for such persons, on the part of the Nepaul Government, by its constituted Vakeel in attendance on the Governor-General, or on the part of the Company's Government, by its representative residing at Nepaul, it is in this case mutually agreed that if such person should have fled after transgressing the laws of his Government, it is incumbent upon the principals of both the Governments immediately to deliver him up to the Vakeel at their respective courts, that he may be sent in perfect security to the frontiers of their respective territories".

The subsequent war did not, we believe, expunge this treaty …… Jung Bahadur has no interest in harbouring felons. The bribes they pay do not go into his pocket…… The criminal must be made to feel that he can be seized in Nepaul as readily as in Rohilkhund……[1]

Escape of Fuzl Ally into the Nepalese Terai

"Early in the present month, a man named Fuzl Ally suddenly attacked two thanas of Police. The Chowkeedars were put to death, the Jemadar and a Mohurrir were hacked to pieces, and Fuzl Ally started for the hills……

"He was pursued but,……" The villagers refused all information, for Fuzl Ally is an historical character in Oudh.[2]

EARLY REBELLION OF FUZL ALLY IN GORAKHPUR—14TH. FEBRUARY, 1857.

From

Commissioner of Baraitch.

Dated, 14th. February, No. 35.

"Alludes to the daring outrage committed by Fuzl Ally and his band of armed followers in Toolsheepoor, which circumstance

[1] *The Friend of India*, March 5, 1857, p. 218.
[2] *The Friend of India*, March 5, 1857, p. 217.

has been reported by the Deputy Commissioner to the Chief Commissioner in person. Represents the urgent necessity that exists for requiring the Nepaul authorities to expel Fuzl Ally and his followers from their territories if they have sought shelter there, and to refuse all access to them in future. Observes that the capture and destruction of this man is hopeless if when hard pressed he can always find shelter within the Nepaul frontier. *Adds that it is reported that Rajah Man Singh is in Nepaul Jungle with* 2,000 *armed men and lending support to Fuzl Ally, and if true, proposes that the same course be adopted with respect to him also* ".[1]

INTERNATIONAL PRESS IN INDIA IN 1857.

American views of the Crisis in India—1857:

" We do not believe that the rebellion in India will eventuate in successful revolution.....

" *England never was so powerful as she now is, and never so well prepared to carry on war in a distant theatre.* Her immense steam navy, aided by rapid communications by mail and the telegraph, makes it less difficult for her to conduct a war now in India than to have carried on one in America 40 years ago. Yet, with all these advantages, the struggle may be protracted; and even when the rebellion is suppressed, consequences will probably ensue seriously affecting, the weal of Christendom. Instead of exerting herself, as she has just proposed, to increase the supply, of sugar and cotton, *which have become alarmingly deficient*, the fact stares us in the face that this deficiency must increase, and the suffering consequent on it be aggravated. But England is not alone concerned on this matter. All Christendom, except the slave holders of America, will suffer like.....

" The momentous consequences likely to ensue from the rebellion in India can be justly appreciated when viewed in connexion with the deficient supply of slave products which now " perplex nations ".....

" Years will probably elapse ere industry in India will return to its wonted channels; so that instead of an increased production of these articles, she has reason to apprehend a diminished one. "

—*Washington Union.*[2]

[1]Foreign Deptt., Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Political, January to 28th. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh in the Political Deptt. for the week ending with 21st. February, 1857. 17th. February, 1857. No. 9.

[2]Reproduced by *The Englishman*, Thursday, 15th. October, 1857. Supplement.

Europe on England's Difficulties in India:

" ..... The Emperor of the French, for instance, visits our Queen as a friend; but the press of France does not talk in friendly fashion. We may describe the tone of some of the most prominent French journals in the words of their own countrymen the *Siecle.*"[1]

French Press on Indian Revolution:

" The great events which threaten at present the English power, have, as was natural, given fresh ardour to the enemies of our English alliance. These writers see perils to Great Britain in Egypt, Persia, India, China, Greece, Canada, and are now condemning England to non-existence. It is only, according to them, a question of time ".

des Debates opines:

" The journal *des Debates*—which once had Russian sympathies, if it has them not still—is gradually assuming a tone of more settled hostility towards England.....He assumes that the great if not the chief cause of the military revolt in India is hatred of English domination, and he finds a proof of this hatred in the atrocities of the excess committed by the sepoys.[2]

The Imperial Estafette comments:[3]

" *The Imperial Estafette* which is almost considered a Ministerial paper, goes yet further than the journal *des Debates:* e.g.

" *There is a profound panic in London; for in the worst days of its history England has received no more violent check. In fact, the loss of India would be a death-blow to her commerce and industry;* and once driven out of that country, the former conquerors would find insurmountable obstacles if ever they should think of returning.

" In the first instance, *they have cruelly oppressed the Indians, who are now taking their revenge and who probably will prefer to be exterminated to the last man, rather than to bear again the odius yoke of the foreigner.*

[1] *The Friend of Indua,* Serampur Journal: July to December 1857. Reproduced from *The Spectator* of 8th. August in its issue of 24th. September, 1857. p. 921.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *The Friend of India,* Serampur Journal: July to December 1857. Reproduced from *The Spectator* of 8th. August in its issue of 24th. September, 1857. p. 921.

" The English have hurt the national feeling, and committed acts of breach of civilization (lese-civilization). They have to answer now a terrible account; instead of civilizing India they have exploited it. They only wanted slaves but they have created Spartacuses.

" Is the British Cabinet ", asks the same journal, " going to demand French help against the revolted Indians; and if so, will our Government accede to it? Such is the question which political men ask "....."

THE ARMY ON THE BRINK OF REVOLT

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCONTENTED ARMY

THE CARTRIDGE ISSUE

MUTINIOUS STATE OF ARMY

MEERUT - LUCKNOW - AZAMGARH

THE INDIAN SOLDIERY

The infantry of that army had in its ranks a great majority of Oudh sepoys: while men of the same class formed the bulk of forces such as the Gwalior Contingent, maintained by Native States under the terms of treaties with the British Government. A small percentage of Mahomedans of Hindoostan was also to be found in the Bengal Native Infantry, while they supplied the greater part of the Cavalry[1] of that Presidency. It will thus be understood that in both arms there was a dangerous preponderance of one class, facilitating and extending combination on the part of the disaffected.

It was, however, different in the armies of the other Presidencies, where men of every caste and creed were mingled in the ranks. This obviated the likelihood of combination among men ever wont to be suspicious of one another. There were, moreover, in the Madras Army, family ties to keep the men true to their salt. In that Presidency the sepoy had in almost every instance a large number of relatives, sometimes of several generations, living with him in the lines. He was not likely to abandon these relations to their fate, and mutiny against the Government he served. But the Oudh sepoy left his belongings in his native village when he enlisted, and the Bengal Army was practically a bachelors' army.

While the susceptibilities of the Oudh sepoy had been touched by the annexation of his country, the Mahomedans still held in veneration the puppet who occupied the throne of the Great Mughals, and cherished the recollection of former glory and power. They had also the influence of a fanatical religion to incite them to a holy war against the Christians. Their combination with the hated Hindus is, however, somewhat remarkable, and the causes which brought these antagonistic peoples into alliance must be sought for elsewhere than in political influences.

Leaders of Sedition:

That there were leaders such as Nana Sahib, the Maulvi of Fyzabad, the Ranee of Jhansi, and others who made use of the native army for purposes of intrigue and rebellion has already been indicated. But the army would not mutiny merely at the instigation of a few political intriguers and agitators. The native of India is not greatly influenced by politics. The smooth course of

[1] In 1853, however, half the Bengal Irregular Cavalry was composed of Hindus.

rural life has undergone little alteration in its main characteristics by the changes of a thousand years. Whether living under the rule of Buddhist, Hindu, Musalman, or European, the agricultural class from which the sepoys were drawn pursued their peaceful avocation comparatively undisturbed. The passage of fire and sword over the land in the hands of Mughal, Mahratta, or Pindari only disturbed the surface of village life, and, from a political point of view, the peasant sank back again after such erruptions into the slumber of an uneventful existence. It mattered but little to him under what King he served so long as he was able to earn his daily bread and his religion was undisturbed.

Mercenary Forces:

The seeds of disaffection had long been at work in the Bengal Army. The disasters of the Afghan War had taught the sepoy that his European comrade was not invincible. It had, in fact, shaken that prestige by which alone the few can rule the many. And the proportion of Native to British soldiers in India was far too great. For, as Bacon says, " as for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case) all examples show that, whatsoever estate, or prince, doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after ". *Our Indian Empire in those days rested too largely on mercenary forces.*[1] There were in the country only some 38,000 European soldiers, while the native troops numbered 200,000 men, not including the levies of independent or semi-independent Princes. A great establishment of native artillery had grown up, although the Court of Directors had recognized it as a danger so far back as in 1813 and had then characterised it as " *an arm which it ought to be our policy not to extend the knowledge of it to the natives* ".

The Bengal sepoy had cause for discontent. His allowances had been more than once interfered with, while he thought he had reason for dreading an attempt to destroy his caste and subvert his religion; the points on which he was most sensitive. Ill-advised measures of the military authorities, combined with political intrigue, caused the mutiny of the Madras troops at Vellore in 1806. That outbreak was, indeed, typical of the greater tragedy which took place fifty-one years later. It had in it elements, both as regards its cause and its suppression, which may be fitly compared with those which characterised the greater disaster.

[1] " Ancient Rome and Sparta were free and strong for many ages, thanks to their armies drawn from the people. The primary cause of the fall of Rome was the inclusion in the army of the mercenary Goths ". *The Art of War*—Machiavelli.

Lessons of History:

In the fort of Vellore in 1806 were confined the sons of Tipu Sultan of Mysore, whose kingdom had been overthrown and himself slain in 1799. Here these descendants of the most fanatical enemy of the British in India were permitted to maintain a large body of adherents and an almost regal state. Naturally they intrigued. The military authorities introduced a new fashion of turban which, owing to its resemblance to the head-dress worn by the East Indian drummers, gave rise to a rumour that this measure was preparatory to forcible conversion to Christianity. About the same time an order was issued directing that "*a native soldier shall not mark his face to denote his caste, or wear earrings when dressed in his uniform; it is further directed that at all parades and on all duties every soldier shall be clean-shaved on the chin. It is directed also that uniformity shall, as far as is practicable, be preserved in regard to the quantity and shape of the hair on the upper lip*". It is not surprising that such inconsiderate orders, prejudicial to the religion and sentiment of both Hindus and Musalmans, should cause the smouldering discontent already existing to break out into open mutiny. There were other signs and portants typical of the events of 1857. The officers had become estranged from their men, and lived too much apart from them, while they were in most cases ever striving to get away from regimental duty . In the native army, where personal influence is of the first importance, and is in fact the main spring of all efficiency in the soldier, this was disastrous. As in 1857 signs of the coming storm were disregarded.

At Vellore the native troops suddenly broke into open mutiny and killed the majority of the European officers and soldiers quartered in the fort, while the stripped flag of Mysore was raised upon the ramparts. But if the parallel so far is close, the method of dealing with the outbreak in 1806 diverges from the weakness displayed at Meerut in 1857. In 1806 there was happily at the neighbouring station of Arcot a soldier of energy, decision, and courage, both moral and physical. Colonel Gillespie with the 19th. Dragoons and Galloper Guns came down upon the mutineers like a hurricane; blew open the gates of the fort, destroyed the majority of the sepoys, and in the course of a few hours suppressed the rebellion. This stern retribution struck terror into the hearts of other would-be mutineers; and disaffection, which was rife throughout the Madras Army, did not elsewhere find active expression.

In 1857 similar measures at the outset might have had similar results. Gillespie was killed in the Nepal War in 1814, and buried

at Meerut, and " by the irony of fate, on the 10th. May, 1857, the first shots of the great Sepoy Mutiny were fired within a mile of the monument over his grave, and were the beginning of events that at one time threatened to involve British Power in the East in ruin, and that have changed the whole course of Indian history. If that gallant spirit was still permited to take interest in the events of that day, how it must have chafed at the exhibition of incapacity and indecision that led to such disastrous consequences. In view of what happened at Vellore, it is allowable to believe that the great Mutiny of 1857 would never have assumed the proportions it did, had the first outbreak been met by the same display of energy and resolution as was shown, under similar circumstances, fifty-one years earlier."[1]

Assuredly the past contains valuable lessons for the statesman and the soldier which may well be remembered with profit when the day of action comes.

British Officers:

In 1850 an Indian Army Officer of long experience wrote that the reserved and exclusive habits of the European officers were gaining ground. The generality of officers took but little interest in their men, who, on their part, ceased to feel either love or reverence for superiors who were virtually strangers to them and powerless, besides, either to reward or punish. This want of sympathy between the European officers and their men appeared to the author[2] as fraught with impending peril, and there could be no doubt of its impairing the efficiency of any regiment. He deeply regretted the unprofessional eagerness manifested by officers of all ranks to get away from their regimental duties;[3] nor did he regard with less apprehension the paucity of officer doing duty with each native corps. This led to frequent changes, so that the men were seldom commanded by officers whom they knew, and who knew them, the one thing above others needful for the native army, the men of which are more easily guided by loyalty to the person than to the State.

Immediate Causes of Mutiny:

There was moreover, too much centralization of power in the hands of the military authorities at Army Head-Quarters,

[1] Colonel John Biddulph, *The Nineteenth and their times.*
[2] Brigadier J. S. Hodgson, late commanding the Punjab Irregular Force.
[3] Seeing, however, that extra regimental employment was the only way to advancement, the blame cannot apply only to the officers.

who to the sepoy were mere phantoms living among the clouds of the Himalayas. Thus Commanding Officers lost power and prestige. *The proselytising spirit was also abroad, and amiable but fanatical Christian Commanding Officers preached their religion about the country.* Then came the crucial question of the greased cartridges. With a great deal of reason, the sepoys complained of the new cartridge, the paper of which was greased with animal fat, which, whether truly or otherwise, was said to be that of swine and oxen. Here was a handle for the political agitator to lay hold of. Then report were spread that the flour sold to the native troops in the bazar was mixed with bone-dust, with a view to destroying their caste. Sugar was refined with the blood of oxen.[1] In fact all kinds of rumours, easily manipulated by astute agitators, and as readily believed by a credulous and simple-minded people, were spread broadcast throughout the land.

Nor were signs of the coming storm wanting. Some old and expeienced officers tendered solemn warnings, others, even with a life-long experience of the native people, were blind to all possibility of disaffection. The Governor General was surrounded by counsellors who had spent their service in Government Offices; the military authorities were said to have been out of touch with the native army, with which most of them had served but little, and that not for many years.[2]

GWALIOR 1844

Troops Disbanded:

" ..... the boy Maharajah has been formally installed on the throne of Gwalior by the Governor General,.....

" The Gwalior Troops have been entirely disbanded with the exception of the few which, by the new treaty, are to be kept up, ... The fears entertained by our contemporary, *the Friend of India,* that an outbreak may subsequently take place from the sentiment of the chiefs who have been thrown out of power, and of the troops who were conquered, are entirely groundless, founded as they are on the imaginative reports of the news-writer of the Delhi Gazette.

" The power of the Gwalior state has departed forever, nor is there one element in its constitution which could hereafter rouse

[1] It is perhaps not remarkable that similar reports were spread by seditious agitators in 1907.

[2] *The Revolt in Central India,* 1857-79, compiled in the Intelligence Branch Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Head Quarters, India, pp. XIV to XVII.

its broken spirit even to attempt a hostile act; the possession of the Fort by the Contingent under British Officers must act as a strong preventive in case of any attempt at an emeute; and with regard to the dread that the soldiers of the Contingent may turn the arms with which we provide, and the discipline we teach them against ourselves, as the Afghan levies did, it is sufficient to say, in reply, that the cases are totally different....."[1]

Sir Charles Napier on the Indian Army— May 31, 1856:

"..... I think that native ensigns, lieutenants, and captains,.....and commanders of corps too, will assimilate with our officers, and in course of time gradually throw caste to the dogs, and be like ourselves in all but colour. *I have no belief in the power of caste resisting the Christian faith for any great lengh of time,* because reason is too strong for nonsense in the long run; and I believe if the Indians were made officers on the same footing as ourselves, they would be perfectly faithful, *and in time become Christians; not that I want to convert them, but so it will be.*"[2]

The Governor General's Travelling Equippage:

" I told you I would get for you the amount of carriage in use with the Governor General's travelling Camp[3].

Exclusive of the escort the establishment amounts to 6,000 but this I apprehend does not include private servants and followers.

This camp in motion must cover nearly six miles of ground, and with the baggage of the escort, bearers and would probably cover eight miles; but in this calculation I reckon an addition of one-third of the actual distance to meet the intervals caused by lagging of over-loaded animals.....! Napier.[4]

Army Officers:

" ..... The system of officering the native army which is so sgrongly upheld by our contemporary has resulted in what? *In the annihilation of all moral influence of officers over their men.*

[1] *The Overland Agra Ukhbar:* Agra, Monday, 19th. February, 1844, p. 12.

[2] *The Englishman,* Tuesday, 5th. October, 1857 reproduced from the Home News (U.K. August 26) under the head 'European Intelligence'.

[3]

Elephants	...	135
Camels	...	1060
Bullocks	...	700
Carts		135
Government tents	...	488

[4] *The Englishman,* Weekly Supplement, Saturday Evening 17 th. October, 1857.

Who can read the account of the murderous attack upon the Adjutant of the 34. N.I. without shuddering at the alienation of feeling manifested in the course of that most deplorable occurrence. That the Sepoy should see his officer set upon by an assassin and that the officer should cry for help, and in vain, while a native commissioned officer should prevent the soldiers under his command from rescuing him, is an occurrence which can be accounted for only on the hypothesis *that the European Commissioned officers of the Bengal army have utterly lost their prestige*....."[1]

"Jemadar Salikram Singh of the 70th. N.I. was tried the other day by a Court Martial for having incited mutiny in his corps, Firstly, by addressing a brother Jemadar these words:—

> "My only hope is in you; What do you say? The sepoys may bite the new cartridges if they like, but I will not bite them".

Secondly by dissuading the men from repairing their huts, *saying there was no necessity as some disturbances were soon to occur;* Thirdly, in having held a meeting of native officers and men in his own hut on the cartridge question. The court simply sentenced the Jemadar to dismissal from the service....."[2]

General Anson:

"..... He is a member of the aristocracy,—has not seen a shot fired since Waterloo, and has gained his promotion on the turf.....

".....when the people of England became acquainted with the fact that a man who was listed as a Military Attorney was suddenly pitchforked by Lord Dalhousie into the position of virtual Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, over the head of better man and simply to spite Sir Charles Napier, they will not fail to enquire into his antecedents, and to fix on him the discredit,....."[3]

Ghost of Bob Acre's Escape:

(Brochure published by the Hurkaru in a Tragi-comedy style In scene the 2nd. the Ghost's soliloquy with the soldiers who went to the Relief of Cawnpore, is not only pathetic but instructive also.)

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, p. 149, May 7, 1857.
[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, Weekly Register of Intelligence, Thursday, the 14th. May, 1857.
[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru* and *India Gazette*, Wednesday, June 3, 1857, p. 523.

In scene the 3rd. the song of the Dancing Girl:—
It is styled:—'Ali Kahan hy John Company'

"A hundred years have gone and past,
When India groaned under England's rule
The avenging hour has come at last
And the Hindoo sepoy is not such a fool
To eat the salt of his great tool
John Company

Ali Kahan hy John Company, Ali Kahan hy John Company oh!

Subadar of the Gillis Ka Pultun - Wah Wah Vajeerun'!
Wah Wah Vajeerun! you were fond of the Captain Saheb of my company then, but now times are turned *old gal*, you must sing to no one but your Soobadar Vajeerun Sing again

The Topee wallas were great asses:
Who drew their tullubs said their masses;
And after dinner filled their glasses;
Then left the country to Chupprassees
But now we shall be the Sepoy's Lassies
No more John Company

Ali Kahan hy John Company, Ali Kahan hy John Company oh![1]

Discontent in the Bengal Army:

"..... As yet we see no signs of the Bengal strikes being brought to a close. The men are confident of their power to dictate terms to their masters. Not only at Barrackpore, but at Umballah, Sealkote, Meerut, Oude and other places the defying spirit has been openly exhibited, and for "gage of battle", the sepoy points to the nightly burnings of bungalows and barracks. It has transpired that the 19th. Regiment when ordered to march to Barrackpore, sent a deputation of four men to the 34th., inviting the latter to join them in murdering their officers. A Jemadar of the 2nd. has been arrested on the charge of inviting an independent Rajah to rise in insurrection. A European Sergeant has been murdered at Fulta under circumstances of great mystery, and

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru* and *India Gazette*, Thursday, March 4, 1858.

every hour gives birth to new rumours of mutiny, and intended massacre. Meanwhile, H. M. 53rd. are at Barrackpore, living under tents with the thermometer at 108 inside the canvas. The 84th. are kept in hand at Chinsurah, and from time to time reports get abroad of vigorous measures being under consideration. No body knows of what it is that the sepoy complains, nor what course he proposes to take in securing a remedy, how it is intended to repress the existing signs of treason, nor how it is proposed to make mutiny less likely in the future.

"..... He (G. G.) cannot fail to observe that the sepoy plots with perfect safety. We learn the existence of the crime only by the explosion. The object of its progress we have not the most remote inkling. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the isolation in which the European officer lives, and the complete independence of internal control enjoyed by the native officers...."[1]

THE CARTRIDGE ISSUE.

Letter to Agra:

From

H. H. Greathed Chief Commr. Delhi.

(Reply to letter of the 3rd.)

8th. August, 1857.

P.S. -The result of all questionings of sepoys who have fallen into our hands regarding the cause of their mutiny is the same. They invariably cite the 'Cartouche' as the origin. No other cause of complaint has been alluded to.

His Majesty of Delhi has composed a couplet to the effect that the Mighty English, who boast of having vanquished "Russ" (Russia) and Iran, have been overthrown in Hindoostan by a simple cartridge.

"Na Iran ne kiaya, na Shah Russ ne,—
Angrez ko tabah kiya Kartoosh (Cartouche) ne."

{न ईरान ने किया, न शाह रूस ने ।
अंग्रेज़ को तबाह किया कारतूस ने ॥}

A consciousness of power had grown up in the Army, which could only be exercised by mutiny.

[1] *The Friend of India*, May 7, 1857. pp. 433-434.

The cry of the cartridge brought the latent spirit of revolt into action.[1]

From Lieutenant and Brevet—Captain J. A. Wright, Commanding the Rifle Instruction Depot, to the Adjutant of the Rifle Instruction Depot—dated Dum Dum, 22nd. January, 1857.

I have the honor to report, for the information of Major Bontein, Commanding the Depot, that there appears to be a very unpleasant feeling existing among the native soldiers who are here for instruction, regarding the grease used in preparing the cartridges, some evil-disposed persons having spread a report that it consists of a mixture of the fats of pigs and cows.[2]

2. The belief in this report has been strengthened by the behaviour of a khalasi attached to the magazine, who, I am told, asked a sepoy of the 2nd. Regiment, Native (Grenadier Infantry, to supply him with water from his *lota*; the sepoy refused, observing he was not aware of what caste the man was. The khalasi immediately rejoined—" You will soon lose your caste, as ere long you will have to bite cartridges covered with the fat of pigs and cows ", or words to that effect.

3. Some of the depot men, in conversing with me on the subject last night, said that the report has spread throughout India, and when they go to their homes their friends will refuse to eat with them. I assured them (believing it to be the case) that the grease used is composed of mutton fat and wax; to which they replied—" It may be so, but our friends will not believe it; let us obtain the ingredients from the bazar and make it up ourselves; we shall then know what is used, and be able to assure our fellow-soldiers and others that there is nothing in it prohibited by our caste ".

In conclusion, I most respectfully beg to represent that by adopting the measure suggested by the men, the possibility of any

[1]Sir William Muir, *Intelligence Records*, Vol. I, p. 545.

[2]" At the close of the year 1856, the Government of India had decided that the old-fashioned musket should be superseded by the Enfield Rifle. Depots for instruction in the use of the new weapon had been formed at three stations—Dum Dum, a cantonment in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and Umballa and Sialkot, in Upper India. Large numbers of cartridges for the new rifle had been manufactured at Fort William, in Calcutta and supplied to the different depots". (*State Papers*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 1.) cf. Correspondence dated January 30, 1857 and February 6, 1857 in the letter of the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company dated February 7, 1857. No. 46. *Mutinies in the East Indies*, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1857 (London), p. 1.

misunderstanding regarding the religious prejudices of the natives in general will be prevented.[1]

No other cause ascertainable than the cartridge:

As regards the immediate cause of the outbreak, we can get no other clue by enquiries at Delhi and elsewhere than the cartridge. The fact is that the sepoys had long been puffed up with the conceit that the Imperial fabric rested on their shoulders alone: they had constructed it; they maintained it.

Growing arrogance of the army:

This filled them with an arrogant and independent feeling, which led to the constant feeling of grievance when they were not petted and humoured in everything. Here were the elements of disaffection and mutiny. The cartridge was used by the bad designing men of each regiment to inflame the otherwise contented soldiery, and when distrust was once infused our most solemn disavowals of interference with caste were disbelieved and met by the grossest fabrications and lies.

I saw the arrogant spirit creeping through, though quite unintended, in a Sepoy of more than ordinarily quiet and respectful deportment, who was conversing with Mr. Colvin one day when he had assembled the Regiment privately to hear their grievances. The way in which he referred to the faithful sepoys having conquered India from Ceylon to Peshawur for us showed the common trains of thought and conversation amongst the Sepoys.[2]

MUTINOUS STATE OF ARMY

(*Meerut, Lucknow, Azamgarh*)

MEERUT

I have the honor to report, for the informaton of the officer commanding the station, that yesterday I ordered a parade to take place this morning for the purpose of showing the men the new mode by which they might load their carbines without biting their cartridges, and late in the evening I received information from the havildar-major that the men of the 1st. Troop would not receive

[1]G. W. Forrest, *State Papers* (Calcutta 1893) Vol. I, p. 3. For further discussion on the subject, cf. G. W. Forrest, *State Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 4-6, 24-25, 94-97.

[2]W. Muir, C. S., to C. Beadon, C. S., Foreign Secretary, Calcutta. Agra, 19th. August, 1857. William Muir, "*Records of the Intelligence Department*", Vol. II, (1902) pp. 130-31.

their cartridges (which were the same that they had always used), and my adjutant received a letter from Captain Craigie, copy of which is enclosed.

2. This morning I explained to the men my reason for ordering the parade, and I first ordered the havildar-major to show them the new way of loading, which he did, and fired off his carbine. I then ordered the cartridges to be served out, but, with the exception of the men noted in the margin,[1] they all refused to receive them, saying they would get a bad name if they took them, but that if all the regiments would take their cartridges, they would do so. I explained to them that they were not new cartridges, but the very same they had always been using, and once more called on them to receive the cartridges, saying—"You see the havildar-major has used one!" But, with the exception of the men above-mentioned, they all still refused; after which I ordered the adjutant to dismiss the men, as they were too large a party to send to the guard. The party consisted of 90 men.

Forwarded for the information and orders of Major General Commanding the Division.

(Sd.) H. R. JONES, Col.,
Commanding the Station.[2]

From Captain H. C. Craigie, 3rd. Regiment, Light Cavalry, to the Adjutant of the 3rd. Regiment, Light Cavalry, dated Meerut, 23rd. April, 1857:

Go at once to Smyth and tell him tht the men of my troop have requested in a body that the skirmishing tomorrow morning may be countermanded, as there is a commotion throughout the native troops about cartridges, and that the regiment will become budnam if they fire any cartridges. I understand that in all six troops a report of the same kind is being made. *This is a most serious matter, and we may have the whole regiment in mutiny in half an hour if this be not attended to. Pray don't lose a moment, but go to Smyth at once.*

2. We have none of the objectionable cartridges, but the men say that if they fire any kind of cartridge at present they lay

[1] Heera Singh, Havildar, 5th. Troop. Pursaud Singh, Havildar, 5th. Troop. Golam Nubee Khan, Havildar, 5th Troop. Shaik Golam Mohammed, Naick, 6th Troop. Dilawar Khan, Naick, 6th Troop.

[2] Forrest, *State Papers*, 1857-58, Vol. I, pp. 227-28.

themselves open to the imputation from their comrades and from other regiments of having fired the objectionable ones.[1]

LUCKNOW

To

Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B.,
Lucknow.

Calcutta, April 27th., 1857.

Dear Sir Henry,

The 48th. Regiment, or any other which you may wish to get rid of, may be moved to Meerut. Let the Commander-in-Chief know if you find it necessary to send it away, but do not wait for any further authority. Should you have to dispose of a second it can go to Cawnpore, in the first instance, but I hope this will not be necessary. It is very desirable that our mistrust of particular Regiments should not be made notorious, and the removal of any Corps from Oudh to a place where troops are not wanted would be understood at once. Of course if you have Regiments that are really untrustworthy there must be no delicacy in the matter--but I hope that there are not two of that sort to be sent away. Your account of the Irregulars, upon whom we shall then have to lean more exclusively, does not give me confidence in them, and indeed has been a disappointment to me, for I was under the impression that although taken straight from the King's service, they had shown themselves well satisfied with the change. Is not this the case with the Artillery ? Who, bodily I think volunteered the other day for service in Persia, or elsewhere, at the pleasure of the Government ?

I think that you have done all that could be done in the matter of Rooknood-dowlah -I trust to your keeping me informed of all that passes in regard to the sepoys; for we are very far from being out of the wood yet. The fate of the 34th. ten times more deeply tainted than the 19th. is not yet fixed; but their case will be closed in two or three days. As to the 19th. nothing could be more orderly, respectful and submissive than their demeanour up to the last. The only exception to this was in the case of some of the men from Oudh. Mr. Ward, the Dacoity Commissioner, whom I had occasion to put upon the traces of some of the disbanded men, after they had left Chinsura, told me that the Oudh men were

[1]Forrest: *State Papers*, 1857-58, Vol. I, pp. 228-29. Proceedings on the Court Martial cf. Forrest, *State Papers*, 1852-58, Vol. I, pp. 229-40.

inclined to be sulky and incommunicative sometimes insolent whilst all the rest were quite the reverse.

As yet I have not succeeded in tracing the disaffection of any of the Regiments 2nd. 19th. or 34th. to any political causes or instigations, indeed the evidence is all in another direction, and tends to show that with the mass of the men the Cartridges and the alarm for caste and religion were at the bottom of it. But I am also satisfied that this is not the case with all, and that politics do not go for nothing in the matter. I shall be glad if you can learn whether amongst the men of either of the suspected Regiments in Oudh, or amongst the disbanded men of the 19th. who may return to Oudh, any difference of tone or behaviour is observable as between Hindoos and Mussulmans. In the 34th. there has been a marked distinction in the conduct of the two creeds. In the 19th. none whatever—

As to Irregulars, I look to the time when Oudh shall be held entirely, or very nearly so, by its own Local troops; and if you are disposed to recommend that the force should be increased I shall receive the proposal very favourably. But I should like to reinforce it from outside, as well as from within. How would Sikhs, or Goorkhas do?

I entirely agree in all you say as to the error of stationing Regulars and Irregulars together. Pray act upon your views on that point. I dare say you are right too in the matter of the magazine, but I do not understand the matter quite clearly.

I know how thoroughly I may rely upon your considerate treatment of all native interests. From what Mr. Jackson has told me I was not surprised to see in your letter that some of the Talookdars have been hardly dealt with, many if Mr. Jackson's account was correct, and he did not acquit Mr. Gubbins of the blame, but, in some details which he gave me, fixed it on the Financial Commissioner. I am sure that it will be necessary for you to keep a close watch and a tight hand upon that Officer. He has had, as against his late master, a triumph which it would have been unjust and mischievous to withhold from him; but I have good reason to know that he is overmuch elevated by it.

I am not able to give you much hope of a Revenue Survey Establishment at present. The Province in which beyond all others cries out for help in this way, and has been refused it for a length of time which is a heavy reproach to us, is Nagpore. Besides which will not your Officers in Oudh have their hands too full to take the part which they must take in a Survey? There surely will be little

gained by turning the Survey Establishment into the Country until the Local Officers can cooperate with it. Your estimate of the value of a Survey, as equal to two Regiments is very tempting, but you must convince one that you will be in a condition to make the most of it before the claim will appear a very strong one, and even then Nagpore stands in the way, for preference.

I am very glad to hear that you are so well-pleased with those whom you have about you; send me a really good case in support of assistance to Major Banks and it shall be given temporarily.

I see by your letter to Talbot that you have nine newspapers in Lucknow. Are any of them agitating the 'Cartridge question' or any other matter that comes home to the sepoys and in what sense, and Religious or Political?

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) CANNING.[1]

(COPY)

From

Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B.,
Chief Commissioner for the affairs of Oudh.

To

The Governor General.

Dated, Lucknow, the 2nd. May, 1857.

My dear Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge your Lordship's letter of April 27th. just received and am glad to find that what I wrote of the 48th. Regiment yesterday quite meets your views. I fear to increase alarm and suspicion, and therefore do nothing not absolutely necessary. The Officers of Her Majesty's 32nd. now sleep near their Lines as they ought always to have done. Two Guns of a Native Battery and thirty Horsemen are also in their Lines so that they are a little army in themselves and have the means of communicating with their neighbours.

I have no reason to doubt the fidelity of the Artillery, though much has been done to disgust many of the Native Officers, because they don't understand our mounted drill. All the European Officers are very young men and therefore look to mere smartness—

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th. December, 1857. No. 561. (National Archives, New Delhi).

Lieutenant Asbe a mere boy wants to invalid two Jemadars, both of them fine soldierly-looking fellows who know their duty as Gunners and are good Riders, but don't understand English words of command. One of them is only a trifle above forty years of age and neither of them wish to be invalided. I returned the Roll and after a few days afterwards being struck by the appearance of the men at mounted exercise, I told Mr. Asbe we should be lucky to have such men as Native Officers in our Regular Batteries. His reply was, "I protest Sir, Henry (?) being compared with a Regular one" or words to that effect. Another day I saw the reserve Company of Artillery a splendid set of fellows, in appearance, at extentions and motions. That is, poking about their arms and feet as recruits have to do though the majority are old soldiers and many were in our own ranks. Thus it is that pipeclay and over-drill tends to disgust them. Two hours ago, Captain Carnegie came to tell me that there has been a strong demonstration against cartridges in the 7th. O.I. (*sic*,) this morning. I hope and expect the report he bears is exaggerated, but I tell it for his commentary. He also told of an intended meeting of traitors tomorrow night and asked whether he might put Prisoners taken at such a meeting into Jail, as the Kotwalee is not safe. He gave me however to understand that he considers the Military Police more unsafe than the Irregulars, the former are under their own old Officers (a single one to a Regiment) while the Irregulars are under new and young men now; Captain C. is an old Interpreter and Quarter Master of a Native Corps and had no hint from me of any opinion. Yet I am not sure that he is not right. The Police have had more duty but less pipeclay and bother. The pay is the same.

I have had Rooknood-Dowlah at my house and rather like his appearance, but his sons are not pleasant-looking fellows. These people however can only by possibility be dangerous in connection with our own Troops. I have struck up a friendship with two of the best and wealthiest of the Chiefs and am in good terms with all. We ought therefore to have information of what occurs.

I hope that the 34th. N.I. will be disbanded and that your Lordship will raise a mixed Goorkha and Hill Rajput Corps and a Sikh one for lieu of the 34th. and 19th. Goorkhas are not easily obtained, but seven years ago I got a thousand Volunteers at Kutmandoo in a week to supply one Company of the Guides. I did it through the Resident or rather by his permission through the Medical Officer whom I asked to speak to Jung Bahadoor and remained (*sic*, reminded), him of our old acquaintance.

As far as I have yet ascertained the bad feeling as yet, as chiefly among the Hindoo Sepoys. Doubtless, it is their fear for caste that have been worked in. Major Banks tells me that three years ago when the education stir prevailed in Bihar a Soobadar of the Body Guard seriously consulted him as to the truth of the report that all servants of the state were to be made Christians. Thus the oldest and best Hindoos are easily moved but if bad feeling extended to open mutiny, the Mahommedans would soon become the most energetic and virulent mutineers; I will, as your Lordship directs, watch for difference of feeling between the two creeds.

Whatever may be the danger from the Native Press, I took on it that the Papers published in our language are much the most dangerous. Disaffected Native Editors need only translate as they do, with or without note or words of admiration or exclamation, editorial from *The Friend of India* (on the duty of annexing every native state in the imbecility if not wickedness of allowing a single Jagheer and of preaching the Gospel even by Commanding Officers) to raise alarm and hatred in the minds of all religionists and all connected with Native Principalities and Jagheers, and, among the above, will be found the large majority of the dangerous classes. We measure too much by English Rules and expect, contrary to all experience, that the energetic and aspiring among the immense military masses should like our dead level and our arrogation to ourselves, even where we are notorious imbeciles of all authority and all emolument. These sentiments of mine freely expressed during the last fifteen years have done me injury, but I am not the less convinced of their soundness and that until we treat natives, and especially Native Soldiers, as having much the same feelings, the same ambition, the same perception of ability and imbecility, as ourselves we shall never be safe. I do not advocate altogether disregarding seniority but I do not wonder that Generals, Colonels and Soobadars should only, as a rule, be men past worth who have never, in their youth and energy, been entrusted with power and responsibility. Also, that we should expect the Soobadar and Jemadar to be content with 67 and 24 Rupees a month respectively while in the Civil Department their fellows, ten or twenty years younger, enjoy 500, 600, and even 1,000 Rupees, and while they themselves if under a Native Ruler would be Generals, if not Rajahs or Nawabs. I have not seen original articles in the 'Cartridge question', but almost every letter and article in the English Papers regarding Barrackpore, Umballa, Meerut, Berhampore and Dinapore have been translated. The original articles chiefly refer to local grievances and personalities. The politics of the Editor are to be chiefly gathered from putting

exclamations &c. heading an article as how good and wonderful mutiny at & c. "more fines" with plentiful supply of the word "mutiny", "disobedience", "disturbances". I would not trouble any of them but with your Lordship's permission, I think we might squash half of the number by helping one or two of the cleverest with information and even with editorials and illustrations. Dr. Ogilive tells me that more than one of the English Illustrated Papers, would, for a good purpose, sell cheap, their half-worn plates, an Illustrated Vernacular Paper cleverly edited would tell well and do good politically and morally. I will be glad of your Lordship's sanction to a trial, not involving about 5,000 Rupees or £500—of course I would not appear and I would use the present Editors, at any rate try to do so.

I shall be quite willing to hold out entirely with Irregulars aided by one of 1 or ½ Regiments of Europeans and a couple of Batteries of European Artillery, but I should ask as your Lordship contemplates, that the Corps be of three classes, one and third mixed as at present, one third with the Patan and other Mohammedan tribes prevailing and a third of Sikhs, indeed I should like to add a fourth of the Pasce or local out-caste tribe who are fine hardy fellows and get service in the Bombay Army. I should like to have a Corps of Regular Cavalry but I would not stand upon that especially if your Lordship will give a Corps of Guides for Oudh. The Infantry of the Guide Corps though only six Companies do and have always done the work of a full Corps and the three Troops of Cavalry have similarly done the duty of double their number, no one cognizant of the Punjab for the last eleven years will controvert any assertion. It was I who suggested raising the Guides in 1840 and induced Lord Dalhousie to treble them in 1849 and I am convinced that if your Lordship will allow 50 or 100 men to be transferred as a nucleus from the old Corps that another, second to none in India, may be raised here, by procuring Recruits from all quarters. The one Rupee increased pay, which after all is almost nominal as no marching *batta* is given entices the hardiest soldiers into the ranks. Similarly the four Rupees extra to Sowars and proportionately to Native Officers provides better Horses and obtains the best class of Sowars.

I hope the Oudh and Rajpootana and Gwalior Irregulars will be put exactly on a footing with those of the Punjab. Your Lordship will then be able to move and mix all. The increased expenses will be more than covered by reducing the regular N.I. from 1,000 to 800 Sepoys, which in the opinion of their best Officers will render them more efficient, and safe.

Brigadier Grey expects, and seems to wish, to get a regular Brigade by the end of the year, and I hear of many men in the field to succeed him. The efficiency of the Force will much depend on its Brigadier. I beg to recommend to your Lordship Major Coke of the Punjab Irregulars and Major Lieutenant Colonel I believe now Anderson of the Jodhpore Region. Both are excellent Officers and either would do credit to your Lordship's selection.

I have &c.
(Sd.) H. M. LAWRENCE.

The Right Hon'ble
Viscount Canning,
&c. &c.

P.S.

I need not say that if not otherwise provided for I would prefer Colonel Nicholson to either, but I hope he will get Bhurtpoor. I am sure your Lordship will excuse the freedom with which I recommend these excellent Officers.[1]

(Sd.) H. M. L.[1]

(COPY)

Telegraphic Message:

From
The Private Secretary to Governor General.

To
The Quarter-Master General, Simla.

Dated, 2nd. May, 1857.

It may be necessary to move off the Native Infantry Regiments away from Oudh immediately. The Governor General has authorized the Chief Commissioner to send it to Meerut.

Let Sir Henry Lawrence be informed if any other station is preferred by the Commander-in-Chief.

(Sd.) G. C. TALBOT.[2]

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th. December, 1857. No. 564. (National Archives, New Delhi.)
[2]Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th. December, 1857. No. 563. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

(COPY)

From

Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B.

To

The Right Honorable The Governor General.

Dated 3rd., Lucknow, 4 p.m.

My dear Lord,

I am sorry that the report I mentioned in my letter of yesterday is too true. The 7th. O.C. positively refuse to use the Cartridges; I enclose a note of yesterday evening from the Brigadier and I have now been for several hours investigating the circumstances of a letter sent from the 7th. to the 48th. saying they had asked for the faith and awaited the 48th. orders. It was taken to an old Soobadar (by mistake I think) and the old gentleman with the Havildar Major took it to the Commanding Officer. The messenger affected perfect ignorance at first but I have extracted from him that he has known the 7th. for years. He has given up the names of two of the men who gave the letter to him. I have sent to have them seized. I may probably feel obliged to take on myself the responsibility of disbanding the 7th. whatever is done shall be with caution.

I have &c.

(Sd.) H. M. LAWRENCE.

To

The Right Honorable Viscount Canning,

&c. &c. &c.

It is so far well that the 48th have given up the letter which is addressed to them all, several of them have also to-day borne evidence against a Hindoo Plate cleaner of the Hospital who has been telling them lies. Colonel Palmer has great confidence in the 48th.

My dear Sir Henry,

After Hayes left me this evening with Lieutenant Watson's cursory report, I set off to the Lines of the 7th. and saw the Regiment paraded and notwithstanding all that was said to the Regiment, I found them as obstinate as possible in regard to the Cartridges

which has (*sic*,) been in use with the Regiment for some time past. I hope on Monday next to send you Lieutenant Watson's report and I think myself that this affair has been brewing for some time past.

Yours &c.

2nd., 8 p.m. (Sd.) I. GREY.

I have only just returned or would have written sooner.[1]

(COPY)

From

Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B.

To

The Right Honorable The Governor General.

Dated, Lucknow, 4th. May, 1857.

My dear Lord,

Referring to what has occurred with the 7th. O.I. and to the feeling that still prevails against the 48th. I will be glad if it can be managed that one of the Sikh Regiments can be sent up here at once, or even a Wing. It might be on the plea of taking the place of the 7th. The Camp is stated to have had great effect in the City, but people go so far as to tell me that the 48th. last night abused the seventh for turning away and said if they had stood the 48th. would not have fired. I don't believe one quarter of these reports, but they are not pleasant. The intercepted letter of yesterday evidently fell into the wrong hands. It ends with it as a question of religion".

I have &c.

(Sd.) H. M. LAWRENCE.

To

The Right Honorable Viscount Canning,
Governor General of India.[2]

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th. December, 1857. No. 565. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

[2]Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th. December, 1857. No. 567. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

Telegraphic Message: (COPY)

From

Major

To

Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., Lucknow.

May 8th., 1857.

Your letters of the 2nd. and 3rd of May have been received. Do not disband without referring to Calcutta.[1]

Sepoys Refused to take medicine contained in polluted bottle early in April 1857:

Early in April an occurrence took place, which showed sufficiently the jealousy which then existed in the minds of the native soldiery on the subject of their caste and religion. One of the three regiments stationed at the capital was the 48th. N.I. ..... It was now commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Palmer. Dr. Wells, the surgeon of the regiment, having occasion to visit the medicine store of the hospital, and feeling at the time indisposed, incautiously applied to his mouth a bottle taken from the hospital medicines containing a carminative. This act was in contravention of the rules of Hindoo caste. No high-caste Hindoo could afterwards have partaken of the medicine contained in the polluted bottle. The native apothecary, who attended Dr. Wells, was unfortunately on bad terms with him, and informed the sepoys in hospital of what had been done. The consequence was an outcry among them, and a refusal to touch any of the medicines prescribed for them.[2]

AZAMGARH

17th. Regiment conspires and revolts:

The 17th. Regiment was quartered at Delhi in 1853, 1854; and whilst there, I understand, the Native Officers used to visit the Palace and present offerings to the King. The Regiment marched thence to Lucknow in 1854-55; and on the annexation of Oudh the 17th., 19th. and 34th. Regiments, all at Lucknow, offered their services to the King of Oudh. This I heard of after the Mutiny of the 17th. Regiment or the 3rd. of June 1857. In July 1856 the 17th. Regiment marched to Cawnpore and remained there till the 1st. October, 1856, when it marched under my

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th. December, 1857. No. 566. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

[2]Gubbins, M. R., *Mutinies in Oudh*, pp. 3-4 cf. *Sihr-i-Samri*, Lucknow, Urdu Newspaper, April 1857.

command to Gorruckpoor (via. Allahabad, Benares and Azimgurh). On the 12th. of February, 1857 the Regiment marched back to Azimgurh and there commenced the building of New Lines, Gorruckpoor having been given up as the head quarters of a Regiment on account of its unhealthiness. In the month of December whilst the 17th. Regiment was at Gorruckpoor nearly every man was in Hospital with fever; there were however very few casualties, but the men were greatly depressed. Observing this in my daily visits to the Hospital I took steps to facilitate their obtaining leave on Medical Certificate. They quickly recovered after arriving at Azimgurh on the 18th. February, 1857; and as it was then late in the season for building I adopted every means available to expedite the work and facilitate the obtaining of material. Finding the work delayed, chiefly on the plea of difficulty in procuring material, I applied to the Magistrate and Collector, Mr. C. Horne, who at once gave all the influence of his situation towards hastening its progress; and even obtained from the Commissioner a grant of public money for this purpose. Whilst the ground was being marked out by the Executive Engineer, Lieutenant Watson, I appointed a committee, consisting of Subadar Bhoondoo Singh, senior Native Officer of the Regiment and two other Native Officers, the next senior to him, of those present, to superintend the building of the Lines and added a sub-committee of Pay-Havildars to keep the accounts;giving each a separate duty, I also caused each of the eight companies present (two companies were left at Gorruckpoor on duty) to elect two of the elder sepoys to act as Overseers and look after the work people and material, those sepoys and the Pay- Havildars being all under the Committee of Native Officers. The Quarter-Master Lieutenant Hutchinson had charge of the Halting Money and superintended the whole. The contracts both for labour and materials were made by the two committees assisted by the Regimental Moonshee, and received my approval; and cash was advanced as requested by the Native Officer's Committee, under my sanction. Juggernath (Jagannath) Tewarry was one of the Pay-Havildars on the sub-committee. Bheekum Singh Pay-Havildar (now at Sultanpoor-Benares with the remnants of the 17th., 37th. and 50th. Regiments under Colonel Hampton) was I think another member of the sub-committe and more reliance may be placed on his evidence than that of Juggernath Tewarry. The name of 3rd. member of the sub-committee I am at present unable to call to mind. Neither do I recollect the names of the sepoys employed in this work. Subadar Davee Deen was a member of the senior committee, the name of the 3rd. member of this committee I do not recollect. In April it appeared

to me, in addition to the slowness of the work, that the work done and the materials on the ground were not in adequate proportion to the money which had then been advanced and I therefore spoke to Subadar Bhoondoo Singh on the subject. He had taken a very prominent part in all the arrangements, but was unable to account for this disproportion to my satisfaction. He at one time said that money had been advanced for large quantity of materials which had not then been brought into Cantonment, and at another time, when asked why the materials purchased had been brought in, he said there was very great difficulty in obtaining materials, and that the country people would not sell them. It was at this time that I sought the aid of the Magistrate and Collector in procuring materials, as the Subadar, to clear up the discrepancy in his statements, told me that contracts for materials had been agreed to and money paid, but that the country people would not abide by their agreements. When I spoke to the Pay-Havildars on this subject I learnt that some of the sepoys were dissatisfied at the large expenditure on the new Lines and I consequently mentioned this to Mr. Horne, Magistrate and Collector, who, in the second week in May 1857, and as I understood, under authority from the Commissioner, Mr. Tucker, took the work entirely into his own hands, furnishing funds and providing materials and work people. I do not recollect if the accounts of expenditure were then handed over to Mr. Horne by the Pay-Havildars' Committee.

In April 1857, or about that time, Captain I.S.D. Sulloct, 17th. N.I. who was in charge of the party (a Subadar, a Havildar and four sepoys)sent from the Regiment to the Presidency Musketry Depot, wrote me that Subadar Bholah Opudiah (Upadhya), a high caste Brahmin, stepped forward on the Depot Parade and said he was ready to use the new Rifle-Cartridge and do whatever was required with it. As this was done so publicly, at a time when there was great hesitation in touching the New-Cartridges and some sepoys at the Depot had already declined to touch them, I brought the subject to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief, and on this account and also on the score of his high character and qualifications, recommended Bholah Opudiah (second Subadar of the Regiment) for the Subadar Majorship, which had been vacant for many months before the command devolved on me and he was promoted in Government orders. To prevent ill-feeling on the part of Subadar Bhoondoo Singh I spoke to him twice on the subject, first when the recommendation was given and again when the promotion appeared in Government orders reminding him that the pay of Subadar Major is Rupees 25, whilst that of Bahardur (*sic*,) and Sirdar Bahardur (*sic*,) is Rs. 30 and Rs. 60 and that as I had

recommended Bholah Opudiah for the former so I would recommend him for the order of British India if he gave me satisfaction in superintending the building of the New-Lines, *exerted himself in helping to maintain good order in the Regiment, and kept me well informed of all that went on amongst the men. On both occasions he* seemed pleased and promised to do all I desired; *but he never gave me even the slightest information respecting what was going on in the Regiment.* On the contrary he led the Regiment in the Mutiny and marched at its head in the night of the 3rd. of June, 1857, when it opened the Jail, for the prisoners to escape, broke open and plundered the Collector's Treasury of (70,000) seventy thousand Rupees, as it proceeded in pursuit of the escort which left Azimgurh at sunset that afternoon in charge of 7 Lacs of Rupees for Benares. This escort was overtaken and its treasure captured by the Mutineers. Lieutenant Hutchinson, the interpreter and Q. (Quarter) Master of the 17th. Regiment N.I. was shot under the porch of the Collector's Treasury Office, it is said by Ramtaul or Ramtahul, sepoy of the first Company and Madhoo Ram, sepoy of the Light Company 17th. Regiment N.I.—the former a son of Bhoondoo's and the latter either married or engaged to Bhoondoo Subadar's daughter. For further information regarding the revolt of the 17th. Regiment N.I., I beg to refer to my letter No. 91 of the 29th. of August, 1859 to your address; and I would here add that when the ladies, children, civilians and officers there on duty, left the Civil Lines to proceed to Ghazeepoor, they were urged by the sepoys who had remained with them to escape without delay that they might not fall into the hands of the Mutineers on the latter's return with the seven Lacs of Treasure. These loyal sepoys helped the ladies and children to the top of the Treasury office when the Regiment revolted and helped them down again when the Regiment marched out of the station, and got conveyances (Bhuggies and carriages) ready for their escape and were so urgent for their departure that they would not permit the ladies to go into the Houses they had lately resided in to get clothes either for themselves or children. They were kept out of these houses by armed men. When I reached the Civil Lines one man (a Naick named Mohun Singh) only was found there, and he was sitting crying at the Treasury door.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) F. W. Buwoughs, Lt. Colonel,
Commanding 17th. Regiment, N.I. on 3rd. June, 1857.

P.S.

The men who accompanied me to Ghazeepoor in the night of the 3rd. June, 1857 are Naick Bheekum Singh (now a Havildar in the 32nd. N.I. at Dorounda) Pay-Havildar of the 8th. Coy. 17th. N.I. Ram Narain Singh now a Naick with the Details 17th., 37th. and 50th. Regiment under command of Colonel Hampton at Sultanpoor-Benares, Munghey Dooby (Dube) and Bhageeruttee Pandy, both of whom took their discharge in June or July 1858. The former's home is in the Zillah of Futtehpoor and the latter's in that of Chupprah. The Magistrates of these Zillahs will be able to produce these men. All these men are trust-worthy and Bhageeruttee Pandy and Ram Narain Singh rendered valuable service to the Civil Officers of their district in the last half of the year 1857. Mr. Horne, the Collector and Magistrate of Azimgurh promised Bheekum Singh 1,000 Rupees and the three sepoys 500 Rupees each; but Bheekum Singh received 500 Rupees only and the three sepoys the same sum each. Sewgolam Singh, sepoy, now under Lieutenant Colonel I. H. Hampton's command at Sultanpoor, can also afford information, but I cannot say that I think him trustworthy....

Replies to the four questions in your letter, under acknowledgement, are hereto annexed; and I have to express my regret that I have not been able to afford you this information as early as I desired to do.

(Sd.) F. W. Buwoughs, Lt. Col.

Answers to four questions in Letter No. 617 of the 23rd. January, 1860 from Captain I. H. Chamberlain, Assistant Superintendent for the investigation of Mutineer Massacre cases—addressed to Lieutenant Colonel Buwoughs late in Command 17th. Regiment N. I.

1. Was any report ever made to you by any officer—European or Native or by the Havildar Major Bindahdeen shewing that Bhoondoo Singh was either actually or by suspicion exercising an evil influence on the men of the Regiment at the Headquarters?

Answer.—No report of this kind was ever made to me by any one. Bhoondoo Singh's character, which I well knew, from having been 12 years Adjutant of the Regiment, gave rise to suspicions in my mind. But the only information I received was that some of the sepoys were dissatisfied at the expense incurred for the New Lines. Byjnath Singh, Pay-Havildar of the 1st. Company was the first

person to give me even this information; after he had given it Juggernath Tewarry, Pay-Havildar of the 5th. Company also gave it; but I believe he knew that Byjnath had already given it. I mixed freely with the men (of all grades) of the 17th. Regiment, and they had access to me at all times, as my object was to afford every man opportunity to give information. I had followed this course when I was Adjutant, and then had a thorough system of espionage in the Regiment, which (as an instance) enabled me to have a sepoy seized by the Magistrate at Allygurh with 1,500, out of 2,000 Rs., which he had stolen from the Treasury at Lodiana where the Regiment was quartered in 1838. My spies were unknown to the Regiment and even to each other; but none of them were left in the Regiment when the Command.....
In the early months of 1857 I was desirous of quietly obtaining by espionage information of what was going on amongst the men of the Regiment; but found no one willing or possessing sufficient courage to afford me any information until the Regiment had mutinied. And this, with other circumstances, led me to believe that the plot, for revolt, was not recent, although probably known to a select few only in each Regiment.

2. Do you remember any disturbance occurring, some time previous to the outbreak, in which the Pay-Havildars of the Regiment and Juggernath Tewarry in particular were the complainants arising from the accusation that Bhoondoo Singh was causing unnecessary expenditure in the preparation of the New Lines?

Answer.—No disturbance of the kind occurred. A report was made to me, as above stated, of some of the sepoys being dissatisfied at the expense incurred for the New Lines; but I was led to believe that this was partial and amongst a few of the old sepoys only. I had myself previously noticed the disproportion between the work done and the materials on the ground, and the amount of money advanced; and the information about this dissatisfaction was only elicited on my repeating the enquiries which I had previously made on this subject. Had any one made such an accusation against the Subadar Bhoondoo Singh I should at once have removed him from all control or interference with the work. ..... to the extent of discharging him from the service had it appeared that his proceedings..... in the Regiment in view. In a demi-official note to the Secretary to Government, Military Department, I mentioned that I would discharge any Native, of the Regiment, whom I might find so ill-disposed towards Government, instead of trying him by an European Court Martial and trusted to being absolved from blame for so doing.

Qs. 3 and 4. Is the statement of Bhoondoo Singh that Juggernath Tewarry, Havildar had been influenced enough to cause his being passed over for the rank of Subadar Major worthy of credit &c.?

Answer.—There were few, if any, men in the 17th. Regiment N.I. so sharp, shrewd and intelligent as Havildar Juggernath Tewarry. I therefore gave him frequent opportunities of coming to or speaking to me, in the hope that I might elicit from him some hint or information as to anything that might be going on in the Regiment. On one occasion I asked him about the objections made to the Enfield Rifle. When he said "Are there not many Rifle Companies in the service and is it not an object with every smart sepoy in the Regiment having them, to get into Rifle Company?" I replied "possibly, but we have no such Company in the 17th. Regiment". He said, "I know that it is so as they use greased patches prepared in magazines; we do not know what that grease is made of; but did you ever hear any sepoy objecting to it?" I replied, "Then why is this objection made now?" He replied, "from villainy". and there he stopped short, not one word of information would he give. On the contrary, he said there was nothing going on in the 17th. Regiment and that the men of the Regiment were quiet and well-disposed; and this he repeated even on the day of the Mutiny. I had recently promoted Juggernath Tewarry to Havildar,.....with me. He appeared to me to know much of the then state of feeling in the Native Army and to be determined not to impart his knowledge to me. His conduct was not therefore above suspicion and I did not deem him deserving of full credence. He did not keep me informed of the designs of Subadar Bhoondoo Singh and the party whose influence carried the day to cause the Regiment to revolt; nor am I aware that he kept other officers informed of these designs, as they certainly never came to my knowledge, although this was the information that I used every means in my power to obtain. Close secrecy was the characteristic of all natives in the Regiment, Juggernath Tewarry included, with regard to the designs of those who were inimical to Government. There may have been enmity between Bhoondoo Singh and Juggernath Tewarry; but the latter had nothing whatever to do with the former's being passed over by Subadar Bholah Opudiah, whom I recommended for advancement to the rank of Subadar-Major wholly on account of his having stepped forward on the parade of the Presidency Musketry Depot and publicly and voluntarily offered to use the new Rifles' cartridge and do whatever was required with it at a time when there was great hesitation in touching these cartridges and some sepoys at the Depot had already declined to touch them.

This act was brought to my notice by Captain I. S. D. Fulloch of the 17th. Regiment who was in charge of the party from his Regiment then at the Depot for instruction. This example set by a Brahmin of the highest caste at such a time, a Native Officer of high character and very superior military qualifications, and who was then the second Subadar of the Regiment seemed to me to deserve a public recognition and I therefore recommended the advancement which was.....

(Sd.)
Late 17th. Regiment N.I.[1]

THE INDIAN SOLDIERY

" THE MUTINIES—*Months before* a single cartridge was greased with beef-swet or hogslard, we endeavoured to draw public attention to the unsatisfactory state of feeling in the sepoy army. We are now in the midst of an epidemic mutiny. The spirit of disaffection has worked its way into the heads of the sepoys until not a regiment in the service can be trusted. At the present stage of its progress, any conjectures concerning the turn affairs are likely to take, can no longer be deemed premature and mischievous. The worst or nearly the worst has come out, and there is no want of distinctness or prominence in the symptoms which have already appeared to warn us against the existence of a powder mine in the ranks of the native soldiery that wants but the slightest spark to set in motion gigantic elements of destruction.

" The Indian army has a discipline peculiarly its own..... The men who constitute the armed strength of the British Indian Empire, *are sprung from a race endowed with a traditional repute for chivalry.* It is not here as in European countries that the *very dregs of the population only are enlisted into the ranks*..... Without the utmost provocations to insubordination the sepoy scarcely ever raises his hand against his superior. It is not in his constitution to do so. The precepts of his religion forbid his perpetrating such a deed. Soldiering is a respectable profession, and

[1]Memorandum No. 133 from F. W. Buwoughs, Lieutenant Colonel Commanding 17th. Regiment Native Infantry to Captain J. H. Chamberlain, Assistant Government Superintendent for Suppression of Dacoities etc., Lucknow was filed with the papers of Bhoondoo Singh's trial. Mutiny Basta No. 7, Lucknow Collectorate.

to forfeit one's footing in it is a misfortune vested by the condemnation of society....."[1]

Dismissed Jemadar presented with a purse:

"*The Hurkaru* states that the Jemadar of the 70th. N.I. who was dismissed the other day for inciting his men to mutiny has been presented by the sepoys with a subscription purse of 400 Rs."[2]

"The natives do not seem to resent or apprehend the results of individual conversion, nor to object, as far as we understand, to the probable influences of general education. Their alarms appear to have reference to the Government alone-to its news, its decisions and its designs..... Under ordinary circumstances these apprehensions lie dormant and produce little or no effect, but at intervals they burst forth in paroxysms of terror, and then the smallest incident is magnified into a warrant for alarm and violence....."[3]

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, April 2, 1857, p. 107. According to the paper, "the practice of removing every experienced or promising officer to the civil department of Government, in manifest violation of good policy, has denuded native regiments of their best officers. and this has led to the staffing of regiments by unfit or unwilling officers".

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, May 21, 1857, p. 162.

[3] *Ibid.*, June 18, 1857. Reproduced from *Times*, London. under the Caption—The Mutinies, p. 199.

Cf. William Muir, "*Records of Intelligence Deptt.*, Vol. III, pp. 367-79. 'Memorandum drawn up at the request of the Governor General, of enquiries into the alleged dishonour of European females at the time of the Mutinies, submitted, 30th. December, 1857.

THE CONSPIRACY

CHAPTER SIX

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SOLDIERS

WIDE-SPREAD CONSPIRACY

CONSPIRATORS: NANA AND MAULWI

INCENDIARIES

CHAPATIES

THE BONE-DUST STORY

FAQIRS

UNTRUSTWORTHY—WHO?

PRE-MATURE UPRISING

SEPOYS DIVULGE PLAN

INDIAN PRESS FANS NATIONALISM

Action against Seetul Misser (Misr) and Gokul Misser:

40. On the 20th. May I took leave of the Chief Commissioner at Pindee, and reached Peshawur again at noon on 21st. The aspect of things was gloomy to a degree. The military and civil authorities were not decided as to the temper of the native garrison. The most rancorous and seditious letters had been intercepted from Mahommedan bigots, in Patna and Thaneysur, to Naick Kurreemoollah and other soldiers of the 64th. Native Infantry, revelling in the atrocities that had been committed in Hindoostan on the men, women, and children of the " Nazarenes ", and sending them messages from their own mothers that they should emulate these deeds, and, if they fell in the attempt, they would at least go to heaven, and their deaths, in such a case, should be pleasant news at home.[1] These letters alluded to a long series of correspondence that had been going on, through these men of the 64th. Native Infantry, with the Hindoostanee fanatics in Swat and Sitana, mentioned in paragraph 8 of his letter.

41. The conduct of the 64th. Native Infantry as a regiment (while containing these desperate traitors in its ranks) was at this juncture very peculiar. On the 18th. May the 51st. Native Infantry in Peshawur despatched by the hand of a Brahmin[2] to the 64th. Regiment Native Infantry, and Kelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment, at Shubkudder (*sic,*), the following letter:—" *This letter is sent from the Peshawur cantonment, to the whole Heriot Regiment, to all the whole Heriot Regiment (sic,). May it reach the Soobadar Bahadoor*". The letter then opens with some Indian apostrophes, and proceeds:—"*For the rest, this letter is written to convey from the whole camp at Peshawur obeisance*" (to Brahmins) " *and benediction*" (from Brahmins) " *and salutation and service*" (from Mussulman to Mussulman) " to the whole regiment of Heriot and Kelat-i-Ghilzie. Further, the state of affairs here is thus; that on the 22nd. day of the month the cartridges will be given to the Doobarun Regiment. So do whatever seems to you proper. Again (i.e. it is repeated), the cartridge will have to be beaten (*sic,*) on the 22nd. instant. Of this you are hereby informed. On reading this letter, whatever your opinion is, so reply; for considering you as our own, we have let you know before hand. Therefore do as you think right. This is addressed to you by the whole Regiment. O brother ! the religion

[1]Kurreemoollah was ultimately tried by a Commission and hanged.
[2]This man Seetul Misser was subsequently tried and hanged. Gokul Misser was blown from a gun.

of Hindoos and Mahommedans is all one—Therefore all you soldiers should know this. Here all the sepoys are at the binding of the Jemadar, Soobadar Major, and Havildar Major. All are discontented with this business, whether small or great. What more need be written? Do as you think best. High and low send their obeisance, benediction, salutation, and service". (Postscript by another hand):—"The above is the state of affairs here. In whatever way you can manage it, come in to Peshawur on the 21st. instant. Thoroughly understand that point. In fact, eat there, and drink here." This letter reached Fort Shubkudder (*sic*,) about sunset of the 18th. May, and was given by a messenger to a sepoy of the 64th. Native Infantry. The existence in its ranks of such men as the Naik Sheik Kurreemoollah, carrying on treasonable correspondence, and the very confidence with which the 51st. Native Infantry addressed this letter to the 64th., leaves little doubt that the Corps was in a disaffected state; and it would have been natural to expect that the men of the Corps should deliberate on this letter, and if not act on it, at all events keep it secret; but they gave it up to their officers, and thus furnished to Brigadier Cotton invaluable proof of what was going on. Why did they do this? I wish I could suppose it was because they were innocent; but I can only conclude that,being broken up into three detachments, at a distance from Peshawur, and it thus being impossible to collect and act together without the co-operation of the Kelat-i-Ghilzie Regiment which was similarly placed in the same outposts, and having ascertained that the Kilatees were not prepared to co-operate they made the only use of the letter that was left,and gave it up to gain a name of loyalty for themselves.

42. The letter is a most valuable historic document; for it is the genuine confidence of one sepoy regiment to another on the question of the mutiny. It proves beyond a doubt that whatever moved the Mahommedans, the Hindoos were moved by the cartridges; and it is lamentably characteristic of the conservative barbarism of India that a common piece of civilisation—an improved Rifle—has convulsed the Empire, and called up 1,50,000 Asiatics to affirm, by force of arms, that spirit can be defiled by matter, and religion converted in the stomach.

43. On the following day (19th. May), Mr. Wakefield, Extra-Assistant Commissioner at Peshawur, saw a fakeer sitting under a tree near his house; arrested him, searched him, and found nothing but a bag with 46 new Rupeees in it, which the fakeer said he had just got by begging in the lines of the 24th. Native Infantry. A strong suspicion had, however, possessed Mr.

Wakefield's mind, and he searched the man a second time, when a small bag, or " housewife ", was detected in the hollow of his armpit, of which the ostensible purpose was to carry antimony for the eyes, but on careful examination it was found to contain small Persian note, of which the following is a translation:— *My beloved Moollah! Salam, salutation to you. After salutation and good wishes, this is the point, that instantly on receiving this, on the second day of the festival of the Eed, you must —yes, must—come here; and, if it be easy, bring a few pounds of fruit with you. Now is the time; admit no fear into your heart; such an opportunity will not again occur. Set out, I enjoin you* ".

(Sd.) " Fakeer Moollah, Naireem. (*sic*,)

The names of the writer and of the addressee were probably false names, adopted to secret correspondence. The fakeer declared that the paper was old one which he had picked up accidentally a long while ago and kept to wrap up snuff. But there was no sign of either age of snuff in it, and the festival of " Eed " alluded to, was to fall on the 25th. and 26th. instant; and already the rumour was abroad, that on that religious occasion, the Mahommedans of the city and valley were to rise and help the sepoys. The fakeer admitted that he was a frequenter of the sepoy lines; and though sepoys do give cowries and pice to beggars freely enough, they do not give 46 bright new Rupees for nothing, neither do fakeers conceal to the last, under their armpit, a housewife with nothing in it but antimony and snuff. There was no doubt, therefore, in Colonel Nicholson's mind that this letter was from Mahommedan conspirators in the garrison to Mahommedan conspirators at the outposts, inviting them to come in with a few English Officers' head, and join in a rising on the 26th. May.

44. Warned by these discoveries, and by secret information from both the city and cantonment, Colonel Nicholson had endeavoured to raise levies through the most promising of the chiefs of the district, to help the European soldiers in the struggle that was coming. But the time had passed, a great danger impended over the cantonment; a profound sensation had been made by the startling fact that we had lost Delhi. Men remembered Cabul. Not 100 could be found to join such a desperate cause.[1]

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*—Mutiny in the Punjab in 1857, pp. 61-62.

WIDE-SPREAD CONSPIRACY

Conspiracy at Barrackpore:

The Englishman reports that the sepoys of Barrackpore are writing to the North West to urge their comrades to protest against new cartridges.[1]

" ..... Nocturnal meetings are said..... we know not with what truth..... to have been held, and all kinds of wild dreams are reported to have been discussed, the officers were to be put to death, the Fort seized, the Treasury plundered, and the men then to disperse.[2].....

" The Government instantly directed an enquiry, and found *that the mutton fat ordered, had really been exchanged by the contractor for bullock's fat.* I did not signify a jot, as the end to be greased is not the end to be bitten off, but it is never expedient to quarrel on a caste question. The fat was abolished, and the men allowed to purchase *ghee* in the bazar for themselves.

" This quieted many, but the remainder got a new cortoche (cartridge). They said *the paper itself was shiny*[3] and when burnt, gave out a smell of animal fat"..... The paper is made in England, *and it is possible* though improbable that animal size (?) is employed.[4]

Conspiracy at Madras:

" Some Mussulmans in Madras are building a circus. The natives believe that it is intended to destroy Lord Haruis and the Government of Madras. The Governor is to be invited with every appearance of respect to attend the circus, under which a large quantity of gunpowder will be buried. The officials are then to be blown up. The Athenaeum seems to give some evidence to the story.[5]

Anti-Missionary Feelings at Bombay:

The Missionaries of the town of Bombay hold weekly centronaries with one Brumection Bawa. A correspondent of *the*

[1] Reproduced in *The Friend of India,* February 5, 1857, p. 128 from *The Englishman.* (Calcutta).

[2] & [4] *Ibid.,* p. 171.

[3] *The Disturbance at Berhampore:*

" ..... The order to use fat has been cancelled, and the men allowed money to purchase the necessary quantity of ghee. The use of the 'shiny' paper has been suspended till an investigation can be made".....*Ibid.,* p.243.

[5] Weekly Epitome of News: Monday, April 13, 1857. *The Friend of India,* April 16, 1857, p. 367.

Bombay Times states, that after the discussion on their way home, the Missionaries suffer the grossest abuse and are pelted with stones. What are the police peons of Bombay doing at such a time?[1]

ASSAM

Ferment in Assam soldiery:

108. There is much reason to fear the extension of the revolt to Assam, as another result of the unfortunate disaffection of the Dinapore Brigade.

109. Many of the men of the 1st Assam Light Infantry , are from the Arrah district, and closely related to the mutineers, of the 40th. Native Infantry. Some of them are from the estates of Koer Singh, and an uneasy spirit has lately been perceived to prevail among them. From information collected from independent quarters the men of the regiment above mentioned appear to have been in communication with the Jorehat Rajah Saring Kunder Pessawar Singh, and to have offered to retake the Province and hold it for him pending the receipt of final instructions, it is believed, from Delhi.

110. The proceedings of the Rajah himself were of a suspicious character and his Dewan (Agent) in Calcutta was known to be a disaffected troublesome character, and to have indulged in treasonable correspondence.

111. A religious mendicant was travelling in Assam, and as rebellious projects seem to have been generally propogated by such agency, it was not improbable that his mission to that province was of a hostile nature.

112. The 2nd. Assam Light Infantry contained fewer Hindoostanees, but as these men exercised considerable influence over their more simple-minded comrades, no reliance could be placed on the regiment.

113. The artillery companies at Debrooghur were composed entirely of Hindoostanees and although they were believed to be much attached to their Commandant Captain Reid, recent events have shown that this is a much slighter bond of union and fidelity than the insane fanaticism which regulates the proceeding of these misguided men in Mutiny.

114. Some of the neighbouring tribes were known to be disaffected and to be ready to take advantage of any difficulties that might occur.

[1] *The Friend of India,* April 30, 1857, page 413.

115. The plan of revolt, as far as it could be ascertained, was of the now familiar stereotyped character, commencing with the cold blooded massacre of all Christians and ending in pillage and rapine. The time selected was the approaching Doorgah Poojoh vacation.

116. From these combined causes of uneasiness it is manifest that the province is in considerable peril, and an European force of seamen, trained as gunners, under the command of a naval officer, has been sent up by steamer to Debrooghur, to be disposed off as the local authorities may think most advisable.

117. The Dewan of the Rajah was arrested in Calcutta and lodged in the Jail at Allypore.

118. Previous to the discovery of the unquiet state of the native soldiery in Assam, narrated above Colonel Jenkins had pointed out the delay and difficulty that would occur in sending any portion of the force at his disposal to Rungpore for the protection of the Eastern Frontier. The manifest inutility of such a proceeding was now obvious.

119. The utmost care was taken to despatch the force to Assam with the secrecy necessary to prevent its destination being known; but it is feared that this intention has been frustrated by the ill-judged publication of the departure of the steamer, and notification of its objects, by the Calcutta papers. It is hoped that this injudicious proceeding may not be attended with the serious results that would ensue from a revolt in the province in its present unprotected state. Such an untoward contingency was feared by the officers in Assam, who pointed out the urgent necessity of extreme care being observed in preventing the promulgation of the transmission, before its arrival, of any European force that might be sent, lest the knowledge of the approach of aid should cause a premature explosion of expected revolt.[1]

BIHAR

Conspiracy in Bihar:

41. Peer Ali, the principal in the riot, and the man who shot Dr. Lyell,[2] was temporarily reprieved by the Commissioner,

[1] *Parliamentary Papers: Further Papers (No. 5) relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies*, pp. 65-65, paras 108-119. Narrative of events dated 9th. September 1857, furnished by the Government of Bengal for the week-ending on 29th. August, 1857. No. 5, Inclosure No. 5.

[2] Dr. Lyell, the principal agent assistant to the opium agent was killed on the night of the 3rd. July, 1857 in the premises of the Roman Catholic Mission at Patna City.

in the hope of obtaining additional information from him, but he was defiant to the last, and, as nothing could be elicited from him, he was also hanged. In character, appearance, and manners, he was described by the Commissioner as a brutal but brave fanatic. His correspondence proved him, to have been in communication with Mussee-ool-Zaman (Masih-Uz-Zaman) of Cawnpore, ever since the annexation of Oudh, and showed that a secret conspiracy had existed for some time in Patna, carried on under instructions from the North-West, for some great ulterior purpose.[1]

During the period between the 11th. and 18th. July, peace and order prevailed throughout the Lower Provinces, alarm and excitement having diminished in some, and altogether disappeared in other districts.

2. Patna Division.—The Patna Division still continued to afford the most anxiety, although no actual fresh acts of revolt occurred in it.

4. The rebels, variously estimated at from 80 to 200 persons, assembled at the house of a Mahommedan bookseller, named Peer Ali Khan[2], and thence proceeded to the Roman Catholic Church with two large flags, a drum beating, and cries of Ali! Ali!

5. The priest, whom they probably intended to murder, fortunately escaped, when they came out of the Mission premises, reiterating their cries and calling on the people to assist them.

8. One of the rebels who was wounded, the next morning made disclosures which led to the arrest of the rioters.

9. *This man stated that a plot had been in existence for some months, and that men were regularly paid and money distributed to excite the people to fight for religion and the Padishah of Delhi.*

10. The letters found in Peer Ali's house[3] disclosed an organized Mussulman conspiracy to re-establish Mahommedan supremacy, and to overthrow the British Government. Copies of these letters have already been forwarded to the Government of India.

[1] *Parliamentary Papers:* First Narrative furnished by the Government of Bengal, of events which occurred in the Lower Provinces, connected with the revolt of the native army of this Presidency, dated August 15, 1857, forwarded by the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Fort William, August 22, 1857. (No. 4 Public) (*Further Papers* (*No.* 5) *relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies* para 41).

[2] He was one of the party which invaded the premises of the Roman Catholic Mission at Patna City.

[3] For a study of letters cf. *Parliamentary Papers*, Appendix B *to further papers* (No. 5) *relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies*, pp. 8-11, 20-21, 24.

11. The trial and execution of the rebels took place as mentioned in my previous letter.

12. Imamooddeen, the wounded man, was slowly recovering when the Commissioner wrote, and continued to afford useful information.

13. One of Peer Ali's correspondents is a man of some consequence at Lucknow, hence the suspicion that the Patna outbreak was connected with, or directed from Oude.

14. Of the 36 men arrested, 16 underwent capital punishment, including their leader Peer Ali, and the remainder were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, with the exception of two, who were acquitted, there being no proof of their participation in the guilt of the rest.

15. Waris Ali, the police jemadar, and Peer Ali at the time of their execution, requested the money they had about them to be given to a faqir, a request which was not complied with. Some of those who were hanged exhibited the feelings of men who deem themselves martyrs; the majority were silent and undemonstrative.[1]

13. Mr. Hannay, of the Indian Navy, the Officer in Command of the gunboat lift at Patna by the steamer Jumna, was ordered to proceed to Revelgunge, and to place himself under the orders of the Magistrate of Chuprah, to patrol the banks of the Gogra. Arrangements were made to send up with the gunboat a small police force, under Mr. Lynch or Mr. Evan Macdonnel, as far as Drowla Ghaut, or further if practicable, in order to prevent all communication between the Fyzabad and Arrah rebels. Considerable uneasiness prevailed in the western portion of the Chuprah District, from its close proximity to the Azimghur and Goruckpore boundaries, hence the advisability of this armed demonstration.[2]

[1] *Parliamentary Papers:* Narrative of events furnished by the Government of Bengal, embracing a period of four weeks, viz. from the 12th. July to the 8th. August, 1857; dated August 21, 1857, forwarded by the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Fort William, September 1, 1857. (No. 95. Public) [*Further papers (No. 5) relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies,* p.p. 10, 11, paras 1, 2, 4, 5, 8-15].

[2] *Parliamentary Papers:* Narrative of events furnished by the Government of Bengal for the week ending on 22nd. August, 1857. Dated September 5, 1857, forwarded by the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Fort William, September 10, 1857. (No. 101, Public) [*Further papers (No. 5) relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies,* p. 44, para 13.]

Hand of the Agents of Ex-King of Oudh at Calcutta:

104. *General.*—On the 24th. of August three retainers of the Ex-King of Oudh named Ilahi Buksh Khan, Syed Ameen Ali and Kazie Josbad Ally were placed in confinement in the jail at Allypore.[1]

105. On the 16th of the same month a person who has for some time resided in Calcutta under the assumed title of Bishop of Baghdad, but whose real name is Syed Hossein Subahdar, was arrested with five followers and lodged in the great jail of Calcutta. He was proved by the correspondence taken with him to be connected with the Ex-King of Oude and his minister Ali Nukkee Khan and with others known to be advisers of the Ex-King now confined in Fort William. The correspondence referred to was handed over to the Foreign Department of the Government of India for examination, and the individuals above mentioned were detained in custody pending the receipt of orders regarding their disposal.

From the letters found in possession of Syud Hossein Subahdar there was strong reason to believe that another retainer of the Ex-King named Mozuffer Hossein had taken up his residence in Chandernagore under the assumed designation of Agha Mieza (*sic*, Mirza) Sahib. All correspondence addressed to this individual was therefore intercepted and forwarded to the Government of India.

107. A large sum of money with trinkets was found in the possession of Syud Hossein Shubber and his followers when placed in confinement. They were allowed to retain their trinkets but the money was lodged in the hands of the jailor to be restored to them on their liberation.[2]

[1] *Imprisoned desperados at Alipore:*
16th. June, 1857: ....." To the south is Fort William and beyond it the great Alipore Jail. with its thousands of imprisoned desperados, guarded by a regiment of native militia; not far from Alipore is Garden Reach, where the Ex-King of Oudh has been residing with about a thousand armed retainers, the Mussulman population, generally armed also, breathing a fanatical vengeance on the " Infidels ", and praying in their mosques for the success of the Delhi rebels ".
Dr. Alexander Duff, *The Indian Rebellion, its Causes and Results*—Reminiscence of Rev. James Long—Calcutta. Smith George, *Life of Dr. Duff*, p. 318.

[2] *Parliamentary Papers*: Narrative of events furnished by the Government of Bengal for the week ending on 19th. September, 1857; dated September 26, 1857, forwarded by the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Fort William, October 8, 1857 (No. 119 Public) [*Further Papers* (No. 5) *relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies*, p. 81, No. 104-107].
N.B.—The Ex-King of Oudh was arrested on 15th. June, 1857 at Garden Reach and confined as a State Prisoner in the Fort William.

DECCAN

No. 3 of 1857.

From

I. N. Rose Esquire,
Magistrate of Satara.

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Secret Department, Dated Satara, 7th. July, 1857

Sir,

I have the honor of submitting a report of my proceeding in regard to the lately discovered conspiracy to disturb the peace in this province as required by your letter No. 693 dated 27th. June, 1857.

2. On the 11th. ultimo I first heard of the intended insurrection, intelligence of it was received from a dismissed Agent (Karbhari) of the *Punt Sucheo* who resides at Bhore the Capital of the Punt's Jagheer. This man gave information of armed Mahrattas who had collected at a village near Bhore named Bazarwaree having started for Satara, and prepared *Ramoosees* and others to follow them. A translation of his letter to the address of Mr. Sandford, 1st. Assistant Magistrate, by which this information was conveyed, is annexed to this report.

3. As there is a large Ramoosee population near Bazarwaree, I determined to send a strong party to apprehend, or disperse any armed men that might have collected there.

4. Thirty of the Southern Mahrattee Irregular Horse under Lieutenant Kerr started on the night of the 11th. ultimo accompanied by Mr. Sandford. This detachment marched forty-five miles in sixteen hours over a rugged and difficult country, but they were observed by some of the Mahrattas, who had returned from Satara, in time to admit of escape to the Hills near the village to which the Horse were directed.

5. Subsequently thirteen of the Mahrattas were apprehended, but only one of that number can (?) have taken an important part in the plot. The remainder are simple, ignorant Hill-men, who could only have been dangerous as instruments of others. They have all confessed that they were collected for the purpose of attacking the station at Satara. These men might be admitted, if

necessary as evidence. It does not appear expedient to prosecute them.

6. On the 13th. ultimo the Ramoosee Naick alluded to in the annexed translation No. 1 made a statement before Mr. Sandford at Bhore a translation of which is annexed to this report. This Naick has been known to me for many years. He received a reward from Government in 1831 or 1832 of Rupees 10,000 (ten thousand) for the apprehension of Omajee Naick of the Poorundur District in the Poona Zilla.[1] By this act he incurred the enmity of many influential Ramoosees and I have reason to believe he is well-affected to our Government.

7. On the 12th. ultimo a Rajpoot Purdasee Peon on the establishment of the Nazir of Satara was apprehended in the Lines of the 22nd. Regiment,Bombay N.I. at Satara endeavouring to corrupt the fidelity of a Subadar of that Corps, and through his agency the fidelity of all the Hindoostani men and officers of the Regiment, with a view to securing their inactivity during an attack on the Europeans at Satara. This man was tried under the authority conveyed by the Electric Telegraphic Message to my address noted in the margin[2] convicted of treason in having attempted the fidelity of the troops and hanged. A copy of my proceedings in this case was submitted for the information of Government with my letter No. 23, dated 20th. June, 1857, and their approval was conveyed in your letter to my address No. 741, dated 2nd. July, 1857. This convict, addressed the spectators from the scaffold, and declared that the English were now in greater difficulty than when they first gained footing in the country, that his own countrymen had betrayed him to the English, and hanged him. That now was the time to strike. That if they were the sons of Hindoos and Mussulmans they would rise, if the offsprings of Christians, they would remain quiet.

8. A short time before information was received of the proceedings in the Bhore country, a gang robbery was perpetrated in the valley of the Oormooree near Purlee, behind the Hill Fort of Satara, and ten of the robbers have been apprehended. Intelligence was obtained that this gang formed a detachment from a considerable body of men who had collected in the Jungles near the Purlee Fort, but no political importance was attached to this intelligence at the time it was received, and it was reported that the Band had dispersed on the return of troops from Persia, but it

[1] I write from memory, subject to correction, but this is nearly, if not quite correct.
[2] From the Secretary to Government, dated 13th. June, 1857.

has since been ascertained, that Rungo Bapoojee a Purvee, who was formerly the Agent of the late Ex-Rajah of Satara, and went to England to advocate his cause, had been living for six weeks at Purlee, and had collected a body of men in the circumjacent, Jungles verging on the Ghats. This Band in the Oormooree valley was intended to act in concert with the Band assembled in the Bhore Country, and with armed men concealed in the city of Satara. On information received from one of the parties implicated, 820 Matchlock distance Bullets were found concealed in one house in Satara.

9. Rungo Bapoojee appears to have taken the most prominent part in this plot.[1] He is now a fugitive from justice, and Government have sanctioned the payment of a reward of Rupees (500), five hundred for his apprehension. He may have gone from Bhore, which is his native district, down the Wuddunda Ghat to Mahar, where there is a large Purvee population, or he may have skirted the Jungles on the Ghats to the Southward and gone into the Kolapoor territory, on the Ultra Regulation Jagheers of the Putwurdhun Chiefs. The Police authorities of these districts and of Poona and Bombay, are endeavouring to apprehend him, and the Political Agent of Sawunt Waree is also watching the passes on the Goa Frontier, in case Rungo Bapoojee may endeavour to find shelter within the Portuguese territory.

10. I am convinced that the window and family of the late Ex-Rajah are deeply implicated in this conspiracy and that the object of the conspirators was to proclaim the adopted son—Rajah of Satara. There is a strong feeling in favor of the pretensions of this youth, which has steadily increased since the return of the Exiled Family from Benares, and it has now generally superseded the feeling, which existed in favor of the family of the late Rajah.

11. The accompanying translation of a Deposition made by a Brahmin whose family enjoy Inam Lands in this Province, will serve in some measure, to shew the feeling at Satara in favor of the family of the deposed Rajah. An obscure Brahmin receives a letter from his brother in the service of Baiza Baee Sindeh at Gwalior, conveying intelligence of the disasters in the North West Provinces reporting that the Gwalior Durbar was ready to join the Rebellion, and making inquiries regarding the restoration of the Mahratta sovereignty at Satara. This letter is taken immediately to one of the Retainers of the palace named Baba Dixit, who takes it, with the witness to whom it is addressed, to the adopted son of

[1] Cf. George Le Grand Jacob, *Western India Before and During the Mutinies*. pp. 5-8.

the Ex-Rajah and this youth, having heard it read, sends the parties who brought it, to make known the contents to his adoptive Mother. These parties,taking advantage of the favorable reception they met with at the Palace, ask for her protection and favor when she is restored to power and dominion, and this letter is afterwards read and discussed publicly in the Native Library, and the owner is recommended to destroy it, in case its contents might become known to the officers of Government.

12. As I knew that the population of Satara, was disaffected to our Government, and had information from different sources that an attack on the European station, the plunder of the Government treasury, and the release of the Prisoners in the Jail had been planned, I deemed it advisable to apply for the services of a Detachment of European Troops.

13. In a demi-official letter to the Adjutant General of the army explaining my reasons for applying for this assistance I state as follows:

" The feudatory chiefs with one exception, who has a delicate child about two years old, are without male issue, and with the example of the lapse of the Satara State itself before their eyes, they know that succession to their Jagheers by adoption will not be permitted. Our Government have decided that all alienation of the Public Revenue made by the two last Rajahs that is to say since the overthrow of the last Peshwa which have not received the sanction of former British Residents at Satara (and there are very few cases in which sanction was ever applied for) shall be resumed on the death of the present incumbents. These with the recognition of the adoption made by the last Rajah, are very fruitful sources of discontent, and Satara being the seat of the ancient Mahratta sovereignty it is regarded as the first place in the Deccan that ought to make an effort to regain its former power. The eyes of all disaffected Mahrattas are turned to it at the present moment, and there is strong reason to suspect that the family of the late Ex-Rajah are the parties most deeply concerned in the present movement. One attempt to corrupt the fidelity of the 22nd. Regiment N.I. has been brought to light. Among the 77 gunners of the artillery who have been here for two years and a half, 67 are Hindoostani men. The sepoys frequently go into the town, and to the palaces for purposes of religious worship &c. and, thus, facilities of access to them from high quarters are afforded, which elsewhere, could not be obtained. Many men of the Cavalry and Infantry Local Corps, both of which are quartered in the town, are related to the people of the town, and

though all the Regiments at Satara are behaving very well, they may now be exposed to temptation which it would be unfair to human weaknesses not to endeavour to counteract. The Nizam's country is not in a very settled state, the newly ceded districts are not well affected. Our frontier near Beejapoor where there is a large Mahommedan population requires to be watched. Infection may be expected to spread quickly. Insurrection at Satara would soon extend in the Deccan and the country to the westward, close up to the town of Satara, is very mountainous covered with high thick Jungle and extremely difficult of access."

14. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was satisfied with my explanation, and approved of the Detachment being detained at Satara as long as their presence might be deemed desirable.

15. The presence of these troops has had great effect in overawing the turbulent classes of the population, and dispelling all hope of successful insurrection. I am respectfully of opinion that this detachment should remain here during the present unquiet state of India, and the residence at Satara of the adopted son and family of the late deposed Rajah.

16. No means shall be spared to trace this conspiracy to its source. Numerous disclosures have already been made by parties apprehended on suspicion which show that it was not confined to the Satara territory, but that overtures had been made for assistance from Kolhapoor, and the districts of Poona adjacent to Satara. In the present state of the investigation it would be impossible to submit a clear and satisfactory report, and it would be worse than useless to lengthen this letter by indulging in speculations and prospects which might not be realized, but his Lordship in Council may rely on my best endeavours to bring the investigation now in progress to a satisfactory, and complete conclusion.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Sd.) I. N. Rose,
Magistrate.

Satara,
Magistrate's Office,
7th. July, 1857.

Enclosure No. 1.

Translation of a letter from the son of a dismissed Agent, of the Punt Sucheo, dated 9th, June, 1857:

There have been reports in circulation for some time, but I had not obtained decided intelligence. This morning, about

eight o'clock, Nana Ramoosee Naick of Bazarwaree, came and informed me, that some armed Mahrattas of Bazarwaree went to Satara last night (the 8th. Instant) to organize a Rebellion. There are some Satara people in this plot, and some of the Bhore Officials or Retainers. (Mundlee) Nana Ramoosee was also told to collect followers, and to be ready. I therefore, give you information. They are going to seize the Collector Sahib, and Sandford Sahib. This appears to be their intention—give the Sahib (Collector) information quickly. They are first going to take, the Capital or principal place—give intelligence quickly therefore. The informer Nana Ramoosee, Naick of Bazarwaree formerly apprehended Oomajee Naick. He says this information is true. If the Sahib will send for me I will tell him all I know, 'write to the Punt Sahib', and says that Nana Ramoosee is wanted, and tell the Punt to send him quickly. Mr. Sandford and the great Sahib (Collector) should remain on the alert. Most probably the intelligence is true. Therefore be very much on the alert, and have good arrangements made at Satara. Let it not be known that I have given information. I am under the protection of the Government, and have communicated what has come to my knowledge.

Dated 9th. June, 1857.

(True Translation.)
(Sd.) I. N. Rose
Magistrate.

Enclosure No. 2.

Translation of the deposition on Solemn affirmation given before the First Assistant Magistrate on the 13th. of June, 1857, by Nana Bin Ragoo Chuwan, Caste Ramoosee, inhabitant of Bazarwadi (Bazarwaree) in the Illaka of Bhore, in the Province of Satara:

Since march last, I hear that a revolt was to occur at Satara. At the same time I heard mention made, that the force in Satara had been much reduced. On the arrival of another regiment at Satara, the reports of the revolt were not so frequent. During the last 10 or 12 days, certain persons, viz. Vittoo Shetia of Bhore and Suckharam Shetia of Ootroli, commenced frequently going to Satara. These two persons began to take people away for a revolt, whereupon I became convinced that the reports were true. The intention of these persons was to seize the 4 principal gentlemen in Satara, and to plunder the town itself. Those who did this were to take to themselves whatever they could lay hands upon.

The old regiment belonging to the Ex-Rajah (Alligoal) and all those also who were in the service of the Rajah are engaged to join in the revolt, and are implicated in this plot. The adopted son of the Ex-Rajah (Maharajah Kaseekur) is exerting his powers to raise this revolt. Their intention was to take possession of the Artillery. Then to seize the English residents. The Rajah of Sorapoor and the Ramoosees are also concerned in this revolt, so people say. On having taken Satara, and then the Fort of Poorundhur, their intention was to go to Poona to make a revolt there. The Artillery people have been brought over, to their side, so people were saying, but whether these are those Artillery men who belonged to the late Rajah, or whether they are the regular Government troops I do not properly know. Eleven persons went from Bazarwadi. Their names are known to the Putel of Bazarwadi. Some of them have returned to their village, Mr. Sandford gave me some Sowars to apprehend those who had returned from Satara, but on my going to do so I found that they had fled because they had seen the Sowars when they came to the Ramoosee village, and on this they made their escape.

(Mark)

On Solemn affirmation before me—This 13th. of June 1857 at Bhore.

(Sd.) H. B. SANDFORD, Lieutenant,
1st. Assistant Magistrate.

(True Translation)
(Sd.) H. B. SANDFORD, Lieutenant,
1st. Assistant Magistrate.

Enclosure No. 3.

Translation of a deposition given on Solemn affirmation before the Magistrate of Satara, by Rughoonath Mahadow Rao Wankday, an inhabitant of the village of Sheradhone, in Talooka Koreygaum, aged about 27 years and a Brahmin by caste:

About three weeks ago I received a letter from my young brother Krushna Rao Wankday, who lives now at Gwalior in the house of Khundey Row Purbhoo the Dewan of Baee Sahib. I do not know who is the Baee Sahib. The letter was written on two and a half sheets of thin post paper. I think the letter was

dated the 7th. Jestu Shood (30th. May, last). It was stated in it that, on the night of the Mahommedan festival,[1] an insurrection had broken out at that place, that the rebels had taken Delhi and Agra from the British Government, that the Europeans had suffered severely in that affair, that the four Regiments of my brother's master which are in the service of the British Government had declared that they would fight against any opponents but their countrymen, that even should one or two of the Rebel Leaders fall, my brother's master would join them, that some Europeans, from fear, had taken refuge in Gwalior, that at their request a body of 500 Horse was sent to Agra, and that my brother's master had ordered them to act according to circumstances. The letter further inquired whether the news of a disturbance in this part of the country was correct, and whether or not the Junglee Rajah[2] had been placed on the Musnud. The letter advised me, in case of a disturbance, to leave my village, and go with my family into the city (of Satara) as we had many enemies in our village. The expression "my brother's master" which I have used above means His Highness Scindia; I understand so from other parts of the letter in which the name was clearly written. The letter also said that 10 or 20 Regiments had mutinied in different places, and that my brother's mistress Baiza Baee Sahib was desirous of proceeding to Oojen, but that she had been requested by His Highness Scindia to stay there for four months. I recollect so much of the contents of the letter which I received; more than this I do not recollect. This letter was received by my uncle Ram Rao Wankday, but as it was addressed to me, he kept it till I met him. I got the letter from him on my arrival at Satara. I immediately opened and read it. My maternal uncle Damodur Dixit bin Yedneshwur Dixit Ayachit, who resides in Mungul Warpeit in Satara was then near me. After reading the letter I handed it to him. He read it, and said we should take it to his uncle Baba Dixit bin Khund Dixit Ayachit[3] so we both went to him, and I read the letter to him. Baba Dixit then said that we should take the letter to the palace, so we three went to the palace of the Junglee Rajah, I mean of the Rajah who came from Benares. It was then about 4 Ghutkas of night (half past 7 o'clock p.m.). The Maharaj was engaged in praying to his Goddess. Baba Dixit however said something to him which I did not hear. The Maharaj then went upstairs, and we followed him. After being seated Baba Dixit told me to give my brother's letter to the Maharaj; and I accordingly did so.

[1]Probably Shaval Eed which fell on 25th. May.
[2]Adopted son of deposed Rajah of Satara.
[3]A Bhatt or Priest living on the bounty of the Deposed Rajah's family.

The Maharaj read and returned it to me, and told Baba Dixit to take it to Ayee Sahib Maharaj.[1] We three went to Ayee Sahib's room. There was a peon on guard, whose name I do not know, but he reported our having come, and obtained permission for us to enter. Baba Dixit went in with the letter, and after a short time he called us in. I and Damodur Dixit then went into the room. Baba Dixit introduced us to Ayee Sahib by saying that one was his grandson, and the other his nephew, and solicited her kindness towards us. After this we took leave and retired. While coming down the stairs Baba Dixit told me that Babajee Chitness[2] had read the letter to Ayee Sahib—so saying he returned the letter to me, Baba Dixit, in my presence, said to Ayee Sahib that Damodur Dixit had been ex-communicated by Shunkuracharya Swamee for a breach of caste rules, and begged that she would kindly take him under her protection when she was restored to power and dominion by the blessing of God. Ayee Sahib replied very well. Baba Dixit also said to her that the letter was received from my brother who is at Gwalior. I did not hear Baba Dixit say any thing more. I have already stated what conversation took place at our interview with the Nasekur Maharajah[3] and nothing more was said in my presence; we left the Palace and each of us went to his house. Two or three days after this I showed the letter to Waman Raojee Deshpandy Wayeekur, whom I found in the house of Govind Row Dewan.[4] Two or three days after this I cannot specify the day exactly, I took the letter to the Satara Native Library at about 6 Ghutkas of night (half past 8 o'clock p.m.). There were then three persons namely Gunput Row, the Librarian, Wittoba a man employed in the Boodhamrut Printing office,[5] and Suddasew Punt Funsulkur, a Vakeel. I shewed the letter and they all read it. Suddasew Punt remarked that I would be punished for the publication of such a letter. On hearing this I held the letter to a lamp which was burning before me and burnt it. I have stated above that I did not know who the Baee Saheb was, but from the purport of the letter I conclude that it must be Baiza Baee Sahib.[6] The letter further mentioned that great and small Rajahs had formed a confederacy for the purpose of seducing the British Regiments, and that my brother had learned

[1]Widow of the deposed Rajah of Satara.

[2]Younger brother of the deposed Rajah's Chitness or Secretary who went with deposed Rajah to Benares.

[3]Adopted son of deposed Rajah.

[4]Dewan or Minister of the deposed Rajah who was first State Prisoner at Poona and afterwards at Ahmednuggur.

[5]A Marathi Newspaper published at Satara.

[6]Scindih.

this from several Khurcetas (letters) which had reached Scindia from different quarters. It was added in the letter that the cause of all this disturbance was that the British Government had issued to those sepoys who were Mahommedans, cartridges made of swine's skin, and to those who were Hindoos, cartridges made of cow's skin, that a descendant of the Emperor of Delhi was proclaimed by the rebels as their King. This is all that I recollect.

This 2nd. July, 1857.

(Sd.) RUGHOONATH MAHADOW WANKDAY,
Inamdar of Sheradhane.

Solemnly affirmed before me. July 2, 1857.

(Sd.) J. N. ROSE,
Magistrate.

(True Translation)
(Sd.) J. N. ROSE,
Magistrate.

(True Copies)
(Sd.) Illegible.
Secretary to Government.[1]

Secrecy:

" I have mentioned the light gradually dawning on me from the confessions of military and civil prisoners, and that when the information from both agreed, there was sufficient ground for action. Thus it transpired that some time before the mutiny, Chimma Sahib had held secret interview with the native officers of the 27th. Regiment in the Royal Garden, conveniently situated between town and camp; also with a deputation from Gwalior, whence a body of sixty horsemen had come, nominally to congratulate the elder Rajah on his marriage with the daughter of the Gackwar, when those most trusted in the regiment were present, and the aspirations and designs of east and west interchanged. Chimma Sahib had also received emissaries from Nana Sahib, one of whom, who had travelled round by the south coming last from Mysore, had informed him that he had secured the co-operation

[1]Forcign Secret Consultations, 25th. September, 1857. No. 635. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

of forty different regiments. In reply Chimma Sahib bid him assure the Nana that he had gained over all the red-coated men in the S. M. Country. A sword was also sent him from the Lucknow Durbar, and I had reason to suspect treasonable communication with several other quarters".

But it is difficult to describe the wonderful secrecy with which the whole conspiracy was conducted, the forethought supplying screens, and the caution with which each group of conspirators worked apart, concealing the connecting links, and entrusting these with only just sufficient information for the purpose in view, and all this was equalled only by the fidelity with which they adhered to each other. As an instance, before the trial of Chimma Sahib's minister, a havildar of the local corps, an old friend of his, in whose quarter-guard he was confined, said to him, "Why don't you make a clean breast of it ? The Commissioner has let off many who have done so, and will perhaps pardon you too;" to which he replied, "Were I to open my mouth I should kindle a flame to burn up the land. I choose rather to meet my fate in silence" and he did.[1]

CONSPIRATORS

Early Activities of Nana Sahib and Maulwi Ahmad Ullah Shah.

Statement of Sitaram Bawa made before H. B. Devereux, Judicial Commissioner of Mysore, on January 18, 1858 and the following days regarding Nana Sahib as an organiser of the Conspiracy:

(A)

Sitaram mentions "the Sorapoor Rajah, the Satara Rajah, the Kolahpur Rajah, the Deshmook of Akulkote, the great Mooktian at Hyderabad", and then adds: "The Mysore Rajah used to tell these people that with the help of God, all would be well (i.e. they would be restored to their rule and kingdom). Such correspondence has been going on for about eight months..... The Rajah used to write thus: 'a great army is soon coming this way.....Bajee Row's son and Holkar and other great princes had all joined together, and that as soon as they advanced

[1]George Le Grand Jacob, "*Western India*", pp. 203-206.

all would join, the old dynasties would be restored, and all would be placed on their thrones....."

"The Baija Bhaiee (Baiza Baee) was the person who first commenced this conspiracy about twenty years ago, at the time she was taken from Gwalior and kept at Nasik....."

(B)

"Then Bajee Rao died at Bithoor. He left a widow and an adopted son named Nana Sahib, who was always a worthless and not very clever fellow, and never would have been anything but for the tuition of his Gooroo, Dassa Bawa (said to have come from a place called Kalee Dhar, beyond Kangra, this side of Jummoo). Three years ago, or perhaps a month less, Nana Sahib gave the Gooroo, Dassa Bawa, a sunnud, granting a five-lakh jaghir and five nachatras, because Dassa Bawa had told him that he would become as powerful as the Peishwa had once been; and the sunnud was to take effect when he came into power. Dassa Bawa then made a Hunooman horoscope of eight angles. Nana then, after seven days of prayer, went to sleep on the horoscope, and Hunooman having revealed to him that he would be victorious, he felt that the truth of the prediction had been confirmed, and at once presented Dassa Bawa with twenty-five thousand rupees' worth of jewels. Dassa Bawa then went to Nepaul. Dassa Bawa is a person who has helped and advised the Nana throughout. The Nana gives him much money....."

(C)

"All this was communicated by the Nana to Baija Bhaiee and to all the other states—to Holkar, Scindia, Assam (or Burma), Jeypoor, Joudhpoor, Kolah Boonder-Jhalawar-Rewah, Baroda-Kutch-Bhooj-Nagpur, to the Ghonds of Chanda (and doubtless Sambalpur) to Hyderabad, Sorapoor, Kolapore, Satara, Indore,—in fact he did not leave out any place where there was native prince. He wrote to all.....He (Rajah of Travancore) is the only one who did not at all agree.....Nana Sahib wrote these letters about three years ago, at intervals, a short time, perhaps two or three months, previous to the annexation of Oudh. But at first he got no answers. No body had any hope. After the annexation he wrote still more, and then the Soukars of Lucknow joined in his views. Maun Singh, who is the chief of the Poorbeah, or Poordusee, joined. Then the sepoys began to make *tajwez* (plans) among themselves, and the Lucknow Soukars supported them. Until Oudh was annexed,—Nana Sahib did

not get answers from any one; but when that occurred, many began to take courage and to answer him. The plot among the sepoys first took place—the discontent about the greased cartridges. Then answers began to pour in. Golab Singh of Jummoo, was the first to send an answer. He said that he was ready with men, money, and arms, and he sent money to Nana Sahib, through one of the Lucknow Soukars (Sahukars)."

(D)

"Nana Sahib and Maun Singh communicated with the King of Delhi and it was agreed that the Padishah should be for the Mussulmans and Dewangiri for the Hindoos. It was a *Kuput* or deceit, an arrangement for the moment.....Then the Mussulman Sirdars of Oude joined Maun Singh. The Lucknow Bandobust was a Cacha Bandobust.....After the Lucknow annexation, the Nana and the Mussulmans joined and wrote to Hyderabad from which place an answer came to the effect that we have no money to send you but we will make Bundobust in our country. We cannot come to your assistance. The Nawab wrote this and though he said he could not assist he told them if they came to his aid (*sic,*)[1] he would join. He had not the means of helping them otherwise.....

"It was by the annexation of Oude that the Mohammedans were induced to join, and that Nana's plot began to succeed. It was previously merely a conspiracy among the Hindu Princes and had been smouldering for a long time, but would not have come to anything had it not been for this occurrence.

"The Hindoo sepoys were not previously prepared to join but when money became plentiful then matters began to wear a favourable aspect. Some of the money was obtained by Maun Singh from the Soukars and the rest was sent by Golab Singh from Jummoo. Many Lakhs of Rupees were obtained and although not enough for the whole business there was sufficient to begin upon and to stimulate the soldiers and armed men with hopes of more. The military classes were enticed by a promise of restoring the old times of licence and they all prefer that to a regular form of Government.

"The correspondence was going on to an immense extent and letters were passing all over the country telling them not to

[1] As in original.

begin yet—not to begin yet. Dassa Bawa had the conduct of the whole affairs. There was not to have been any fighting whatever. It was all to have been done in the same night by surprise and every European was to have been at once extinguished. There is no man in all Hindoostan like Dassa Bawa. He is a most able man. He is 125 years old. The Meerut and Delhi outbreak was a mistake. The day of the Delhi massacre was the first day fixed but the Rewah Rajah was to help at Banares and he had not joined."

(E)

" Benares was to have been their first point in advance and from thence they were to have acted against Calcutta ".

(F)

" When Dassa Bawa went to Oojein then the Baija Bhaiee consulted with him on the subject of a rising. This happened about six years ago. She told him all her plans. *He then went to Nana and told him to unite with her. It was in this way that two plots became connected.*"

Cross-examination of Sitaram Bawa:

After the statement was over Sitaram Bawa was cross-examined, and gave some further information about Nana. " Nana Sahib ", he said, " though always a worthless fellow, and nothing without Dassa Bawa, could never have ordered the massacre of the women and children."

He continued: " Nana Sahib wrote both to Golab Singh and to Russia and he got an answer from Russia. In that answer he was told that no assistance could be given him unless he could take and could hold Delhi but that, if he could succeed in that, then assistance would be given him to drive the English from Calcutta. The letter was sent to Jummoo, and forwarded on from thence by the hands of the people who bring almonds and fruit. The country beyond Jummoo is said to be pure Mussulman, but I do not know any thing about it. First, Golab Singh joined, and as soon as the union of the Mussulmans and Hindus was settled, several letters were sent to Russia."

He was asked: " What made Nana Sahib originate this conspiracy?" He gave the following answer:

" The Company Sirkar placed all the treasure of his father under attachment, and he wanted to gain possession of it. The people about him urged him, the opportunity offered, and he took advantage of it." When Sitaram was asked how he came to know all this, he replied: " Every person, particularly every Brahmin, is well acqainted with all this, and the fact of these letters having been written, why, every Baboo in Calcutta knew of it, "[1]

Nana's visit to Lucknow in April 1857:

I must here mention a visit which was made to Lucknow, in April, by the Nana of Bithoor, whose subsequent treachery and atrocities have given him a pre-eminence in infamy. He came over on pretence of seeing the sights at Lucknow, accompanied by his younger brother and a numerous retinue, bringing letters of introduction from a former judge of Cawnpore, to Captain Hayes and to myself. He visited me, and his manner was arrogant and presuming. To make a show of dignity and importance, he brought six or seven followers with him into the room, for whom chairs were demanded. One of these men was his notorious agent Azimoolla. His younger brother was more pleasing in appearance and demeanour. The Nana was introduced by me to Sir Henry Lawrence, who received him kindly, and ordered the authorities of the city to show him every attention. I subsequently met him parading through Lucknow, with a retinue more than usually large. He had promised before leaving Lucknow, to make his final call on the Wednesday. On the Monday, we received a message from him that urgent business required his attendance at Cawnpore, and he left Lucknow accordingly. At the time his conduct attracted little attention: but it was otherwise when affairs had assumed the aspect which they did at Cawnpore, by the 20th of May. His demeanour at Lucknow, and sudden departure to Cawnpore, appeared exceedingly suspicious, and I brought it to the notice of Sir Henry Lawrence. The Chief Commissioner concurred in my suspicions, and by his authority I addressed Sir Hugh Wheeler, cautioning him against the Nana, and stating Sir Henry's belief that he was not to be depended on. The warning was unhappily disregarded: and on the 22nd. of May a message was received, stating that " two guns and three

[1] R. C. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and Revolt of* 1857, pp. 184-87. This document is included in the Kaye's papers now preserved in the Common Wealth Relations Office, London. We are trying to obtain the photostat copy of the original document which may be published in the II Volume of the series.

hundred men, cavalry and infantry, furnished by the Maharajah of Bithoor, came in this morning.[1]

The Nana Sahib as organiser of Conspiracy:

" .....It was remembered afterwards that, in the early part of this year, one man, a Mahratta by race, a Brahmin by caste, of whom something has already been recorded in this narrative, was displaying, in his movements, an unwonted activity, which created surprise, but scarcely aroused suspicion. This man was Dundoo Punt, commonly known as the Nana Sahib, of Bhitoor———the adopted son of the Peishwa, Badjee (Baji) Rao. He was not given to distant journeyings; indeed, he was seldom seen beyond the limits of his own estate. But in the early months of 1857, having visited Calpee, he made a journey to Delhi, and, a little later in the year, paid a visit to Lucknow. It was in the middle of April that he started on this last journey. On the 17th. of that month, Mr. Morland, then one of the Agra Judges, who shortly after the Peishwa's death had been Commissioner at Bhitoor (Bithoor), and who had endeavoured to rescue from resumption a part of his pension, paid a visit to the Nana at that place. The wily Mussulman Agent, Azim-oollah Khan, who had pleaded his cause in England, was with Dundoo Punt when the English gentleman was announced, and they talked freely together, as friends talk, no suspicion on the one side, and no appearance of anything unwonted on the other. All was outwardly smooth and smiling. The Mahratta was as profuse as ever in his expressions of respect and esteem; and when Morland took his departure, the brother of Dundoo Punt told him that the Nana purposed to return the visit of the Sahib next day at Cawnpore. The next day happened to be Sunday, and Morland was anxious, therefore, to decline the visit; but the Nana Sahib went to Cawnpore, and again sent Baba Bhut to the English gentleman to propose an interview. What he wished to say to the man who had been kind to him will now never be known, for Morland declined the meeting, on the plea that it was the Sabbath, and expressed regret that the Nana Sahib should hve made the journey to no purpose. To this the Brahmin replied, that his brother was on his way to Lucknow to visit one of the Newabs. There was something in all this strange and surprising. An English nobleman, in the course of three or four months, might visit all the chief cities of Europe without any one taking heed of the occurrence. But the nobility of India are little given to travelling; and the

[1]Gubbins, " *The Mutinies in Oudh* ", pp. 30-31.

Nana Sahib had rarely gone beyond the limits of Bhitoor (Bithoor).* That, within so short a time, he should make these three journeys, was a fact to excite speculation; but he was held to be a quiet, inoffensive person, good-natured, perhaps somewhat dull, and manifestly not of that kind of humanity of which conspirators are made, so no political significance was attached to the fact. What likelihood was there, at that time, that such a man as Dundoo Punt, heavy and seemingly impassive, who had for some years quietly accepted his position, and during that time done many acts of kindness and hospitality to the English gentlemen, should suddenly become a plotter against the State? Had any one then said that it behoved the Government to mark the movements of that man, he would have been laughed to scorn as an alarmist. We never know in India how many are the waiters and the watchers; we never know at what moment our enemies, sluggish in their hatreds as in all else, may exact the payment of old scores which we have thought were long ago forgotten.

So Dundoo Punt, Nana Sahib, passed on, about some business known to himself, utterly unknown to European functionaries, to Calpee, on the banks of the Jumna, to the great imperial city of Delhi, and to Lucknow, the capital of Oudh. In the last of these places, when the Nana arrived, Henry Lawrence was diligently, with his whole good heart, striving to make right all that had gone wrong during the time of his predecessor. But again the handwriting on the wall traced those fatal words, " Too late." If he had but gone to Lucknow when he had first offered to go, how different would all have been? It was on the 18th. of April that the Nana Sahib started on his journey to Lucknow, On that day Henry Lawrence wrote a long letter to the Governor General, telling him that he had discerned signs of dangerous coalitions between the Regular sepoy regiments, the Irregulars taken into our service from the old Oude Army, and the men of the Police battalions; symptoms also of intrigues on foot among some of the chief people of the city. There were many elements of trouble; and now they were beginning to develop themselves in a

*A different statment has, I know, been made and commonly accepted. It is the belief that the Nana Sahib was frequently to be seen at Cawnpore, riding or driving on the Mall, and mixing freely with the European residents of the place. But the truth is, he eschewed Cawnpore, for the reason which induced his adoptive father, Badjee (Baji) Rao, to eschew it, namely, that a salute was not given to him on entering the cantonment. The person generally known in Cawnpore as the " Nana " was not Dundoo Punt, but Nana Narain Rao, the eldest son of the ex-Peishwa's chief adviser and manager, the Soobadar Ramchunder Punt, who, after his master's death, resided at Cawnpore and was on terms of social familiarity with many of the principal European residents.

manner significant of a general outburst of popular discontent. "This city", wrote Henry Lawrence on that 18th. of April," is said to contain some six or seven hundred thousand souls, and does certainly contain many thousands (twenty thousand, I was told yesterday) of disbanded soldiers, and of hungry, nay starving, dependents of the late Government. This very morning a clod was thrown at Mr. Ommaney (the Judicial Commissioner), and another struck Major Anderson (Chief Engineer) whilst in a buggy with myself.....The improvements in the city here go on very fast—too fast and too roughly. Much discontent has been caused by demolition of buildings, and still more by threats of further similar measures; also regarding the seizure of religious and other edifices, and plots of ground, as Nuzool or Government property. I have visited many of these places and pacified parties, and prohibited any seizure or demolition without competent authority. The Revenue measures, though not as sweeping as represented by the writer whose letter your Lordship sent me, have been unsatisfactory. The Talookdars have, I fear, been hardly dealt with; at least, in the Fyzabad division some have lost half their villages, some have lost all." Such stated here, in the hurried outline of a letter from the spot, to be dwelt upon more in detail hereafter, was the condition of affairs which, in the third week of April, the Nana Sahib found in Lucknow. He could have scarcely wished for any better materials from which to erect an edifice of rebellion.

By this Dundoo Punt, Nana Sahib—by all who were festering with resentments against the English and malignantly biding their time, the annexation of Oude had been welcomed as a material aid to the success of their machinations. It was no sudden thought, born of the accident of the greased cartridges, that took the disappointed Brahmin and his Mahommedan friend to Lucknow in the spring of this year of trouble. For months, for years indeed, ever since the failure of the mission to England had been apparent, they had been quietly spreading their network of intrigue all over the country. From one native Court to another native Court, from one extremity to another of the great continent of India, the agents of the Nana Sahib had passed with overtures and invitations, discreetly, perhaps mysteriously worded, to Princes and Chiefs of different races and religions, but most hopefully of all to the Mahrattas. At the three great Mahratta families, the families of the Rajah of Satara, of the Peishwa, of the Boonsla, Lord Dalhousie had struck deadly blows. In the Southern Mahratta Country, indeed, it seemed that Princes and Nobles were alike ripe for rebellion. It was a significant fact that the

agents of the great Satara and Poona families had been doing their master's work in England about the same time, that both had returned to India rank rebels, and that the first year of Lord Canning's administration found Rungo Bapojee as active for evil in the South as Azim-oollah was in the North; both able and unscrupulous men, and hating the English with a deadlier hatred for the very kindness that had been shown to them. But it was not until the crown had been set upon the annexations of Lord Dalhousie by the seizure of Oude, that the Nana Sahib and his accomplices saw much prospect of success. That event was the turning-point of their career of intrigue. What had before been difficult was now made easy by this last act of English usurpation. Not only were the ministers of the King of Oude tampering with the troops at the Presidency, and sowing dangerous lies broad cast over the length and breadth of the land, but such was the impression made by the last of our annexations, that men asked each other who was safe, and what use was there in fidelity, when so faithful a friend and ally as the King of Oude was stripped of his dominions by the Government whom he had aided in its need. It is said that Princes and Chiefs, who had held back, then came forward, and that the Nana Sahib began to receive answers to his appeals.* But whatsoever may have been its effect in remote places, it cannot be questioned that in the condition of Oude itself after annexation there was that which must have gladdened the heart of every plotter against the State. Such men as Dundoo Punt and Azim-oollah Khan could not pass through the streets

*By those who systematically reject Native evidence, all this may be regarded as nothing but unsubstantial surmise. But there is nothing in my mind more clearly substantiated than the complicity of the Nana Sahib in wide-spread intrigues before the outbreak of the mutiny. The concurrent testimony of witnesses examined in parts of the country widely distant from each other takes this story altogether out of the regions of the conjectural. I speak only of the broad fact itself. With regard to the statement in the text, that the machinations of the Nana Sahib were much assisted by the annexation of Oudh, I give the following, *quantum valeat*', from the evidence of a Native emissary detained and examined in Mysore, in January, 1858. After giving a list of numerous princes and chiefs whom the Nana had addressed, this man said. "The Nana wrote at intervals, two or three months previous to the annexation of Oudh. But at first he got no answers. Nobody had any hope. After the annexation he wrote still more, and then the Soukars of Lucknow joined in his views. Maun Singh, who is the Chief of the Poorbeah, or Poordusee, joined. Then the Sepoys began to make *tajwiz* (plans) among themselves, and the Lucknow Soukars supported them. Until Oudh was annexed, Nana Sahib did not get answers from any one; but when that occurred, many began to take courage and to answer him. The plot among the Sepoys first took place—the discontent about the greased cartridges. Then answers began to pour in. Golab Singh, of Jummoo, was the first to send an answer. He said that he was ready with men, money, and arms, and he sent money to Nana Sahib, through one of the Lucknow Soukars." The former part of this statement may be readily accepted; the latter must be received with caution. Further extracts from this man's evidence will be found in the Apendix.

of Lucknow without clearly seeing what was coming. What they saw and what they heard, indeed, pleased them so greatly, that they assumed a bold and swaggering demeanour, which attracted the attention of the English functionaries to whom they were introduced. For they made no secret of their visit; but went about openly in the public streets, with numerous attendants, and even sought the presence of the Commissioner. The Nana said that he had come only to see the sights of Lucknow; so Henry Lawrence received him kindly, and ordered every attention to be shown to him by the authorities of the city. But his sojourn in Lucknow was brief, and his departure sudden. He went without taking leave of the English functionaries, saying that business required his presence at Cawnpore.[1]

Maulvee of Fyzabad

(Early rising at Fyzabad)

From

The Deputy Commissioner, Fyzabad.

Dated, the 17th. February, 1857, No. 5.

"Reports the occurrence of a disturbance in the city of Fyzabad which threatened the peace of that Town, but was put down by the prompt aid rendered by the Military authorities. The circumstances attending it are as follows.....

Maulvee Ahmad Ollah Shah, 16th. February, 1857.—"On the evening of the 16th. February at sunset, Lieutenant Thurburn, the Special Assistant in charge of the city was informed by the Kotwal that a Faqir with several of his followers were (?) in the serai of the Town, that crowds of men were visiting him and that there was an evident intention on the part of the Faqir to raise a riot and dissension among the people. Lieutenant Thurburn immediately set out for the scene of anticipated disturbance accompanied by the Kotwal and 4 or 5 Burkundazes. He found the road, the entrance and the interior of the Suraee very much crowded and having reached that portion of it occupied by the Faqir, on enquiry he learnt that the man was in the musjid at prayers. When these were over and the Faqir pointed out to

[1] J. W. Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. I, pp. 574-80.

him, Lieutenant Thurburn desired him to come and speak to him. He however refused and then entered his house. On this he was asked to deposit his arms and those of his followers, Lieutenant Thurburn assuring him that they would be returned to him on his departure from the city. *The Faqir said he could not and would not give up his arms as he had received them from his Peer.* The Special Assistant said if the Faqir would give up his arms of his own accord he would be satisfied, but being again refused his request, he was compelled as a last resource to send for 8 sepoys of the Jail-guard for the purpose of intimidating the fanatic.

On the arrival of the sepoys the Faqir was again desired to give up his arms quietly, being at the same time assured that he would have liberty to leave the Town the following morning. He replied that he would leave it at his "*pursut*" (*phursat*—leisure).

Police withdrawn and Military summoned:

Lieutenant Thurburn on this advanced towards him backed by the guard and the Burkandazes, on which all the followers of the Faqir about 10 in number ranged on each side of him— he half drew his sword on the Special Assistant, and the example was followed by some of his disciples, which exasperated a few of Lieutenant Thurburn's men who attempted a rush upon the Faqir, which was prevented by the Special Assistant, who then placed sentries outside the apartments of these fanatics and withdrew, for the purpose of dispersing the crowds of men collected about the Jumma Masjid; he then solicited and obtained the aid of the military authorities, and with the assistance rendered him, he made arrangements for the peace of the city; and at the same time communicated the circumstances which had occurred to the Deputy Commissioner who had that very day left for the interior of the district.

17th. February, 1857— D.C's persuasive measures fail:

"The Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Forbes, immediately on his arrival (on the morning of the 17th.) visited the Faqirs in company with other officers, and promised them on his honor that if they would quietly and peaceably surrender themselves, no indignity should be offered them, that they should not be lodged in the common jail; but that as they had disobeyed the law, had drawn their swords upon European officer, and were accused of tampering with and inciting the population, they must and should be tried; and that their trial should be fair and honorable.

Plans to meet Maulvee's threats:

"All attempts at persuasion having proved fruitless and the Faqir's party and himself assumed a threatening attitude, it was thought advisable to close the conference and retire to consult on the best course to be adopted under the circumstances. The suggestion of Lieutenant Thomas, the Officer Commanding the Company of Native Infantry was approved. *This was, that a sudden rush be made upon the fanatics at the moment of relieving sentries.* No loss of life was anticipated by this arrangement, and the capture of the men was sure. It was arranged that the sentries (14 in number) should rush in without bayonets and with dubbed muskets, the relieved guard with beyonets being in support, and the rest of the company in the Suraee (Sarai) enclosure. The course suggested appeared the most feasible, the most merciful and at the same time the most likely to succeed. At the appointed signal however the delay of a moment afforded the infatuated men the opportunity which the Deputy Commissioner had been anxious to avoid.

DESPERATE STRUGGLE, MOULVEE WOUNDED.

Sword in hand they were instantly in the midst of the sepoys fighting for the death of martyrs:

"Lieutenant Thomas was scarcely (severely), though not dangerously wounded, and two sepoys also slightly wounded; whilst on the other side 5 were severely wounded 3 killed and four taken prisoners unwounded. *The leader is one of those least wounded and is now lodged with his companions in the hospital of the 22nd. N.I. under sentries.* With respect to him little reliable information has yet been gathered. In the Bazar he is styled Sikunder Shah. He speaks and understands English, though imperfectly. And though he states that he comes from the Madras side of India, the Deputy Commissioner is of opinion that he is from Mooltan or perhaps the Trans Indus country. Some of the papers found with the band are of a most suspicious character.

"The Deputy Commissioner promises after having ended investigations, to communicate their result, and he hopes that these may tend to elucidate the antecedents, the intention and previous history of this fanatic. He reports that measures have been taken to secure the peace of the city, and that 3 Companies of the 22nd. N.I. have been stationed in it".[1]

[1] Foreign Deptt., Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Political, January to 28th. May, 1857. Abstract of Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh in the Political Deptt. for week ending 21st. February, 1857. Dated 21st. February, 1857. No. 26.

Arrest of Syud Ahmad Oollah Shah

To

Secretary to Government of India.

" Communicates particulars relative to the arrest of Syud Ahmad Oollah an armed Mahommedan fanatic and his associates at Fyzabad. States that no apprehensions are entertained of a disturbance in the city, as the people profess no sympathy for him, and recommends that the thanks of Government be accorded to Mr. Forbes and Lieutenant Thomas ".[1]

(COPY)

No. 76.

From

Captain F. A. Y. Thurburn,

Special Assistant of Judicial Commissioner of Oudh.

To

The Magistrate of Sasseram.

Dated, Lucknow, 6th. July, 1858.

Sir,

I am given to understand that one Nujuf Ally formerly (in 1857) a native Doctor in the Fyzabad jail under my charge has taken service with Captain Ryder—staff officer at Sasseram.

As this Nujuf Ally previous to the outbreak, is known to have been in the habit of feeding at his own expense in breach of prison discipline the noted Moulvee Ahmadoollah Shah and as I have received reliable intimation of his having remained for two or three months at Lucknow (after the mutiny at Fyzabad) in the capacity of native Doctor with the Rebel Battery 5th. Company 7th. Battalion formerly under the Command of the late Major Mill.

[1] Foreign Deptt., Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Political, January to 28th. May, 1857. Abstract Proceedings of Chief Commissioner in the Political Deptt. for the week-ending with 7th. March, 1857. 3rd. March, 1857. No. 12.

I shall feel obliged by your causing the said Nujuf Ally to be arrested and forwarded to me for trial.

I have &c.
(Sd.) F. A. Y. THURBURN,
Special Assistant to Judicial Commissioner of Oudh

P.S.

Enclosed I beg to forward the evidence taken in this case.

(Sd.) F. A. Y. THURBURN,
Special Assistant to Judicial Commissioner of Oudh.

(True Copy)
(Sd.) A. H. COLE,
Deputy Magistrate.

No. 103.

From

Captain F. A. Y. Thurburn,
Special Assistant to the Judicial Commissioner, Lucknow.

To

W. A. Jorbes, Esqr.,
Deputy Commissioner of Fyzabad.

Dated, Lucknow, 17th. August, 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to request that you will obtain and note any evidence criminatory to Nujuf Ally formerly native Doctor of the Fyzabad jail,for the purpose of being filed in his case now pending in my court.

2. By the evidence of Nusseer-ood-Deen copy of which is attached, you will notice that he states that Fazul Ally Khan, and Soobhan residents of Mogulpoora, Fyzabad, know something of the manner in which Nujuf Alley left Fyzabad with the mutinous 22nd. Regiment N.I.

3. Doctor Collison also states that Colonel Lennox taxed Nujuf Ally with having taken away his (the Colonel) full Dress

coat, for the purpose of giving away to the Moulvee Ahmad-oollah Shah.

4. Further it is reported that Nujuf Ally before the mutiny took place, used in jail to feed the said Moulvee, with a better description of food to that allowed by jail regulations.

5. Should you be able to throw any light on this individual's presumed treachery, I shall feel obliged.

I have the honor &c. &c.

(Sd.) F. A. Y. THURBURN,
Special Assistant to Judicial Commissioner of Oudh.
and *Special Commissioner.*

(True Copy)
(Sd.) Illegible,
Deputy Commissioner.

Durriabad,
22nd. September, 1858

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 121 of the 27th. instant I have the honor to inform you that a few days previous to the mutiny at Fyzabad, I discovered that the jail native Doctor, Nujuf Ally, was in the habit of supplying the Moulvee (then a prisoner in the jail) with extra diet, without any order or permission and in disobedience of all orders on the subject.

I charged him at the time with having grossly misbehaved himself, and with having forfeited the confidence I had previously placed in him, to which he gave me no answer.

When the mutiny took place he joined the mutineers, and from Colonel Lennox's letter which I saw in one of the Bengal Papers I learnt that he went to him at Fyzabad on the day of the mutiny and demanded his coat for the Moulvee, saying that now the Company's reign was over he had changed masters and was then the Moulvee's servant.

Colonel Lennox in his letter called him the Dispensary Native Doctor, but this latter man never joined the mutineers, nor could he speak English.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) JOHN B. COLLISON, Captain,
Surgeon, Kaportalla Contingent.[1]

To

Captain THURBURN,

Special Assistant to Judicial Commissioner, Lucknow.

FYZABAD (Maulwi)

Received an intimate friend's letter from Fyzabad which states:—

A Mussulman, one of the sons of the Raeeses of the Deccan, was staying at the Sarai of Fyzabad in company with seven or eight persons. He called himself Faqir and was bent on waging a holy war with the English, without any fear. Armed and accompanied by his men, he used to..... about in the streets of Fyzabad. The police, therefore, followed him and objected to this. Gradually it came to light that he had a mind to rebel and therefore kept his men ready. The Sipahis of the Government insisted upon taking away their arms and asked him either to hand over all the arms or to quit the town at once to which he replied that he would neither do that nor pick up a quarrel or fight with any one. At last the Kotwal, and Mr. Thurburn the Commisssioner heard this and called him in order to know the reality. But he neither appeared before them nor refused. Then the Commissioner himself went to the place and remonstrated. But he paid no heed to this. In the end, a company of troops was posted to keep a watch over him. The matter was then reported to the Deputy Commissioner at Bhadarsa, five Kos from Fyzabad. He atonce repaired to the spot in order to take proper steps there. At dawn, all the gentlemen reached the place. They advised and remonstrated-both officially and unofficially, but the evil-minded did not

[1]Proceedings of the trail of Najuf Ally, Native Doctor, Mutiny Basta No. 2, Lucknow Collectorate.

mend his behaviour, and considered opposition of the authorities an easy affair, per Couplet:—

" One who measures strength with an iron-clad hand, is sure to break his weak wrist."

When the Commander of the troops tried to step inside the Sarai, such a flash of the sword came from the side of the Shah Sahib that he was badly wounded. The Deputy Commissioner ordered not to let any one escape but to pursue them. The Tilangas were armed and they killed four persons then and there. The Shah Sahib with four others was also wounded and he fell into the hands of " trouble and mercilessness."

There he disclosed that he was prepared to wage a holy war with the help of Mussulmans and Hindoos against the English. Only this was the cause of the trouble.

But when his belongings were searched, a number of letters from the Muslim's alone showing their complicity in this affair were discovered. But there was none from a Hindoo and charge of their complicity was, therefore, baseless and their names were wrongly mentioned.[1]

INCENDIARIES

Agra.—" The same journal (*The Mofussilite*) announces that a fire broke out recently at Agra in the sepoy lines of the 44th. N.I. Several huts were broken down, and the fire was allowed to burn itself out. The mind only changed in time to save the Magazine. The little loss sustained is to be attributed to the exertions of the 3rd. Europeans."[2]

Umballa.—The Delhi Gazette in a " Postscript " informs us that very bad feelings have manifested themselves amongst the native soldiers at Umballa. They have been ordered to use the new cartridges. The empty European barracks have been burnt down last night, and the native infantry hospital, a mile distant three hours after."[3]

[1] *Sihr-i-Samiri*, Lucknow, 9th. March, 1857, p. 7. cf. Hutchinson, " *Narrative of the Mutinies in Oudh*" (1859), pp. 21-22; Charles Ball, "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*," Vol. I, p. 40.

[2] The Weekly Epitome of News. Saturday, April 4, 1857. Reproduced by *The Friend of India*, April 9, 1857, p. 344.

[3] *Ibid.*, April 20, 1857, p. 413.

On the 23rd. of January the cantonment at Raneegunge set on fire by incendiaries and two or three evenings subsequently the Sergeant Major's bungalow shared the same fate. On the 25th. the Telegraph office at Barrackpore was burnt down. And thus the Fire King began to demonstrate an inkling of what was in store for almost every station in the North Western Provinces.[1]

CHAPATIES.

A Mystery:

" One morning towards the end of last month the officials of Futtehgurh were in commotion. From Thannah after Thannah there arrived little *chupatties* about 2" in diameter. They were accompanied by all kinds of reports from puzzled Thannahdars, and set the European World in a fever of Speculation. It appeared that a few evenings previous a chowkeedar from Cawnpore ordered a chowkeedar in Futtehgurh to make and bake 12 *chupatties* such as the one he showed. Two he was to retain. Two more were to be given to each of the five nearest chowkeedars. The order was obeyed, and all night long there was running and baking of *Chupatties*. The five obeyed orders also, and distributed their message to 25, and so the affair went on, in geometrical ratio, the cakes sweeping over the district at a speed at which no Indian post yet travels. The wave has not stopped yet. It reached Allahabad in a few days, and to all appearance will include the whole of the North West. Everywhere the Police are the instruments of conveyances and everywhere the Police are unable to afford the least due to the meaning of so strange an effort ".

" What does it mean?.....In India however though conspiracies are possible, secret societies are not, and speculation is *again at fault. Are all the chowkeedars about to strike for* wages? Or is anybody trying a new scheme for a parcel dawk? Is it treason or jest? Is then to be an " explosion of feeling " or only of laughter ? ....."[2]

Circulation of Chapatties in Oudh:

" The *Central Star* reports that the circulation of the *Chupatties* has extended to Oudh. The cause of their circulation is still a

[1] W. H. Carey, " *The Mahomedan Rebellion* ", p. 9, cf. Forrest *State Papers*, Vol. 5, Appendix B, p. XV, *Proceedings on the Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah*, p. 100.
[2] *The Friend of India*, March 5, 1857, p. 219.

mystery and to many observers an unpleasant one. It is inconceivable that the entire police of a Presidency should turn out, and some 90,000 lazy policemen incur trouble and expense without a reason, or an order or an enquiry as to the cause."[1]

Chapaty Mystery at Goorgaon;

The first official intimation of the *Chupattee* Mystery came from Mr. Ford, Magistrate and Collector of Goorgaon. In his letter addressed to Simon Fraser Esq., Commissioner, Delhi, Mr. Ford said:—

Goorgaon Magistracy, February 19, 1857.

" Sir,

I have the honor to inform you, that a signal has passed through number of the villages of this district, the purport of which has not yet transpired.

" The Chowkeedars of the villages bordering on those belonging to Muttra have received small baked cakes of atta, with orders to distribute them generally through this district.

" This day, cakes of this description have arrived and been distributed in the villages about Goorgaon, and an idea has been industriously circulated that Government has given the order."[2]

Mode of Circulation of chapaties:

In February another proceeding for a moment startled, then formed merely a subject for scorn and ridicule with, the European community. We allude to the *Chupattee* business.

It was ascertained, that the chowkeedars had, in a line of country extending from Furruckabad and Goorgaon to Banda, been actively employed in the distribution of small wheaten cakes—for the delivery of which, receipts were in some instances demanded in the hand-writing of the village putwarees, and after authentication at the thanna.

The mode of distribution was as follows: A chowkeedar appears in the village adjoining his own with two small *chupattees*, which he delivers over to his brother chowkeedar, with an injunction to make six others—to be then delivered by him, two and two, to the chowkeedars of the adjacent villages with instructions

[1] *The Friend of India*, March 19, 1857. Weekly Epitome of News, Thursday, March 12.
[2] W. H. Carey, *Mahomedan Rebellion*, p. 10-11.

to act in a similar manner: each chowkeedar was to keep two for presentation to the hakim or "when called for". Obedience was paid to the instructions, and the cakes were passed on rapidly from village to village.

A letter from the magistrate of Goorgaon illustrates the method in which the chowkeedars of a district took up the message received from neighbouring one.....

The leading journal in the North West Provinces thus poohpoohed the whole affair:—"Our readers may remember the legend of the mysterious horseman, which last year spread contemporaneously with the epidemic which it was supposed to explain. The same unpleasant person is perhaps again expected in these parts, where considering the sickness of the season he may well be spared for another week of year. Had we been politically shaky, people might have been disposed to detect a fiery cross in these local substitutes for a hot-cross-bun: but it will be curious (to say the least of it) to trace the origin of such a stir, even if it affords only another illustration of the ease with which multitudes are set in motion by a hoaxer, as all London was from the Duke of York downwards (by Theodore Hook) to "Great Berners Street".

On the 5th. of March, not more than three weeks since their introduction into the Delhi district the mysterious cakes had travelled through the whole of the districts near Delhi, and found their way to Lucknow and on the other stations in Oudh to Rohilkhund—and in fact had swept through the whole of upper India. A more powerful means of combining all classes of Mahommedans in the general cause could not have been hit upon, nor one more successfully carried into execution.[1]

Chapaty Mystery at Meerut

Deposition of Gunga Pershad, Tehseeldar of Meerut:

"About the end of 1856 or begining of 1857, chupattees found their way into this district (Meerut), and were distributed over the country. They first came from the south-east boundary. Village chowkeedars circulated them telling those of the neighbouring villages to make and pass on the same number, from village to village.[2]

[1] W. H. Carey, "*The Mahomedan Rebellion*", pp. 9-10.

[2] Major Williams, Commissioner of the Military Police, N. W. Provinces, Memorandum on the Mutiny and Outbreak at Meerut, p. 5, Deposition taken at Meerut, by Major G. W. Williams, Superintendent of Cantonment Police, N.W.P.

At Agra:

G. F. Harvey, Commissioner of Agra mentioned about *Chupattee* mystery in the following words:—

" In the commencement of 1857, while marching through the Mynpoory district, my attention was drawn by Zemindars in villages adjoining the road to a mysterious distribution of *chupattees*, (or small wheaten cakes), with astonishing rapidity through the country. The bearers knew apparently no man than those from whom they last received the cakes what the purport of the injunction was which directed the preparation of five cakes to be carried on to the villages in advance. " They would be called for ", it was stated, and in this way *chupattees* or their counterparts travelled often over 160 or 200 miles in a night. Those I saw had that morning been delivered on the Etawah side or Mynpoory; yet on the following day, I heard of them at the extremity of Etah and Allygurh. The recipients were for the most part Hindoos, though innocent of any knowledge of an intended Mutiny. All endeavours failed to discover any explanation of this mysterious movement, and yet it was generally acknowledged to be of Hindoo origin, and I have reason to believe that it had some bearing upon the Hindoo prophecy limiting British rule to a centenary of years; also that the 34th. N.I. formerly the " Bundelkhund Legion ", or many of those in its ranks, could supply a solution. I do not doubt that this Regiment went tainted to garrison Lucknow, then infected with the poison of the 19th N.I. and that the course of Relief took both corps into Bengal before any schemes could be matured ".[1]

Deposition of Mohur Singh, Deputy Collector, Meerut regarding the distribution of Cakes:

" In the months of January and February, 1857, it was reported, that *cakes had been distributed* through the chowkeedars, the reason of which was not known, but it was stated that they had come from the east, and that if not distributed, severe punishment would be inflicted."

" Previous to the outbreak, rumours to the following effect very generally prevailed :—

1st. That 2,000 sets of irons were being made for the sepoys.

2nd. That by order of government, *attah mixed with bones was to be* sold.

[1]G. F. Harvey, Commissioner, Agra Division, Narrative of Events attending the outbreak of Disturbances and the Restoration of Authority in the Agra Division in 1857-58, p. 4.

3rd. That the sepoys were to be deprived of the charge of their arms and ammunition.

These reports caused the disturbance.[1]

CHAPATIES

In the following month, February, another signal was given by the widespread distribution of *chupattees* (flat unleavened cakes), an ominous sign. At the time I was "Thanadar" (Head Police Officer) of the Pahargunge Police Station just outside the city of Delhi. Early one morning the village watchman of Indraput came and reported that the watchman of Seraie Faruck Khan had brought him a *chupattee* (which he showed me) and had instructed him to cook five similar *chupattees*, and send them to the five nearest villages of the neighbourhood, with orders that each village chowkeedar was to make five similar ones for distribution. Each *chupattee* was to be made of barley and wheat flour, about the size of the palm of a man's hand, and was to weigh two tolahs. I was astonished, yet I felt that the statement of the watchman was true, and that there was importance in an event which undoubtedly created a feeling of great alarm in the native mind throughout Hindoostan. No extraordinary incident occurred until it was rumoured that on February 26th. 19th. Regiment of Foot at Berampur had refused to take cartridges served out to them, and that the 34th. Regiment had behaved in a similar manner, and that seven companies of that regiment had been dismissed. When I heard this I suspected it was the beginning of a time of trouble. Information of the behaviour of the different regiments was widely circulated by the press, in a native newspaper published at Umballa. Suspecting some significance in all this I deputed men at once to visit the whole of my police jurisdiction, and, after ascertaining whether chupattees had already reached other villages, to forbid their circulation.

My younger brother, Mirza Mahommed Hossein Khan, was Thanadar of the Police jurisdiction of Buddapur, about sixteen miles from Delhi. The same day that I received information about the circulation of *chupattees* in Pahargunge I heard from my brother, by a mounted messenger, that *chupattees* were passing from

[1] Major Williams, Memorandum on the Mutiny and Outbreak at Meerut, p. 1, Depositions taken at Meerut, by Major G. W. Williams, Superintendent of Cantonment Police, N.W.P.

village to village throughout his jurisdiction; that pieces of goat's flesh were also being distributed; and he asked me what was to be done. I wrote to him at once to use all his influence to prevent the circulation, and immediately sent word to the authorities.

For some days I received no orders; subsequently an order came to inquire and report what was intended by this circulation. Other letters now came to me from Thanadars of Alipur and Sheopur, who asked for advice what to do.

I then received orders to stop the circulation. In the meantime my brother was deputed to go both to Allyghur and Muttra and inquire whether this circulation was general throughout the country. From him I learned that he had travelled over a large part of the Delhi division, and wherever he had gone he found the *chupattee* had been received from some place still further east. He was beset with questions, but whence the sign had come no one could tell; neither its origin, nor its intention, were known.

My brother suggested that letters should be sent to the civil authorities of other districts to trace this mattter, or else that he should be allowed to trace it to its very source; but no permission was given. Next, I received an order from Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, then Joint Magistrate at Delhi, to report privately what I believed to be the origin of the matter. I wrote that I had heard from my father how, in the downfall of the Mahratta-power, a sprig of china (or millet),[1] and a morsel of bread, had passed from village to village, and that it was more than probable that the distribution of this bread was significant of some great disturbance, which would follow immediately. I had no further official communications or orders on this matter[2].

We had had the celebrated "chupattees" in our district; but I am almost inclined to think more has been made of them than was their due. The village watchmen received them, and forwarded them, or similar ones, elsewhere, as they were requested to do; but all agree that the watchman had no definite idea of what was meant. If the transmission of these cakes was only intended to create a mysterious uneasiness, that object was gained. But if the affair was a signal for united action, it failed altogether and ended in a bungle, for no united action took place. And it must be remembered that the circulation of *chupattees* is a superstí-

[1]The Santhals send round a sprig of the sal tree (Shorea-o-robusta) if they desire to attract public attention.

[2]Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, "*Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*, (1898), pp. 39-41.

tious practice not unknown in Central India, resorted to, we are told, in the hope of passing on epidemics.[1]

THE BONE-DUST STORY

On the 8th. of March 1857, a Merchant, of the name of Dilowallee Singh, sent down the canal 200 maunds of atta, which had been ground in the mills at Bhola, five miles distant from Meerut. This supply was taken to Cawnpore and there exposed for sale in the market, and sold at once to the retail dealers at the rate of 17 seers per rupee. To the end of the same month other supplies by this and two other merchants came into the bazar from the (*sic*,) some mills or others in the neighbourhood, to the extent of 800 maunds more. The first thing that seemed to cause suspicion that this atta was adulterated was its every (*sic*,) cheapness—wheat unground being priced at 18 seers for the rupee. The reason of this cheapness was simply that the first merchant, being aware that other very large supplies were or would be shortly on their way down to the same market, was desirous of clearing himself of the whole of his stock before the arrival of the fresh article, and therefore placed it at a low figure. A sepoy, who had purchased some of the atta from the retail dealer, spread the evil report of its adulteration with bullock's and pig's bones ground at the mills. The report soon circulated; it was believed by all who wished to be disaffected. All further sales of atta were suspended, and though every means were used to rebut the senseless and unfounded report that had caused this cessation of sales, for some time all was of no use. A moonshee, of the name of Kurreem Buksh, a Commissariat Gomashta, even went to the mills where the atta was ground, and saw for his own satisfaction the whole process of grinding. He was convinced that there was nothing wrong, and purchased three rupees worth of the article on the spot for his own consumption. Sepoys also, to the number of one hundred, went at various periods to inspect the mills and see the mode of preparing the atta. The moonshee and the sepoys all stated that the report was without foundation. Their statement did thus much, that a small quantity of atta was taken off the dealers' hands at the reduced rate of 28 seers per rupee. No further supplies, however, left the mills,

[1]J. W. Sherer, *Daily Life During the Indian Mutiny* (Personal experiences of 1857) 1910, pp. 7-8. cf. William Edwards, *The Personal Adventures During the Indian Rebellion* in Rohilcund, Futtehghur and Oudh (London, 1858), pp. 15-16, Hutchinson, *Narrative of the Mutnies in Oudh*, (Calcutta, 1859), p. 24, Proceedings on the *Trial of Muhammed Bahadur Shah*, pp. 74, 81, 85, 100, J. W. Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. I, pp. 632-39.

and that which was remaining in the market was spoilt. There were 2,000 maunds ready to be loaded at the mills, but on the 10th. of April all operations in this article were closed.[1]

About mixing of Bone-Dust with the flour:

" ..... Under date the 24th. April, 1857, the Native Agent of the Navigation Department at Cawnpore forwarded to Mr. James Finn, the Superintendent a report stating that provision had been made for the transport of 1,000 maunds of flour to Cawnpore, of which 200 maunds had arrived and been offered for sale, that evil-disposed people had however spread a report among the sepoys that in grinding the grain at the Canal mills the bone dust of cows and swine had been mixed with the flour by order of Government, and with the object of defiling Hindoo and Mahommedan alike, that much excitement had been created and none of the flour sold; he therefore requested instructions how he was to a act. He was informed in reply, that the Canal Officers had no concern either with the mills or the grain ground in them, that they were entirely in the hands of Native contractors with whom the proprietors of the grain made their own arrangements, and that the report of any interference of Government with the purity of the flour was false, that he might give this assurance to all requiring information, but no further steps need be taken in the matter.[2]

Bones in flour:

I hear that there is a general feeling among the Natives that our Government is trying to make Christians of them by these unclean cartridges, and by mixing with their alter (*sic*,) (flour) beef and pig's bones finely ground. Some months ago I was sending some whole wheat to a little mill on a stream a short distance from Simla to be ground, it makes such nice brown bread. We had often found our bread gritty with dust. My *ayah*, when she heard that I was sending this wheat, asked me to send some for her also, as there was a report in the bazar that all the flour was mixed with the bones, finely ground, of cows and pigs. I laughed at her, and said ' *Ayah*, what nonsense ! Who says so? " She replied, ' It is quite true, all the bazar people say so ". I

[1] W. H. Carey, *The Mahomedan Rebellion*, (Roorkee, 1857), pp. 27-28.

[2] *Mutiny Narrative.*--Appendix to the Saharanpore Narrative--Report of Proceedings at --Roorkee during the disturbances of 1857-58 by Lieutenant Colonel R. Baird Smith, p. 1.

thought it meant merely that the *banniahs* (merchants) did it to increase the weight of their flour [1]

FAQIRS

Fukeer emissary at Meerut, April 1857:

151. All the rumours by which the minds of the native soldiers were prepared for revolt, were industriously disseminated at Meerut, especially those regarding the use of polluting grease in the preparation of the new cartridges,and the mixture of ground bones in flour, by which, it was said, Government desired to destroy the religion of the people.

152. One of the many emissaries who were moving about the country, appeared at Meerut in April, ostensibly as a fukeer, riding on an elephant with followers, and having with him horses and native carriages. The frequent visits of the men of the native Regiments to him attracted attention, and he was ordered through the police to leave the place. He apparently complied; but, it is said, he staied (*sic,*) some time in the lines of the 20th. Native Infantry.[2]

Deposition of Gunga Pershad Tehsildar:

"..... In the end of April, a faqir appeared at Soorujkoond; the sepoys constantly took him to dine with them in their lines. He was ordered to leave by the late Mr. Johnstone, then Magistrate".[3]

Deposition of Narain Dass, Gomashtah:

"..... I beg to state that the faqir alluded to, arrived here, perhaps about a month (I cannot exactly recollect) previous to the 10th. of May, 1857, and put up, he said at

[1] Letter of Mrs. Keith Young to her sister in London, Ellerstie, Simla, 14th. May 1857, Delhi, Edited by General Sir Henry Wylie Norman and Mrs. Keith Young, London, 1902, pp. 17-18, cf. J. W. Kaye, "*History of the Sepoy War in India*", Vol. I, pp. 639-44. Proceedings on the *Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah*, p.100; Raikes. *Notes on the Revolt in N.W.P.*, pp. 13-14.

[2] F. Williams, *Narrative of Events Attending* the Outbreak of Disturbances and the Restoration of Authority in the District of Meerut in 1857-58, p. 26

[3] Williams, Commissioner of the Military Police, N. W. Provinces, Memorandum on the Mutiny and Outbreak at Meerut, p. 5, Deposition Taken at Meerut, by Major G. W. Williams, Superintendent of Cantonment Police, N.W.P.

Soorujkund tank; in the course of his stay at Meerut, he came to me twice, first he asked me to supply him with one day's provisions for his whole followers, who numbered, he said, about 60 men, one elephant and bullocks belonging to his ruth; I paid very little attention to his request, and he sat before me for about half an hour, praising my ancestors, and when he found it was in vain, he went away; after an interval of about four days he came to me again, for the last time and requested me the same as on the previous day, to which I replied, that I could not afford to meet his demands in full more than one rupee, which I presented him with; he accepted it, though unwillingly, and going away, I saw him no more ".

" As much as I knew of him, I can confidently say that he was an inhabitant of somewhere near Benares, or in the vicinity of Oudh. I had seen him also in Kalka, at the foot of the Kussoulee Hills ".[1]

Deposition of Mungul Sain:

" ..... that the fukeer came with an elephant, a ruth and horses, he pitched his camp near the Soorujkund, about the 10th. or 11th. April; sepoys flocked to him, and he visited them in their lines. He was turned out by the order of the Magistrate ".

Deposition of Mirchgee and Jugunnath Dass, Residents of Soorujkund:

" ..... that the fukeer came about a month before the outbreak, and pitched his camp near the tank, he had a melancholy appearance, and was a resident of Ajuddeah (Ayodhya). The sepoys of the 20th. Native Infantry often visited him, and he them in their own lines; where he took up his abode, when turned out from the Soorujkund ".

" The cotwal of the sudder bazar reports, that the fukeer was at Meerut, on the 24th. of April, 1857, and told him, he was a resident of Ajuddeah ".

Deposition of Sagur Brahmin, who lived in the Regimental Bazar of the 20th. N.I:

" ..... that about 25 days before the mutiny, this fukeer, a Hindoo, who had an elephant, a ruth and horses, and

[1]Major Williams, Commissioner of the Military Police, N.W. Provinces, Memorandum on the Mutiny and Outbreak at Meerut, p. 6. Deposition Taken at Meerut by Major G. W. Williams, Superintendent of Cantonment Police, N.W.P.

about 20 or 25 followers, came and took up his abode in the 20th. Native Infantry lines, in the huts of the 4th. Company."

Deposition of Moulah Bux, Havildar, 20th. N.I:

" ..... that about 15 days before the outbreak, he heard of a fukeer of this description, he had an elephant, a ruth and horses, and about 10 followers, he came to the 20th. Regiment Native Infantry lines, 4th. Company, and remained a few days, he appeared to be a Hindoo, and a resident of Ajuddeah ".

Deposition of Asudullah, Jemadar, 20th. N.I.:

" ..... that in February, he was at the Rifle Depot, Umballa, and remained 4 months, during which time, a fukeer, who had an elephant, a ruth and horses, and a few followers, was there, he saw him on the road ".*[1]

UNTRUSTWORTHY—WHO ?

Hindoos Untrustworthy:

Opinion of a Court of Inquiry assembled at Barrackpore on Friday, the 17th. April, 1857, by order of Major General J.B. Hearsey, C. B. Commanding the Presidency Division, for the investigation of such matter as shall be laid before the Court by Captain G. C. Hatch, Deputy Judge Advocate General of the Division:

" The Court, from the evidence before them, are of opinion that the Sikhs and Mussulmans of the 34th. Regiment, Native Infantry, are trustworthy soldiers of the State, but that the Hindus generally of that corps are not trustworthy."

The Court adjourned at 3 p.m. sine die.[2]

The Mohammedan Conspiracy:

It is the general opinion that this conspiracy, to exterminate the Europeans in India, has been the work of years; and it is said that proof of such has been discovered in Calcutta; but in all the

*[1] In the first incendiary fires that broke out, Brij Mohun's house was one of those burnt, as is shown by the following extract from the Police Register Sudder Bazar: "13th. April after 12 o'clok in the night, Pramdeal chokeedar, reported that in the middle of the 3rd. Cavalry Lines Brij Mohun Sowar's house, and four others were burnt.

Ibid., p. 6. cf. *Parliamentary Papers, 'Relating to the Mutiny in the Punjab in* 1857", pp. 102-103.

[2] Forrest, G. W., *State Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 155-169.

documents to which we have had access, we have failed to obtain any evidence that would lead us to the same opinion. To the commencement of the late Persian campaign we would ascribe the first stir made by those who have been foremost in the struggle. It was then,—at the close of the last and beginning of the present year,—that the elements began to be agitated. The news of the capture of Herat in January had scarcely come upon us, when the tocsin of war sounded from China. Oudh and our Nepaul frontier required the most careful attention. Our new Burmese possessions were sources of great anxiety. The dominions of the Nizam—the Deccan, Gwalior, Rajpootana, and the Santhal district, all demanded the most unflinching resolution and the constant backing up of troops. The natives appeared to have been alive to the weakness of our military power; the deficiencies in every branch of the army, especially as regarded its numerical force in Europeans. The conference of friendship with Dost Mahomed Khan also placed us in an awkward position, and seems to have opened up a hornet's nest around us.....[1]

In the passages italicised it is plainly stated—1st. That the Mussulmans of India (the Shah proclaims it) had cause for fear in the matter of their religion, from the bad faith and deceitful mode of proceeding adopted by the British in invasion and annexation. 2nd. That the war he was about to enter upon was a religious war, and that all good Mahommedans should arm in defence of the orthodox faith of the Prophet, and slay and exterminate in the cause of God. 3rd. That armies had been equipped and appointed to march on India for the assistance of the faithful residing there. 4th. Combination is recommended and a general rising. 5th. All true believers are informed that this war has been waged for the purpose of taking vengeance on the British for all the injuries which the Holy Faith has suffered from them.

Here then is, in our opinion, some clue to the formidable rebellion now overcome.[2]

The Political Conspiracy

Intrigues at Delhi:

"*The Moffussilite* states that a document has been discovered at Delhi containing the names of all those to whom the King of Delhi

[1]The proclamation deleted.

[2]W. H. Carey, *The Mahomedan Rebellion*, its premonitory symptoms, The Outbreak and Suppression, with an Appendix, (Roorkee, 1857), pp. 1-5, cf. " Address of the Judge Advocate General to the Court", Proceedings on the *Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah* pp. 147-48.

has for many years past been in the habit of making present of money. It is affirmed that the document contains the names of men in almost every regiment throughout the late Bengal Army, and of many native functionaries in high civil employ."[1]

Hindu Conspiracy:

A handful of Englishmen holding a continent, not by overwhelming forces, but mainly by the impression on the native mind that they were invincible. As years went on, familiarity with our system of government and resources opened the eyes of many to the belief that our numbers were insignificant. "What number of fighting men could a wretched little island (Japu) ever so far away in the Northern Seas produce?" and "Who was this John Company (Jan Compani) Bahadur who ruled so vast a territory as Hindoostan? Was he an individual?" Opinions differed as to who or what he was. It was clear that "he" or "it" held India by a native army. If that could desert his cause, what could the few Feringhis scattered here and there do, cut off from all co-operation and assistance? It needed no teaching to instil this idea into the native mind. The truism was patent to everyone who devoted a moment's thought to the matter.

Whether, then, this idea first suggested a plan to tamper with the native army, or whether the tampering was attempted on the discovery that there was serious disaffection in the ranks, has never been, and probably never will be, satisfactorily ascertained. The general impression is that the Mahommedans were the instigators, and induced the Hindus to join them. But Mahommedans are bad conspirators: their methods are too clumsy, they are too ready to break into violence; they are wanting in many essentials to work out a successful conspiracy. On the other hand, the Hindus have a genius for conspiracy: they possess a power of patience, of foreseeing results, of carefully weighing chances, of choosing time and weapon, of profiting by circumstances, never losing sight of the object desired, taking advantage of every turn of fortune–all qualities invaluable for success in intrigue. The circulation of the chupatties before the outbreak was an exact repetition of what happened before the Mahrattas invaded Northern India, only in place of goat's flesh a sprig of millet had accompanied the bread. Before the Santhal rebellion, a branch of the sal-tree (Shorea-robusta) had been sent from village to village. Hindus being vegetarians,

[1] *The Friend of India*, January 7, 1857, p. 8, "The Weekly Epitome of News", January 2.

it seems probable that a bit of raw flesh had a Mahommedan origin; or, as has been suggested, it might have signified extermination. I am inclined to think that this was its real meaning. A Mahommedan Jehad would have been proclaimed by preaching, and raising the standard of the Prophet. The probability is that it was a joint proclamation, the work of Hindus as well as of Mahommedan conspirators. It may be accepted as a historical fact that the annexation of Oudh intensified the prevailing disaffection and hastened the Rebellion. That act would have affected both sets of religionists, as the Hindoo population is largely in excess of Mahommedans in Oudh. Other instances, as that of the mutiny of the cavalry at Segowlie, which was brought about by Mahommedan emissaries from Lucknow, and the rebellion of Koer Sing, a Hindoo of Shahabad, show clearly that both religions were at work against British authority. Koer Sing was no doubt influenced by that arch-fiend, the Nana, from Bithoor, with whom he had been in constant correspondence. Koer Sing, in his turn, attempted to influence the Rajahs of Behar; but in the cases of the Maharajahs of Dumraon and Dev, and the old Maharanee of Tikhari, the English found loyal friends, for they turned a deaf ear to both threats and promises. It has always been a matter of surprise to me that the histories of the Indian Mutiny have taken so little notice of the part played by the Nana of Bithoor, whose role it was to stir up the Hindoo population.[1]

PRE-MATURE UPRISING

From

J. C. Wilson, Esquire,
Commissioner on Special Duty,

To

G. F. Edmonstone, Esquire,
Secretary to Government, Allahabad.

Dated, Camp Calcutta, the 24th. December, 1858

Sir,

In compliance with the express commands of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, I beg to submit the following narrative of the events, which came under my personal cognizance during the mutiny and rebellion.

[1]Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, C.S.I., " *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*", (1898), pp. 8-10.

2. You are aware that during the commencement of the year 1857, I held the position of Judge and Sessions Judge of Moradabad, and that consequenly I had nothing to do with the executive of either the province or the district itself. But shortly after the outbreak at Meerut, seeing that a fearful mutiny and revolution were imminent, that the Magistrate and Joint Magisttrate had only been recently appointed to their respective posts, (Mr. C. B. Saunders had joined, I think, in February, and Mr. J. S. Campbell, in March 1857), and feeling that my standing in the service, my long incumbency at Moradabad, and the regard which all the really good citizens bore me, might benefit the state, and be the means of saving the shedding of Christian blood, I applied to the Officiating Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces, Agra, begging, in the event of my services being required, for an expression of implicit confidence and *carte blanche* to do as I liked. An answer having been received by electric telegraph in the affirmative, I did my utmost—with what result, will be unfolded in the following pages.

3. Having premised thus much, I proceed with my narrative. Carefully collating oral information with facts as they occurred, I am convinced that Sunday, 31st. May, 1857, was the day fixed for the mutiny to commence throughout the Bengal Army; that there were committees* of about three members in each regiment, which conducted the duties, if I may so speak, of the mutiny; that the sipahees, as a body, knew nothing of the plans arranged; and that the only compact entered into by regiments, as a body, was that their particular regiment would do as the other regiments did. The committee conducted the correspondence and arranged the plan of operations, viz., that on the 31st. May, parties should be told off to murder all European functionaries, most of whom would be engaged at church, seize the treasure, which would then be augmented by the first instalment of the rubbee harvest, and release the prisoners, of which an army existed in the North Western Provinces alone, of upwards of twenty-five thousand men. The regiments in Dehli, and its immediate vicinity, were instructed to seize the magazine and fortifications; but the massacre being complete and thoroughly carried out, and all opposition being thus rendered impossible, it was arranged that all other brigades and out-posts should remain at their respective stations.

*I have reasons for believing that most of these committee men, being leading spirits, were killed at Dehli. Bhola Singh, pay havildar of the 5th. Company, 29th. Regiment, was assuredly one of the committee, and I know that he was killed at Dehli.

4. From this combined and simultaneous massacre on the 31st. May 1857, we were, humanly speaking, saved by Lieutenant Colonel Smyth, commanding the 3rd. Regiment of Bengal Light Cavalry and the frail ones of the Meerut bazar. Colonel Smyth had been engaged at the Hurdwar fair as president of a committee for passing remounts into the public service. On his return to the headquarters of his regiment, he found that some dissatisfaction had been expressed by some of the troopers as to taking the same pistol cartridges which had been served out to the regiment for the two previous years. He insisted upon their being served out to, and taken by the men. His order was obeyed. The men refused. A court-martial was convened. Eighty-five men of the 3rd. Light Cavalry were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and, having been put in fetters, were escorted to the Meerut jail, which is situated on the road to Dehli. And now the frail ones' taunts were heard far and wide, and the rest of the regiment was assailed with words like these:—"Your brethren have been ornamented with these anklets and incarcerated; and for what? Because they would not swerve from their creed; and you, cowards as you are, sit still indifferent to their fate. If you have an atom of manhood in you, go and release them". The mine had been prepared and the train had been laid, but it was not intended to light the slow-match for another three weeks. The spark which fell from female lips ignited it at once. Meerut was in a blaze, and the night of the 10th. May, 1857 saw the commencement of a tragedy, never before witnessed since India passed under British sway.[1]

Deposition of Musummat Golab jaan :

"At the time of the outbreak, I was residing with the late Dr. Smith; was on that day in his house, and informed him of the *intended outbreak*,* of which, I heard from my mother; she learnt it from a Cashmeerian girl, named Sophie, who was told by a sepoy, at about 2 p.m. on that day, that the troops would mutiny and massacre the Europeans.....[2]

[1]J. C. Wilson, Commissioner on Special Duty, Narrative of Events Attending the Outbreak of Disturbances and the Restoration of Authority in the District of Moradabad, in 1857-58 pp. 1-2. The report of J. C. Wilson has been dismissed by S N. Sen with the remark that the conclusion was not supported by evidences (S. N. Sen, 1857), 1957, p. 402. The report deserves more careful examination for nowhere the authorities were able to get written evidences. More than hundred statements were collected in respect of Maulvi Liaqat Ali of Allahabad but the authorities could not elicit even as much as was generally known to be true. (File of Maulvi Liaquat Ali, Allahabad C. Record Office).

*This is the only glimpse, of an intention to mutiny being known to any individual.

[2]Major Williams, Commissioner of the Military Police, N. W. Provinces, Memorandum on the Mutiny and Outbreak at Meerut, p. 23, Deposition Taken at Meerut, by Major G. W. Williams, Superintendent of Cantonment Police, N.W.P.

Pre-mature Outbreak:

It was probably most mercifully ordered in our favour by a gracious Providence, that the ill-devised severities at Meerut caused the outbreak to take place there before the plot was ripe. At other stations, and particularly at Lucknow, Europeans took the alarm, and were thus enabled to prepare for their defence; for had the conspiracy been matured, and burst forth, as is believed was the intention, suddenly, upon one appointed day, there is too much reason to fear that it would have been successful.[1]

SEPOYS DIVULGE PLAN

Speech of the Sepoys before Bahadur Shah:

"You are the King of both the worlds -terrestrial and spiritual." The whole of India is under your sway and every announcement is preceded by, "God is the master of the Creation, Order (*sic*, Country) belongs to the King and the Command is that of Company". The English have been ruling on your behalf. We have come to you with our grievances. We expect justice from you. We are the servants of the English. It is we who have conquered the whole territory of 1400 Kos extending from Calcutta to Kabul for the English, because they did not bring any English army with them from England. Now when they have subjugated the whole of India, they have changed their mind and want to convert every one of us into Christians and thus meddle with our religion. They applied this policy first in our army. After careful deliberation and due consideration they thought of a new plan. A new type of gun was invented for which a cartridge greased with the fats of certain animals was used. God only knows as to which were those animals whose fats were used. Both the Hindoos and Mussulmans among us refused to obey the order. The Hindoos pleaded that they belonged to high castes—Brahmin and Kshattriyas etc. and that they did not take meat at all. The Muslims also objected saying they did not take the meat of those animals which were not killed in accordance with the Muslim religious rites.

"Thus a dispute (between the Government and the Indian Soldiers) ensued. The Government thought that we had wilfully disobeyed the orders and therefore only to ensure good discipline insisted on the practice whereas we sepoys considered it sacrilegious to use it. Consequently the relations got strained and the situation took a serious turn.

[1]M. R. Gubbins, *The Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 100.

"This dispute now has been continuing for the last four months. Government Officers are discussing the matter in their Committees and we have also circulated the letters in our own regiments of the *Infantry and Cavalry to the effect that 'the entire army should totally refuse to honour the order, and leave service, and in case any stringent measures are taken, a revolt should break out on one and the same date all over India. Then it would be seen as to what they could do?'* Accordingly this received the approbation of us all and the entire army disobeyed. The trouble originated from a decision of the officers of the regiments to revolt first at Meerut—a great military centre and a place where the old and experienced army was stationed.

"Now, in pursuance of the above, the English Soldiers (white men) stood in files with their artillery at the Parade ground on a fixed day and date. Then our 3rd. Regiment of Indian Sepoys was called to parade and our officers were given the guns and cartridges with clear orders to cut them open with teeth. We pleaded inability to comply with their order on the ground of religion and said ' we would prefer to be blown up by the gun rather than to commit such a sacrilegious act '. Once again, we were ordered to do that and once again we refused in a body. When that was repeated a third time we were ordered to lay down the arms we had. We obeyed. Next we were ordered to dismount (from our horses) and we obeyed again. The third command for us to stand aside from the soldiery was also obeyed. 84 Officers stood aside from other Sepoys. Next we were ordered to be hand-cuffed. We obeyed ungrudgingly. Then we were ordered to go to the gaol. We saluted and left for the gaol.

When we entered the gaol the Meerut Camp was in a state of great commotion. In every house there was a discussion about this. Particularly the ladies were most zealous and those whose men were sent to gaol were most vociferous,(in their protestations). They mocked and jeered at the sepoys saying, ' *Give us your arms: we shall fight and liberate the brave officers who have been confined to gaol. You can keep inside the home and can put on bangles* '. Those taunts spurred all the sepoys and they decided to stake their lives in liberating the imprisoned officers. In the night, foot-soldiers and horse-men, joining hands, raided the gaol, opened its doors and liberated the officers. The other prisoners—bad characters confined in the gaol—were also set free. The Government now ordered the white soldiers to get armed with their artillery and to charge us. The whole night, we fought them. In the morning we started towards Delhi and with forced marches reached this place after covering a distance of 30 Kos. Your Majesty should

extend your kind and sympathetic hand for we have done all this in the cause of religion."

Conversation between the Resident of Delhi and the Rebels:

The Resident.—(addressing the rebel officers who had reached Delhi.) Oh! Baba Log!' What a disturbance you have created. We have brought you up like children. We always thought that you would fight for us and defend your country against foreign invasions of Russia or Persia. We spent crores on your training and made you fine soldiers. We never dreamt you would attack and point the guns at us and thus, be culpable of perfidy.

Sepoys.—Respected Sir! You are certainly right. The company has brought up us but we have never proved faithless to her; we have never hesitated to spare our lives (for her) and have always obeyed our officers through thick and thin. We fought for the English at Kabul, in Lahore and proved true to our salt. Now when the Company is the master of the whole of India, she interferes with our religion and wants to convert us to Christianity. We have been ordered to bite the cartridges with our teeth. We cannot abjure religion. We are here, risking our lives and we have already considered ourselves dead since the moment we opened the door, of the gaol.

The Resident.—Baba Log! listen to me. Give up the idea of killing us and fighting with us. On solemn oath, I promise to intercede for you and to save your life and honour, if you even now desist from further killing and fighting. I shall get all those punished who are responsible for playing false with you and your religion. His Majesty, the King also shares my opinion and advises you to stay back and remain peaceful.

Sepoys.—Sir! We cannot trust you. You have often won victories through deceptive contrivances. Supposing we obey you, where is the guarantee that you will not hang us the other day? It is better to die fighting than to be hanged at the hands of a scavenger.

The Resident.—No ! no. Do not entertain any doubts. I swear by the Bible, I shall never play false with you. The King is also with me and shares the same view.

Some of the rebels who were considerate and far-sighted said that it was wise to act up to the advice of the Resident, but others distrusted him, being a Christian.[1]

[1]Zahir Dehlvi, *Dastan-i-Ghadar* (Urdu), pp. 46-53.

INDIAN PRESS FANS NATIONALISM

" While at Meerut I was a guest of the editor of the Journal which used to issue from that station, and as my stay extended over six weeks, during which period I frequently assisted the editor in his work, I gained some knowledge of the practical working of the press in the Upper Provinces. I am authorized to make any use I please of this knowledge.

"In the first place I may mention that the order of Government forbidding civilians or military men corresponding with the press, was, to every intent and purpose, a perfect farce and a dead letter. On the staff of the Meerut paper were several gentlemen belonging to each branch of the service. These gentlemen not only wrote, but some of them wrote for pay for so much per column; while the correspondence columns were filled with letters from covenanted civilians or commissioned officers, judges, and magistrates and their subordinates; brigadiers, colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns contributed anonymously, whenever the spirit moved them. Ay! and frequently the members of the staff of the Governor General and of the Commander-in-Chief would not only send items of news, but comments thereon; and I have reason to know that this practice was continued up to the date of the recent outbreak, and is still continued. By the way, the late Major Thomas was virtually the editor of *The Mufussilite* at Agra at the time he received his death-wound in the field of battle. The Delhi newspaper was also written for by civilians and military men of all grades.

"It was the press that introduced to the notice of the Government many clever and able men, who had no other interest to help them. I could mention scores of instances, but two will suffice: Herbert Benjamin Edwards, of the Bengal Fusiliers, the " Brahminee Bull " of *The Delhi Gazette*, and Mr. Campbell, of the Civil Service, who was " given up " to Lord Dalhousie as the " Debator " of *The Mufussilite*, and promoted to an office of great responsibility. In the last-mentioned paper there also appeared, in eighteen hundred and forty-seven, forty-eight, and forty-nine, a series of leading articles on military reform and other matters, some of which attracted the notice of Sir Charles Napier. They came from the pen of General (then Major) Mansfield, of the Fifty-third Foot, and at present Chief of the Staff of Sir Colin Campbell. It was not to silence these men, who displayed their ability in the newspapers, that they were placed in staff employ, or promoted. On the contrary, I know that *they were expected—and in some instances requested—to use their pens in defence of certain Government measures;*

and that, on several occasions, they did vigorous battle with their former literary chief, the editor of the paper in which they first made their appearance in print. I remember that on one occasion the editor, on being beaten in an argument, headed his admission of the fact with the following lines:—

'Keen are our pangs; but keener far to feel,
We nursed the opinion that impels the steel.'

There are no newsmen in the Upper Provinces of India, nor, indeed, in any of the Presidencies. Whoever wishes to take a journal must subscribe for a certain period—year or half-year. The rates for *The Mofussilite*, or *The Delhi Gazette*, were three pounds twelve shillings per annum, or two pounds per six months. The net profits of both these papers, in eighteen hundred and forty-nine and fifty, were upwards of five thousand pounds per annum. With the exception of *The Friend of India*, when under the control of its original proprietor, these journals of the North-West were by far the most remunerative of any in the East.

There was a native newspaper published at Meerut, called the *Jam-i-Jumsheed*, which title signifies a bowl or glass, into which if you look, you will see what transpires in the whole world. The history of this paper is very curious.

It was founded without the knowledge, privity, or consent of the conductor of the European journal, by the head pressman of his establishment, who was a Brahmin. The editor of this native print, which was lithographed in the Oordoo language, was the moonshee of the English press at Meerut. He was well-skilled in English, and his chief employment was translating the native correspondence. Having constant access to the desks of the compositors, this press moonshee acquired a knowledge of every item of news furnished by European as well as native correspondents, and of this knowledge he failed not to avail himself. This, however, was but a small evil, comparatively. Unknown to the conductor of the Meerut paper, a much greater evil arose from the publication of the native print. Availing himself of such sources of information, its editor seized the views of his employer—views intended only for European eyes, and gave his own version of them to his readers in the Hindoostanee language and, what was equally mischievous, he published quantities of matter which the conductor of the Meerut paper thought proper to suppress after it was set up in type. These were the morsels in which the native editor took most delight. A single instance will suffice. The following appeared in the leading columns of the *Jam-i-Jumsheed*, the facts having been

kept out of the columns of the Meerut paper at the instance of the friends of the gentleman who was guilty of the indiscretion:—

An act of retributive justice has just been committed by the worthy magistrate of this district. It was supposed that an escaped convict from the jail was secreted in a village about four miles distant from this cantonment. In the dead of the night, the magistrate, at the head of a large body of police, visited the village, aroused the inhabitants from their slumbers, and demanded the culprit. The villagers denied any knowledge of him. The magistrate with characteristic kindness and consideration, gave them half an hour to make up their minds. At the expiration of that time, as the culprit was not produced he set fire to the village. *In those flames, which illuminated the country for miles round, thirteen lives were sacrificed; namely, those of three men, four women, and six children.* One of the unfortunate women was in labour at the time. Some malicious natives in the neighbourhood of Meerut give out that the Sahib has been notoriously mad for several years past. Let us hope, however, that the Lieutenant Governor will not heed such insinuations, but after complimenting the magistrate on his vigour and his zeal, appoint him to the first judgeship that may become vacant. No less than six hundred persons are, by this fire, rendered homeless beggars. But what of that? Must justice be obstructed?

It remains for us to add that the escaped convict of whom the magistrate was in search, has been in Oude for the past month, and that no notice of this affair will appear in any of the papers printed in English and edited by the Sahib Logue. Those gentlemen are far too modest to make known the manifest blessings which arise out of British rule in India.

For upwards of a year and a half the native paper went on filching news, and writing in the above strain. At length the conductor of the Meerut journal was furnished with some information which led to his discharging his employees, the head pressman and the moonshee, and breaking up their journal, the *Jam-i-Jumsheed.* And more than this was done. The danger of permitting native newspapers to be published without any sort of supervision was elaborately, and from time to time dwelt upon by the English editor, *and at length the Government was moved to call for a return of the journals printed in the Hindoostanee language in the Upper Provinces of India, and for an account of the number of copies that each issued.* With this return and account the Government was well satisfied; first, because the aggregate circulation was so ridiculously small (comparatively), that it was quite clear that *the native press*

had no power or influence; and, secondly, that the tone of the best conducted and most respectable journals of the native press were loud in their praises of British rule, and firm supporters of the Government. It was overlooked with reference to the first point, that in no country, and in India especially, is the actual circulation of a newspaper any criterion of the number of persons acquainted with its contents, its-chief items of intelligence, and its sentiments on the most important questions of the day. Let us take for example, the greatest paper in the world—*The Times*. Compare the number of copies that are struck off daily with the number of hands into which that paper passes, the number of eyes that read it, and the number of ears that listen to hear it read. As to the second point, the praise of the Government of India, it was laughable to hear it mentioned, albeit the subject was of so serious a character. That praise was bestowed very much in the same spirit that Jack Wilkes is said to have conveyed a serious warning, with a humorous grin, to an election mob—"I hear that it is your intention, gentlemen, to take that person (there!) who is interrupting me, place him under that pump, and duck him! Now, if you should do so, no matter how much it may be for his own good, you will—I give you this emphatic warning—incur my most serious displeasure, gentlemen!" They (the native editors) used to wrap up the most bitter irony in the most complimentary phrases, and frequently their allusions, if viewed abstractedly, were both humorous and witty. A case in point. The late Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, a few years ago, presided at an examination of the students of a Government public school. Amongst other questions which His Honour put to the boys of the first class was this—"How does the world go round?" The head boy, a very intelligent Hindoo, gave an admirable reply—spoke, as the saying is, like a book. The editor of a native paper, in a notice of the examination, predicted that this boy would come to a bad end for giving such an answer to the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces. "He ought", said the native editor, "when so questioned by so potent a ruler, as to the cause of the world's going round, to have flung science into the gutter, and, having assumed the most cringing attitude imaginable, he should have placed his hands together and then have responded meekly, 'By your honour's grace, favour, and kindness, does this planet revolve upon its axis." This same editor once wrote a notice of a ball given by the officers of the Horse Artillery Mess at Meerut to the ladies of the Twenty-ninth Foot, on the occasion of that last-mentioned and distinguished regiment coming to the station. When translated, literally to an Englishman this

notice would seem the most flattering account possible; but, if such Englishman took it in the sense in which Asiatics understood and comprehended it, he would, without any sort of doubt, have admitted that it was the most extraordinary and ingenious admixture of satire and obscenity that ever was printed and published!

"The same editor, during the second Sikh campaign, burlesqued the despatches of Lord Gough; but so cleverly, that they were taken by English people, who heard them translated, as genuine productions. This was the man who never lost an opportunity of bringing British rule in India into disgrace, ridicule, and contempt amongst his countrymen, and who, eventually, by producing his writings, and having them translated literally, succeeded in obtaining an appointment under the Government worth one hundred and fifty per mensem! The great article on which his good fortune was based, was one descriptive of Lord Dalhousie, on the back of an elephant, proceeding to a spot appointed as the place of an interview between his Lordship and the late Maharajah Golab Singh. Neither the London nor the Paris Charivari ever surpassed this squib, so far as its spirit of ridicule was concerned, while in point of mischief those European journals of fun would never have dreamed of going the lengths of the Asiatic writer".

"What became of this native editor"? may be reasonably asked. I hear that he is now aide-de-camp and military secretary to Bahadoor Khan, the rebel who is at the head of a considerable army, and, according to the latest accounts, in possession of the entire Bareilly district. He (the native editor) is a Mahommedan, of very ancient and good family; he has an extremely handsome person and plausible manners, and should I again wander in India, it will not at all surprise me to find him in the service of the British Government, and filling some office of considerable dignity and emolument."[1]

Political existence denied:

"..... Day by day our fellow subjects in the United Kingdom are extending their Civil Rights and political privileges, and obtaining a larger and larger share of influence over the acts of their own Government; whilst day after day the people of India cry for a bare recognition of their political existence, and are answered either by a contemptuous silence or by vilifications of their national character."[2]

[1] Lang John, *Wanderings in India,* pp. 233-41, London, July 15, 1859.
[2] *The Hindoo Patriot,* Thursday, May 11, 1854. "The Secret Correspondence."

The Press in India:

1857, April.

"In the first place, we believe that the native press, in India as in England, is a safety valve for excitement. Just after the Afghan catastrophe, *the native journals, teemed with treason:* The British were animals. The Afghans were at hand. The Shahinshah-i-Roos was coming. The dominions of Islam would speedily be restored and the infidels be swept into utter darkness.

"Lord Auckland was advised to abolish the entire Press, and was for a moment, we believe, half tempted to agree. It was represented to him, however, mainly by Mr. Marshman, that no suppression could remove discontent..... "..... at least these papers might be prohibited from libelling everyone in authority. Those who desire this modified censorship mistake, we conceive,the constitution of the native mind ..... But a censorship would not diminish the danger. One strong act ringing through the country will do more to remove such an impression than the most dexterous use of the scissors".[1]

"*The Mofussilite* has a very well-written article upon our idea of the impolicy of restricting the native press. It will be remembered that we urged that the press was a safety valve,even though it was employed to publish treasonable matter.To this *The Mofussilite* objects. However we are still of opinion that the dog which barks seldom bites, though his bark puts all the dogs in the neighbourhood in a state of intense excitement. The man who is going to knock you down does not talk about it first."[2]

The Gagging of the Press:

The Hindu Intelligencer is discontinued from this week. The Editor would not work under restraint, such as the new Press Law imposes on public writers. The paper was started, if we recollect aright, in October 1846.[3]

Delhi Proclamation and the Press Censorship:

"Malicious People have given out that the publication of a translation of the Delhi proclamation in *The Hurkaru* was the moving cause of the new Press Law. Our contemporary denies the soft impeachment; says that *The Friend of India* did nearly the same, and that the proclamation was in the hands of a member

[1] *The Friend of India*, April 9, 1857. p. 339.
[2] *Ibid*,. April 30, 1857. p. 414.
[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, June 25, 1857, p. 202.

of the Council for two weeks before it appeared in the *Doorbeen.* '*The Friend of India*' thinks that the law was made at the instance of Major Holmes, Commandant of the 12th. Irregular Cavalry who was annoyed at the misrepresentations of the Serampur journal respecting the state of feeling in the native troops at Barrackpore and for other offences of a similar nature.[1]

GAGGING OF THE PRESS—THE FIRST WARNING

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

To

J. C. Murray Esqr.,
Printer and Publisher of "The Friend of India".

Dated, Fort William, 29th. June, 1857.

Sir,

I am directed to forward for your information the accompanying copy of a letter No. 1202, dated 29th. June, 1857, from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department relative to an article which appeared in your paper of the 28th. instant.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant.
(Sd.) A. R. YOUNG,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

No. 1202.

From

Cecil Beadon Esqr.,
Secretary to the Government of India.

To

A. R. Young Esqr.,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Dated the 29th. June, 1857.

Sir,

The attention of the Governor General in Council has been given to the first leading article headed:

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, Thursday, July 9, 1857, p. 217.

"The Centenary of Plassey" which appeared in *the Friend of India* of the 25th. instant, and especially to the last two paragraphs which in the judgment of His Lordship in Council are fraught with mischief and calculated at the present time to spread disaffection towards the British Government both among its native subjects and among dependent and allied states.[1]

The article in question infringes everyone of the three conditions upon which licences to keep a printing press are now to be granted. It tends to excite disaffection towards the British Government amongst great masses of the people; it tends to create alarm and suspicion among the Hindoo and Mahommedan population of intended interference by Government with their Religion; and it tends to weaken the friendship towards the Government of Native Princes, Chiefs and States, in dependence upon and alliance with it.

Whatever the intentions of the writer may have been, the tendency of the article is as above described, and the publication of such remarks, even if innocent and admissible in ordinary times, is now under the critical circumstances, which rendered the passing of Act No. 115 of 1857 necessary, most dangerous not only to the Government but to the lives of all Europeans in the provinces not living under the close protection of British bayonets.

I am directed therefore to request that with the permission of the Lieutenant Governor the news of the Government of India may be communicated to the Publisher of *the Friend of India*, and *that he may be warned* that the repetition of remarks of this dangerous nature will be followed by the withdrawal of his Licence.

The Governor General in Council has no intention of interfering with the fair discussion of public measures but he cannot now permit the circulation in India of writings so framed as to excite popular disaffection.

I have &c.
(Sd.) C. BEADON,
Secretary to the Government of India.[2]

Council Chamber,
the 26th. June, 1857.

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, July 9, 1857, reprinted from *The Friend of India*, July 2.
[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, July 9, 1857, p. 223.

Role of Indian Press, 1857:

Lord Canning in introducing the Gagging Bill, the third Black Act said in his Presidential Speech as follows:—

"..... Those whom I have not the honor to address are well-acquainted with the present aspect of public affairs. The disaffection of regiments of the Bengal Army in the North Western Provinces and other places, the lawlessness and evil mindedness displayed by a part of the populations to whom that disaffection has afforded the opportunity of pillage, and the heart-rending loss of life which has occurred are painfully notorious, and I do not want to dwell on them.....

"I do not know whether it is fully understood to what an audacious extent sedition has been poured into the minds of the people by a portion of the native press within the last few weeks. This has been done sedulously, cleverly, artfully. Facts have been grossly misrepresented,..... Besides the misrepresentation of facts however, there is a constant vilification of Government and its subjects. Opportunities have also been taken in this capital and elsewhere to disseminate copies of papers purporting to come from the mutineers of Delhi and other places and containing exhortations to emulate their deeds."[1]

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru*, Monday, June 15, 1857. Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Saturday, June 13, 1857 under the Presidentship of Lord Canning—Others present were Dorin, Chief-Justice, Low, Grant, Peacock, Mr. Curin, Mr. Le Geyt, and Arthur Buller, p. 564. cf. *Ibid.*, Friday, June 19, 1857. Spirit of the Press. The Third Black Act.

INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER SEVEN

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

PROCLAMATIONS

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

DELHI

Court of Administration

In the name of God most merciful

Framing of a Constitution in order to dispel the confusion in Departments and to remove mismanagement from the Military and Civil Administration which is proper and indispensable for the working of the Constitution and the institution of a Court which is essential—the following being the important regulations for the same :

I. A Court shall be instituted which shall be named " Court of Administration " i.e. '*Jalsa-i-Intizam-i-Fauji Wa Mulki*'.

II. Ten members shall be appointed (elected to) on this Court, as per details—six from Military and four from Civil: From amongst those of the Military two from Infantry, two from Cavalry and two from Artillery; four from (Civil).

III. Out of the above ten, one shall unanimously be elected as a President and one as Vice President. The President shall have two votes, and Secretaries shall be appointed in every department as need be. Five of these shall form a quorum.[1]

IV. The following oath shall be administered to each at the time of their taking over, " I shall discharge my duties with honesty and sincerity and shall not show any nepotism and shall work with great labour and profound deliberation and deep thought and shall not miss even the minutest details of administration and shall not directly or indirectly resort to extortion, force or partiality but shall make efforts to carry on the administration in a manner as to ensure the solidarity of the Government and the well-being and comfort of its subjects and shall not disclose to any one either directly or indirectly the decisions arrived at by the Court without the permission of the Court or that of Sahib-i-Alam.[2]

V. The election of the Court shall take place thus: Two members from the Infantry, two from the Cavalry and two from the Artillery with majority of votes. They should be senior in service,[3]

[1]This sentence is not clear in the manuscript and only a general sense has been given.
[2]Apparently Mirza Mughal.
[3]The Constitution in question is available in the form of a draft. It is very interesting to note that though originally the basis of election was made communal i.e. of the two ,one was to be Hindu and the other a Muslim, it was later on deleted from the draft and the seniority and capability were recognized as the criteria of election.

competent, experienced, suitable and wise. But if there is a person who is competent, wise, intelligent and capable of serving at the Court but is not senior in service, this alone cannot debar him from appointment (election) to the Court. The other four Civilian members shall also be likewise appointed (elected).

VI. If after the appointment of the above ten members, any one of them would express any opinion, in the general meeting of the Court, prompted by insincerity, dishonesty and nepotism, he shall be expelled from membership with the unanimous decision of the Court and his substitute shall be appointed in accordance with Clause V.

VII. All the administrative matters shall first be reported for decision to the Court. After the decision of the same by a majority of votes it shall be submitted for the concurrence of the Sahib-i-Alam Bahadur to whom the Court shall be subordinate. After the concurrence of Sahib-i-Alam Bahadur the decisions shall be submitted for the information to His Majesty. No order regarding Military or Civil Administration shall be given effect to without the *decision* of the Court, *concurrence* of Sahib-i-Alam and the *information* of His Majesty. If Sahib-i-Alam does not concur in any decision of the Court it will be referred back to the latter for reconsideration. If again there is a difference of opinion between Sahib-i-Alam Bahadur and the decision of the Court, it shall be submitted to His Majesty whose orders shall be final.

VIII. No one else but the members of the Court, Sahib-i-Alam Bahadur and His Majesty shall be allowed to attend the meetings of the Court. If any one from among the members of the Court is absent from the meeting on strong valid grounds, the decision of the remaining members of the Court arrived at by the majority of votes shall be considered as the decision of the full Court.

IX. If a member wants to move a resolution into the Court, he shall get it seconded by some other member and shall then submit it with the unanimous opinion of two members.

X. When a resolution is moved in the Court in accordance with Clause IX, the mover shall first of all deliver a speech and he shall not be interrupted by others till he finishes. If any member of the Court raises any objection he shall be allowed to do so without being interrupted during his speech. If some third person makes a speech against the objector and moves an amendment or modification and the rest of the Court is silent, each member shall pen down his views separately and the decisions shall

be arrived at in accordance with the majority of votes. After the approval, the decision shall be communicated to the Secretary of each Department.

XI. The members of the Court elected by the different departments of the army stipulated in Clause II shall act as the administrators of the department (of the army) concerned and a Committee of four persons shall be constituted under them, in accordance with Section IV and Secretaries shall also be appointed on this Committee as the need be. The decision arrived at by the majority of opinion in the Committee shall be placed before the Court through the officers concerned and the Court shall act according to Clause VII and the same procedure shall be followed in all Military and Civil Departments.[1]

XII. The Court shall have the powers to amend the Constitution by majority of votes at any time.[2]

Prohibition of Cow Sacrifice by Bahadur Shah: Order of the Commander-in-Chief.

Be it known to Shujaat Nishan the Kotwal of City.

In pursuance of His Majesty's directions it is ordered that Muslims in this city should not sacrifice cow on the occasion of Id-uz-Zuha and if any one sacrifices a cow he will be adequately punished.

Dated 6th. Zilhijja (28th. July, 1857).

GENERAL ANNOUNCEMENT

The creation is God's and the country is King's: Order of the highest officer of the army that any one who slaughters a cow, an ox or a calf (male or female), a buffalo (male or female) openly or secretly, shall be considered as an enemy of His Majesty and shall be punished with death. And if any one falsely accuses some

[1]Commander-in-Chief directed each officer to submit a register of men under him to the Court of the Mutineers (*Press List of Mutiny Papers*, '57 Nos. 546-547).

[2]*Press List of Mutiny Papers*, '57 (539); cf. *Ibid.*, '57 (352) Members of the Court of the Mutineers to the King. Request that the princes may be directed not to interfere in the decision of the Court, *Ibid.*, '57 (573). The King directs the Court to prevent soldiers and elephant drivers from destroying the Royal and private gardens; *Ibid.*, '57 (426-27). The Court informs the officers that the King promises to reward them in case they carry the trenches by assault, and to support their surviving heirs; also *Ibid.*, '57 (429, 431-433, 437, 443-444, 445); *Ibid.*, '57 (470). Orders from the Court to Officers and men to oppose the English who are gradually advancing, *Ibid.*, '60 (774), Proceedings on the *Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah*, p. 13, 15, 17, 22, 39-40, 55; S. A. A. Rizvi, *Swatantra Dilli* (1957), pp. 69-81.

one of this crime, this will also be investigated by His Majesty and whichever party is found guilty will be blown away by the gun.[1]

Letter of Bahadur Shah to the Kotwal:

Be it known to Shujaat Nishan Mubarak Shah Khan Kotwal.

As that devoted servant in accordance with the special letter of the other day had made an announcement in the whole of the city regarding the prohibition of the cow sacrifice, it was written that he should make such an arrangement at the gates of the city that no dealer in cows was allowed to enter the city for the sale of cows and buffalos from that day onwards to three days after the Baqar-Id.

The tamed-cows belonging to the Muslims were to be taken away from them and kept in Kotwali in a safe place. If any one were to make sacrifice of the cows openly or secretly at his house, that would bring ruin upon him. Whatever exertions were to be made regarding the prevention of the entry of cows for sale into the city and the slaughter of tamed-cows from that date till three days after Id-uz-Zuha by him, would be a matter of satisfaction to the Sublime heart. More details were superfluous[2] (7th. Zilhijja (29th. July, 1857).

Letter of the Kotwal addressed to the King:

Your Majesty!

In connection with measures for the prevention of cow slaughter, I beg to submit that if all the tamed-cows of the Muslim inhabitants of the city are brought into the Kotwali for being kept there till three days after the Id-uz-Zuha, there will not be sufficient room in Kotwali for tethering even 40 or 50 cattle; and, in case, the cows of all the Muslims of the city are brought in, a large space or court-yard will be required to keep them there for six days. So far as this obedient servant knows, there is no such place. Although the bringing in of the cows will be laudable and beneficial for their owners too, it is possible that as there were all types of people—far sighted and short sighted—it may be disliked by some and so it may take a new turn.

I, therefore, beg to submit this (suggestion) for your orders, that all the thanadars must obtain securities and bonds from such

[1] *Press List of Mutiny Papers*, 1857, 111C(31).
[2] *Press List of Mutiny Papers*, 1857, 111C(43).

Muslim inhabitants of their Ilaka who have got tamed-cows. Whatever is ordered shall be complied with.

Your devoted servant
(Sd.) MUBARAK SHAH KHAN,
Kotwal.

Petitioned on 7th. Zilhijja[1] (29th. July, 1857).

ORDER OF THE KING

Seal of Mathura Das.

'Kotwal of the City should get the list of all the Muslims who own tamed-cows prepared through thanadars and bonds and sureties should be executed to the effect that they would not, openly or secretly, sacrifice cows. Those who have cows in their houses should keep them there in the same manner and feed them till three days (after Id) as required. They should not take them to pasture. It should be well impressed upon them that if after the expiry of three days the number of cows does not tally with the list and if any one is found to have sacrificed them openly or secretly, he shall be sentenced to death. Extreme precautions are essential. There is then no need to keep them in Kotwali or at some other place.'

7th. Zilhijja[2] (29th. July, 1857).

LUCKNOW

.....Immediately after the disaster of Chinhut on the 30th. June, 1857, the rebel army occupied the city and negotiations were atonce set on foot for the establishment of a rebel Government. There were two candidates for the throne; the first was the son of Mulka Gaitee, a member of the Oudh Royal family and the other Birjees Kudur, a son of the Ex-King. It was recorded in the former trial that the latter claimant, through the influence of the late Rajah Jey (Jai) Lall, Mummoo Khan the Defendant, and the Infantry Sepoys, carried the day against the first named candidate, who was the nominee of the Cavalry.

[1] *Press List of Mutiny Papers*, 111C(44).
[2] *Press List of Mutiny Papers*, 120 (143). For further details vide S. A. A. Rizvi. *Swatantra Dilli*, pp. 110-118.

1st. Crowning of Birjees Kudur:

Birjees Kudur was then duly crowned, and the defendant admits being present at that ceremony and that he took a very prominent part in bringing it about, is testified to by the witnesses named in the margin.[1]

Accepting high office:

A few days after Birjees Kudur was crowned the ministers of state were duly nominated, and the 2nd. Office in importance was bestowed on the prisoner, viz. the Deewan Khannah, which placed him over the Army, the Treasury, the Jail etc. Shurrufood-Dowlah as minister, got the Chief Part, and governed the Country. This, the 2nd. point of the 2nd. Charge, is also fully admitted by the prisoner, and it is abundantly borne out by the witnesses noted in the margin.[2]

Govt. even after the fall of Lucknow:

Moreover there is documentary evidence to this portion of the charge. After the rebels abandoned Lucknow and fled to Boondee they were fortunate in apprehending Abdool Hakeem, an Ex-Assistant in the Oudh Commission. This man was released by Mummoo Khan the prisoner, with a view to his proceeding to Lucknow to make terms for him and the Begum. On that occasion the Defendant gave two documents to the Extra-Assistant which are filed with the proceedings, bearing his Seal of Office as Head of the Deewan Khannah. One of these is a Command to all rebels not to interfere with the bearer, (named in the paper), who is proceeding to Lucknow to bring over the Seikh soldiery to the rebel cause, and the 2nd. is to all persons in charge of ferries duly to cross him over. That the Defendant was at a still more recent date holding high office, is also admitted by the Defendant when he says that he was deputed by the Begum from the Nepaul Territory to Toolseepoor, to reorganize the rebel army. Raheem Bux, witness above marginally cited, and formerly servant of the Defendant also states that while he was at Boondee, the prisoner, who had now become Naib or Minister (as admitted by him) gave orders for a spy of the British Government who happened to be seized in camp to have his hands and nose cut off, which was

[1] Ally Reza Beg, T. Johaimes, Thakoor Diyal, Abdool Rezak, Syed Eusuff.
[2] Mattadeen, Mehmood Ally, Syed Eusuff, Dara Khan, Thakoor Diyal, Ruheem Bux, Fyz Mohomed, Abdoor Ruzzak.

done and the statement is confirmed by the witness Abdoor Ruzzak; so that the Defendant is not free from the penalties of mutilation.

Attending the Rebel Court:

A king now having been crowned and the ministers of state duly appointed, the next link in the curious chain was to establish *a Court at which the heads of departments might meet to settle public affairs, and this was soon done in the building called the Chandee-Walla-Barra-Duree.* The Defendant fully admits his participation in the proceedings of this Court—he says " I and others used to take part in the Courts held in the Chandee-Barra Duree ". The witnesses whose names are detailed in the margin,[1] also confirm this point. The last named witness deposes to the universal belief that a Special Court was assembled on the day that Havelock reached the Alum-Bagh, at which it was decided to kill the Christians, and although he cannot say positively who were present, still as Mummoo Khan always used to attend these Courts, he must have been there on that occasion also. This witness also believes that a court decided the fate of the Mytolee Captives.

This completes the evidence in respect of the 2nd. charge and as the Defendant admits all the points contained in that charge, it is almost unnecessary for me to add that the proof in respect of it, is full and satisfactory.[2]

Statement of Syed Eusuff, being in Ismailgunje Darogah of Mahal Shahinshah:

The Chinhut fight took place on a Tuesday, the rebels entered the city that night, and next morning for 24 hours, then remained comparatively quiet, but after that they began looting everywhere.

This confusion and loot went on for 6 days when it began to be talked about amongst the mutineer soldiery that it was necessary to establish some head. They first of all went to Mulika Ahud offering to set up her son and demanding money to do it with. Mulika refused saying she had no rupee. Rajah Jey Lal Singh hearing of this went to the soldiery and together with Mummoo Khan persuaded the soldiery to set up Birjees Kudur. Muhal Shah tried to dissuade them, saying that they were needlessly bringing destruction upon one of the King's sons. However they negotiated with Huzrut Mahul and the arrangements were

[1] Mattadeen, Mehmood Ally, Munowur Ally Beg, Sufdur Ally, Ganga Hurkara, Gopal Hurkara, Abdoor Ruzzak.

[2] Mutiny Basta, No. 7, Lucknow Collectorate, Trial of Mummoo Khan.

made. Birjees Kudur was then brought into the Kusrool Khakan, a grand Durbar was assembled and he was proclaimed King.

The appointments were then made:—

Shurfood-Dowlah	Naib
Mummoo Khan	Deewan Khana
Hissamood-Dowlah	General
Jey Lal Singh	Collector[1] of the Army.

The soldiers were all working separately upto this time, the Cavalry on their own account, so on with Artillery and Infantry. They agreed that the Government could not be carried on without a Court which should represent the army with the Government and direct the efforts of the former—all branches were to send delegates to this Court and submit to fulfil its orders.

They therefore 8 or 10 days after placing Birjees Kudur on the throne formed this Court which was composed of,

Rajah Jey Lal Singh
Mummoo Khan
Shurfood-Dowlah
Hissamood-Dowlah General (15th. Irregular Cavalry)
Mukdoom Bux
Gummender Singh
Ousan Singh
Omarout Singh
Bahadur Ally
Rughounat Singh
Missery Singh
Gujadhur Singh
Raj Mund Teewaree
Buckt Khan
Wahid Ally Khan
Shahbadee Khan
Meer Wazeer Ally—(12th. Irregular Cavalry)
Sheikh Sukhun —Ressaldar
Moulvee Moostan—Ressaldar
and others.

This Court used to assemble in the Tara Kothee 2 or 3 times a week for deliberation. But as soon as disputes arose between the Moulvee Ahmed Oollah Shah and Mummoo Khan and

[1]An appointment made in the Nawaby time. He was employed to command the forces sent to Collect revenue from Rebellious people.

Shurfood-Dowlah they divided, the majority joining the two latter and assembling in the Nageena Walla Bara Duree, and the few under the Moulvee still remaining in the Tara Kothee.

No body paid much attention to the Moulvee's Court, but the deliberations of the other one were submitted to the Begum, who on confirming them forwarded them to Shurfood-Dowlah, who gave any orders to the Chuckladars himself sending others for Execution to Mummoo Khan to be carried out in the different Departments, for instance work relating to the Magazine went to Meer Kazim Ally, to the army to Rajah Jey Lall Singh, regarding the duties of the city to Eusuff Khan and so on.[1]

KANPUR

Statement of Hulas Sing, son of Ram Sing, age about 70 years; caste Kurmi; inhabitant of Mouzah Nowdega, Zillah, Furruckabad; profession, he was at one time in service, at another a zemindar:

'To benefit myself I tell the whole truth. When the troops mutinied at Cawnpore I was there. A few days before the disturbance broke out I was summoned by the Magistrate from the Torsur Thanah, and put up at a small house in the palace of Agha Mir, father of the Nunne Nawab. Six or seven days before the disturbance, the 1st. Regiment and the 2nd. Light Cavalry conspired for mischief. The Nana Dhoondoo Punt, Mahratta, was summoned into Cawnpore from Bithoor by the Magistrate; he came with two brass guns, and some followers; and took up his quarters in his own house, at Nawab Gunge, near the Cutcherry. The troopers of the 2nd. Cavalry used to court the Nana. One day, the date I don't clearly remember, probably the 4th. June, the 1st. Regiment broke into mutiny at night, then the 56th. and 53rd. Regiments mutinied and went to the treasury, which they plundered, broke open the Jail, and after plundering the place went off to Kullianpore. The next day Nana Dhoondoo Punt and Baba Bhut went to Kullianpore and brought the troops back. When their preparations were completed, they commenced an attack on the entrenchment. I did not myself see the Nana Dhoondoo Punt going to Kullianpore, but I heard from a number of people that the Nana and Baba Bhut had gone there and brought back the troops and commenced to injure the Governments. Europeans and Christians were

[1] Mutiny Basta, Lucknow Collectorate, Proceedings on the Trial of Raja Jey Lall, cf. Saiyid Kamal-ud-Din Haidar Hussaini, *Qaisar-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II (Lucknow, 1896), pp. 223-29.

murdered whenever they were found. Seven or eight days after this, I was summoned to the Nana's residence and became Kotwal of the City. I was appointed because several Kotwals had been appointed in the course of the week, but they could not get on. First Kazi Waseeooddeen was appointed, and held the office for one day, then Haji Khanum's son, whose name I forget, remained in office two or three days, then the mahajuns of the city, and Gunga Pershad, tent-maker; and Jugul Kishoor, jeweller; and Budri, panseller; and Shew Pershad, khazanchee; and others who had transactions with the Nana, recommended my appointment. On this I was sent for and when I was at the Nana's house, Ahmed Ali, tahsildar, and an officer of police, gave me full instructions and a purwana of appointment. I was helpless; accepted the post and entered on its duties. I could not but carry out the foujdaree orders which were issued by the Nana and his officers. His Cutcherry was arranged as follows: the Nana's was the highest court; 2nd. that of Deputy Ramlall . In the Nana's Court, Bala, and Baba Bhut, Azimoollah and Jwala Pershad, Brigadier, and others used to pass orders. Ramlall had no associate in his court. Moonshee Jwala Pershad was Ramlall's confidential adviser. These two did all the work.[1]

BAREILLY

On the 11th. June the sepahis marched from Bareilly to join the rebels at Delhi; they committed great outrages before they started, and on the road, Mobarek Shah Khan accompanied them the first march out, and sent an urzee by Bukt Khan to the King of Delhi soliciting the appointment of Nazim in Rohilcund.

After the troops left, Khan Bahadoor made some attempt to regulate the disorders prevailing in the City and the District; he called a council composed of Soba Ram Dewan, Madar Ali Khan, Ahmed Shah Khan, and Mobarek Shah Khan, who had returned from Futteh Gunge. After some discussion it was decided to appoint a Committee for the trial of all cases in the first instance. The members were,

Karamut Khan.—a descendant of Hafiz Rehmat Khan and relative of Khan Bahadoor.

Akbar Ali Khan.—a relative of Khan Bahadoor, formerly Suddar Ameen of Mattra, dismissed for taking bribes; he was head of the Committee and received a salary of

[1]Appendix. *Selections from the Letters, Despatches and Other State Papers*, preserved in the Military Deptt. of the Government of India, 1857-58, pp. cliv-clv.

Rs. 1,000 a month; all revenue matters were made over to him.

Cazy Gholam Hamza—Cazy of the City of Bareilly.

Pundit Ojhar Tegh Nath—a friend of Soba Ram, appointed head Pundit.

Mozuffer Hoosain Khan—descendant of Hafiz Rehmat, subsequently appointed Sudder Ala.

Jaffir Ali Khan—A wealthy Zemindar.

Jymal Singh—Thakoor of Keara, sat on the Committee for about 2 months.

Kulb Ali Shah—An influential Mahommedan of the old City.

This Committee continued to carry on business during the whole of Khan Bahadoor's reign.

Khan Bahadoor after settling the Committee, proceeded to appoint Tehseeldars and Thanadars for the District, and Officers for the army he was raising; for list of those appointed see Appendix B.

The next day the Council met again; the state of the finances forced itself on their attention; all the money in the Treasury had been taken away by the Mutineers, as well as some that had been brought in from the Mofussil; and also the sums that had been extorted from Misr Bijnath and Kunyah Lall. The Treasury was consequently empty; part of the Rubbi Kists had been collected before the outbreak, and what was due could not be reckoned on. The Council therefore determined to levy a tax on the City; to give some shew of legality to this, Khan Bahadoor called for a *Bywasta* from some Pundits and for a *Futwa* from the Mooftis. The question propounded to them was, " If a Raja or Nuwab is in want of money for public purposes, how much of his subjects, moveable property may be take (*sic,*)". Pundit Ojhar Tegh Nath, Mooftee Enayat Ahmed and Moolvie Amanat Hoosain, having considered the question, replied that a ruler in such circumstances might call upon his subject for 1-10th. of their wealth.

On receipt of this answer *Khan Bahadoor appointed a committee under Khoshi Ram to assess the tax;* the committee was composed of

Kummoo Mull, Banker,
Ram Pershaud, Mahajun,
Ram Lall, Mahajun,
Doorga Pershaud, Karinda of Raj Ruttun Sing,
Doorga Pershaud, Gomashta of Muttra Das.[1]

[1] J. F. D. Inglis, Narrative of the Outbreak of Disturbances and Restoration of Authority at Bareilly during the year 1857-58, pp. 5-6.

APPOINTMENTS MADE UNDER KHAN BAHADUR

Appendix B

Name of Office	Name of the Head of the Office	Names of the Subordinate Amlahas	Remarks
Dewan Khana			Soba Ram was appointed Prime Minister by Khan Bahadur Khan.
		Moolchund, Naib Dwan	The Naib Dewan appointed on a salary of 500 Rs., served in the same capacity about 1½ months; he was dismissed for disobedience of orders.
		Goolam Yehiah	Vakeel of the Moonsiff's Court at the commencement of the outbreak, took service as a Naib Moonshee; he was promoted to Naib Dewan after the dismissal of the above.
		Brijlall, resident of Mohalla Bhoor	Formerly a Mookhtear in the Government Offices; appointed Peshdust or assistant to Soba Ram on a salary of 100 Rs. per mensem.
		Jait Mul	Vakeel of the Moonsiffee of Datagunge; on the dismissal of Brijlall was promoted.
		Bemraj	Appointed Moonshee at the commencement of the outbreak and performed his duties till the arrival of the British forces.
		Gunput Rae, Perwana-navees	Served under Goolam Yehiah.
		Toolsheeram	Naib Perwana-navees of the Collector's Office, served under the rebels in the same capacity.
Dewan Khana		Pransook of Mohulla Koourpoor	Served the rebels as a Mohurrir.
		Pearey Lall of Behareepoor	Roznamcha-navees under Khan Bahadur; he was formerly a Mookhtear.
		Kudheer Mul of Khuaja Kootub	Served as Record Keeper.
		Dhunnoo Lall	Served as Naib Record Keeper.
		Maihtab Rae of Durzee Chouk	Served as Nakul-navees.
		Bindrabun of Nowada	,, ,, ,,
		Kishen Lall of Behareepoor	Served as Roznamcha-navees.
		Jhaoo Lall	Served as Mohurrir.
Darool-Insha	Fyz Ali of the old City		Serishtadar of the Sudder Ameen's Court; on the outbreak was appointed Meer Moonshee on a Salary of 500Rs.
		Goolam Hoosein	Mohurrir of the Sudder Ameen's Court appointed in the same capacity in Fyz Ali's Office.

Appendix B—(*Contd.*)

Name of Office	Name of the Head of the Office	Names of the Subordinate Amlahas	Remarks
		Shahamut Ali	Serishtadar in the Principal Sudder Ameen's Court; appointed head Mohurrir on a salary of 30 Rupees.
		Ewuz Ali	Mohurrir of the Adawlut Principal Sudder Ameen's Court; appointed in the same capacity.
		Fuzl Ahmud	Served as a Mohurrir.
		Chudumeelall	,, ,, ,,
		Altaf Hossein	,, ,, ,,
		Enait Hoosein	,, ,, ,,
		Goolam Hyder	,, ,, ,,
		Fuzl Emam	,, ,, ,,
Darool Insha	Fyz Ali of the Old City	Kasim Ali	Served as a Mohurrir.
		Tej Rae	Served as Perwana-navees.
		Sulamut Ali	Served as Mohurrir.
		Goorpershad	Served as Nakul-navees.
		Phoolchund	Served as Perwana-navees.
		Ruttunlall	Served as Nazir.
Pundit	Leknath of Choudree Mohulla		This man held his appointment as Pundit from the 15th. June, 1857, till the arrival of the British forces; he drew a Salary of 100 Rupees per mensem; he decided all cases and made collections in the City and held his office in his own house.
		Hurpershad	Serishtadar under Leknath.
		Burteeram	Served as Misl-navees.
		Bahadoor Sing	Served as Izhar-navees.
		Rughburdeal	Served as Nazir.
Nazim	Kooshiram		Tuhseeldar of Jehanabad; was at the recommendation of Dewan Moolchund appointed Nazim on a Salary of 1,000 Rupees per mensem, on the 17th. June. He was appointed to collect the tax for the City but in consequence of his negligence was dismissed on the 22nd. July, 1857 with his Amlah.
		Ishreepershad	
		Hurpershad	
		Radhakishen Pateram	These were Mohurrirs under the Nazim.
		Khyrat Ali	
		Gobind Pershad	
Magistrate's Office	Chirag Ali		Serishtadar of the Sessions Court, was appointed a Magistrate on the 15th. June, 1857 on a Salary of 400 Rupees per mensem; he served ½ month, after which his appointment was abolished; he held his Court in the old kotwalee.
		Kooredun Lall	A Mohurrir of the Bareilly Crimina Office, was appointed Serishtadar in the above.

Appendix B—*(Contd.)*

Name of Office	Name of the Head of the Office	Names of the Subordinate Amlahas	Remarks
		Inaetoola of Gurhee.	Served as a Nakul Perwana-navees.
		Ahmud Hossein of Choudree Mohulla	Served as Perwana-navees.
		Mehrban Ali	Served as Record Keeper.
		Mahomed Hoosein Khan	Served as Naib
		Bakur Ali	Served as Izhar-navees.
		Busent Rao	Served as Mohurrir.
Magistrate's Office	Mahomed Shah		Vakeel of Sudder Ameen's Court, was offered the situation of a Magistrate which he at once refused; would not take service in any capacity; on his refusing, the situation was given to Yaqoob Ali.
,,	Yaqoob Ali of the Old City		Ater the refusal of Mahomed Shah Vakeel as 2nd. Magistrate in June 1857; he held his office in the Library building. In July this Office was abolished.
		Chotey Lall Durzee Chowk	Served as Serishtadar in the 2nd. Magistrate's Court.
Mooftee	Syud Ahmud		Was appointed on the 3rd. June, 1857 as Mooftee; he decided cases of both departments Civil and Criminal. In December 1857 he fled owing to his decision in a case of the murder of Meer Alum Khan in which he had acquitted the defendants; Moulvee Khan and others attacked him and he went to Rampoor.
	Moulvie Ahmud Ali Khan, alias Dunna of Rampoor		Was appointed Mooftee in the room of Syud Ahmud; he performed his duties for 3 months, after which he left this station and went home to Rampoor.
Mooftee	Ujmul		In February 1858 was appointed as Mooftee; he held his place till the arrival of the British forces, he held this office in the kotwalee.
		Abdool Ghunee	Served as Serishtadar.
		Thakoordas	A Mohurrir of the Moonsiff's Court, was appointed in the same capacity during outbreak.
Appeal Court	Moulvie Torab Ali of Lucknow		In the month of August was appointed as Superintendent to decide appealed cases on 150 Rupees per mensem; he held his situation until the arrival of the British forces; he conducted his business at the Kotub Khana.

Appendix B—(*Contd.*)

Name of Office	Name of the Head of the Office	Names of the Subordinate Amlahas	Remarks
Sudder Ameen	Mahomed Ameen Khan of Bareilly		In September 1857 was appointed as Sudder Ameen on a salary of 400 Rs. per mensem and held Office at his own house.
Sudder-ool Suddoor	Moozufur Hoosein Khan		—Do.—on a salary of 1,000 rupees per mensem; previous to this appointment he was a member of the Committee; he held his Office at his own house.
Chief Tuhseeldar	Akbur Ali Khan		In September was appointed as Chief Tuhseeldar on 1,000 rupees per mensem; he was a member of the Committee before this.
		Pemraj Ali	Appointed as Serishtadar.
		Cheda Lall	Appointed as Mohurrir.
		Misree Lall	Appointed as Mohurrir.
		Jafur Ali and Bisharut Ali	Appointed as Mohurrir.
Bytool Ijra	Kabeer Shah Khan		Appointed Officer for examining the forces and received a salary of 500 Rs. per mensem from September 1857.
		Attee Hoosein	Moonshee.
		Ali Mahomed Khan son of Kubeer Shah	Moonshee.
Moonsiffee	Moonsoor Khan of Behareepoor		Appointed Moonsiff in September 1857; he held this for ½ month and was transferred as Naib Nazim to Pilibheet.
,,	Ahsun Khan		Was appointed on the 28th. September, 1857 in the room of his brother on 100 rupees per mensem; he remained till the arrival of the British forces and held his Office at home.
,,	Hussan Ruza Khan of Rampoor		In September 1857 was appointed as a Moonsiff of suburbs on a salary of 100 Rs. per mensem; he remained in the same capacity till the end of the outbreak; he held his Office in the Dewan Khana of Chedalall and Moona lall.
Intelligence Deptt.	Bholanath		Appointed Superintendent over this department; he appointed one man in the Sudder and several Gomashtas throughout the district, through whose means he received all the news and every day laid them bfore the Khan Bahadoor. In July he had a dispute with a man by name Moolla Meah who was a nephew of Khan Bahadoor; this being brought to Khan Bahadoor's

Appendix B—(*Contd.*)

Name of Office	Name of the Head of the Office	Names of the Subordinate Amlahas	Remarks
			notice he ordered that Bholanath's nose should be cut off; hearing this he hid himself and made his escape.
,,	Bhowani Suhoi (Sahae)		A relation of Soba Ram was appointed on a salary of 200 Rs. per mensem; he drew his pay from the Collections of the Abkaree Department.
Bukhshee Guree	Horee Lall son of Soba Ram		Appointed as Bukhshee of the rebel forces on a salary of 1,000 Rs. per mensem.
		Ali Hoosein Khan son of Madar Ali Khan	Appointed Naib Bukshee on 500 Rs. salary.
		Alief Hoosein	Serishtadar.
		Nuthun Lall	Moonshee.
		Goolzaree Lall	Mohurrir.[1]

JHANSI

8th. March, 1858.

The principal parties in the confidence of the Ranee are the following:

1. Mama Sahib, the father of the Ranee.
2. Dewan Luchmun Rao.
3. Gungadhur, son of the above.
4. Kashee Nath Haree.
5. Lalloo Buxee.
6. Dewan Johar Sing, Commander-in-Chief. } Military Officers.
7. Munjhley Rao, the brother of the above. } Military Officers.
8. Dewan Roognath Sing of Nonair. } Military Officers.
9. Dowlajeo } of Kairwa. } Military Officers.
10. Gonaishjeo } of Kairwa. } Military Officers.
11. Koowar Zalim Sing of Soktee. } Military Officers.
12. Bhooj Bul Sing } Thakoors of Korarkhera } Military Officers.
13. Mungul Singh } Thakoors of Korarkhera } Military Officers.
14. Bhaoo Powar
15. Jadoo Koowar.
16. Chain Sing

[1] J. F. D. Inglis, Narrative of the outbreak of Disturbances and Restoration of Authority at Bareilly during the year 1857-58. Bareilly, 30th. November, 1858, Appendix B, pp. 8-11.

17. Munsaram
18. Phoolchund
19. Bodh Sing.
20. Gooman Jamdar (*sic.*).

Khoorshaid Ally the brother of Buxees Ally, jail Darogah came with the son of the Banpoor Chief, and reported that the British forces had reached Chunderee which will(?) soon fall. A camel man from Tanteea Topey (Tatya Tope) came in and reported that Chirkharee was taken, the Chief arrested and the Peishwa's force intended to proceed towards Tehree. Deewan Luchmun Rao, asking the Ranee what was to be done, as the Banpoor and Shahgurh Chiefs were defeated and the British army was advancing, was directed to send for Gungadhur and Kasheenath from Burwa Sagar. About 400 mutinous sepoys, that had taken service with the Shahgurh Chief including about 50 wounded men have come to Jhansee, and give out in every street of the town, that they had to fight with the English, that thousands of the Bundelahs that were present in the action, deserted, and gave them no support, that they will no longer take service with the Boondelah Chiefs should they even propose to give us(?) one Rupee per day per man, that they will go to Kalpee or to any other place where there is an assemblage of men of their own stamp. These representations have put the town's people in great dismay. If they can get permission to get out of the town they are willing to desert in a body.[1]

Ranee's functionaries at Jhansi:

Gungadhur Bhaeea on the strength of a letter said to be received from Tantia Topey reported that 4 companies had left Kalpee, for Jhansi, and a large force was soon to follow them. Kashee Nath observing that if this was correct, why their Vakeel sent to wait upon the Agent was not recalled? The Rajahs of Banpoor and Nurwur were reported to have reached Chirgong, and proposed going to the Agent of Peishwa. Tehseeldar of Pichore reported that Chundairee had fallen, and the British force had advanced to Achronee. Gungadhur Bhaeea stated that Tantia Topey was advancing to assist the Rance with 30,000 men. These functionaries give out false reports. 2,000 pieces of cloth are being bought for making powder bags for guns.

[1]Abstract of Intelligence from Jhansi, dated 8th. March, 1858. Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th. April, 1858. No. 145. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

List of the Rance's functionaries and military Officers:

Functionaries—

Mama Sahib, Rance's father
Dewan Luchmun Ram
Gungadhur Bhaeea
Kashee Nath
Bala Bhaoo
Lalloo Buxee
Bhola Nath Moonshrif
Nana Sahib, Brother of the Dewan
Jamoo Bhaeea

Thakoor Leaders—

Dewan Jawahir Sing of Kataille.
Muyhby Rajah, Brother of Kataille
Doola Jeo of Khairna Walla
Ganesh Jeo of Khairna Walla
Dewan Roogh Nath Sing
Zalim Sing of Sakaitee
Bhooj Ball Sing of Karar Khera
Mungul Sing of Karar Khera
Son of Oodunt Sing

Miscellaneous—

Jharoo Koour
Choonee
Khoob Chund
Ramoo Bhaeea
Kaman or Gooman Killadar
Bodh Sing
Rummoo Khidmutgar
Sookdeo
Gopal Ram Pundit
Bhaoo Poar
Ram Purshaud Soobadar
Gunput Ram Pundit
Hussun Alli Khan Ressaldar
Nuthoo Khan Ressaldar
Moohurdeen Khan Ressaldar
Pahulwan Singh[1]

[1]Abstract of Intelligence from Jhansi, dated 6th. March, 1858. Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th. April, 1858. No. 145. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

DRAFT OF RULES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF NUWAB ALLY BAHADOOR—FOUND IN THE NAWAB'S PRIVATE WRITING DESK.

Nana's Suzerainty:

Two things should be kept in view in conducting the affairs of this Government:

i. Efforts should be made to establish terms of sincere friendship with Nana Sahib and complete submission and obedience should be shown to the Noble Emperor. An intelligent and learned person shall be appointed Vakeel and sent to Cawnpore through whom letters will be frequently forwarded to the Nana. *Nothing important should be done without reference to him.* Even the people of Vijoygarh are not to be expelled without consulting him. To secure the perpetuity of this Government prudent measures should be taken to procure a writing from the Nana or a *firman* from the Emperor giving permission to govern this country.

ii. The English form of Government should be continued as it has two advantages—less expenditure and large receipts.

Durbar:

2. The *Huzoor* will hold *Durbar Khas* daily from 8 to 12 o'clock a.m. and *Durbar Aam* from 8 to 12 o'clock p.m. Having put on the cap of gold and seated ourself (?) in the musnud with great glory the *Huzoor* is to use such expressions as will strike terror into the minds of all; during *Durbar Khas*, the only topic of conversation should be the administration of the affairs of Government and Revenue. Sunnuds should be issued to the Nazim, Moontzim, Moonsarim and the Commander of the forces describing the powers vested in them and bearing the *Huzoor's* seal and signature. The Nazim should be vested with full powers in Revenue and Foujdaree matters, like a collector. The Moontzim and Moonsarim should be subordinate to the Nazim and invested with the powers of Deputy Collector. *Huzoor* will keep all military matters which are most important in his own hands and inspect the troops occasionally.

3. A Mooftee should be appointed to pass sentences on petty offenders, so that no person may be punished without the sanction of the Mahommedan Law. This will please God and Men.

(True Translation)
(Sd.) Dy. Magistrate.[1]

[1]Banda Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, File No. XXXVI-II. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

PROCLAMATIONS

Delhi Proclamation, May 1857:

" Be it known to all the Hindoos and Mahommedans, the subjects and servants on the part of officers of the English forces stationed at Delhi and Meerut, that all the Europeans are united in this point:

" First, to deprive the army of their religion, and then by the force of strong measures to Christianise all the subjects. In fact it is the absolute order of the Governor General to serve out cartridges made up with swine and beef fat: if there be ten thousand who resist this, to blow them up: if fifty thousand, to disband them.

" For this reason we have remedy (*sic.*) for the sake of the faith concerted with all the subjects, and have not left one infidel of this place alive: and have constituted (*sic.*) the Emperor of Delhi upon the engagement, that whichever of the troops will slaughter all their European officers and pledge allegiance to him, shall always receive double salary. Hundreds of cannons and immense treasure have come to hand; it is therefore requisite that all who find it difficult to become Christians, all subjects, will unite cordially with the army, take courage and not leave the seed of these devils in any place.

" All the expenditure that may be incurred by the subjects in furnishing supplies to the army, they will take receipts for the same from the officers of the army and retain them by themselves: they will receive double price from the Emperor. Whoever will at this time give way to pusillanimity, and allow himself to be over-reached by these deceivers and depend upon their word, will experience the fruits of their submission like the inhabitants of Lucknow.

"It is therefore necessary that all Hindoos and Mahommedans should be of one mind in this struggle, and make arrangements for their preservation with the advice of some creditable persons. Whenever the arrangement shall be good, and with whomsoever the subjects shall be pleased, those individuals shall be placed in high offices in those places.

"And to circulate copies of this proclamation in every place, as far as it may be possible,[1] be not understood to be less than a stroke of the sword. That this proclamation be stuck up at a conspicuous place in order that all Hindoos and Mahommedans may become apprised and be prepared. If the infidels now become mild, it is merely an expedient to save their lives; whoever will be denuded by their frauds, he will repent. Our reign continues.

"Thirty rupees to a mounted, and ten rupees to a foot soldier, will be the salary of the new servants of Delhi."[2]

Translation of Hokoom-nameh addressed to Hurdeo Buksh by Shahunshah Mehral Shah Kubendur, dated 13th. Shawal (6th. June, 1857):

To

Hurdeo Buksh of Kethyaree,

Christian of Furruckabad.

An order was sometime ago sent to you, promising support, forgiving offences and desiring your attendance at our threshold. But, by your perverse disposition and through the favor you are disposed to shew towards the British, together with your having deserted your kinsmen and brethren (both Hindoos) and Mahommedans) you have displayed great shamelessness, worthlessness and dishonesty. Nevertheless we have again purposed to protect you as you are one of God's creatures. Know then that although the

[1] *Censorship of the Press and the Proclamation:*

"Malicious people have given out that the publication of a Translation of the Delhi Proclamation in *The Hurkaru* was the moving cause of the Press Law. Our contemporary denies the soft impeachment, says that *The Friend of India* did nearly the same, and that proclamation was in the hands of a member of the Council for two weeks before it appeared in the *Doorbeen*. *The Friend of India* thinks that the law was made at the instance of Major Holmes, Commandant of the 12th. Irregular Cavalry, who was annoyed at the misrepresentations of the Serampur Journal respecting the state of feeling in the native troops at Barrackpur and for their offences of a similar nature." (*The Hindoo Patriot*, Thursday, July 9, 1857, p. 270).

The legislation of the Press Law was taken up by the Legislative Council, on Saturday, June 13, 1857 under the Presidentship of Lord Canning, i.e. five days after the publication of the Delhi Proclamation in the *Doorbeen* of 8th. June.

The exact date of the issue of the Proclamation has not been mentioned; but as it was reported to have reached the hands of a member of the Council two weeks before 8th. June, i.e. by 25th. May, and it must have taken approximately 10 days to reach Calcutta, it must have been issued between 11th. May, 1857 and 15th. May, 1857.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru* and *India Gazette*, Saturday, June 13, 1857, pp. 558. Letter to the Editor –from 'H', dated, 12th. June, 1857, enclosing Translation of the Delhi Proclamation, published in the Mahomuedan paper, *The Doorbeen* of the 8th. and copied in another, the *Sultan-ul-Akhbar* of the 10th. instant. cf. Charles Ball, "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*", Vol I, p. 459 (A different version of the above, also photostat copy of the original plate No. 17)

British were always considered superior in Military tactics to all other nations, they have been crushed by our efforts, and great is your folly that although you have witnessed this and are moreover a Rajah and a Thakoor, you have still kept aloof from our cause, and on the other hand enlisted yourself with the interest of those devoted wretches: and your folly is enhanced by your having made over to their protection your females and young ones who will no doubt be illtreated and killed. And even should victory smile on the cause of English, you will be shunned by all your brethren.

Therefore it behoves you to come and kiss the feet of justice, such as ours, and if you think that you will receive more justice by siding with the Christians you are mistaken, for God has shown by favoring our cause that theirs is not a just one.

If you do not come to terms with us, then you should apply for a reinforcement from the English at Furruckabad so that we may come and kill them and thus in the end decrease their numbers.

Doola has been sent to you. He will tell you what is true. If he speaks truth, this order will be sufficient, and no other *Furman* will be issued. After this the offer of protection will never be made to you.

(True Translation)
(Sd.) T. D. FORSYTH,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh.[1]

(COPIES)

No. 88.

From

C. B. Saunders Esquire,
Officiating Commissioner, Delhi.

To

R. Temple Esquire,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, for the Punjab.
Camp Delhi.

Dated, Delhi, 17th. March, 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to forward for the information of the Chief Commissioner, a copy of a Vernacular Proclamation issued by

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th. July, 1858. No. 64. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

Khan, Bahadur Khan, Nawab of Bareilly, calling upon the Hindoos to unite and make common cause with the Mahommedans against the British. A copy of an English translation is also annexed. This document has been placed on record at the Ex-King's trial. I have deemed it right to submit a copy for the perusal of the Chief Commissioner and of the Government, as being a very peculiar document, somewhat ably drafted and worthy of attention.

I have &c.
(Sd.) CHARLES B. SAUNDERS,
Officiating Commissioner.

No. 27.

From

R. Temple Esquire,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab.

To

G. F. Edmonstone Esquire,
Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General.

Dated, Lahore, 29th. March, 1858.

Sir,

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of India copies of a letter No. 88 of the 17th. Instant, and its enclosed translation of a somewhat remarkable proclamation issued by Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, calling upon the Hindoos to unite with the Mahommedans against the British.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) R. TEMPLE,
Secretary.[1]

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations. Nos. 21-23, 30th. April, 1858. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

PROCLAMATION

" *With the approving sanction of God, The Lord of the Nation.*"

" *Exposition of a letter written regarding the victory of the faith.*"

All you rajahs are famed for your virtues, noble qualities, and liberality, and are moreover the protectors of your own faith and of the faith of others. Keeping your welfare in view, I humbly submit that God has given you your bodily existence to establish his different religions and requires you severally to learn the tenets of your own different religions, institutions, and forms, and you accordingly continue firm in them. God has moreover sent you into the world in your elevated position, and given you dominion and Government, that you may destroy those who harm your religion. It is incumbent, therefore, on such of you as have the power, to kill those who may injure your religion, and on such as have not, to engage heartily in devising means for the same end, and thus protect your faith; for it is written in your Scriptures that martyrdom is preferable to adopting the religion of another. This is exactly what God has said, and what is evident to every body. The English are people who overthrow all religions. You should understand well, that with the object of destroying the religions of Hindoostan, they have for a long time been causing books to be written and circulated throughout the country by the hands of their clergymen, and, exercising their authority, have brought out numbers of preachers to spread their own tenets: this has been learned from one of their own trusted agents. Consider, then, what systematic contrivances they adopted to destroy our religions. For instance, first, when a woman became a widow they ordered her to make a second marriage. Secondly, the self-immolation of wives on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands was an ancient religious custom; the English has it discontinued, and enacted their own regulations prohibiting it. Thirdly, they told people it was their wish that they (the people) should adopt their faith, promising that if they did so they would be respected by Government; and further required them to attend churches, and hear the tenets preached there. Moreover, they decided and told the rajahs that such only as were born of their wives would inherit the government and property, and that adopted heirs would not be allowed to succeed, although, according to your Scriptures, ten different sorts of heirs are allowed shares in the inheritance. By this contrivance they will rob you of your governments and possessions, as they have already done with Nagpur and Lucknow. Consider now another of their designing plans; they resolved on compelling prisoners,with the forcible

exercise of their authority, to eat their bread. Numbers died of starvation, but did not eat it; others ate it, and sacrificed their faith. They now perceived that this expedient did not succeed well, and accordingly determined on having bones ground and mixed with flour and sugar, so that people might unsuspectingly eat them in this way. They had, moreover, bones and flesh broken small and mixed with rice, which they caused to be placed in the markets for sale, and tried, besides, every other possible plan to destroy our religions. At last some Bengali, after due reflection, said that if the troops would accede to the wishes of the English in this matter, all the Bengalis will also conform to them. The English, hearing this, approved of it, and said " Certainly this is an excellent idea," never imagining they would be themselves exterminated. They accordingly now ordered the Brahmans and others of their army to bite cartridges, in the making up of which fat had been used. The Mussulman soldiers perceived that by this expedient the religion of the Brahmans and Hindoos only was in danger, but nevertheless they also refused to bite them. On this the English now resolved on ruining the faith of both, and blew away from guns all those soldiers who persisted in their refusal. Seeing this excessive tyranny, the soldiery, now, in self preservation, began, killing the English, and slew them wherever they were found, and are now considering means for slaying the few still alive here and there. It is now my firm conviction that if these English continue in Hindoostan they will kill every one in the country, and will utterly overthrow our religions; but there are some of my countrymen who have joined the English, and are now fighting on their side. I have reflected well on their case also, and have come to the conclusion that the English will not leave your religion to both you and them. You should understand this well. Under these circumstances, I would ask, what course have you decided on to protect your lives and faith? Were your views and mine the same, we might destroy them entirely with a very little trouble; and if we do so, we shall protect our religions and save the country. And as these ideas have been cherished and considered merely from a concern for the protection of the religions and lives of all you Hindoos, and Mussulmans of this country, this letter is printed for your information. All you Hindoos are hereby solemnly adjured, by your faith in the Ganges, Tulsi and Saligram; and all you Mussulmans, by your belief in God and the Kuran, as these English are the common enemy of both, that you unite in considering their slaughter extremely expedient, for by this alone will the lives and faith of both be saved. It is expedient, then, that you should coalesce and slay them. The slaughter of

kine is regarded by the Hindoos as a great insult to their religion. To prevent this, a solemn compact and agreement has been entered into by all the Mahommedan chiefs of Hindoostan, binding themselves, that if the Hindoos will come forward to slay the English, the Mahommedans will, from that very day put a stop to the slaughter of cows, and those of them who will not do so will be considered to have abjured the Kuran, and such of them as will eat beef will be ragarded as though they had eaten pork; but if the Hindoos will not gird their loins to kill the English, but will try to save them, they will be as guilty in the sight of God as though they had committed the sins of killing cows; from respect for the Hindoo religion, they will solemnly engage to do the same, and will ask the Hindoos to join them against the Mussulmans; but no sensible man will be gulled by such deceit, for the solemn promises and professions of the English are always deceitful and interested. Once their ends are gained they will infringe their engagements, for deception has ever been habitual with them, and the treachery they have always practised on the people of Hindoostan is known to rich and poor. Do not, therefore, give heed to what they may say. Be well assured you will never have such an opportunity again. We all know that writing a letter is equivalent to an advance half way towards fellowship. I trust you will all write answers approving of what has been proposed herein. This letter has been printed under the direction of Moulavy Syad Kutb Shah Sahib, at the Bahaduri Press in the city of Bareilly.[1]

True Copies
Sd. R. TEMPLE
Secretary.

Proclamation by order of the Nawab Ali Bahadur :

As the Government of the Nawab has been established in the zillah of Banda since the 20th. Shawal, Hijri 1273, or 13th. June, 1857, a proclamation is now issued to the effect, that if after the receipt of this proclamation, any murders, highway robberies, or

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, Nos. 21-23, 30th. April, 1858. (National Archives, New Delhi.) Proceedings on the *Trial of Muhammed Bahadur Shah*, Seventeenth Day's Proceedings, Wednesday, 24th. February, 1858, pp. 110-111. cf. N. W. P. Narrative, Foreign Deptt., 1858. Secretariat Records Office, U.P., Lucknow. Narrative of the Proceedings for the week ending 14th. February, 1858.
Jhansi Subdivision:
Nothing has been heard from these Districts of recent date.....
"Sir R. N. C. Hamilton has forwarded a translation of a letter to his address from the rebel Rance of Jhansi professing her loyalty in general terms.....
(Abstract translation of a Circular letter regarding the victory of Religion)
"Having regard to the part which the Rance has played, it is not the intention of the Governor General to notice this letter at present."

other injuries are done to travellers within the limits of our boundaries or, if you go into the boundaries of any other parties and create disturbances, the houses in your villages will be destroyed and burnt and knocked down with cannon; if you assist the Sirkar, you will be protected and rewarded.

Dated, 27th. Shawal, 1273 or 20th. June, 1857.

A.D. 1835
Seal of the adawlat
Foujdari
Bundelkhand

(Sd.) MAHOMED NAZIM.

(True Translation)
(Sd.) Illegible.
Poll. Assistant for Bundelkhand.[1]

Proclamation[2] *for* Jehad (*Mahommedan Crusade against the Christians*) *issued by the Imam named Leeaqut Ali of Allahabad, to both great and low men of the creed of Islam for massacring all the accursed Christians :*

" In the name of the beneficent God, the absolver of sinners ".

" All praise to the Great and Merciful God. May the Merciful God and Preserver shine upon the Great Prophet, his Descendants and his companions, that have carried courage to the highest pitch. May the mercy of God also alight upon the Votaries of the Great Religion of Islam " ! ! !

After praising God, and praying for blessing upon the Prophet, I Leeaqut Alee of Allahabad a poor scholar, and a mendicant, with a view to save my readers from the trial of the Judgment Day, beg to publish some of my observations, based upon precepts extracted from the sacred Kuran and the Holy Book of our Prophet, and trust that the faithful Mussulmans will attend to my appeal, as I am only discharging a great religious duty viz. inculcating the doctrines of our sacred scriptures. Every Mussulman well knows and it is a notorious fact that the accursed Christians

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, Nos. 184-85. (National Archives, New Delhi.) cf. Plate No. 20.
[2]Found in the Duftur of Khan Bahadur the rebel Nawab of Bareilly.

have been awfully tyrannizing over the whole country of Hindoostan, especially over the District of Allahabad. These Christians have been guilty of the crimes of massacring, plundering and hanging human beings, burning and destroying our houses, attacking us unawares, killing innocent learned men of our Country, and burning our sacred scriptures. Accordingly it is a duty incumbent upon every faithful Mussulman to prepare himself for *Jehad* as our Gracious Prophet has said:—" Every Prophet had his duty assigned to him the duty allotted to me is that I should make *Jehad* ". The undertaking.....
to him who relinquishes his assigned duty, and thus degrades himself and finds himself involved in misery and poverty. You all should act according to the following precept quoted from Kuran " The real paradise lies beneath the strokes of swords ". You will then obtain salvation and the honor of martyrdom, which is eternal life. You will then obtain the blessings of Paradise, and get Elysian Nymphs for your wives. You should never entertain in your minds any kind of fear or doubt. In the present cause, you should devote both your life and property and give every kind of assistance as far as it is in your power. God forbid that you should fail to avail yourselves of the present propitious days and to unite in this cause, and that you should afterwards repent. He who heads the undertaking.....
as your *Imam* (Leader). You should comply the following precept quoted from the *Kuran* " Consider *Jehad* as your duty and engage in it under a leader whither he be good or bad." Our Holy *Kuran* is full of the promises of blessings attainable by undertaking *Jehad*, and they are also mentioned in several places in the chapter designated " *Sooreh-i-Tobah* ". I trust my friends will not wait for separate letters and addresses to them but regard this proclamation as intended for all. One important point to be observed by men engaged in *Jehad* is that they should place their sole reliance upon God, the creator of the Heavens and Earth, who will certainly.....
Mussulmans of India being destitute of resources, and having no ammunition, Guns, or Army, have been all along in a helpless condition, but the Gracious God who has strengthened the religion of Islam internally, has for the encouragement of weak creatures like ourselves, furnished with us the resources formerly enjoyed by the unsuccessful and unprincipled Christians without any attempt being made by us. Our being backed by a large Army of Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery, our having obtained an immense treasure, the arrival of the letter from the King of Delhi, the bonafide ruler of Hindoostan who is the Shadow and representative of God (May

his Dominions ever extend!) the assistance given to us by the Army of Birjees Kudur, Ruler of Lucknow (May God always bless him with prosperity!), our alliance with the Rajah of the Province of Oudh and of the States adjacent to Allahabad, and the union which prevails throughout Hindoostan, notwithstanding the people are of different persuasions and tribes, are clear proofs that the people are determined to extirpate these rebel Christians now. O my Mussulman Brethren! as soon as you hear the above glad tidings prepare yourselves for *Jehad*, come to Allahabad, subdue and put to sword the besieged Christians there, and try to expel the remnant of their body from this country, and then rule the Country according to Laws and Institutions of Mohammed. Now that my writing may.....I quote for your perusal some lines from the *Kuran* with translation in the vernacular:—" The Great and Holy God has said in that Chapter of the *Kuran* which is designated " *Sooreh-i-Tobah* " that he who believes in God, leaves his house, fights and devotes his life and property in his cause,obtains great Glory and gains his final wishes." " God has informed us that he will always keep such persons in his favor and in his Elysian Gardens which is indeed a great blessing ". " O ye faithful believers! don't side with your fathers and brothers if they attach themselvs to heresy, and if you do befriend them you will cetainly be great sinners." " Say do you prefer to God, to His Prophet, and to fighting in His cause, your fathers, sons, brothers, females, tribe, the money which you have earned, your trade (which, if stopped, grieves you) and your houses? " " If you do so, God will let fall his wrath upon you." " God never favors the transgressors of his mandates." " O ye believers! how is it that when you march to fight in the cause of God, you all look pulled down, and your spirits are drooping and that you do act upon this world in preference to your eternal life?" " The wordly gain are nothing in comparison to eternal life." If you will not go out of your house to fight, God will let fall his vengeance upon you, and substitute in your room other people, and you, on your part,....." God is powerful above all ". " O ye low and great! come forward, fight in the cause of God, and devote both your life and property which will do you much good if you have the sense to understand it." In the chapter designated " *Sooreh-i-Suf* ", it is stated that " God loves those, who fight in His cause in battle, array like a wall stuffed with lead." " O ye believers! I will tell you a trade which will save you from misery—viz.—Believe in God and His Prophet and fight in the cause of God with your life and property which will do you good if you have the sense to understand it." " May God forgive your sins and admit

you into His Elysian Gardens abounding in fountains, and into His Holy mansions." "This is the final wish of all." "God will assist you and give you a speedy victory."

"Report this good news to the Believers."[1]

True Translation.

(Sd.) J. C. WILSON,

Commissioner on Special Duty.

Proclamation issued under the seal of Birjees Kudur, Walee of Oudh, to all the Mussulmans residing in Oudh, Kuthair, Rampoor, Moradabad &c. &c.:

In the Holy Kuran the great and glorious God has said "O ye believers! don't make friendship with Jews and Christians. He who befriends them is surely one of them that is to say, the friend of a Jew, is a Jew, and the friend of a Christian, is a Nazarene. God never sends his mandates to the tyrants i.e. Infidels.

From the above it is manifest, that friendship with Christians is heresy. He who has friendship with a Christian is by no means a Mussulman. Hence it is a duty of all the Mussulmans to make themselves inveterate foes of these Christians, and never enter into friendship with them; if they will not do so, they will lose their religion and become heretics. Those whose religious notions are weak, and who are given to wordly temptations say, that they fear to incur the displeasure of the Christians lest they might be involved in some misery, on the restoration of the Christian power. To them God has said "Did ye mark those men whose minds are afflicted with the malady of faithlessness ?" They are very hasty in contracting friendship with Nazarenes. They say they are afraid lest they might meet with some mishap. In order to remove their whim, God has said, "Be confident, God will give you a speedy victory, or He will display something at which those that are hypocrites in their hearts, will blush." Hence the Mussulmans should not lose hopes of victory nor be disappointed at the will of God, nor should they think that the English will be victorious, and will then take vengeance upon them. You should entertain sanguine hopes that God will give you victory, and that the English will be defeated and destroyed. All the Mussulmans should unite

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, Nos. 749-53. (National Archives, New Delhi.) cf. Mutiny Basta, No. 7, Trial of Mammoo Khan, Lucknow Collectorate Record Room.

and be firm in their faith, and they will surely obtain victory over the English as God has said in the Holy *Kuran*, " it is for me to give success to the Mussulmans ". If the Mussulmans will show cowardice, and will not persevere, nor unite, the English will surely triumph, and then they will disarm, and hang, shoot, and blow up the Mussulmans, seize their wives and children, dishonor their females, pull down their houses, plunder their property, force them to embrace Christianity, burn the *Kuran* and other religious Books, or throw them among filth and sweepings, knock down the mosques, and will not keep a single vestige of Islam. Therefore if the Mussulmans have any shame or desire to uphold their cause let them unite and resolve to kill the English. If any one dissuades them, they should not listen to him. Remember that no one dies without the permission of God. When death comes upon a man, who can save him? In every place and country, thousands of men die from Cholera, pestilence, and other diseases. No one knows whether they died in their senses or without their senses, nor can it be known whether they died with their faith firm or not. To die in battle with the English for the sake of religion is glorious, and he who falls thus is sure to become martyr. Every Mussulman eagerly wishes for such a death, therefore no one ought to shrink from dying thus. Remember that man is mortal; therefore why should you fear to die? But if you do, you will die with a grievous heart, and repent for ever. You should take into your consideration the outrages committed by the English at Shahjehanabad; Jhujjur, Rewaree and in the Doab. Men and women should think it their duty to extirpate the English. The *futwa* of the religious men of both sects (Sheeya and Soonnee) is herewith annexed. The English when they become victorious will first require you to give up your arms, and they will then hang or in some other way destroy you. The outrages which they have already committed in several places, they will likewise perpetrate in every place they visit. You will certainly repent then. This universal proclamation is therefore issued. To all of you God will assist and furnish us with resources of every kind.

(True Translation)

(Sd.) J. C. WILSON,

Commissioner on Special Duty.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 31st. December, 1858. No. 1750, Enclosure of a letter from Commissioner on Special Duty, dated 27th. May, 1858. No. 184.

Proclamation (Circular) of Mohd. Ramzan Ali Bahadoor Birjees Kudur:

Addressed to.....

"As I am fully bent upon populating the land, securing all conveniences for its people and betterment of its inhabitants I have, therefore, decided to exterminate the cruel, ill-behaved Kaffir (the unbelieving) Feranghis from my hereditary dominions, both old and new. Consequently, I have nominated the brave Rajah Beni Madho Singh for the administration of the Ilaqas of Jaunpur and Azimgarh and order that in obedience to the instructions of the said Rajah, you should capture, put to the sword and annihilate the entire group of these perverted unbelievers and make every effort to extirpate them from this country. Considering the said Rajah a permanent Amil (administrator) of this part of the country, you should do your very best for the collection of revenue and betterment of the ryot. You will, consequently, be awarded with favours."[1] Dated 26th. Zilhijja 1273 A. H. (17th. July, 1857.)

Translation of a printed Proclamation issued under the seal of Birjees Kudur Walee of Lucknow to all the Zemindars and Inhabitants of the country of Lucknow:

All the Hindoos and Mahommedans are aware that four things are dear to every man; 1st. Religion, 2nd. Honor, 3rd. Life, 4th. Property. All these four things are safe under a native Government. No one under that Government interferes with religion. Every one is allowed to continue steadfast in his religion and persuasion, and to possess his honor according to his worth and capacity, be he a person of good descent, of any caste or denomination, Syud, Sheikh, Moghal, or Pathan, among the Mahommedans, or Brahmin, Chhuttree, Bais, or Kaith, among the Hindoos. All these retain their respectability according to their respective ranks, and all persons of a lower order such as Sweeper, Chumar, Dhanook, or Passee, can claim equality with them. The life of any person of either class is not taken under that Government, nor his property confiscated except for crimes and grave offences. The English are enemies of the four things above named. They wish to deprive the Hindoos and Mahommedans of their religion, and wish them to become Christians and Nazarenes. Under their Government, thousands of people have embraced Christianity and are continuing to do so. The honor and respectability of every person of the higher orders are considered by them equal to the honor and respectability of the lower orders, nay, comparatively with the latter,

[1] Mutiny Basta, No. 6, Trial of Rajah Jey Lal Sing. Lucknow Collectorate Records.

they treat the former, with contempt and disrespect; and at the instance of a chamar, force the attendance of a Nawab or a Rajah, and subject him to indignity whithersoever they go. They hang the respectable people, destroy their females and children, and their troops commit acts of violence upon their females, and thus take away their honor, dig down their houses, and plunder all the property and leave them nothing. They do not kill Banyahs and Mahajans, but take away all their property and violate their women. Withersoever they go, they disarm the people, and in that state hang, or shoot, or blow up, any one they like, and deprive any one they choose of his faith and honor. At some places they resort to the subterfuge of remitting revenue or reducing the *Juma* to the Malgozars, with the intent, that after they have established themselves and subjected them to their authority, they might do with them as they please, force them to become Christians, or hang them or dishonor them. Some foolish zemindars allow themselves to be thus imposed upon, but the shrewd avoid the snare. Therefore the Hindoos and Mahommedans are hereby warned, that whosoever among you wishes to protect his faith, honor, life and property, may come forward to fight against the English in conjunction with the forces of this Sircar (i.e. himself) and may not succumb to their stratagem. This Sircar will be kind to them and contribute to their relief. And be it known to the Passees that the office of watching every town and village is their hereditary profession, but the English appoint Barkundazes in their stead and thus deprive the Passees of their livelihood. They should also, in concert with the troops of this Sircar and the zemindars, plunder the English, and their dependents, commit theft and gang robberies in their camps, and disturb their rest.

(True Translation)
(Sd.) J. C. WILSON,
Commissioner, Special Duty.[1]

Proclamation by the Nana Dunder Punt (sic,):

Dated the 13th. Zilkad, 1273 (Hijri), equivalent to the 6th. July, 1857.

PROCLAMATION

A Traveller just arrived at Cawnpore from Calcutta states that before the cartridges were distributed a Council was held for

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations dated 25th. June, 1858. Nos. 68-69. (National Archives, New Delhi). cf. Plate No. 19.

the purpose of taking away the religion and rites of the people of Hindoostan. The Members of Council came to the conclusion that as the matter was one affecting religion seven or eight thousand Europeans would be required and it would cost the lives of fifty thousand Hindoostanis but that at this cost all the natives of Hindoostan would become Christians. The matter was therefore represented in an " Urzee " to this effect to Queen Victoria who gave her consent. A second Council was then held at which the English Merchants were present. It was there resolved to ask for the assistance of a body of English troops equal in number to the Native Army, so as to ensure success when the excitement should be at the highest. When the despatch containing this application was read in England 35,000 Europeans were very rapidly embarked upon ships and started off for Hindoostan and intelligence of their despatch reached Calcutta. The English in Calcutta then issued the order for the distribution of the Cartridges. The whole object of which was to make the native army Christians as it was thought that if the army were made Christians there would be no great delay in converting the people generally. The Cartridges were smeared with Hogs' Lard and Cows' fat. This fact was learnt from the Bengalis employed in their manufacture in proof of which it may be mentioned that one man was executed and the other imprisoned for letting out the secret.

Meanwhile, while they were occupied in carrying out the plan the Ambassador (Vakeel) of the Sultan of Turkey (Rum) in London sent word to his Sovereign that 35,000 Europeans had been despatched to Hindoostan to make all the Natives Christian. The Sultan of Turkey (May Allah perpetuate his kingdom) issued a firman to the Pasha of Egypt the contents of which are as follows: " You are conspiring with Queen Victoria. This is not the time for peace for I learn by a letter from my Ambassador that 35,000 European soldiers have been despatched to Hindoostan for the purpose of forcibly converting the army and the people. If this is the case it is now possible to interfere. If we neglect this matter what face shall we show to God (Khuda) and this day will come upon us too one day, for if they succeed in making the natives of Hindoostan Christians they will attack our Country as well." When this firman of the Sultan of Turkey reached the Pasha of Egypt the Lord of Egypt assembled his army in the City of Alexandria (which is on the road to India) before the Europeans arrived. As soon as the European troops arrived the troops of the Pasha of Egypt began to fire into them with guns on all sides and destroyed and sunk all the ships so that not even a single European escaped. The English in Calcutta after issuing orders for biting the

Cartridges and when these disturbancesand excitement had reached its height (*sic*,), were looking for the assistance of the army from London, but the Almighty ('Huk Taala'-a Mahometan Title) by the exercise of his Power made an end of them at the very outset. When intelligence of the destruction of the Army from London arrived, the Governor General was much grieved and distressed and beat his head.

At Even-tide he intended murder and plunder,
At noon neither had his body a head nor his head a cover.
In one revolution of the Blue heavens.
Neither Nadir remained nor a follower of Nadir.[1]

Printed by order of the Peishwa Bahadoor, 13th. Zilkad, 1273.

The style of the proclamation is exceedingly simple and clear, evidently intended for the common people. It is very remarkable for the Mahommedan tone and language used although issued by the Nana—a Hindoo.[2]

Proclamation of Bahadur Shah:

25th. August, 1857.

"It is well known to all, that in this age the people of Hindoostan, both Hindoos and Mohammedans, are being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English. It is therefore the bounden duty of all the wealthy people of India, especially of those who have any sort of connection with any of the Mohammedan royal families, and are considered the pastors and masters of their people, to stake their lives and property for the well being of the public. With the view of effecting this general good, several princes belonging to the royal family of Delhi, have dispersed themselves in the different parts of India, Iran, Turan, and Afghanistan, and have been long since taking measures to compass their favourite end; and it is to accomplish this charitable object that one of the aforesaid princes has, at the

[1] It is very difficult to interpret these lines into English accurately. A free rendering of the above is as under. The original lines are in Persian:-

"In the beginning of the evening the head (of a King) (had the intention or power) of murder and destruction,
In the morning he had neither the head nor the head had a crown;
In one revolution of the Blue Heavens
Neither Nadir remained nor the Nadiri (destructive power of Nadir Shah)."

[2] A Urdu Proclamation (with English Translation) issued by Nana Sahib, printed, 7th. August, 1857, No. 137. [National Archives (show case), New Delhi] cf. *The Friend of India*, October 29, 1857, p. 103. cf. Plate No. 18.

head of an army of Afghanistan, &c., made his appearance in India; and I, who am the grandson of Abul Muzuffer Serajuddin Bahadur Shah Ghazee, King of India, having in the course of circuit come here to extirpate the infidels residing in the eastern part of the country, and to liberate and protect the poor helpless people now groaning under their iron rule, have, by the aid of the *Majahdeens*, or religious fanatics,[1] erected the standard of Mohammed, and persuaded the orthodox Hindoos who had been subject to my ancestors, and have been and are still accessories in the destruction of the English, to raise the standard of Mahavir.

" Several of the Hindoo and Mussalman chiefs, who have long since quitted their homes for the preservation of their religion, and have been trying their best to root out the English in India, have presented themselves to me, and taken part in the reigning Indian crusade, and it is more than probable that I shall very shortly receive succours from the West. Therefore, for the information of the public, the present Ishtahar, consisting of several sections, is put in circulation, and it is the imperative duty of all to take it into their careful consideration, and abide by it. Parties anxious to participate in the common cause,but having no means to provide for themselves, shall receive their daily subsistence from me; and be it known to all, that the ancient works, both of the Hindoos and the Mohammedans, the writings of the miracle-workers, and the calculations of the astrologers, pundits, and rammals, all agree in asserting that the English will no longer have any footing in India or elsewhere. Therefore it is incumbent on all to give up the hope of the continuation of the British sway, side with me, and deserve the consideration of the Badshahi, or imperial Government, by their individual exertion in promoting the common good, and thus attain their respective ends; otherwise if this golden opportunity slips away, they will have to repent of their folly, as it is very aptly said by a poet in two fine couplets, the drift whereof is ' Never let a favourable opportunity slip, for in the field of opportunity you are to meet with the ball of fortune; but if you do not avail yourself of the opportunity that offers itself, you will have to bite your finger through grief. '

" No person, at the misrepresentation of the well-wishers of the British Government, ought to conclude from the present slight inconveniences usually attendant on revolutions, that

[1]Majahid—A labourer, endeavourer, striker, a warrior (in the cause of religion), Stingass, *A Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 1175. Its translation as religious fanatics is most misleading. However, in the contemporary English Historical Literature, the word was invariably translated as religious fanatics.

similar inconveniences and troubles should continue when the Badshahi Government is established on a firm basis; and parties badly dealt with by any sepoy or plunderer, should come up and represent their grievances to me, and receive redress at my hands; and for whatever property they may lose in the reigning disorder, they will be recompensed from the public treasury when the Badshahi Government is well fixed.

"*Section I—Regarding Zemindars.*—It is evident, that the British Government in making zemindary settlements have imposed exorbitant *Jumas*,[1] and have disgraced and ruined several zemindars, by putting up their estates to public auction for arrears of rent, in so much as, that on the institution of a suit by a common Ryot, a maid servant or a slave, the respectable zemindars are summoned into court, arrested, put in gaol and disgraced. In litigations regarding zemindaries, the immense value of stamps, and other unnecessary expenses of the civil courts, which are pregnant with all sorts of crooked dealings, and the practice of allowing a case to hang on for years, are all calculated to impoverish the litigants. Besides this, the coffers of the zemindars are annually taxed with subscription for schools, hospitals, roads etc. Such extortions will have no manner of existence in the Badshahi Government; but, on the contrary, the *Jumas* will be light, the dignity and honour of the zemindars safe, and every zemindar will have absolute rule in his own zemindary. The zemindary disputes will be summarily

[1] Published by *The Delhi Gazette*, 1857, and reproduced by *The Friend of India*, published from Serampur, in its issue of October 7, 1858, under the heading, "The Delhi millennium" with the following comments:—

"*The Delhi Gazette* publishes a most valuable contribution to the history of the rebellion. It is the first manifesto in the European sense which has been published in India, the first list of grievances, the first step to stir up the people by promises unconnected with religion. It is in the form of a proclamation issued by the King of Delhi on 25th. August, 1857, to the people of Hindoostan. The grievances of each class are specified, and a remedy promised if they will but fight boldly for the old regime. It is scarcely conceivable that such a document can be wholly without foundation, that intriguers plotting for a throne should promise reforms they knew were not desired, the removal of grievances they knew were never felt. And yet if these were indeed the changes for which the people sighed, how fatally have Anglo-Indians mistaken their temper and their wants, after attending to the plot which the princes have been framing for years, and the prophesies current among both Hindoos and Mussalmans of the approaching extirpation of the British, the King addresses to the zemindars:— (as above) ..... The declaration that the land tax is oppressive, and ought to be lowered was only to be expected. Leaders who appeal to the populace, from Jack Cade to Mr. Cobden, have always promised cheap bread and lowered rents. The promise, too, that every zemindar should be absolute on his domain was natural from one who knew what we did not know, that the feudal aristocracy was still strong. But if we have prided ourselves on one popular innovation, it has been on the demolition of privilege. That the Ryot and Zemindar could stand in the same court was in one belief the one thing which made our rule savoury to the mass. It is quoted here (in the Proclamation) as one of the heaviest oppressions." *The Friend of India*, October 7, 1858, p. 939.

decided according to the Shurrah and the Shasters, without any expense; and the zemindars who will assist in the present war with their men and money, shall be excused for ever from paying half the revenue. Zemindars aiding only with money, shall be excepted in perpetuity from paying one-fourth of the revenue; and should any zemindar who has been unjustly deprived of his lands during the English Government, personally join the war, he will be restored to his Zemindary, and excused from paying one-fourth of the revenue."

"*Section II —Regarding Merchants.*—It is plain that the infidel and treacherous British Government have monopolized the trade of all the fine and valuable merchandise, such as indigo, cloth, and other articles of shipping, leaving only the trade of trifles to the people, and even in this they are not without their share of the profits, which they secure by means of customs and stamp fees, &c. in money suits, so that the people have merely a trade in name. Besides this, the profits of the traders are taxed, with postages, tolls, and subscriptions for schools, &c., Notwithstanding all these concessions, the merchants are liable to imprisonment and disgrace at the instance or complaint of a worthless man. When the Badshahi Government is established, all these aforesaid fraudulent practices shall be dispensed with, and the trade of every article, without exception, both by land and water, shall be open to the native merchants of India, who will have the benefit of the Government steam-vessels and steam-carriages for the conveyance of their merchandise gratis; and merchants having no capital of their own shall be assisted from the public treasury. It is therefore the duty of every merchant to take part in the war, and aid the Badshahi Government with his men and money, either secretly or openly, as may be consistent with his position or interest, and forswear his allegiance to the British Government."

"*Section III—Regarding Public Servants.*—It is not a secret thing, that under the British Government, natives employed in the civil and military services, have little respect, low pay, and no manner of influence; and all the posts of dignity and emolument in both the departments, are exclusively bestowed on Englishmen for natives in the military service, after having devoted the greater part of their lives, attain to the post of soobadar (the very height of their hopes) with a salary of 60r. or 70r. per mensem; and those in the civil service obtain the post of Sudder Ala, with a salary of 500 r. a-month, but no influence, jagheer, or present. But under the Badshahi Government like the posts of colonel, general, and commander-in-chief, which the English enjoy at present,

the corresponding posts of Pansadi, Punj-hazari, Haft-hazari, and Sippah-salari, will be given to the natives in the military service; and, like the post of collector, magistrate, judge, sudder judge, secretary and governor, which the European civil servants now hold, the corresponding posts of Wuzeer, Quazi, Safir, Suba Nizam (Nazim) and Dewan, &c., with salaries of Lacs of Rupees, will be given to the natives of the civil service, together with jagheers, khilluts, inams, and influence. Natives, whether Hindoos or Mohammedans, who fall fighting against the English, are sure to go to heaven; and those killed fighting for the English, will, doubtless, go to hell. Therefore, all the natives in the British service ought to be alive to their religion and interest, and, abjuring their loyalty to the English, side with the Badshahi Government, and obtain salaries of 200 or 300 rupees per month for the present, and be entitled to high posts in future. If they, for any reason, cannot at present declare openly against the English, they can heartily wish ill to their cause, and remain passive spectators of passing events, without taking any active share therein. But at the same time they should indirectly assist the Badshahi Government, and try their best to drive the English out of the country.

"All the sepoys and sowars who have, for the sake of their religion, joined in the destruction of the English, and are at present, on any consideration, in a state of concealment, either at home or elsewhere, should present themselves to me without the least delay or hesitation.

"Foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of three annas, and sowars at eight or twelve annas per diem for the present, and afterwards they will be paid double of what they get in the British service. Soldiers not in the English service, and taking part in the war against the English, will receive their daily subsistence money according to the rates specified below for the present; and in future the foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of eight or ten rupees, and sowars at the rate of twenty or thirty rupees, per month; and on the permanent establishment of the Badshahi Government, will stand entitled to the highest posts in the state, to jagheers and presents:—

Matchlockmen	...	...	2 annas a day.
Riflemen ...	...	...	$2\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day.
Swordsmen	...	...	$1\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day.
Horsemen, with large horses		...	8 annas a day.
Horsemen, with small horses		...	6 annas a day.

"*Section IV—Regarding Artisans.*—It is evident that the Europeans, by the introduction of English articles into India, have thrown the weavers, the cotton dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the shoemakers, &c., out of employ, and have engrossed their occupations, so that every description of native artisan has been reduced to beggary. But under the Badshahi Government the native artisans will exclusively be employed in the services of the kings, the rajahs, and the rich; and this will no doubt ensure their prosperity. Therefore these artisans ought to renounce the English services, and assist the *Majahdeens*, or religious fanatics, engaged in the war, and thus be entitled both to secular and eternal happiness."

"*Section V—Regarding Pundits, Fakirs and other learned persons.*—The pundits and fakirs being the guardians of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions respectively, and the Europeans being the enemies of both the religions, and as at present a war is raging against the English on account of religion, the pundits and fakirs are bound to present themselves to me, and take this share in the holy war, otherwise they will stand condemned according to the tenor of the Shurrah and the Shasters; but if they come, they will, when the Badshahi Government is well established, receive rent-free lands.

"Lastly, be it known to all, that whoever, out of the above named classes, shall after the circulation of this Ishtahar, still cling to the British Government, all his estates shall be confiscated, and his property plundered, and he himself, with his whole family, shall be imprisoned, and ultimately put to death."[1]

Translation of a Circular letter addressed to the Chiefs of Bundelkhund by an individual styling himself Mahomed Esak aide-de-camp to the self constituted Maharajah Sreemunt Peishwa. Dated 15th. Jumaadee Aual, 1274 A.H. corresponding with 2nd. January, 1858:

After Compliments.

My master, Sreemunt Maharajah Peishwa Bahadoor, at the sacrifice of every ease and comfort as well as of his wealth, property &c., has for the purpose of defending the religion both of the Hindoos and Mahommedans, prepared himself to slaughter the followers of Christ as they are the enemies of the faith of the Mussulmans and Hindoos. The said Maharajah has, by engaging a war with the Christians, put several of them to the sword—and

[1]Charles Ball, *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, pp. 630-632.

has resolved not to refrain himself from killing them as long as he breathes his vital air, and to annihilate at once the people of this race now in India. The object which the Maharajah has in view to expel all the Christians from Hindoostan, is not to take possession of the territories and property of the Rajahs and Chiefs of India, or to assume the supreme command of the Country, but on the other hand, it is his sole desire that after a victory shall have been obtained over the enemy, all the Chiefs may in peace enjoy the possession of the territories which they at present hold as well as those which they formerly possessed, and pass their days in the enjoyment of ease and happiness. Those provinces which are now exclusively in the British possession, shall, after a due consultation, be distributed to such Chiefs as will be exhibiting cordial spirit, offer their services in slaughtering the followers of Christ. If all the Chiefs for the purpose of defending their religion and faith, join together and be one of mind, and render as much assistance as they respectively can, it will not be difficult to annihilate through the divine favor, all the remaining Christians. Under the orders of the aforesaid Sreemunt Peishwa Bahadoor, I beg to inform you all that in a recent war at Cawnpore, our force has for some reasons, retreated, and that troops are now being assembled at Calpee for the purpose of opposing the enemies at Cawnpore. It will be a friendly act on your part, if you now render assistance by sending troops and guns without loss of time. My employer warmly hopes that all the Chiefs of Bundelkhund will be of one mind to assist him in the undertaking, as formerly the Peishwa of Poona, when he was in power, rendered assistance to the Chiefs of this Country and paid every regard to their honor and dignity. Under these circumstances it is hoped that you should as soon as possible despatch to Calpee in charge of a trustworthy person such number of men and guns as you may be able to furnish. An early reply to this, is solicited, in as much as the above Maharajah is daily expected at Calpee. You shall also inform me whatever you think advisable.

(True Translation)
(Sd.) Illegible.[1]

Proclamation issued by Mirza Feroz Shah Shahzadah:

" To all Hindoos and Mahommedans of Hindoostan who are faithful to their religion know that sovereignty is one of God's chief

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, No. 2132, 31st. December, 1858. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

boons, one which a deceitful tyrant is never allowed to retain. For several years the English have been committing all kinds of excesses and tyrannies being desirous of converting all men to Christianity by force, and of subverting and doing away with the religion of Hindoos and Mahommedans. When God saw this fact, He so altered the hearts of the inhabitants of Hindoostan, that they have been doing their best to get rid of the English themselves; now the Feringhees have been destroyed, but still they overrun the whole country to its destruction, and persevere in their vain endeavours. Soon they will have been, by the grace of God, so utterly exterminated, that no traces of them will remain. Know that all Hindoos and Mussalmans have become so hateful to them, that they will not suffer any to live with honour. I now detail to you some of the plans decided upon in the council, in accordance with the opinions of the Judicial Supreme Court of Parliament.

" Oh Hindoostance Brethren! thus put on your guard against their subversive determinations, leave them to their folly, and all uniting break their head. When the army mutinied to preserve their faith, and in various places sent the kaffirs to Hell, then *the Padres and wise men amongst them*, alarmed at the mutiny, the anarchy, and slaughter of the Europeans, *concocted the following scheme*,[1] observing that if, on obtaining the supreme power, attention had been paid to the laws and rules then established, this would never have happened:—

1st. ' The families of Indian Chiefs and Kings were preserved, this should not have been; they ought now, all that remain, to be

[1]Dr. Duff's letter to Daniel Wilson, Metropolitan, Dated 19th. October, 1857. " He (the Bishop) made repeated personal applications to the Governor General, entreating him to appoint a special day for humiliation and prayer before God, but, with sorrow I had to add, altogether in vain. At last a public meeting of Christian inhabitants was held, and a memorial on the subject, addressed to Lord Canning agreed to and numerously and respectfully signed. The response to this memorial was the issue of a Proclamation by the Governor General in Council which sadly disappointed all God-fearing people, and added another to the many recent acts of our higher authorities which have tended, unhappily, to lower them in the estimation of the general Christian community of this place. The appointment of a week-day was declined, though the same papers which published this proclamation announced the closing of all Government offices for about ten days in honour of the most celebrated of our idolatrous festivals.— The Doorga Pooja. But this was not the worst feature of it. As if afraid or ashamed to allude to the existence of the only true religion,— that on whose origination, and maintenance, and outspreading, the energies of the Godhead are embarked, no reference whatever was made in it to Christ, or Christianity or Christians." George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, pp. 334-35. " *The Friend of India*" had been ' Warned ', because its temporary editor had dared, in an article published on the Centenary of Plassey, to express the hope that when the next centenary came round the princes of India might be Christian." *Ibid.*, p. 336.

enticed on board the ship, under pretence of their being conveyed to England and drowned.

2nd. 'All religious books, whether Hindoo or Mussalman, ought to be collected by fraud or force and burned.

3rd. 'Not a biswa of land ought to be left in the possession of any native.

4th. 'The native officers ought to be bribed and intimidated into intermarriage with Europeans, that they may in a short time become the same as they.

5th. 'Natives ought not to be trained as Artillerists.

6th. 'All natives ought to be disarmed.

7th. 'No servant ought to be engaged until he has eaten and drunk with Europeans.

8th. 'Mosques and temples ought not to be allowed to be founded.

9th. 'Mahommedan and Hindoo worships ought to be proscribed.

10th. 'To adjudicate by Bible Law.

11th. 'Marriage ought not to be celebrated according to the Hindoo and Mahommedan ritual. This is to be special care of the Padres.

12th. 'To abolish Hindoo and Mussalman doctors.

13th. 'Not to allow Hindoo or Mussalman doctors to educate disciples without the permission of the Padres.

14th. 'None but Doctors ought to be permitted to assist at the confinement of Hindoo and Mussalman women.

'These rules have not been adhered to; the worthless natives of Hindoostan have been treated with care and tenderness and the end of it has been that these very natives have got up the rebellion. If great attention is paid to the above principles for the future, and if all misconduct among the Hindoostanis is punished, then the English rule will remain established for thousands of years.'

"Oh Hindoostanee Brethren! you have heard what measures they have resolved to carry out. You must now wash your hands, and becoming their enemies exert yourselves in exterminating them for the sake of your religion and of your lives. Through God's grace we shall be victorious. I now am going to tell you a few things, you listen attentively and execute what I suggest with determination.

" Before the commencement of these calamities of the English, I went on a pilgrimage to Mecca; on my return when I arrived at..... and saw the condition of the English, I thanked God. As I am by nature a seeker after religious excellence, just, equitable, and the obstructor of tyranny, therefore enticing the people to rebellion as I came along. I travelled from Bombay to Gwalior and made all chiefs and armies promise to exterminate the Nazarenes. I took a small army with me from Gwalior, intending first to arrange and consolidate affairs and then to fight. However the soldiers were so excited by religious zeal, that disregarding their offices, they hastened on impetuously, and made an attack on Agra. Not withstanding their own small numbers, and the hosts of enemies they tried to contend with, they behaved with becoming valour and courage, and although apparently defeated, yet in reality they gained a signal success, having slain nearly 1,000 Kaffirs. After the battle my property and comrades were scattered, hither and thither. From that time until now I have been busy in my endeavours to collect an army, and have been for four months meeting kings and armies to rise and slaughter the infidels. Through the aid of God, from various quarters, 130,000 men, old and new soldiers, have been induced to swear to join me, and I will soon, collecting all of these, purify the land from these Nazarenes. All sorts of material and treasure have been collected, there is only a little delay in the commencement of the movement. Let it be known that the only inducement to enter into these plots, is the call of our ancient religion. Therefore the proclamation is distributed alike among Mahommedans and Hindoos and let all those to whom God has granted determination stake their lives and property and joining us, who rise for our faith obtain happiness in this world and in that to come. Therefore God orders all who may receive this Ishtahar to aid us, the old and infirm by their prayers, the rich by their contributions, and the hale and vigorous by devoting their lives.

" When you determine on joining the ranks of the Jehadees, you must consider the following points:

1st. " The Chiefs subject to the King of Oudh and Nawab of Bareilly must not join me without first obtaining the permission of their sovereigns, because they are doing all they can to destroy (bury) the Kafirs and if they are abandoned, the Nazarenes will be strengthened.

2nd. " Let zeal for religion alone be the motive which prompts those who determine to join me, not any wordly aspiration, that they may obtain everlasting rewards, besides obtaining to

great dignity and rank in a wordly sense, when our power is consolidated.

3rd. " The reason of the delay there has been in burying the English, is that the commands of God have been disregarded in as much as the soldiers have wickedly put women and children to death, and have, without the orders of their leaders, given themselves up to loot in such a way that they generally convert victory into defeat and the common people have been much oppressed. When you have rectified these faults, you will succeed as I have promised you.

4th. " Great and small will all be on an equality in this army because all brethren are equal when they are fighting for their religion. On such an occasion it is not permitted that wordly means alone should be made use of.

" Placing my trust in God; devoting myself solely to God's service; observing the precepts of religion; strengthening my determination; clothing myself in; my sword taken in my hand, the sword of religious zeal, I arise in the name of God. We shall obtain victory through the grace of God, who promises victory to those who put their trust in him. Therefore again I urge you, and urge you one and all, join me, prompted solely by the desire of doing God's work.

" On the day and date I will march from the city, let all who wish, come then.

" My advice is this, abandon every other work; give your life to your beloved, or death will take it; decide which of these alternative is perferable ".

(True Translation)

(Sd.) Illegible.

Joint Assistant Secretary to the Government, N.W.P.[1]

[1]Abstract N.W.P. Narrative Foreign, 1858.

Lithographed at Bareilly and issued by order of the Nawab of Kather,3rd. Rujjub—1274 (corresponding with 17th. February, 1858).

N.B. *The Mutny in the East Indies :* Inclosure 2 in No. 11, page 132. Supplementary Narrative, dated 7th. April, 1858, Allahabad.

" The more important rebels are all at Bareilly, and a proclamation by Ferozshah, son of the King of Delhi, has attracted much attention ". Second Version of Foreign Secret Consultations", 30th. April, 1858. Nos. 121-122. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

Translation of a Proclamation issued by Peishwa dated Chirkharee 11th. Rujjub A.H. 1274, Friday corresponding with 26th. February, 1858:

"The Chief of Chirkharee district did not come to terms with this Government neither did he embrace the course of religion; the army on several occasions wrote to him to embrace the course of religion and deputed one or two trustworthy persons to advise him to adopt that course. Yet that infidel having no regard for religion is prepared to fight. I am desirous to extirpate Infidel Christians and preserve the national religion. This Chief in my opinion is one of the English as he sides with them and wages War against the supporters of the faith; it is hereby proclaimed that all Officers, Soobadars, Sirdars and Sepoys that have orders to reduce Chirkharee should consider the Chief of Chirkharee as an English man and send him to hell. After Chirkharee is taken every one will receive a gratuity equivalent to one month's pay, the heirs of those that fall in the action will be provided for. The City after it is taken will be plundered but let it be impressed upon everyone that Government goods and property as (Guns, Bullocks, Camels, Horses, Elephants, Treasure, Tents, valuables) and costly things will not be given to the men of the Army who will be entitled only to plunder equivalent in value to 100 Rs. Plunder exceeding that sum will be taken by Government. Should men act contrary to this order, Government will not be able to grant the gratuity of one month's pay. Every one should know these orders and should act accordingly."[1]

(True Translation)
(Sd). W. SHAKESPEAR,
Officiating Assistant Agent to Governor General for Central India.

Proclamation of Maharajah Rao Sahib Peishwa Bahadoor:

" Let it be known to all people, to the gentry, the merchants, the shopkeepers, and the military of every city, town, and village, that the army bearing the standard of victory, accompanying His Highness and head of Government has marched in this direction, only for the destruction of the infidel Christians, not for the spoliation of the resident inhabitants.

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th. May, 1858. Nos. 151-55. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

"Let every one know this—that this army, buoyed on the waves of the victory, is at enmity with the English, not with the native cultivators of the soil. It has never been the intention of any one in this force to cause loss to the villagers and residents of the country through which we pass; but it is evident that daily supplies must be had, more especially when an enemy is in our front; some villages have been looted through the folly of the inhabitants in leaving their homes. Then, not being able to purchase, my followers have taken what was necessary for their sustenance. If the villagers had remained in their houses and sold their grain, &c. then no outrage nor robbery would have taken place. They have reaped the reward of their own foolishness. Now this proclamation is put forth, that no villager shall leave his home on the approach of this army, but, producing the supplies there may be, receive the fair price of the same. Beyond the current rate a price shall be fixed. When the proclamation reaches any village, the head-man thereof should send a copy of it to the adjacent villages, that fear may be dispelled—Dated the 7th. November, 1858, 30th. Rubbee-ool-aval."[1]

Proclamation by the Begum of Oudh:

(Translation by Order)

"At this time certain weak-minded, foolish people, have spread a report that the English have forgiven the faults and crimes of the people of Hindoostan. This appears very astonishing, for it is the unvarying cutsom of the English never to forgive a fault, be it great or small so much so, that if a small offence be committed through ignorance or negligence, they never forgive it. The proclamation of the 1st. November, 1858, which has come before us, is perfectly clear; and as some foolish people, not understanding the real object of the proclamation, have been carried away, therefore we, the ever-abiding government, *parents of the people of Oude*, with great consideration, put forth the present proclamation, in order that the real object of the chief points may be exposed, and our subjects placed on their guard.

1. "It is written in the proclamation, that the country of Hindoostan, which was held in trust by the Company, has been resumed by the Queen, and that for the future the Queen's laws shall be obeyed. This is not to be trusted by our religious subjects;

[1] "Notwithstanding the rapidity with which the movements of Tantya Tope were necessarily made, he found time and opportunity to distribute the following notifications to the inhabitants of the district through which he passed." Charles Ball, *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol II, p. 546, Original see plate no. 20. (Foreign Political Consultations, National Archives, New Delhi). The Original has got 1st. Rabi II, 1275, 8th. Nov. 1858.

for the laws of the Company, the settlement of the Company, the English servants of the Company, the Governor General, and the judicial administration of the Company, are all unchanged. What, then, is there now which can benefit the people, or on which can rely?

2. "In the proclamation it is written, that all contracts and agreements entered into by the Company will be accepted by the Queen. *Let the people carefully observe this artifice.* The Company has seized on the whole of Hindoostan, and, if this arrangement be accepted, what is there new in it? *The Company professed to treat the Chief of Bhurtpore as a son, and then took his territory; the Chief of Lahore was carried off to London*, and it has not fallen to his lot to return; the Nawab Shumshoodeen Khan, on one side, they hanged, and, on the other side, they salaamed to him; the Peishwa they expelled from Poona Sitara, and imprisoned for life in Bithoor; their breach of faith with Sultan Tippoo is well known; the Rajah of Benares they imprisoned in Agra. Under pretence of administering the country of the Chief of Gwalior, they introduced English customs; they have left no names or traces of the Chiefs of Behar, Orissa, and Bengal; they gave the Rao of Furruckabad a small monthly allowance, and took his territory. Shahjehanpore, Bareilly, Azimgurh, Jounpore, Goruckpore, Etawah, Allahabad, Futtehpore, &c. *Our ancient possessions they took from us on pretence of distributing pay; and in the 7th. article of the treaty, they wrote, on oath, that they would take no more from us.* If, then, the arrangements made by the Company are to be accepted, *what is the difference between the former and the present state of things*? These are old affairs, but recently, in defiance of treaties and oaths, and notwithstanding that they owed us millions of rupees without reason, and on pretence of the misconduct and discontent of our people, they took our country and property, worth millions of rupees. If our people were discontented with our royal predecessor, Wajid Ali Shah, how comes it they are content with us? And no ruler ever experienced such loyalty and devotion of life and goods as we have done. What, then is wanting that they do not restore our country? Further, it is written in the proclamation, that they want no increase of territory, but yet they cannot refrain from annexation. If the Queen has assumed the government, why does Her Majesty not restore our country to us when *our people wish it*? It is well-known that no king or queen ever punished a whole army and people for rebellion; all were forgiven; and the wise cannot approve of punishing the whole army and people of Hindoostan; for so long as the word punishment remains the disturbance will not be suppressed. There is a well-known proverb—"A dying man is

desperate" (Murta kya na kurta). *It is impossible that a thousand should attack a million, and the thousand escape.*

3. "In the proclamation it is written, that the Christian religion is true, but that no other creed will suffer oppression, and that the laws will be observed towards all. *What has the administration of justice to do with the truth or falsehood of religion?* That religion is true which acknowledges one God, and knows no other. Where there are three Gods in a religion, neither Mussulman nor Hindoo—nay, not even Jews, Sun-worshippers, or Fire-worshippers can believe it true. To eat pigs and drink wine—to bite greased cartridges, and to mix pig's fat with flour and sweetmeats—to destroy Hindoos and Mussalman temples on pretence of making roads to build churches—to send clergymen into the streets and alleys to preach the Christian religion—to institute English schools, and to pay a monthly stipend for learning the English sciences, while the places of worship of Hindoos and Mussalmans are to this day entirely neglected; with all this, how can the people believe that religion will not be interfered with? The rebellion began with religion, and, for it, millions of men have been killed. Let not our subjects be deceived; thousands were deprived of their religion in the North-West, and thousands were hanged rather than abandon their religion.

4. "It is written in the proclamation, that they who harboured rebels, or who were leaders of rebels, or who caused men to rebel, shall have their lives, but that punishment shall be awarded after deliberation, and that murderers and abettors of murderers shall have no mercy shown them, while all others shall be forgiven. *Any foolish person can see, that under this proclamation, no one, be he guilty or innocent, can escape.* Everything is written, and yet nothing is written; but they have clearly written that they will not let off any one implicated; and in whatever village or estate the army may have halted, the inhabitants of that place cannot escape. We are deeply concerned for the condition of our people on reading this proclamation, which palpably teems with enmity. We now issue a distinct order, and one that may be trusted that all subjects who may have foolishly presented themselves as heads of villages to the English, shall, before the 1st. of January next, present themselves, in our camp. Without doubt their faults shall be forgiven then, and they shall be treated according to their merits. To believe in this proclamation *it is only necessary to remember that Hindoostanee rulers are altogether kind and merciful. Thousands have seen this, millions have heard it. No one has ever seen in a dream that the English forgave an offence.*

5. " In this proclamation it is written, that when peace is restored, public works, such as roads and canals, will be made in order to improve the condition of the people. It is worthy of a little reflection, that they have promised no better employment for Hindoostanees than making roads and digging canals. If people cannot see clearly what this means, there is no help for them. Let no subject be deceived by the proclamation."

(A True Translation)
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude.[1]

[1]"The beneficial effect produced by the promulgation of the terms of the amnesty among the people of Oudh was soon apparent although on the part of Begum and her adherents, no means were neglected that might counteract the influence which the proclamation of the Queen of India was likely to acquire over the temper and cool reflections of the people. Among other expedients to this end, the following counter-proclamation of the Begum was extensively circulated, not only through the distant provinces of Oudh, but even in the capital itself, although now completely at the mercy of its captors." Charles Ball, *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, pp. 543-44.

NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE

CHAPTER EIGHT

COMMUNALISM LET LOOSE

GENERAL NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE

COMMUNALISM LET LOOSE.

PROCLAMATION

To

The Rajpoot States.

By the evil and false reports of some secret enemies of the British Government, troops hitherto faithful to their salt and loyal to the Government they serve, have been led to suppose, it is the intention of that Government to interfere with the religion of their soldiers, by causing them to commit acts repugnant to its tenets and on this supposition have fled from the presence of the British troops at Meerut and taking advantage of the defenceless state of the city of Delhi, in which confiding in the loyalty of these traitors, Government had placed no European troops, have compelled the Regiments there to join with them in their lawless rebellion, and have possessed themselves of the city.

All India, and indeed the whole world knows, how false is the charge of interference with the religion of its subjects, by the British Government. No charge more false could have been made. Let a man's religion be what it may, Government not only allow it but protect him in its exercise.

Can this be said of other rulers?

Is it not known to all, that the Emperor Alumgeer in former times, and Hydur Alli in latter days, forcibly converted thousands and thousands of Hindoos, desecrated their fanes, and demolished their temples? Look at the mutilated emblems of Hindoo worship throughout Rajpootana, and say by whose order such mournful devastation was accomplished.

But a few years ago, no *Muezzin* could sound the Azan, throughout the Punjab, and only two years back no Hindoo could erect a temple at Lucknow, and now who dares forbid either, or who dares interfere with the religion of British subjects or British allies? Toleration, ever has and ever will be the policy of the British Government.

That Government needs but little assistance from its allies, if necessary a few months only could see a hundred thousand English troops collected wherever they may be required, and with power unequalled in the whole world for its resources, the British Government can crush any domestic faction and punish any such traitorous mutiny as this.

The Agent to the Governor General for Rajpootana now calls upon the Princes and Nobles of the Rajpoot states, and all loyal Rajpoots to show their fidelity to the Paramount Power, and their gratitude for the peaceable enjoyment of their states, and the good order that has been preserved by the British Government, by giving such assistance as may be immediately required by its officers, by preserving peace and quiet within their own boundaries, and by seizing and atonce imprisoning any of the mutineers who may come within their states, or any emissaries who, ignorant of the Rajpoot character for loyalty may dare to endeavour to gain their sympathy.

All assistance given by the Rajpoot States will be rewarded with that liberality which has ever distinguished the British Government in its dealings with them.

(Sd.) LAWRENCE,
Officiating Agent to Governor General, Rajpootana.

(True Translation)
(Sd). A. G. S. JOHN MILDMAY,
Assistant Agent to Governor General.

(True Copy)
(Sd.) Illegible.
Assistant Agent to Governor General.[1]

From

George Couper Esqre.,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh.

To

G. F. Edmonstone Esqre.,
Secretary to the Government of India.

Dated, Lucknow, December 1st., 1857.

Sir,

With reference to the Chief Commissioner's letter to his Lordship the Governor General dated, 14th. September in which he stated that he had authorized the sum of Rs. 50,000 to be expended in an attempt to raise the Hindoo population of Bareilly against the Mahommedan rebels I am directed to submi' he accompanying

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th. June, 1857. No- 113-116. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

extract of a letter from Captain Gowan dated the 14th. ultimo from which his Lordship in Council will perceive that the attempt was quite unsuccessful, and has been abandoned without the expenditure of any portion of the amount in question.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) GEORGE COUPER,
Secretary to Chief Commissioner.

Camp Alum Bagh,
December 1st., 1857.

I have been quite unsuccessful in my attempt to induce the Thakoors round about here to collect together any number of men. I had been led to suppose that they were inclined to render effectual aid to Government, but find that the extent of aid goes not beyond professions of good-will for the present and boastings of what they would do if they were backed by a well-appointed European force which force could do very well without them and would only be hampered by their presence. I have consequently not spent any money whatever and not drawn any cheques upon Government for any purpose.

(True Extract)
(Sd.) GEORGE COUPER,
Secretary to Chief Commissioner.[1]

GENERAL NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE

Anti-British Feeling in the Public:

8. " But in point of fact there can be no confidence placed in the demeanour or bearing of the people. They would always be respectful and submissive until it is in their power to be otherwise. The people of this district, and in all others in the country I suppose, have no sympathy with Government, British or Native....."

9. "The common brotherhood of all Mahommedans is a very different matter, and I think it would be impossible to deny that

[1]Foreign Secret Consultations. No. 25, dated 27th. August, 1858. (National Archives, New Delhi.)

they were in heart and soul against us.....The Mahommedan population is ever against us. I am told that in this and the Moozuffurnuggur districts they are bound by oath not to give decisive evidence against each other."[1]

Taxation without Representation:

"..... Nevertheless the battle with China, it is evident, is to be fought out. Lord Palmerston will probably secure a small majority,and even if he does not,the war must be carried on. Mr. Cobden may theorize on the virtues of the "Ants of Assia (Asia)." Lord John Russell may hint that our measures have been to precipitate, and that Sir John Bowring, Secretary to the Peace Association is too merciless. But it is the Tory Party which if Lord Palmerston is defeated will take the reins, and it is not the Tories who when power is in their hands will sacrifice the honour of England, or leave English merchants to be tortured by the "Caugue" (*sic*,). The war will proceed, and it seems natural that troops should be forwarded from India. There is a fleet already fitted out, an Army already organised, a General already tried. To men issuing orders from a distance, the difficulties of detail will appear trivial, and the embarkation of an Indian Army for China may be regarded ultimately as a certainty.

"..... The idea that India is to pay for England has long since been formally abandoned. Nobody except the Press now proposes that the Indian surplus shall be applied to diminish English taxation. Even the payment of the proprietors' dividend, the taxation of India to pay for an act of the Imperial Legislature, is now acknowledged to be a real though irremediable wrong. The finances of India, it is now admitted, are to be expended for the benefit of India,to improve its Government,to strengthen its defences,to secure its foreign position, to enlarge its foreign trade. Yet in spite of this theory, India is called on without warning, without a vote in Parliament, at the bare will of a single Minister, to contribute enormous sums to the Imperial Exchequer.....

" ....."

" ....."

"The Persian war, however, had this one excuse. It was at least begun for the security of India, Even that faint apology is wanting in the case of China war....."[2]

[1]R. Spankie (Magistrate, Saharanpur), Narrative of Events Attending the outbreak of Disturbances and the Restoration of Authority in the District of Saharanpore in 1857-58.

[2]*The Friend of India*, 23rd. April, 1857. p. 385.

Payment of the Cost of War:

"The English papers discuss anxiously the liability for the expenses of the war. Indeed so acrimonious is their tone we half suspect the question is coming up in a serious form. *The Times* in particular writes as if it were contending with some unseen foe, as if it dreaded an official proposition to saddle Englishmen with a War Income Tax. There are some twenty million Sterling, it is said, that is a million a year, to be found somewhere, and there are four parties who may possibly be considered liable. They are—1st. the holders of Indian stock, 2ndly. the people of England, 3rdly. the mutineers, and 4thly. the people of India.

"The first body may be put very speedily out of the argument.....

"The second class may also be dismissed though somewhat less briefly.

"The third course is the fairest and is indeed open to cavil only as a question of possibility. If the mutinous districts can pay they ought unquestionably to be made to pay. *The last brass pan and the last dhotee ought to be sold before any other human being is called upon for a farthing.* But can they pay? We believe that the question is not yet fairly decided in the negative. The populace cannot doubtless pay much. No man grows very rich by plunder, and even the sabre would extract from them but little towards the bill. But the leaders can. The estates and pensions forfeited by open rebellion, if put to sale, would produce a few millions. There are two pensions alone worth five. There is the estate of the scoundrel who blew English ladies from his guns, there is about one clear third of Oude,and there are great properties even in Bengal already forfeited. We doubt if justice were done sternly and systematically whether the outturn would be less than half the sum required. An income tax levied on the revolted cities should speedily provide the remainder. We must not forget that when General Wilson demanded a million sterling as the ransom of Delhi the money was beginning to be paid. It would have been paid to the last cowrie had not the order we hoped—because it interfered with vengeance—been summarily cancelled. The mutinous classes then are primarily and most justly liable.

"Failing them the damages must be obtained like the cost of war from the 4th. class, from India herself. It is nonsense to argue that India is not liable. What made her liable for Afghan War? India pays certain sums as the price of the benefits she receives from the English rule, and the first of those benefits is

the prevention of atrocities such as those committed by the sepoys.[1]

Nature of the Outbreak at Allahabad

From

M. H. Court, Esquire,
Magistrate and Collector of Allahabad.

To

C. Chester, Esquire,
Commissioner, Allahabad Division.

Dated, Allahabad the 21st. July, 1857.

Sir,

I have the honour to furnish the following report on Pergunnah Chail, showing as far as possible the extent of the Mutiny there, the conduct of the Police stationed in the Pergunnah, and of the measures that I consider necessary for its future fiscal and judicial administration.

2. As I informed you in my letter No. 3 dated 11th. instant, the extent of rebellion has been greater in this than in any other Pergunnah. On the night of the Mutiny the Pathan Zemindar of Rusoolpore, Saidabad, the other Mussulman Zemindars of Futhepore Bichchooah, Bughara, Saloree, Shadeeabad, Minhajpoor, Buksee, and other villages adjoining the station and city joined the Mutineers and released prisoners in firing and plundering the station, and afterwards in supporting, the authority of the Moulvee in the city. The Mussulman of the mofussil also joined in destroying and plundering every house or factory belonging to Europeans and every building however large or however insignificant, with which we are connected. A Chowkidar's Murhelah, the Alum Chand factory and the Railway station building were equally treated and the very asylums built from charitable funds provided by the Christian population for the relief of the people, were burnt down and demolished with as much ill-will as our public offices.

In five villages named in the margin,[2] the Mussulmen (*sic*,) are of the Sheah (Shia) Sect; these joined with the others in the plundering and destruction of property, but otherwise held aloof from the Moulvee.

[1] *The Friend of India*, January 7, 1858, pp. 3 and 4. "Who is to pay".
[2] 1. Manaure, 2. Basonuan, 3. Sydpoor, 4. Asrawan, 5. Mustafabad.

4. The Poora Maheelee and Thana buildings were plundered on the 7th. of the month by the zemindars and inhabitants of Bhikha, Syed Sarawan, Kazeepoor, Futhepore and other villages round, led on by Hadee, Fyzoola, two of the Zemindars in the first village named who were amongst the prisoners in Jail.

5. The Railway officials in the line at Bhurwarie were attacked, two of the number killed by the Zemindars of Kussia, Goura, Bhurwarie and other villages in that neighbourhood.

6. In short whenever property public or private—was found, that property was destroyed or plundered by the neighbourhood led on by the fort; we found our property in the villages around, and I may say with some degree of confidence that there was not a house of any of the above villages, and hardly one in a hundred of the houses in the Kuttra and Colonelganj bazars which did not hold some remains of the plunder. Portions of the Tehseel and Thana Records have been found in the villages of that neighbourhood, and fragments of the property of the Railway gentlemen in villages adjoining them.

7. On the flight of the Moulvee, the mutineers also fled, and of the thousands who were in the city and neighbourhood on the 16th. June, but very few are now to be found. Villages are deserted, houses are left with odds and ends of property (with very few exceptions) containing amongst those odds and ends portions of goods plundered from Europeans.

8. There is a very general impression abroad that the *zemindars and the agricultural* population generally are *not against*, us, but with great reluctance I declare my *belief that this is a mistake.* The motives by which the agricultural community are influenced most certainly vary; but whatever the cause, I have no doubt of the effect, no doubt but that excepting the mercantile classes the *people of the country are one and all against us.* One and very large Party (The Mussulmans) are, as all agree, influenced by ambition and the hope of regaining supremacy, reviving their decaying religion, and destroying all professing the Christian faith.

9. The Brahmins amongst the Hindoos are also as far as I have been able to judge, actuated by religion. They have no hope of obtaining supremacy or authority, but it is a common opinion, that they know that belief in their *shastras* is fast declining, that they know that with its fall they fall, and they are consequently interested in exterminating those who have spread amonst their ignorant co-religionists, a spirit of enquiry and consequent departure from their precepts. *The Brahmins amongst the Hindoos,*

the Moulvees and others amongst the Mussalmans, have it is well known proclaimed that it has decreed that British power is to close this year. The poorer classes are thoroughly imbibed with this belief and as a consequence they work against us, for fear of punishment from, or in hopes of obtaining the goodwill of the power which is destined to take reins of government. The poorer classes particularly amongst the Hindoos, are, I believe, indeed, I am certain, at heart favourable to us and would gladly see us confirmed in power but they believe our power is gone and acting on this belief they join in plundering and rebelling against the Government.

10. Whether the above view be correct or not, there is no doubt that the population generally have committed acts of determined hostility, and not in the station only, but in every pergunnah of the district.

11. The police in Chail have almost to a man joined the rebels. When the Bikka men attacked the Tehseels, the Najeeb forces and Chuprassies were ordered by the Tehseeldar to fire upon the mob. The Jemadars of the Chuprassies, the Duffadars and Najeebs turned at once against the Tehseeldar and opened the gates to admit the mob.

12. The Thanadar had disappeared with the whole force. I caught two of three Pathan Burkandazes who in their defence stated they fled from fear. I ascertained that they *fled from fear of the mutiny*, to the very villages where the mutineers were in the greatest force e.g. to the villages near the city, where after a few days they could have, had they been true, reported themselves. These circumstances and the known fact that the Pathans were the most prominent in the mutiny, the fact that the *Moulvee was surrounded by a very strong force of Policemen in our* uniform were sufficient to ensure the punishment of those who belonged to the villages most prominent in the mutiny, who were in those villages from the time the Moulvee fled, until the time of their apprehension.[1]

At Agra

I venture to premise this much, as all the facts within my knowledge lead me to the conclusion, that in its outburst and continuance, the Insurrection of 1857 was neither exclusively of Mahommedan or of Hindoo contriving; that there always existed causes sufficient to account for it; that circumstances, and oppor-

[1]Allahabad Commissioner's Records (Year 1856), File No. 3. Extent of Mutiny in Parganah Chail (Central Records Office, Allahabad).

tunity, and insidious mendacity, roused Mussulman Troopers to insanity, in order to avenge what was designed as indignity offered to their Religion; and that some mysterious Hindoo prophecy largely circulated, and discussed, induced the already disaffected of that Creed to embark in the mutiny and rebellion which followed :.....[1]

Atrocities on villages

In consequence of the general nature of the rebellion, and the impossibility of identifying the majority of the rebels, or of bringing their crime home to them, the Magistrate recommended the wholesale burning and destruction of all villages proved to have sent men to take active part in the rebellion.[2]

Whom are you fighting with?

" Whom are we fighting, the soldiery or the people, a Pretorian guard or a nation of thirty millions? It is quite (*sic*,) time that question should be decided by something beyond vague and wholesale assertion. At present opinion is feebly fluctuating, while the truth involves not only our immediate movements but the whole future of India. One party at the English Press at its head and Mr. Samuells at its tail, asserts that the revolt is purely military. The soldiers, they argue, commenced it. The soldiers carried it on. Soldiers executed the massacres at Cawnpore. Soldiers have in every district been the first to rise, and in almost every district they have oppressed and outraged the peasantry as much as the Europeans.

" Another party, which includes a very large section of Indian officials, almost all the refugees, and perhaps half the independent community declares that the people have joined in the revolt. The people, they say, helped to burn English homes, and outrage English women. The people have in places swelled the ranks of the mutineers. The people insulted the unhappy fugitives. The people made no organised effort to help us, which it is evident they could have done from the fact that it was done in the Punjab.

[1] Harvey, G. F. Commissioner of Agra Division, Narrative of Events Attending the outbreak of Disturbances and the Restoration of Authority in the Agra Division, in 1857-58.

[2] Narrative of events furnished by the Government of Bengal for the weeks ending on 5th. and 12th., September, 1857. Dated September 12, 1857, forwarded by the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Fort William, September 23, 1857 (No. III, Public). [*Further Papers* (*No.* 5) *relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies*, p. 59, 60, para 26.]

They never cut off the mutineers, while the Punjabees bring in their heads with exultation; we can get no intelligence while Nana Sahib knows every detail of our proceedings, and our Generals hear of his departure when he has disappeared. If the people were as asserted (*sic*,), friendly, we should have the benefit at that electric shock, that instant communication from mouth to mouth by which Asiatics learn great facts with a celerity at which Northern men can only marvel.

" We are unable to coincide with either of these extreme opinions. To say that we are fighting the sepoys alone appears to us unreasonable. There must be forty thousand feudal retainers camped round Lucknow alone. It is not soldiers only with whom we have to contend in Goruckpore. Those scoundrels whom the Civil Power has been stringing up in dozens, are not soldiers. Koer Singh's bands were at one time six thousand strong, and only three regiments mutinied at Dinapur. The police are not soldiers, and their conduct except in special cases will hardly admit of investigation. Though our scout masters may be as bad as they have been since the days of Cromwell, still it is not the less, certain that the enemy does obtain intelligence, and that through men not actually in service....."

" .....We have to crush a rebellion of the sepoys assisted by all the pensioners, durwans, nujeebs, police, retainers, lattials (*sic*,), budmashes, and the rest of the armed scum of India....."

" Six months more, and the few sepoys alive will be flying from a law which will be backed most probably by many of their comrades. We are already their equals in number. But the armed populace numbers not seventy or eighty thousand, but at least three millions. Like tigers, they have tested the delight of unpunished murder, of plunder not restored, and the savour will for years be strong in their throats. It is they who even now supply the material which enables local chiefs in Jhansi, Jubbulpore, and other districts to set up the standard of anarchy. It is they from whom when this revolt is quelled, and the original traitors hung, we have to dread assassinations. It is this class which at this moment profess to represent the people, which can be governed only by an energetic, hard-hitting despotism, and which constitutes as we believe the permanent danger of our rule."

" A Hindoostanee Badmash without arms is a leopard without claw.....

" .....That is the reason why we plead for a Disarming Act, not an act leaving arms to whole classes whom the badmash

may bribe or frighten, but a real measure that shall render the existence of a pistol, musket, sword or iron bound lathi, except in Europeans' hands, an impossibility....."

"We contend then that we are not fighting the soldiery alone. Neither are we fighting the people, we are fighting the soldiery plus the armed populace of Hindoostan. We can and shall annihilate the soldiery. We cannot annihilate the populace. ....."[1]

Is it a Military Revolt?

"That the insurrection in this country has not been caused by any injustice or breach of faith on the part of the British Government, *is as apparent as that it is not purely military one* in the strict sense of the term. But the latter idea has been accepted in explanation of the outbreak in very fear that the former should be seized upon by our enemies..... But the assumption of Oude (Oudh) by the British Government gave great offence to the sepoys. In Oudh before that time they had been a privileged class..... They were looked upon as superiors, as the Company's servants. But on Oudh becoming a British province, the cultivators of the soil could claim equal right with the sepoys ..... Thus there was a soreness of feeling created amongst the soldiery which designing men were not slow to take advantage of, and the plot was commenced, and fortunately was betrayed before its organization had been completed. And here if the revolt had been a purely military one, all evil would have stopped. The soldiers could have been mutinous, discontented and clamorous. They would have plundered and murdered. They might even have gone to Delhi, but their triumph would have been short-lived. Villagers would have banded themselves together for their own preservation, and not for the destruction of the Europeans. An army in rebellion has, amidst so dense a population as that of Bengal, no chance of success or even of safety unless it be joined either openly or secretly by the mass of the inhabitants. The fate of many of the regiments in the Punjab, though there the population are more warlike, of the 55th. in particular, and of the Sealkote (Sialkot) mutineers exhibits this. The mutineers were hunted down and were brought in for the reward that was offered for their capture just the same as any other ferocious beast. In fact had it not been for sympathy on the part of the natives of Bengal, the simultaneous rising of the sepoys would have proved

[1] *The Friend of India*, July to December, 1857. November 12, 1857 Number. pp. 1077-78. Heading: "Whom are we fighting with ?"

merely the turning loose upon the country of a band of dacoits; a hundred thousand strong it is true but from the very greatness of their numbers only liable the more readily to fall away. And this circumstance that the sepoys did not fall away, that the rebellion requires time for its suppression and is not easily disposed off might have taught the people at home that the revolt was not purely a military one. The district of Bundelcund was perhaps the only district in Bengal that had anything to complain of, and in that district the populace have shewn no special hospitality to the British Government. They knew full well the just measures which had been adopted for their relief from too high assessment, and though a Government commit errors innumerable it is very seldom indeed that a people throw off their yoke when they are assured that the blunders are involuntary and will be speedily remedied. The natives of this country had therefore no old scores to settle with the Government, under its rule they lived happily and contentedly; they obtained justice purer and better than was ever administered by even the best of the native courts, and yet they rebelled. There must then have been other motives for insurrection since neither injustice nor fanaticism had anything to do with it. And the motives are easily discoverable. There is not a native of this country who does not think that the property of Europeans does not belong to him. Let a man who has been in the receipt of a certain sum every month receive a large increase of salary, let him but examine his bills for a month after this increase, and he will find they too have increased. For the very same thing that with his moderate income he paid but a moderate price he now pays exorbitantly. He may change all his servants, but it will scarcely effect a cure, and he will find it impossible even though his habits remain unchanged by his increase of fortune to let his expenditure, remain unchanged. The fact is, the servants think their master's property in some sort their own. They talk of his unexpected good fortune, and in this they are determined to share. ..... They therefore have a right to partake of any good fortune which may have fallen to the lot of their masters. It has been the same confusion of ideas between the meum and tuum which has led them to take part in the present insurrection. They have seen property plundered in all directions, why should they not share?....."[1]

'*The Times*' *on the Military Revolt:*

"..... But there is a wilful blindness, a sturdy denial of the facts of the mutiny and of its objects which it is painful

[1] *The Friend of India*, Vol.: July to December, 1857. September, 17, 1857, pp. 887-88.

to see. *The Times* in remarking upon the intelligence received from India by the mail of the 19th. of June, observes that the conclusion to be drawn is that the revolt is purely a military one. If *the Times* chooses to consider that a purely military revolt in which soldiers form merely the nucleus round which the disaffected may gather, we have not a word to say. But if on the other hand by a military revolt is understood that participated in by soldiers alone, and in which the people either stand aloof or assist in crushing the rebellion, the assertion of *the Times* is not borne out by facts. It must be remembered that in Asia there always is, and always has been a broad line of demarcation between those who act and those who instigate a rebellion and we should say, that the present rebellion is evidently of the people, who have so worked upon, and instigated the soldiery that they have broken every tie of faith and honour, and have rebelled against that Government which at one time they apparently considered as so benevolent. The Times has in fact mistaken the actors for those who tempted....."[1]

Rebellion and not a Mutiny:

"The country and the Government.—That England's dominion over India is upheld by the sword is an essential article of the political creed of many if not a majority of British politicians..... How slight is the hold the British Govenment has acquired upon the affections of its Indian Subjects has been made painfully evident by the events of the last few weeks. The native mercenaries who constitute the Chief portion of the physical strength of the Government have for sometime been in a mutiny, open or concealed. *It is no longer a Mutiny, but a rebellion.....*

"The sepoys who, in accepting service under the British Government, neither relinquished the right of citizenship nor abnegated national feelings, *have been led to believe their national religion in danger.*..... They have hazarded all their most valuable interest; and their countrymen knew them as martyrs to a holy cause and a great national cause. *The mutineers have been joined and aided by the civil population.....*

"At the present moment, the conviction is ineradicably strong in the mind, of every native—save the small circle in Bengal of those who have been indoctrinated into the mysteries of European civilization—*that the British Government is actuated by a*

[1] *The Friend of India*, Vol.: July to December, 1857. September 17, 1857. p. 885 under the heading "The overland Summary".

fixed purpose of destroying the religion of the native races and of converting them to Christianity. The delusion may seem strange to our readers, but it prevails nevertheless."[1]

Nature of the Rebellion:

" To say, then, with *The Times* and a certain class of home politicians, that the present revolt is a purely military one and nothing more, is an egregious mistake, and as mischievous as it is egregious.

" To say, on the other hand, with the Press and another class of home politicians, that the rebellion is a *national* one, in any true sense of the word *national*, is a mistake just as egregious, and scarcely less mischievous.

" In reality, it is a revolt or rebellion of the Mohammedan, Brahmin, Rajput, and other fraternising sepoys, plus the whole shoal of political intriguers connected with the fallen dynasties, royalties, and chieftainships of Mohammedanism and Hinduism together with the armed classes, which constitute so large a proportion, though probably not the majority of the population of Northern and Central India. This armed populace of full-grown men, accustomed to wield all sorts of arms from earliest youth, one of the most sober and best informed of our local Journalists estimates, at the very least, at *three millions*....."[2]

Oudh Revolutionary Forces:

" ..... The city (Lucknow) was known to be entirely in possession of the rebels, and every house along the streets leading to the Residency converted into a temporary fort, bristling with armed men. Of actually trained soldiers it has been computed that there could not be fewer than forty or fifty thousand there; with perhaps twice that number of the armed retainers of insurgents, rajahs and zemindars.

" For, be it remembered, that Oudh was the grand nursery of our Bengal native army,..... that the whole population is military and possessed of arms,.....that, besides the thousands of sepoys who had recently revolted, there were thousands, if not tens of thousands, who,after serving their time – with our army had retired on pensions,..... and that, at the time of the annexation, the Supreme Council of India, though strongly urged to the

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, May 21, 1857.
[2] Dr. Duff, *Letters on India*, Letter No. XV, Calcutta 20th. November, 1857.

measure by the Lucknow authorities, refused to disarm the population, as had been done so successfully, and with such triumphant results, in the Punjab....."[1]

Character of the Rebellion:

" ..... There are those at home and abroad in high places, who still infatuatedly cling to the delusion that it is an exclusively ' military revolt ' with which we have to deal,..... that we have a '*secure place and solid foundation in the confidence and good will of the people*', *and that* ' *the mutineers have not the confidence or sympathy of the general population.*'

" At the risk of being accounted a prophet of ill omen, *I must solemnly protest against the mischievousness of so deadly a delusion.* This is not merely to underrate the gravity,it is positively to mistake the nature, of the present momentous crisis. .....

" And it is the fact that it is not a mere ' military revolt ', *but a rebellion—a revolution—* which alone can account for the little progress hitherto made in extinguishing it, and, at the same time, precludes any reasonable hope of its early complete suppression, that it is a rebellion, and a rebellion, too, of as or mushroom growth, every fresh revelation tends more and more to confirm. And a rebellion long and deliberately concocted,..... a rebellion which has been able to array the Hindu and Mahommedan in an unnatural confederacy..... a rebellion which is now manifestly nurtured and sustained by the whole population of Oudh, and directly or indirectly, sympathized with and assisted by well nigh half that of the neighbouring provinces,..... is not to be put down by a few victories over mutinous sepoys, however decisive or brilliant."[2]

Political Character:

" ..... In short, I feel more than ever persuaded of the reality of the conviction which I entertained from the very first, *that this monster rebellion has been mainly of a political, but very subordinately of a religious character;* and that the grand proximate agency in exciting it was a treasonable Mohammedan influence brought skilfully to bear on a soil prepared for its action by many concurring antecedent causes of disaffection and discontentment. Brahmanical and other influences had doubtless their share in it;

[1]Dr. Duff, *Letters on India*, Letter No. XIV,Calcutta, 7th.November, 1857. pp. 182-83.
[2]Dr. Duff, *Letters on India.* Letter No. XVI, dated December, 10, 1857. pp. 219-20.

but the preponderent central element has been of Mohammedan origin, directed to the realization of the long-cherished dynastic designs of Mohammedan ambition....."[1]

" To prevent all misconception with reference to missionaries, it ought to be emphatically noted that nowhere has any special enmity or hostility been manifested towards them by the mutineers. Far from it, such of them as fell in the way of the rebels were simply dealt with precisely in the same way as all other Europeans were dealt with. They belonged to the governing class and, as such must be destroyed, to make way for the reestablishment of the old native Mohammedan dynasty. The same actuating motive led to the destruction of native Christians, and all others who were friendly or supposed to be friendly, to the British Government. In this way it is known that many of the natives of Bengal, who, from their superior English education were employed in Government offices in the North-West, and were believed to be favourable to the continuance of our rule, were made to suffer severely both in life and property....."[2]

National Revolt

Disraeli's speech in the British Parliament:

" A mere military mutiny may be met by a mere military effort. But if, on the contrary, what we have to deal with be an insurrection favoured by the great mass of the population, our measures must, as I think, be both in nature and degree different from those of which we have had an intimation from Her Majesty's Government.

" *Looking upon this as a national revolt*—I cannot arrive at a belief that the measures announced by the Government, merely military measures, are adequate to the occasion.....

[1]Smith George, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, II, pp. 352. Dr. Duff wrote on the 6th. October, 1857.

" ..... The Mutiny did not seek Christians particularly, any more than it had been specially excited by Christian progress.....Native Christians were simply identified by the rebels with the governing class, but were generally offered their lives at the price of denying their Lord....."

"Of the fifteen hundred white Christians believed to have been butchered by the sepoys and their rabble agents, 240 were military officers out of the 4,000 in the Bengal Army, and 37 were missionaries, Christians and their families, out of a body of 309, probably, over the same area". (*Ibid.*, pp. 338-39).

[2] Smith George, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, Vol. II, pp. 251-52, cf. *Ibid.*, pp.8688

" We may pour our legions and our fleets up the rivers and through the provinces of India.....

" *Remedial measures;*—I think that the great body of the population of that country ought to know that there is for them a future hope. I think we ought to temper justice with mercy—justice the most severe with mercy the most indulgent (Hear! hear!).

" .....

" You must atonce, whether you have received news of success or of some defeat, tell the people of India that the relations between them and their ruler and sovereign, Queen Victoria shall be drawn nearer (Loud Cheers)..... You must act upon the opinion of India on that subject immediately; and you can only act upon the opinion of Eastern nations through their imagination. (Hear! hear!)..... You ought to have a royal proclamation to the people of India, declaring that the Queen of England, is not a sovereign who will disturb the settlement of property..... (Hear! hear!), that the Queen of England is a sovereign who will respect their laws, their usages, their customs and above all, their religion, (Hear! hear!)....."[1]

India-wide character of the Struggle:

" Look at the numbers of armed men..... accustomed to military organisation and discipline, and equipped with all the munitions of war.....that have already broken out into actual mutiny and revolt!..... about sixty regiments of infantry; five or six of light cavalry; ten of irregular cavalry; six battalions of artillery; nine light-footed batteries; the Malwah contingent; and the Gwalior contingent, consisting of seven infantry

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot,* December 1857.
(See also Parliamentary Debates).
Dr. Duff *Letters on India,* pp. 102:
This very day (5th. September, 1857), in one of our public Journals, a gentleman, long resident in the interior, thus writes:—
" I have lost all my property; but my principal object, is, to impress upon my countrymen (to convince the Government of this truth, seems hopeless) the utter and most virulent hatred the natives have evinced throughout this outbreak, both to our Government and Europeans generally. In every instance where troops have mutinied, they have been joined by the inhabitants, not only of the bazaars, but of the towns and villages adjacent, who not only assisted the sepoys in burning, looting, (plundering), and destroying Government property, and that of the European settlers, and all Christians, and in killing any of them they could;but after the departure of the mutineers, continued the devastation and completed it..... I have been long aware of their hatred both,and that opportunity alone was wanted to display it as they have now done, and when it has not been shown, rest assured it is only from fear or interest, and when they did not recognize opportunity". (Dr. Duff, *Letters on India,* Letter No. IX, pp. 102, 103.

regiments, four companies of artillery, and two of cavalry; with the sappers and miners at Roorkee, &c.! Besides them, twenty regiments of infantry have been disarmed, with several of cavalry and artillery, when on the eve of breaking out into open rebellion ..... including the very body guard of the Governor General. Add to all this mighty host upwards of 20,000 desperadoes, let loose from the different jails; and more than five times 20,000 Budmashes, as they are called, or " bad characters by habit and repute ". Think of these myriads scoring (*sic*,) the country at large, ravenous for blood and plunder!

" Or, take the map of India, and look at the extent of country that has been the scene of actual mutinies. Beginning with the far North, in the Punjab, we have Peshawur and Jhelum; Southward, Noswhera, Jallunder, and Sealkote; crossing the Sutlej, Ferozepoe, Hameerpore, Phillur, and Ludiana; emerging from Sirhind to the west, we have Hausey, Sirsa, and Hissar.

" Then the great cities of Meerut, Delhi, and Agra, with Muttra, Allyghur, Bhulundshahar, Etawah, Mynpoorie, and Moradabad; along the Ganges, before its junction with the Jamna, we have Futtehghur, Cawnpore, Futtehpore, and Allahabad, to the north-east; Bareilly in Rohilkhund. In the Kingdom of Oude, Lucknow, Shahjehanpore, Seetapore, Sultanpore, Fyzabad, with Duriabad, Secrora, and Gonda. Southward from Oude and eastward, we have Benares, Azimgurh, Jaunpore, Goruckpore, Segowlie, Dinapore, Bahgulpore, through Behar, and skirting Bengal, we have Gyah, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Purruha, Chota Nagpore, and Chyahassy, with many other places ripe and ready for a rise at the falling of the feeblest spark. In Central India, we have Mhow, Indore, Neemuch, Nasserabad, Saugor, Jubbulpore, Nowgong, Banda, Jhansi, Gwalior, Augur, Seepri, &c....."[1]

[1]Dr. Duff, *Letters on India*, Letter No. VIII, Calcutta, 20th. August, 1857. pp. 86, 87, 88.

Appendix A

Maulana Fazl-i-Haq Khairabadi's interpretation of the Causes of the Struggle:

So runs the tale of distress.

The British Nazarenes, whose conquests of the land and cities had made their hearts wanton with rancour and nefarious designs, and who had under dread and fear brought all the self-respecting nobles to humiliation and shame to the extent, that they did not raise their head with the least resistance, started planning the conversion of the inhabitants of India, irrespective of all the classes—the rich and the poor, the great and the petty wanderers and settled ones, the men of the city as well as of the country. They had thought that with a measure as this they would not enable the people to acquire any backing and then put up resistance; it would rather compel them to surrender.

All this had been staged with the avowed aim that all and sundry after becoming heathens like themselves, should converge on one and only one centre thus barring them from claiming distinction as a class among others. They laboured under the conviction that the persistence of religious differences between the conquerer and the conquered, would prove to be a stumbling stone, in their way of the consolidation of the empire and would ultimately breed revolution. So backed by all the might of their being and supported by the best of their efforts they started wiping out religions under cover of one behest or the other. They cleverly started establishing educational institutions to plant the language they spoke and propagate the religion, they professed. In short they did every thing to eradicate all the indigenous sciences, metaphysical beliefs and institutions of yore.

Another plan, they initiated, was to monopolise the grain trade. They paid in cash and bought all the grain from the cultivator, thus enabling themselves to control the grain market—to fix prices arbitrarily and to restrict the supply of grain in the market. The result (they thought) would, therefore, be that the people of God would stoop down and become submissive and dependent, and the scarcity of food would exact obedience and submission from them to the will of these Christians.

Besides these, they have secreted other nefarious plans e.g. dissuading the Muslims from circumcision, observance of Pardah and other religious laws of the *shariat.* The experiment they

first stated with their Hindu and Muslim soldiers whom they tried to dissuade from practising their religion and sticking to their beliefs, with the hope others would easily be forced to give up their religion under fear of punishment if only the soldiery could be pursuaded to forsake their religious practices and beliefs.

The Hindu sepoys, who were in great numbers, were forced to taste the fat of the cow and the Muslims that of the pig. This caused resentment in both the groups and thus disturbed their peace and tranquillity. In a state of excitement they perpetrated crimes such as killing the Christians, attacking their own general and committing robbery. They even resorted to extremes of cruelties, massacred innocent children and ladies and thus heaped upon their heads a bad name and an evil reputation. After this, the rebel groups of soldiers set out from their military barracks. The administration got paralysed, the high-ways became unsafe and the towns and villages presented a deserted appearance.[1]

[1]Fazl-i-Haq Khairabadi, "*Saurat-ul-Hindya*" (Bijnor, 1947), pp. 355-60.

Appendix B

Literal Translation of the Petition of the Rani of Jhansi:

Long Live His Excellency Nabob the Munificent Guerdon.

With all due acknowledgement of allegiance and expressions of considerate thoughts, radiant as the sun, it is as clear as the day to the illuminated Presence that the noble ancestors in the line of the helpless (petitioner) have since long been loyal and well-wishers of the British Government with all the depth of their hearts. And the fact is that the Government have always amply rewarded any such loyalty with the recognition of services rendered, as go to show the alliances as that of the treaties with the Rajah of Dattiya, the Rajah of Orcha and others and the pact with the nobles of the territory of Budhelkhand, conferring upon the heirs and successors not only the stability and permanence of the status through long generations but also (the exaltation of) the title of the Maharajah together with (the distinction of) the Drum and the Emblem (standard), by the way to accord authentication to the good name of the lineage and to ameliorate distinctions. As the State of the helpless is ancestral and of yore, in view of its ancient existence and the loyalty shown by its ancestral rulers to the Government, in no way the heart of this helpless (petitioner) consoles itself on the confiscation of her State. Although this seizure of the State is in no justification of her lawful rights to it, the powerless (petitioner) would have not have seen much harm in its confiscation, had it at all been beneficial to the Ruler and King of hers. She would have never breathed a word of indignation against it and proceeded to seek justice, for so demanded her loyalty to the Government. But, as the Government would gain nothing by such confiscation beyond fifty thousand to sixty thousand at the utmost, and this much of merely negligible revenue is not worth a penny (kourie) to the Government, in view of its magnanimity and potential worth, in circumstances as these, any such line of action would not only shatter the faith of those who are enjoying the patronage and protection of the Government and count on the magnanimous character of its authorities but also spread discontentment and fears among other nobles and potentates. Heaven knows how my sardonic fate and the intriguing correspondence of the local authorities shaped such a thing as was beyond any expectations. It would be a long process, if the helpless (petitioner) chooses to submit the causes of appeal against the allegations made by the local official, so briefly enough, she would respectfully beg the consideration of the facts to follow, taking into account her sheer

helplessness like that Great God Himself who answers the wailing prayers of His creatures and does not withdraw subsistence from the sinners even, as the ' Ustad ' puts it in:

" Belongs all Greatness and Magnanimity to that God,
Who sees failings of his creatures and interferes not with them."

and also stressing the fact that the noble Presence is the representative of Almighty.

Firstly, although according to the laws and regulations enforced by the Government in all Revenue, Civil and Criminal Courts, it is the rigid procedure that even the cases of small causes are not decided until their hearings are held and the objections filed by the plaintiff are fully heard out. Strangely enough, despite this long-established practice even for small causes, this sheer oppression was inflicted upon the powerless (petitioner) that the justice extended to ordinary cases was not accorded to my case of the State which was confiscated for no rhyme or reason. Although it was a considerably big case worth hundreds of millions (crores), even a single hearing was denied to my empowered attorneys. In face of the fact that the deed of adoption was executed by my husband a few days before his death in the presence of Major Ellis and Major Martin and entrusted to these authorities, the powerless was at a loss to know even on the day of confiscation what papers submitted by us were forwarded for the perusal of the illuminated Presence and what were the papers whose precis and statements were despatched to you by Mr. Malcolm. As justice demands, authorities should give a patient hearing to the objects and causes filed by the plaintiff before a decision is reached. In such other cases of the confiscation of villages, the usual practice of the Government itself is that the possession of the title-holder is not interfered with and the supervision of the state is carried on for the other claimant on half of the revenue, and the notice for the filing of an appeal within six months is issued. But because I have fallen on bad times, nothing such was done by Mr. Malcolm in my particular case. Nor did he give a thought to the rights of the helpless (petitioner) and to the good reputation of the Government. How would the people wag their tongues about the just Emperor? Although no one can dare to utter a word as that before an officer, people are generally talking that Mr. Malcolm has resumed Jhansi in spite of the fact it peopled Brahmins who since very long had been peace-loving and loyal to the Government, but that in respect to the state of Orcha, Malcolm recognized the adopted son of the Rajah thereof

only in consideration of his being Thakur, though misrule was then prevailing in that State.

Secondly, all claims concerning the territory, forts, taxes, property, disbanding of the troops were immediately surrendered no sooner than the order of confiscation issued by the illuminated Presence was received. In sequence to that, considering your court a shrine of Justice, extending protection to the oppressed, the helpless submitted this petition in England from Jhansi in the hope of the redemption of her claims, and despatched Mr. John Lytton along with Lala Kashmiri Mull who is my attorney of long standing to represent this petition before the illuminated Presence. Yet it was observed by the illuminated Presence that the petition contained nothing to merit the revision of the order of confiscation. (As such) when the powerless requested for guidance where to seek justice and redemption of her rights for the submission of full grounds of appeal for the revision of the order of confiscation you have passed and recommendations you have made for a pension to be accorded to me, you observed that you represented the court of the Queen, the Refuge of the World (May All Dominions Remain With Her). But to the oppressed you are virtually a king in yourself. How can a helpless like the powerless (petitioner) present herself before Her Majesty, the Queen. As such, this powerless (petitioner) submitting this application before you seeks the justice of Nousherwan with folded hands for the prayer that a copy of the causes which led to the confiscation and have crept into the file may very kindly be given to Lala Kashmiri Mull waiting on you, according to the usual practice, so that on knowledge of them this helpless petitioner may submit before you the causes of appeal, evidence of her claims to the State. After consideration of this she prays the Presence that these three conditions may be granted to her:

1. That the Presence should personally go into the details of the file and consider the causes of appeal filed, and the arguments pressed orally or written by the powerless's attorney waiting on you may please be heard out.

2. That the order for the investigation of the claims of the helpless (petitioner) to the State may please be issued in the name of the Agent.

3. That just in the manner in the past Mr. Simon Fraser had unjustly seized this State, and at the seeking of justice by the husband of the petitioner, the Governor General in Council had ordered at Jhansi that the wrong done should be amended, in the

same way the same order of the Council may please be given at any place in the State Jhansi so that the powerless may receive the justice of Nousherwan and pray for the eternal prosperity. Until no justice is done to me from the Court. ....."[1]

[1]Foreign Political Consultations, Nos. 94-96, dated 18th. August, 1854. (National Archives. New Delhi). The letter has been very kindly translated by Mr. Syed Farhat Husain, Journalist of Lucknow.

GLOSSARY

ABKAREE—A tax on the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors, and intoxicating drugs.

AHLKAR—Official.

ALLAH—God.

AMANEE—Land held or work done, under Government Control.

AMIL—Revenue-Collector.

ASARH—The fourth month of the Hindu year commencing when the Sun enters Gemini.

ASSA BARDAR—A mace-bearer.

ATA—Flour.

AYAH—A female attendant for children; nurse.

BADNAM—Infamous.

BAEE—Lady.

BANDOBAST—Revenue Settlement.

BATTA—Allowance; discount; premium.

BAWARCHY—Cook.

BEGUM—A Lady of rank; a term of respect for Muslim Ladies.

BEEGHA—A measure of a third of an acre.

BHANG—A intoxicating drug made from the leaves of *Cannabis Sativa.*

BUKHSHISH—A gift.

BUKHSHEE—A pay-master.

BYANA—Earnest money.

BYENAMAH—Deed of Sale.

BYTOL IJRA—Issue Department.

BYWASTA—Religions; Opinion, (Hindu).

CACHA BANDOBAST—Temporary Settlement.

CHAPATI—A thin cake or bread.

CHAPRASEE (Chuprasee)—A peon.

CHARAS—An intoxicating drug prepared from the flowers of hemp.

CHAUKEEDAREE—Duty of a chaukeedar (village watchman).

CHOUTHEE—Ceremony of fetching the bride home on the fourth day.

CHOWDRY—An officer in the village to manage land-tenure.

CHUCKLADAR—Chief Officer of the District in the Nawabi in Oudh.

COWRIES—Small shells used as coin.

DAK—Post.

DAKHIL-KHARIJ—Mutation of names.

DAROOL-INSHA—Secretariat.

DALIAH—Basket.

DAROGHA—Over-seer or superintendent of any department.

DEWAN—Agent.

DOAB—Land between the Ganges and the Jumna.

DUKHAN—South.

DARBAR—The court or levee of prince; an audience chamber.

DARBAR AM—General audience.

DARBAR KHAS—Special audience.

EED—A muslim festival observed after the fast of Ramzan.

FATWA—A judicial or religious (Islamic) sentence pronounced by *Mufti*.

FAKEER—Mendicant.

FAUJDARI—Breach of peace; fight.

FERUNGHEE—Frank; a European.

FIRMAN—Royal patent.

GHEE—Butter clarified by boiling and straining.

GOOROO—A Teacher.

GURHEE—Fortress.

HAFT HAZARI—A commander of 7,000.

HAKIM—Physician.

HAREM—Seraglio.

HAVALAT—A lock-up.

HINDOOSTAN—India.

HOOKUM—Order.

HOOKUM-NAMEH—A written order.

HOUDAH—A seat to place on an elephant's back.

HUFTUM—Seventh.

HUZOOR—His Eminence.

HUZOOR TAHSEEL—The collection of revenue by the Chief fiscal officer of the Government without the intervention of a third person.

IJARA—Sold or let for a fixed sum.

IKRARNAMEH—A written agreement.

ILAQA—Estate.

IMAM—Leader.

IMAMBARA—A place for the performance of religious ceremonies and meetings in commemoration of the tragedy of Karbala.

INAM—Gift, reward.

ISHTAHAR—Notification, Proclamation.

IZHAR-NAVEES—An officer of the Court who takes down depositions.

JAGHEER—A possession in land granted either in perpetuity or for life, as a reward for services or as a fee.

JAGHEERDAR—A holder of a Jagir.

JAWAHIR KHANEH—Place where jewels are kept.

JEOGAH SURPECH—An ornament or jewel worn in the turban.

JIHAD—Waging war (specially against infidles); a crusade; Endeavour.

JUMA BANDEE—A rent-roll.

KAFFIR—One denying God, An infidel, Europeans in those days were generally called Kaffirs both by Hindus and Muslims.

KANOONGO—A Superintendent of patwari's village paper.

KARINDA—Agent.

KAZIE—A Muslim Judge or law officer.

KHALASI—A tent-pitcher; a sailor and also a chain-man in survey work.

KHALSAH—Lands under government management.

KHANSAMAN—Butler.

KHANSAMANI—The department which generally includes every house-hold management.

KHAR (Kahar)—A palanquin-bearer.

KHAZANCHEE—Treasurer.

KHAS—Special.

KHEFAYUT—Proceedings.

KHEWUT—A village paper in which shares of each partner of a village are entered or recorded.

KHILLUT—A robe of honour.

KHUDA—God.

KHUREETA—The silk bag in which a noble encloses a letter; a letter.

KHUSRA—A patwari's village paper in which the number and area of separate fields etc. are entered.

KHUTEEONEE—A patwari's register in which full details of a tenant's holdings are recorded.

KIST—Instalment.

KOTHA—Repository.

KOTHEE—Mansion.

KOTWAL—Highest police officer of the city.

KURAN—Sacred book of the Muslim religion.

KUTCHERRY—A court-house

LATHEE—A stick.

LOTA—A small metal pot.

MAAFEE—A rent-free land.

MAHAJUN—A money-dealer; a banker.

MAHARAJAH—King.

MAHARANEE—Queen.

MAHAVIR—An epithet for Hanuman.

MAHOOT—Mahout, Elephant-driver.

MALGOZAR—A land-holder.

MALGOZAREE—Revenue.

MALIKANA—An annual or monthly allowance paid to a *zemindar* by the person who occupies his lands, whether it be the State of a *jagirdar*; proprietory.

MEERAS—Heritage.

MEHTRANEE—Sweeperess.

MISL—File.

MISL NAVEES—Writer of File.

MOOFTI—One who pronounces judicial or religious sentence.

MOFUSSIL—Division of a district.

MOHURRIR—A writer, clerk, scribe.

MOLVEE—A learned Muslim(one who is specially versed in Arabic and Persian).

MOOCUDDUM—Village head-man.

MOOKHTEAR-NAMEH—A deed of authority to Mukhtars, attorney.

MOOLAH—A learned Muslim.

MOONSHEE—A Writer.

MOONSARIM—A manager, an administrator.

MOONSHEE KHANAH—Office of clerks.

MOONSIF—A Subordinate Judge.

MOONTAZIM—Manager.

MOOSTAJIR—A farmer of Revenue

MOUZAH—Village.

MUHAL—Begam.

MUKHTEAR—Attorney.

MUNDLEE—Party, Company.

MUSJID—Mosque.

MUSNUD—A throne, a large cushion on which people recline.

NAIB—Deputy.

NAJEEB—A militia man.

NAKUL NAVEES—Copyist.

NAZIM—The Chief Officer of a district.

NAZIR—Superintendent, Inspector.

NIJABUT—Department for the management of najibs (militia men).

NIZARUT—The Department which generally includes the Superintendence of a court.

NAZOOL—The plot of ground lying in or near a city belonging to the Government.

NUZZUR—A ceremonial offering made by an inferior to a superior.

OMEDWAR—Candidate.

PANSADI—A Commander of 500.

PARCHA-PAYAM—Message.

PEER—Religious leader of Muslims.

PERWANA NAVEES—One who copies out orders.

PERGUNNAH—A Sub-division of a tahsil, comprising group of villages.

PASEE—A low caste among Hindus.

PHASLI—(Fasli) Pertaining to a season or crop.

PUNDIT—Learned; a Brahman.

PUNJ HAZAREE—A Commander of 5,000.

PUNJUM—Fifth.

PUNKAH—Fan.

PARDHA—A curtain; a screen.

PARDESEE—A stranger; an outsider.

PUTTA—Title-deed.

PUTTEEDAR—A partner in a landed-property; a co-sharer.

PUTTI—Share of landed property; division.

QAZEE—A muslim judge.

RAEES—A head; Chief.

RAJAH—King.

RAMMAL—A geomancer; Soothsayer.

RANEE—Queen.

REEASUT—State.

ROZNAMCHA NAVEES—One who writes daily diary.

RUBBEE—Winter Crop.

RUSS—Russia.

RYUTS—Ryot, Indian peasants.

SAFIR—Ambassador.

SAHIB—Master; when used separately a term applied to European.

SAHIBZADA—One of genteel family.

SALAM—Salutation.

SALIGRAM—A kind of Vishnu's idol of black stone.

SANAD—Any royal deed or appointment under which another acts; a written authority for holding either land or office.

SAYER—Land customs; Octroi.

SEER—The land which is under the direct cultivation of the landowner.

SEPAIE—Soldier.

SERAI—Inn.

SHASTERS—Institutes of Hindu religion.

SHEEYAH—A sect of Muslims who revere only the fourth Ali.

SHERISTADAR—A head-officer of a cutchery or court in India; the superintendent of a vernacular office in Indian Court.

SHURRAH—The Muhammedan law.

SIPAHSALAR — Commander-in-Chief.

SIRDARS—Chiefs.

SOONNIE—A sect of Muslims who revere equally the four immediate successors of Prophet Muhammed.

SOUKARS—Money-dealer.

SOWAIE— 1/4.

SOWAR—Horseman.

SUBA—(Subadar)-A Governor of the Province.

SUDDER—Justice.

SUDDER-OOL-SUDOOR—Chief Justice.

TAHSEELDAR—A collector of revenue.

TALUKAS—Estate.

TALOOKDAR—Possessor of an estate; big landlords of Oudh.

THANA—The head station of a district, the police.

THANADAR—An officer of Thana.

TOORK—Turk.

TULSI—The holy basil.

UMLAHS—Staff.

URZEE—Petition.

VAKEEL—Agent.

WAHABI—A follower of sect founded by Abdul-Wahhab-a very puritanical body of Muslims.

WAH WAH—Hurrah.

YADASHT—A memorandum.

ZEEHUQ PENSIONS—Zehuq pensions were granted by treaty, and were of 2 kinds, viz. with and without condition of service, the former resumable on lapses or at the pleasure of the Nawab, the latter hereditary and liable to division amongst the heirs of the original grantee according to the Mahomedan Law of Succession.

ZEMINDAR—Landlord.

ZILLAH—District.

INDEX

Abdool Ghunee; 432.
Abdool Hakeem; 424.
Abdool Rezak; 78, 80.
Abdoor Ruzzak; 425.
Achronee; 435.
Acre, Bob; 327.
Adam; 157.
Adels, I. P.; 247.
Afghanistan; 306, 307, 311, 313, 453, 454.
Afghan War; 322, 475.
Agha Mieza (Mirza); 361.
Agha Mir; 427.
Agra; 60, 65, 141, 142, 146, 147, 148, 149, 151, 164, 167, 168, 176, 234, 237, 240, 250, 290, 329, 369, 377, 388, 392, 403, 408, 466, 478, 488.
Agra Ukhbar; 163, 180.
Ahmed Ali; 428.
Ahmed Nuggur; 6, 37.
Ahmed Olla Shah, Moulvie, See—Moulvi of Fyzabad;
Ahmed Shah Khan; 428.
Ahmed Ali Khan Alias Dhunna; 432.
Ahmud Bux, Moonshee; 76, 82.
Ahmud Hossein; 432.
Ahmud Yar Khan, Naib; 83.
Ahmuty, Richard; 145.
Ahsun Khan; 433.
Ajuddeah (Ayodhya); 398, 399.
Akbar Ali Khan; 428, 433.
Akhtar; *see* Ukhter.
Alexander the Great; 306.
Ali Bahadur Nawab; *see* also Banda; 48, 67, 68, 69, 70, 437, 444.
Ali Buksh; 117, 273.
Alief Hoosein; 434.
Aligarh (Allygurh); 142, 146, 147, 151. 347, 392, 394, 488.
Ali Hoosein Khan; 434.
Ali Mahomed Khan; 433.
Ali Nukee Khan, (Ali Naqi Khan), Nawab; 114, 218, 222, 361.
Ali Reza; 116.
Allahabad; 4, 8, 9, 69, 70, 142, 143, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150, 155, 235, 239, 240, 246, 251, 253, 254, 256, 257, 343, 389, 402, 445, 446, 447, 466, 476, 488.
Allea Begum, Nawab; 81.
Allen, C.; 31, 78.
Ally Bahadur; *see* Ali Bahadur.
Allypore; (Alipur); 358, 361, 394.
Alsatia; 314.
Altaf Hossein; 431.
Alumbagh; 425, 473.
Alumgeer, Emperor; 471.
Ameen Ali, Syed; 361.
Ameer Hyder Ali; 273.
Amerej Sing; 117.
Amethee, (Amaithee); 117, 122, 193.
Anderson, Major; 339, 362, 379.
Angria; 44.
Anson, General; 305, 327.
Anund Rao; 55.
Appa Patun Rur; 6.
Arab, (Arabia); 62, 65, 312.
Arcot; 323.
Arrah; 357, 360.
Asbe, Lieutenant; 336.
Asghur Ali; 273.
Ashruf-ul-Akhbar; 312.
Asia, Assia; 177, 288, 305, 306, 474, 483.
Asoph-ood-Dowlah; 223.
Assam; 357, 358, 373.
Assam Light Infantry 1st. Regiment; 357.
Assam Light Infantry 2nd. Regiment; 357.
Asudullah; 399
Attee Hoosein; 433.
Auckland, Lord; 44, 413.
Augur; 488.
Ayee Sahib Maharaj; 370.
Azamgarh, (Azimgarh); 143, 150, 247, 331, 342, 345, 346, 360, 450, 466, 488.
Azimgarh, *see* Azamagarh.
Azim-oollah Khan; 307, 308, 309, 428.
Azum Ali; 273.

Baba Bhut; 377, 427, 428.
Baba Dixit; 364, 369, 370.
Babajee Chitness; 370.
Bacon; 322.
Badjee Rao; *see* Bajee Rao.
Baeza Baee; 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 364, 368, 369, 370, 373, 375.
Baghdad; 361.
Bahadur Ally; 426.
Bahadur Shah (Emperor or King of Delhi); 18, 28, 31, 45, 61, 87, 88, 90, 359, 371, 374, 400, 405, 407, 420, 421, 422, 423, 428, 437, 438, 440, 441, 446, 453, 454.
Bahadur Sing; 431.
Bahaduri Press; 444.
Bahgulpore; 488.
Bahraich (Buraich) (Baraitch); 114, 115, 116, 121, 131, 188, 190, 192, 202, 238, 240, 243, 244, 245, 246, 314.
Baija Bhaiee, *see* Baiza Baee.
Bajee Rao, Ex-Peishwa, (Badjee Rao); 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, 65, 142, 310, 372, 373, 377.
Baji Rao, *see* Bajee Rao.
Bakht Khan, *see* Bukt Khan.
Bakur Ali; 432.

Bala; 428.
Balajee Punt Nana; 15.
Balaji Bishonath, *see* Ballajee Bishwanath.
Balaklava; 308.
Balkishen (Balkissen) Rajah; 95, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230.
Balajee Bajee Rao; 30.
Ballajee Bishwanath (Bishonath); 15, 30.
Ballia; 150.
Balwant Rao Narain; 57.
Banda; 23, 50, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 142, 147, 151, 241, 444, 448.
Bangur; 116.
Bankee; 118.
Banks, Major; 101, 107, 262, 335, 337.
Banpore; 435.
Bapoojie Succaram; 14.
Barah; 240.
Bareilly; 143, 145, 146, 147, 150, 412, 428, 429, 431, 433, 441, 444, 462, 466, 472, 488.
Barodah; 23, 373.
Baron, William; 46.
Barrackpoor (Barrackpore); 111, 293, 297, 328, 329, 337, 356, 389, 399, 414.
Barrett, J.; 237.
Bartie, R. K.; 234.
Barwa Sagar; 49, 435.
Basti; 143, 150.
Baya Bhace; 15.
Bayley, E. C.; 13.
Bazarwaree (Bazarwadi); 362, 367, 368.
Beadon, Cecil; 414, 415.
Beejapoor; 366.
Beejoy Singh Bahadoor, Rajah; 19.
Behareepoor; 430, 433.
Behrampore; *see* Berampur.
Bela; 147.
Bellew, Dr.; 311.
Bell, W.; 234.
Bemraj; 430.
Benaik Bullarh Goktch; 14.
Benaik Rao; 65, 66.
Benares; 3, 6, 7, 8, 23, 58, 66, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 171, 239, 240, 251, 253, 254, 343, 345, 346, 369, 375, 391, 398, 466.
Bengal; 141, 144, 148, 150, 156, 170, 171, 178, 207, 249, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 289, 290, 295, 299, 321, 322, 327, 328, 386, 392, 401, 403, 408, 414, 416, 466, 481, 482, 483, 484, 486, 488.
Bengal Hurkaru, The; 293, 294, 327, 350, 413.
Bengal Light Cavalry, 3rd. Regiment; 404.
Beni Madho Singh, Rajah; 450.
Benson; 116.
Bentinck, Lord William; 55, 59, 93, 155.
Berampur; 305, 337, 393.
Berhampore, *see* Berampur.
Bhadarsa; 387.
Bhaduri Press; 444.
Bhageerutt; 346.
Bhaiya Krishna Rao; 58.
Bhaoo Powar (Poar); 434, 436.
Bhao Poothanuvees; 47.
Bheekum Singh, Pay Havildar; 343, 346.
Bhika, 477.
Bhitoor, *see* Bithoor.
Bhola; 395.
Bholah Upudiah, Subadar; 344, 345, 348.
Bholanath; 433, 434.
Bhola Nath Moonshrif; 436.
Bhooj; 373.
Bhooj Bul (Bal) Singh; 434.
Bhoondoo Singh, Subadar; 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348.
Bhoor; 430.
Bhopaul; 23, 233.
Bhore; 19, 362, 363, 364, 367, 368.
Bhosla, Rugghoojee; 19.
Bhowani Suhoi; 434.
Bhowanypore; 292.
Bhudawar; 244.
Bhudree; 117.
Bhugwunt Bahadur Singh; 19.
Bhugwuntnuggur; 252, 255.
Bhulundshahr; *see* Bulandshahr.
Bhuraoosa; 116.
Bhurtmeer; 121.
Bhurtpore; 19, 23, 142, 339, 466.
Bhurtureea; 117, 130.
Bhurray Madho Rao; 15.
Bhurwarie, 477.
Bhynswarah; 244.
Bible; 407, 461.
Bichchooah (Futhepore); 476.
Bihar (Behar); 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 251, 253, 267, 337, 358, 402, 466, 488.
Bijnath Misr; 429.
Bijnour; 116, 301.
Bikka; 478.
Bindahdeen, Havildar Major; 346.
Bindrabun; 430.
Bird, Robert Mertins; 156, 159, 161.
Birjees Kudur Mirza, (Mohd. Ramzan Ali Bahadur Birjees Kudur); 198, 423, 424, 425, 447, 448, 450.
Bisharut Ali; 433.
Bishonath Sehaiee; 117.
Bisbwas Rao; 15.
Bithoor (Bhitoor); 11, 12, 20, 23, 25, 26, 29, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 373, 376, 377, 378, 402, 427, 466.
Black Act; 416.
Black Sea; 306.
Bodh Singh; 435, 436.
Boileau, J. T. Colonel; 238.

Bombay; 33, 37, 113, 241, 254, 289, 290, 295, 305, 338, 356, 357, 362, 364, 462.
Bombay Gazette; 258.
Bombay Times, The; 290, 357.
Bondee; 118, 424.
Boolundshuhur, *see* Bulandshahr.
Boonder; 373.
Boonsla; 379.
Bontein, Major; 330.
Bowring, Sir John; 474.
Brandon; 100.
Brevet, Lieutenant; 330.
Brijlall; 430.
Brumection Bawa; 356.
Buckt Khan; 426.
Buddapur; 393.
Budhoo Khan; 273.
Budri; 428.
Bughara; 476.
Buksee; 476.
Bukt Khan, (of Bareilly); 428.
Bulandshahr (Boolundshuhur); 142, 147, 148, 149, 151, 264, 488.
Bundelcund, *see* Bundel Khund.
Bundelkhund (Bundelcund); 40, 42, 43, 47, 48, 49, 54, 56, 67, 70, 71, 73, 142, 151, 235, 241, 392, 445, 458, 459, 482, 491.
Bunnee; 252, 253, 255.
Burna; 373.
Bursura; 118.
Burteeram; 431.
Burwa Saugor; *See* Burwa Sagar.
Busent Rao; 432.
Buwoughs, Lt. Colonel F. W.; 345, 346.
Buxees Ally; 435.
Byj Nath, Pay Havildar; 204, 346, 347.
Byragee-ka-Nulla; 237.

Cabul (Kabul); 269, 305, 310, 311, 313, 353, 405, 407.
Caesar; 298.
Calcutta; 32, 51, 103, 107, 109, 110, 121, 125, 146, 148, 196, 209, 238, 270, 272, 290, 291, 295, 307, 308, 333, 342, 357, 358, 361, 375, 376, 399, 402, 405, 451, 452.
Calpee; 147, 377, 378, 435, 459.
Campbell, Colin, Sir; 408.
Campbell, J. S.; 403.
Canada; 316.
Candeish; 9, 142.
Canning, Lord; 270, 299, 300, 301, 335, 339, 340, 341, 416.
Caramnasa; 166.
Carnegie, Captain; 124, 129, 275, 276, 277, 281, 331, 336.
Cashmeer, *see* Kashmir.
Cashmeeree Mull (Kashmiri Mull), Lalla; 51, 52, 493.
Cathcart's Hill; 308.
Cawnpore; 12, 32, 36, 39, 40, 70, 100, 102, 110, 111, 136, 142, 143, 145, 147, 150, 152, 283, 302, 309, 327, 333, 342, 359, 376, 377, 381, 389, 395, 396, 427, 437, 451, 459, 479, 488.
Central Star; 100, 389.
Ceylon; 288, 289, 331.
Chain Singh; 434.
Chaitanya; 288.
Chamberlain, Captain I. H. 346.
Chanda; 373.
Chandairi; *see* Chandeyree.
Chandapoor; 117.
Chandee-walla-Barra Durree; 425.
Chandernagore; 361.
Chandeyree; 233, 435.
Chand Khan; 124, 125.
Chail; 476, 478.
Chatham; 300.
Cheda Lall; 433.
Chemmunjee Appah; 35.
Chester, E.; 476.
Chimnajee Appaa; 11, 15, 371, 372.
China; 316, 400, 474.
Chinhut; 423, 425.
Chinsurah; 329, 333.
Chinta Man Sadashiv; 58.
Chirag Ali; 431.
Chirgong; 435.
Chirkhari; 435, 464.
Choonee; 436.
Chota Nagpore; 287, 466.
Chotey Lall; 432.
Choudree Mohulla; 431, 432.
Chouk; 280.
Christ; 287, 458, 459.
Christian; 192, 201, 202, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215,.
Chudumee Lall; 431.
Chumbul; 241.
Chumergonda; 6.
Chumrej Singh; 117.
Chundee Sahaee; 128, 218.
Chunderee, *see* Chandeyree.
Chuprah; 257, 346, 360.
Churda; 118, 121, 131.
Chutr Manzil (Chutter Manzil) 126, 273, 275, 277, 278.
Chyahassy; 488.
Cobden; 474.
Coke, Major; 339.
Cole, A. H.; 385.
Colonelganj; 477.
Colebrook, Sir Edward; 151.
Collison Doctor (John B. Collison, Captain); 385, 387.
Colvin; 167, 168, 245, 246, 247, 331.
Constantinople; 308.
Cornawallis, Lord; 150.
Cotton, Brigadier; 354.

Council Chamber; 415.
Couper, George; 115, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 209, 231, 238, 243, 245, 247, 249, 255, 259, 264, 472, 473.
Court of Directors; 20, 21, 24, 26, 30, 32, 44, 68, 81, 141, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 266, 288, 294, 322.
Court, M. H.; 476.
Craigie, Captain H. C; 332.
Crimea; 308, 309.
Cromwell; 480.
Cunningham; 145.
Cutch, Rao of; 241.
Czar; 305.

Dacca News, The; 293.
Dalhousie, Lord (Marquis); 13, 44, 50, 53, 55, 93, 94, 179, 327, 338, 379, 380, 408, 412.
Dalmow; 201.
Dalnunda; 201.
Damodar Dixit; 369, 370.
Dassa Bawa; 373, 375.
Dattya (Dattiya); 19, 491.
Davee Deen, Subadar; 343.
Deane; 151.
Debrooghur; 357, 358.
Deccan (Dukhan); 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 34, 362, 365, 366, 387, 400.
Dehra Dun; 132, 142.
Delhi; 10, 56, 91, 142, 146, 147, 148, 149, 164, 240, 264, 302, 307,310,329,331,342, 355, 357, 369, 375, 377, 378, 390, 391, 393, 394, 400, 403, 404, 406, 407, 408, 413, 416, 419, 427, 438, 440, 453, 471, 475, 481, 488.
Delhi Gazette; 305, 325, 388, 409.
Dempster, Dr.; 263.
Deshmook of Akulkoti; 372.
Dev; 402.
Deverena, H. B.; 372.
Dewan; 116.
Dhanapoor; 119, 131.
Dhaunpore; 121.
Dhooropoor; 117.
Dhoulpore; 19.
Dhungurh; 117.
Dhunnoo Lall; 430.
Dhurmpoor; 116.
Diljaur Singh; 283.
Dilowalle Singh; 395.
Dinagepore; 146.
Dinapore (Dinapur); 337, 480, 488.
Dinapore Brigade; 357.
Disraeli; 486.
Doab; 240, 449.
Doctrine of Lapse; 44.
Doobarun Regiment; 353.
Doola Jeo; *see* Dowlajeo.
Doolan, Lieutenant; 47.
Doondea Khera; 255.
Doorbeen, The; 414.
Doorga Pershaud, Gomashta; 429.
Dorounda; 346.
Dost Mahommed, the Ameer; 305, 310, 313, 400.
Dowlajeo, (Doola Jeo); 434, 436, 440.
Doyen; 309.
Drowla Ghaut; 360.
Drummond; 244.
Dubeer-ood-Dowlah; 218, 223, 225, 226.
Dukhan; *see* Deccan.
Dulputpoor; 118, 130.
Dum Dum; 330.
Dumraon; 402.
Duncan, Jonathan; 149, 150.
Duphla; 19.
Durriabad; 121, 386, 488.
Durzee Chouk; 430, 432.
Duswant Sehaiee; 117.
Dwarka Baee; 15.

Esanuggur; 119, 202.
East India Company; 13, 16, 25, 30, 31, 55, 60, 65, 103, 142, 143, 167, 170, 171, 266, 271, 291, 309, 328, 401.
Economist; 271.
Edmonstone, G. F.; 51, 121, 125, 135, 158, 182, 209, 238, 273, 274, 402, 441, 472.
Edwards, Colonel; 300.
Edwards, Herbert Benjamin; 408.
Egypt; 316, 452.
Ellechpoor; 241.
Ellenborough, Lord; 300.
Ellis, Major; 51, 492.
Enait Hoosein; 431.
Enayat Ahmad; 429.
England, (U.K.), (Great Britain); 53, 64, 97, 100, 103, 175, 179, 270, 295, 306, 311, 315, 316, 327, 328, 364, 379, 380, 405, 412, 413, 452, 461, 474, 475, 483, 487, 493.
Englishman, The; 208, 293, 356.
Erskine; 162.
Esoda Baee; 11.
Etah; 142, 143, 151, 392.
Etawah; 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 150, 392, 466, 488.
Europe; 53, 97, 107, 316.
Eusuf Khan; 427.
Evan, Captain; 190, 253, 255.
Ewaz Ali; 431.

Factory, Alum Chand; 476.
Fakeer Moolah, Naireem; 354.
Furrah Buksh, *see* Furhah Buksh.
Furah Buksh, *see* Furhah Buksh.

Farrukhabad; *see* Furruckabad.
Faruck Khan; 393.
Fatehpur, Futtehpur; 142, 143, 150, 346, 466, 476, 477, 488.
Fatteh Ali; 128.
Fazl-i-Haq, Khairabadi; 489.
Fazil Ally Khan; 385.
Feroza Unjoom-ood-Dowlah; 129.
Ferozpur; 488.
Feroz Shah, Shahzadah, Mirza; 459.
Finn, James; 396.
Firoze Jung, Nawab; 86, 87.
Fombelle, John; 143, 144, 145.
Forbes, Mr.; 382, 384, 385.
Ford, Mr. 390.
Forsyth, T. D.; 440.
Fort William; 52, 135, 141, 144, 145, 146, 149, 235, 253, 293, 361, 414.
Fox; 151.
France; 53, 60, 289, 316.
Fraser, Simon; 40, 43, 44, 49, 50, 90, 390, 493.
Fredrick Shore; 92.
Friend of India, The; 180, 293, 299, 300, 325, 337, 409, 413, 414, 415.
Fulloch, I. S. D. Captain; 349.
Fulta; 328.
Furhah Buksh—(Furrah Buksh), (Farah Buksh); 124, 127, 276, 278, 279.
Furkhoondah Muhul; 198.
Furruckabad—(Farrukhabad); 3, 10, 74, 75, 77, 81, 84, 85, 86, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 150, 162, 163, 164, 390, 427, 439, 466.
Futtehghur—(Futtehgurh); 8, 265, 389 488.
Futteh Gunge; 428.
Futtehpur; *see* Fatehpur.
Fuzl Ahmad; 431.
Fuzl Ally; 314, 315.
Fuzl Emam; 431.
Fuzlay Husan; 164.
Fyzabad; 115, 116, 120, 121, 130, 132, 187, 192, 195, 196, 197, 203, 204, 205, 238, 239, 244, 246, 248, 256, 360, 379, 381, 384, 385, 386, 387, 488.
Fyz Ali; 430, 431.
Fyzoola; 477.

Gaekwar; 371.
Gall, Major; 200.
Ganga; *see* Ganges.
Ganges; 166, 443, 488.
Ghazipur; 150, 345, 346.
Ghaziuddin Haider; 136.
Ghazni; 313.
Gholam Ahmed, Hafiz; 82.
Gholam Hamza, Cazy; 429.
Gholam Jeelanee; 110.
Gholam Sirwar Khan Khagwanie; 311.
Ghulam, *see* Goolam;
Giddens, J.; 237.
Gillespie, Colonel; 323.
Gillis; 328.
Goa; 364.
Gogra; 238, 240, 244, 256, 360.
Gokul Misser; 353.
Golab Rae Mehur Chund; 10.
Golab Jaun, Musummat; 404.
Golab Singh, (Goolab Singh, Maharajah); 12, 87, 88, 307, 374, 375, 412.
Goldney, Lieutenant Colonel; 117, 122, 187, 196, 203, 204, 249.
Gonaishjeo; 434, 436.
Gonda; 118, 119, 121, 131, 244, 246, 488.
Googaira; 310.
Goolam Hoosein; 430.
Goolam Hyder; 431.
Goolam Yehiah; 430.
Goolzaree Lall; 434.
Gooman Jamadar; 435, 436.
Goomtee; 280.
Goorboolay; 14.
Goor Buksh, Rajah; 232.
Goorgaon; 390.
Goorkha and Hill Rajput Corps; 336.
Goorpershad; 431.
Goor Sahaee; 128, 218.
Goosaingunj; 116.
Gopal Ram Pundit; 436.
Gopal Rao Bhao; 54.
Gorakhpur, (Goruckpore); 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 150, 152, 244, 256, 314, 343, 360, 466, 480, 488.
Goree Rehmanpoor; 116.
Gough, Lord; 412.
Goura; 477.
Govind Pershad; 431.
Govind Rao; 43, 370.
Gowan Captain; 473.
Grand Trunk Road; 237.
Greathed; 38, 39.
Greece; 316.
Grey; 339, 341.
Gubbins, M. R.; 101, 211, 213, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 227, 228, 229, 230, 243, 245, 246, 247, 334.
Gujadhur Singh; 426.
Gujja; 6.
Gulab; *see* Golab.
Gummender Singh; 426.
Gungadhur Bhacya; 434, 435, 436.
Gungadhur Rao; 13, 14, 34, 48, 58.
Gungadhur Rao, Baba (Maharajah of Jhansi); 46, 49, 50, 55, 59, 60, 62, 142.
Gungadhur Rao Oorf Bala Sahib; 15.
Gunga Pershad; 391, 397, 428.
Gunput Rae; 430.
Gunput Ram Pundit; 436.
Gunput Row; 370.

Gurgaon (Goorgaon); 142, 391.
Gurhee; 432.
Gurranhatta; 51.
Gwalior; 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 19, 23, 65, 136, 325, 338, 364, 368, 369, 370, 371, 373, 400, 462, 466, 488.
Gwalior Contingent; 321, 487.
Gyah; 488.

Hadee; 477.
Hafiz Rahmat Khan; 428, 429.
Haji Khannum; 428.
Hameerpoor, (Hamirpur); 43, 142, 151, 488.
Hamilton, Sir Robert; 56, 57, 158.
Hamirpur, *see* Hameerpoor;
Hampton, Lieutenant Colonel, I. H.; 343, 346.
Handia; 142.
Hannay; 360.
Hanooman; 235.
Hansey; 488.
Hardinge, Lord; 294.
Harius, Lord; 356.
Har Narain; 283.
Harvey, G. F.; 392.
Hasan, *see* Hussan.
Hastings, Lord; 17, 25, 54, 94, 162.
Hatch, G. C., Captain; 399.
Havellee Palum; 91.
Havelock; 425.
Hayes, Captain; 94, 223, 301, 340, 376.
Hazaribagh; 488.
Hazrut Muhul (Begum of Oudh); 198, 425, 427, 465.
Hearsey, J. B. General; 399.
Hedayut Ali; 110, 111.
Herat; 305, 306, 400.
Herber, Bishop; 94.
Heriot; 353.
Her Majesty's 32nd. Regiment; 335.
Her Majesty's 53rd. Regiment; 329.
Her Majesty's 84th. Regiment; 329.
Himalayas; 325.
Himmut Ali Khan, Nawab; 86.
Himmut Bahadoor (Himmut Bahadur); 76, 82, 142.
Himmut Khan; 76, 82.
Himmut Khan, Sahibzadah; 76.
Hindea; 10.
Hindoo Intelligencer, The; 413.
Hindoo Patriot, The; 294.
Hindoostan; 23, 24, 31, 175, 302, 321, 329, 353, 375, 393, 401, 444, 446, 447, 452, 453, 459, 460, 461, 465, 466, 481.
Hindrah; 9.
Hisam-ood-Dowlah; 277, 280, 426.
Hissampore; 244.
Hissar; 142, 488.
Holkar; 372, 373.
Holkar, Juswant Rao; 19.
Holmes, Major; 414.
Hook, Theodore; 391.
Horee Lall; 434.
Horne, C.; 343, 344, 346.
Horneby; 344.
Hoshungabad; 233, 234, 241.
Hossein Ali Khan; 76, 82.
Hulas Singh; 427.
Hunooman, Hindoo God; 37.
Hurdah (Hurda); 9, 10.
Hurdeo Buksh; 439.
Hurdut Singh Raikwar; 118.
Hurdwar; 404.
Huree Chund, Baboo; 66.
Hurgobind; 202.
Hurha; 252, 255.
Hurpershad; 431.
Hurpershad (Mohurrir); 431.
Husburn, Lieutenant; 132.
Hussun Ali Khan; 76, 82, 436.
Hussan Ruza Khan; 433.
Hutchinson, Lieutenant; 343, 345.
Huzrut Mahul; *see* Hazrut Mahal.
Hyderabad; 92, 372, 373, 374.
Hydur Ali; 471.
Hyder Hossein Khan, Etmodood-Dowlah; 111.

Ikbal-ood-Dowlah; 128.
Ikona; 118.
Ikramood-Dowlah; 113.
Ilahi Buksh Khan; 361.
Imamooddeen; 360.
Imperial Estafette; 316.
Imrut Rao; 19, 25.
Imtyazool Nissa; 129.
Inaetoola; 432.
India; 19, 21, 25, 27, 31, 36, 51, 55, 56, 57, 59, 69, 70, 74, 81, 91, 96, 97, 98, 99, 107, 108, 109, 112, 117, 121, 135, 141, 164, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 179, 192, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 228, 229, 231, 237, 238, 251, 267, 268, 270, 272, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295, 296, 300, 301, 302, 306, 309, 310, 311, 313, 315, 316, 317, 321, 322, 323, 330, 331, 338, 341, 345, 354, 359, 361, 366, 377, 378, 379, 380, 383, 384, 389, 391, 395, 399, 400, 401, 404, 405, 406, 407, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 441, 453, 454, 456, 458, 459, 464, 471, 472, 474, 475, 479, 480, 483, 484, 487, 488, 489.
Indore; 19, 23, 56, 373, 488.
Indraput; 393.
Iran; 312, 329, 453.
Ireland; 289.
Irregular Cavalry, 12th.; 414, 426.
Isabella; 268.
Ishreepershad; 431.

Ismail Gunje; 425.
Isy Chund Pal Chowdry; 32.

Jackson; 190, 324.
Jadoo Koowar; 434.
Jaffir Ali Khan; 429.
Jafur Alli; 433.
Jagannath; 283.
Jait Mul; 430.
Jajamow; 116.
Jallunder; 488.
Jaloan (Jalaun); 43, 47, 48, 142, 162, 233.
Jamgaon; 6, 9, 10.
Jam-i-Jumsheed; 409, 410.
Jamna; *see* Jumna.
Jamoo Bhacea; 436.
Janakhundee; 19.
Japu; 401.
Jaunpur, *see* Jounpoor.
Jawan Bukht, Mirza; 87.
Jay(Jey) Lal Singh, Rajah; 423, 425, 426, 427.
Jeet; 19.
Jehanabad; 431.
Jemadar Salikram Singh; 327.
Jenkins, Colonel, R.; 237, 358.
Jeypoor; 373.
Jhalawar; 373.
Jhansi; 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 142, 233, 234, 241, 435, 480, 488, 493, 494.
JhaooLall; 430.
Jharoo Koour; 436.
Jhelum; 173, 488.
Jhujjur; 449.
Jodhpore; 339.
Johar Singh, Dewan; 434.
John Ballie, Captain; 71.
Johnstone; 397.
Jones, H. R.; 332.
Jorehat Rajah Saring Kunder Singh; 357.
Joshbad Ally, Kazie; 361.
Jodhpoor; 373.
Jounpoor--(Jounpore, Jaunpour); 117, 150, 238, 240, 245, 246, 247, 251, 256, 257, 450, 466, 488.
Jowahir Singh; 436.
Jubbulpoor—(Jubbulpore); 56, 235, 480, 488.
Jugal Kishore; 428.
Juggernath Tewary, Havildar; 343, 347, 348.
Jugunnath Dass; 398.
Jullunder Doab; 173.
Jemoo; 307, 373, 374, 375.
Jumna (Jamna); 149, 166, 233, 234, 241, 360, 378, 488.
Jung Bahadur; 314, 336.
Junowlee; 121.
Jurnah Nullah; 235.
Jwala Pershad; 31, 428.
Jymal Singh; 429.

Kabeer Shah Khan; 433.
Kabul; *see* Cabul.
Kadee Bace; 15.
Kaem Ali; 273.
Kaihmara; 116.
Kaiser Bagh; 280, 281.
Kala Kunkur; 117.
Kalee Dhar; 373.
Kalka; 398.
Kalpi; *see* Calpee.
Kandhar; 305, 311.
Kangra; 373.
Kanpur; *see* Cawnpore.
Kaportalla contingent; 387.
Karamut Khan; 428.
Kareem Bux; 292.
Karens; 287.
Karnal; 142.
Kaseekur, Maharajah; 386.
Kasheenath; 435.
Kashee Nath Haree; 434, 436.
Kashmiri Mull, *see* Cashmeeree Mull.
Kasim Ali; 431.
Kataille; 436.
Kazeepoor; 477.
Kaera; 429.
Kelat-i-Ghilzie; 353, 354.
Kerr, Lieutenant; 362.
Kethyaree; 439.
Khairabad; *see* Khyrabad.
Khairna walla; 436.
Khalookass; 117.
Khan Bahadoor Khan, Nawab; 412, 428, 429, 430, 433, 441.
Khandesh, *see* Candeish.
Khavajay Ummon; 164.
Khiva; 313.
Khoda Bux, Moonshee; 76, 82.
Khoob Chund; 436.
Khoord Muhul; 197, 198.
Khoorshid Ally; 435.
Khuaja Kootub; 430.
Khundey Row Purbhoo; 368.
Khund Dixit Ayachit; 369.
Khybur; 232.
Khyrabad; 115, 121, 201, 209, 210, 211, 212, 215.
Khyragurh; 240.
Khyrat Ali; 431.
Kindaha; 119.
Kirwee; 65.
Kishan Lal; 283.
Kishen Dixit; 11, 12.
Kishen Lall; 430.
Kishen Dutt, Rajah; 116, 119, 131.
Knightsbridge; 300.

Koer Singh; 357, 402, 480.
Kokan; 305, 313.
Kolaba; 44.
Kolah; 373.
Kolhapoor (Kolapore); 364, 366, 373.
Koondo Bhaee Oorf Taee Bhaee; 15.
Kooredun Lall; 431.
Kooshiram: 431.
Kourpoor; 430.
Korar Khera; 434.
Koreygaum; 368.
Koshiram; 429.
Kotah; 41.
Kotub Khana (in Bareilly); 432.
Kraur; 19.
Krishna Rao; 46.
Krushna Rao Wandkay; 368.
Kubeer Shah; 433.
Kudaweah; 23.
Kudheer Mul; 430.
Kulb Ali Khan; 429.
Kulbay Abut; 164.
Kullianpore; 427.
Kumaun; 142, 146, 148.
Kummo Mull; 429.
Kunnar; 162.
Kunwar Singh; *see* Koer Singh.
Kunyah Lall; 429.
Kureem Buksh; 395.
Kurreemoolah, Naik Sheikh; 353, 354.
Kusrool Khakan; 425.
Kusooma Bhaee oorf Baya Bhaee; 15, 35.
Kussia: 477.
Kussoulee; 398.
Kutb Shah, Moulavy Syad; 444.
Kutch; 373.
Kuthair; 448.
Kutmandoo; 336.
Kuttra; 477.

Lahore; 111, 136, 167, 168, 173, 180, 249, 407, 441, 466.
Lake, Lord; 142, 162.
Lakshmi Bai, *see* Luchmee Baee.
Lal Baradari, Kothi; 276.
Lalitpur; 142.
Lallpore; 121, 131.
Lamsden, Lieutenant Peter; 311.
Lamsden, Major Harry; 311.
Lang, J.; 51, 52.
Lawrence, (offg. Agent at Rajpootana); 472
Lawrence, Sir H. M., K.C. B.; 333, 335, 336, 339, 340, 341, 342, 376, 378, 379, 381.
Leeaqut Ali, Moulvie (Liaquat Ali); 445, 476, 477.
Leknath; 431.
Lennox, Colonel; 385, 386, 387.
Leslie; 143, 144.
Lewin; 93, 294.
Leycestor, W.; 145.
Liaquat Ali *see* Leeaqut Ali.
Light Cavalry, 2nd. Regiment; 427.
Light Cavalry, 3rd. Regiment; 332.
Lodiana; 347.
London; 308, 316, 391, 412, 453, 466.
Luchmee Baee (Maharani or Rani of Jhansi); 51, 52, 58, 59, 63, 65, 321, 434, 435, 436, 491.
Luchmun Rao (Ram), Dewan; 434, 435, 436.
Lucknow; 93, 98, 99, 101, 102, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 135, 188, 194, 196, 197, 198, 200, 209, 217, 218, 229, 230, 231, 232, 238, 243, 245, 246, 247, 250, 253, 259, 261, 272, 274, 275, 276, 277, 281, 282, 283, 301, 302, 305, 309, 312, 331, 333, 335, 340, 341, 342, 360, 372, 373, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 381, 384, 385, 387, 391, 392, 402, 405, 423, 432, 438, 442. 447, 450, 471, 472, 480, 484, 485, 488.
Ludiana; 488.
Lulloo Buxee; 434, 436.
Lyell. Dr.; 358.
Lynch; 360.
Lytton, John, Mr.; 493.

Macdonnel, Evan; 360.
Machchi Bhawan *see* Muchhee Bhowan.
Machiavelli; 269.
Mackenzie, Holt; 153.
Macnagten, Sir William; 18.
Macpherson; 171.
Madar Ali Khan; 428, 434.
Madhoo Ram; 345.
Madho Rao; 15, 30, 66.
Madho Singh, Rajah; 122, 193, 194.
Madras; 254, 289,290, 294, 295, 321, 322, 323, 356, 383.
Mahar; 364.
Mahomed Ameen Khan; 433.
Mahomedan Association; 258.
Mahomed Esak; 458.
Mahomed Mustafa Khan; 112.
Mahomed Shah; 432.
Mahomed Hossein Khan, Mirza; 393, 432.
Mahommed Ismail; 302.
Mahommed Salah; 82.
Mahommed Sooltan Mirza; 91.
Mahratta; 25, 26, 30, 53, 55, 63, 93. 309, 321, 362, 364, 365, 367, 377, 379, 394, 401, 427.
Mahrattee Irregular Horse, Southern; 362.
Maieen; 117.
Maihtab Rae; 430.
Maina Baee; 37.

Mainpuri-(Mynpory, Mynpoory); 142, 143 147, 151, 158, 392, 488.
Malagurh; 264.
Malcolm, Brigadier General; 25, 55, 492.
Malcolm, Major; 51.
Malka; *see* Mulka.
Malta; 308.
Malwa; 16.
Malwah Contingent; 487.
Mama Sahib (the father of Rani of Jhansi); 434, 436.
Mandavi; 44.
Mansfield, General; 408.
Man Singh (Maun Singh) Rajah; 132, 193, 204, 205, 315, 373, 374.
Manson, Coll. James; 14, 23, 24.
Manson, Lieutenant Colonel; 33, 34, 36.
Manson, Major; 12.
Marshman; 413.
Martin; 51, 262, 300, 492.
Martindell; 35, 36.
Martinere College; 280.
Mata Misr; 283.
Maulvi of Fyzabad (Ahmadoola Shah) (Sikander Shah); 321, 352, 372, 376, 377, 380, 381, 383, 384, 386, 388, 426, 427.
Mayne; 69, 70.
M. de tocqueville; 207.
Mecca; 462.
Meean Akeek; 273.
Meean Yakoot; 273.
Meer Alum Khan; 432.
Meer Kazim Ali; 113, 427.
Meerut; 88, 142, 146, 147, 148, 149, 151, 264, 323, 324, 328, 331, 332, 333, 337, 339, 375, 391, 392, 395, 397, 398, 403, 404, 405, 406, 408, 409, 410, 411, 438, 471, 488.
Meer Wajid Ali; 273.
Mehrban Ali; 432.
Mercer, Graeme; 143, 144.
Metcalfe, Sir C. Theophilus; 90, 147, 265, 394.
Mhow; 488.
Miftah-ood-Dowlah; 124, 125, 128, 279.
Mildmay, A. G. S. J.; 472.
Mill; 94, 384.
Mina Baee; 35.
Minhajpoor; 476.
Mirchgee; 398.
Mirza Ali Ackbar; 113.
Mirza Hossein Khan Ikramood-Dowlah; 111, 112.
Mirza Mogul Beg Khan; 91.
Mirzapur; 142, 150, 234, 235.
Misree Lall; 433.
Misri Das; 283.
Misseri's Hotel; 308, 309.
Missery Singh; 426.
Mitholie; *see* Mutholie.
Mobarek Shah Khan; 428.
Modie, Lieutenant; 71.
Moffussilite, The; 400, 408, 409, 413.
Mogul—(Moghal), (Moghul); 18, 28, 142, 321, 322, 450.
Mogulpoora; 385.
Mohan; 253.
Mohumdabad—(Mahmudabad); 232.
Mohumdee, Muhumdee—(Mehudee); 115, 132.
Mohun Singh, Naick; 345.
Mohurdeen Khan; 436.
Mohur Singh; 392.
Mondira; 49.
Mookh Purdhan; 13, 14.
Mookoond Rao, Jamadar; 66.
Mooktian; 372.
Moolchund; 430, 431.
Mooltan; 383.
Moona Lall; 433.
Moonsoor Khan; 433.
Mooslihoos Sooltan; 195.
Moostan, Moulvie; 426.
Moozuffer Jung; 86.
Moozuffur Nugur *see* Muzaffar Nagar.
Moradabad; 143, 145, 147, 150, 403, 448, 488.
Morland (Collector and Magistrate Cawnpore); 35, 36, 37.
Morland, Edward Henry; 23, 24, 376.
Moscow; 306.
Mote; 47.
Motee Mahul (Motee Muhul); 122, 128.
Moulah Bux; 399.
Moulvee Khan; 432.
Mozuffer Hossein; 361, 429, 433.
Muchhee Bhowun; 126, 128, 277, 280.
Mughal *see* Mogul.
Mugroa; 255.
Muhal Shah; 425.
Muhammad; *see* Mahomed or Mahommed.
Muhona; 117, 118, 121, 130.
Muhumad Hossein; 128.
Muir, W.; 234, 246, 250.
Mujd-ood-Dowlah; 128.
Mukdoom Bux; 426.
Muksoodee; 117, 118, 131.
Mulheeabad; 232.
Mulika Ahud; 425.
Mulka Gaitee; 423.
Mullaon; 116, 130, 201.
Mullapoor—(Mullapore); 118, 119, 131, 244.
Mummoo Khan; 423, 424, 425, 426.
Mungal Sain; 398.
Mungul Dooby; 346.
Mungul Singh; 434, 436.
Mungul Warpeit; 369.

Munjhely Rao; 434.
Munsaram; 435.
Muradabad; *see* Moradabad.
Murray, J. C.; 414.
Mushee-ood-Dowlah; 95, 97.
Mussee-ool-Zaman (Masih-uz-Zaman); 359.
Mutholie (Mitholie); 121, 132.
Mutteepoor; 119.
Mutto Sing, Rajah; 117.
Muttra; 142, 151, 390, 394, 428.
Muttra Doss (Mathura Dass); 10, 423, 429
Muzaffarnagar (Moozuffurnuggur); 142, 148, 149, 151, 474.
Myhere; 56, 57.
Mynpoory, *see* Mainpuri.
Mysore; 17, 25, 28, 321, 372, 374.
Mytolee; 425.

Nageena walla Bara Durree; 427.
Nagode; 56.
Nagpore; 19, 23, 53, 269, 334, 373, 442.
Naik Saheb Neinhalkar; 19.
Naini Tal (Nynee Tall); 142, 245, 246, 250.
Najuf Ally; 384, 385, 386.
Nana Bin Ragoo Chuwan; 367.
Nana Govind, Dhoondoo Punt (Dhondu Pant); 40.
Nana Govind Rao; 43.
Nana Ramoosee; 367.
Nana Sahib, (Brother of the Dewan of Jhansi); 436, 464.
Nana Sahib, Dhoondoo Punt, (Dhondu Pant); 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 23, 24, 25, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 65, 111, 307, 309, 321, 352, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 402, 427, 428, 435, 437, 451, 453, 458, 459, 480.
Napier, Sir Charles; 268, 269, 326, 327, 408.
Narain Dass; 397.
Narain, Dhoondoo Punt; 39.
Narain, Ram Chunder; 14.
Narain Rao I; 15.
Narain Rao Govind; 58.
Narain Sookul; 193.
Narayan Rao; 15, 30, 65, 66.
Naroo Gopal; 49, 50.
Nasekur, Maharajah; 370.
Nasik; 373.
Nasir Jung, Nawab; 74, 75.
Nasserabad; 488.
Nassuck; 6.
Native Grenadier Infantry 2nd. Regiment; 330.
Native Infantry, 1st. Regiment; 427.
Native Infantry, 2nd. Regiment; 328, 334.
Native Infantry, 3rd. Regiment; 406.
Native Infantry, 17th. Regiment;342; 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349.
Native Infantry, 19th. Regiment;328, 333, 334, 342, 392, 393.
Native Infantry, 20th. Regiment, 397, 398, 399.
Native Infantry 22nd. Regiment; 363, 365, 383, 385.
Native Infantry, 27th. Regiment; 371.
Native Infantry, 32nd. Regiment; 346.
Native Infantry, 34th. Regiment; 327, 328, 333, 334, 336, 342, 392, 393, 399.
Native Infantry, 37th. Regiment; 343, 346.
Native Infantry, 40th. Regiment; 357.
Native Infantry, 44th. Regiment, 388.
Native Infantry, 48th. Regiment; 335, 340, 341, 342.
Native Infantry, 50th. Regiment; 343, 346.
Native Infantry,53rd.Regiment; 353, 427.
Native Infantry, 55th. Regiment; 481.
Native Infantry, 56th. Regiment; 427.
Native Infantry, 64th. Regiment; 353, 354.
Native Infantry, 70th. Regiment; 327, 350.
Nawab Foujdar Khan Bahadur; 311.
Nawabganj; 116, 253, 427.
Nawab Raees of Farruckabad; 74, 77, 150.
Nawab Wazir of Oude; 142, 143, 144, 145.
Nawab Ali Khan, *see* Newabaly Khan.
Neeamut Oollah Khan; 164.
Neemuch; 488.
Nepal War; 323.
Nepaul; 118, 131, 314, 315, 373, 400, 424.
Nerbudda, *see* Nurbudda.
Newaubaly Khan (Nawab Ali Khan), Rajah; 232.
Nicholas; 53.
Nicholson, Colonel; 339, 355.
Nishat Muhul Saheba, Nawab; 194, 196, 197, 200.
Nishin Novograd; 306.
Nizam; 92, 400.
Nonair; 434.
North Western Provinces; 232, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243, 250, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 263, 265, 267, 364, 389, 391, 403, 411, 416, 463.
Noswhera; 488.
Nousherwan; 493, 494.
Nowada; 430.
Nowdega; 427.
Nowgong; 488.
Nunne Nawab; 427.
Nurbudda (Nerbudda); 17, 55, 142, 148, 233, 241.
Nur Khan; 313.
Nursingpoor; 116, 233.
Nurwur; 435.
Nusser-ood-Deen; 385.
Nuthoo Khan; 436.

Nuthun Lall; 434.
Nutteepore; 121.
Nynee Tall, *see* Naini Tal.

Ochterlony, David, Sir; 264.
Ogilive, Dr.; 338.
Ojher Tegh Nath; 429.
Omajee Naik; 363, 367.
Ommanney, M. C.; 101, 115, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 135, 246, 259, 379.
Omraout Singh; 426.
Oocheyra; 56, 57.
Oodunt Singh; 436.
Oojein; 369, 375.
Oomrao Begum; 86, 87.
Oonaw,; 252, 255.
Oorcha; 40, 42, 51, 53, 491.
Oormooree; 263, 364.
Ootroli; 367.
Orissa; 144, 150, 466.
Orr, Captain; 119, 130.
Oude, *see* Oudh.
Oudh (Oude) Avud; 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 99, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 111, 112, 115, 117, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 142, 150, 182, 183, 191, 207, 208, 209, 217, 223, 225, 231, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 245, 246, 247, 249, 250, 251, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259, 264, 276, 278, 282, 283, 302, 314, 321, 333, 334, 335, 338, 339, 359, 360, 378, 379, 380, 384, 385, 386, 389, 391, 398, 400, 402, 410, 423, 424, 440, 448, 465, 468, 472, 475, 481, 484, 485, 488.
Oudh Cavalry, 7th. Regiment; 340, 447.
Oudh Infantry, 7th. Regiment; 335, 341.
Ousan Singh; 426.
Outram Major, General; 94, 98, 99, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 127, 223, 224, 228, 246, 273, 281.

Pahargunge; 393.
Pahulwun Singh; 436.
Palmer- Lieutenant Colonel; 342.
Palmerston, Lord; 306, 474.
Pandoo Rung Rao; 13, 14.
Pandoorung Rao Oorf Rao Sahib; 15.
Parbuttee Bace; 37.
Pariahs; 288.
Paris; 412.
Partridge, Dr. 263.
Pateram; 431.
Patna; 353, 359, 360.
Patun Bahur; 255.
Pearey Lall; 430.
Peerajee Rao Bhonsla, Rajah; 30, 39.
Peer Ali; 358, 359, 360.
Peishwa; 31, 45, 59, 459, 466.
Pemraj Ali; 433.
Pershadpoor; 115.
Persia; 306, 311, 313, 316, 333, 393, 407.
Peshawur; 305, 310, 331, 353, 354, 488.
Phillur; 488.
Phoenix, The; 258.
Phool Chund; 431, 435.
Pichore; 435.
Pilibhit (Pillibheet); 147, 233, 244.
Pindee; 353.
Plassey; 415.
Plowden, W.; 257.
Poona, (Poonah); 27, 363, 364, 366, 368, 380, 459, 466.
Poorbeah; 373.
Poordusee; 373.
Poorundur; 363.
Poorundhur, Fort of; 368.
Poorwah (Poorwa); 116, 188, 190, 192, 193, 252, 253, 255.
Pransook; 430.
Puckurpore; 244.
Ounhun; 255.
Punjab; 120, 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 174, 175, 178. 179, 183, 263, 338, 440, 441, 471; 479, 481, 485, 488.
Punjab Irregulars; 339.
Punt Sucheo; 362.
Purlee; 363, 364.
Purruha; 488.
Pirwah, *see* Poorwah.

Qandahar, *see* Khandhar.
Queen of England (Victoria); 13, 61, 103, 452, 487, 493.

Raddoo Rung Rao; 34.
Radhakishen; 431.
Radhey Govind, Baboo: 66.
Raghonath Punt Purdhan; 12.
Raghooba Dada; 15.
Ragho Raj Singh Jodeo Bahadoor; 235.
Raghunath Rao; 46, 48, 55.
Raglan, Lord; 309.
Ragnath Rao Dada; 15.
Rahim Bux; 424.
Raikes, Charles; 168, 180.
Raipur; 235.
Raja Bahadur; 47.
Raja-ka-Taloo; 237.
Raj mund Teewaree; 426.
Rajpootana, *see* Rajputana.
Rajputana (Rajpootana); 338, 400, 471, 472.
Raj Ruttun Singh; 429.
Ram Chunder Gemnish Bherch; 14.
Ram Chunder Venktesh; 14.
Ram Chunder Punt, Soobadar; 12, 33, 37.
Ramgarh; 147.

Ram Lall; 204, 428, 429.
Ram Narain Singh; 346.
Ram Nath; 283.
Ramnuggur; 117, 121, 122, 130.
Ramnugger Dhumeyree; 232.
Ramoo Bhaeea; 436.
Ramoosees; 368.
Ram Pershad (Ram Pershaud); 58, 429.
Rampoor; 432, 433, 448.
Ram Purshaud, Soobadar; 436.
Ram Rao Wankday; 369.
Ram Singh; 427.
Ramtaul (Ramtahul); 345.
Ranchi; 488.
Ranee gunge; 389.
Rani of Jhansi, *see* Luchmi Baee.
Ranjungaon; 6.
Rao Pundit Purdhan Bahadoor; 16.
Rao Ram Chund Rao; 48, 49, 54, 55.
Rao Sahib, Peishwa Bahadoor; 464.
Rao Sahib, Putwardhun; 19.
Reeazutoolnissa Begum; 86, 87.
Rehooa; 118.
Reid, Captain; 205, 357.
Residency, Lucknow; 99, 104, 105, 106, 280 484.
Revelgunge; 360.
Rewah; 56, 234, 235, 236, 237, 375.
Rewaree; 449....
Richardson; 145.
Rickets, H.; 168.
Rissalah Jehad; 301, 302.
Robertson, Thomas Campbell; 159, 160, 161.
Rocbuck; 306.
Rohilkhand; 142, 240, 314, 391, 428, 488.
Rohtak; 142.
Roognath Singh, Deewan; 434, 436.
Rooknood-dowlah; 333, 336.
Roorkee; 488.
Rooshun Sah; 132.
Rosdhan; 23.
Rose; 362, 366, 367, 371.
Ross, Captain; 3, 4, 5.
Routledge, John; 145.
Rughburdeal; 431.
Rughoonath Mahadow Rao Wankday; 368, 371.
Rughonat Singh; 426.
Rummo Khidmutgar; 436.
Rungo Bapoojee; 364, 380.
Rungpore; 358.
Runjeet Singh, Raja; 202.
Rup Chand; 283.
Rusoolpore; 476.
Russell: 309, 474.
Russia; 53, 305, 306, 307, 311, 329, 375,407 413.
Russoolabad; 253.
Rustum Sehaiee; 117.
Ruttun Lall; 431.
Ryder, Captain; 384.

Sada Shew Punt Dada; 13,
Sagur, Brahmin; 398.
Saharanpur; 142, 146, 147, 148, 149, 151, 152.
Sahawul; 56, 57.
Saheb-ood-Dowlah; 95, 96.
Saheswan; 147.
Sahib-i-Alam Bahadur; 419, 420.
Saidabad; 147, 476.
Sakhawat Hussein, Nawab; 78.
Salamut Ali; 436.
Saligram; 10.
Salikram; 282.
Sallpoor; 119.
Salone; 117, 249.
Saloree; 476.
Samarkand; 305.
Samaspoor; 117.
Sambhur; 248.
Samblapur; 373.
Samuels; 479.
Sandford, H. B.; 362, 363, 367, 368.
Santhal (Sonthal); 400, 401.
Saran; 147.
Sarawan, Syed; 477.
Sasseram; 384.
Satara; 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 372, 373, 379, 380.
Saugor; 55, 57, 142, 148, 233, 234, 241, 488
Saunders, C. B.; 403, 440, 441.
Sawaee Madho Rao; 15.
Sawunt Waree; 364.
Scinde; 233, 234.
Scindia; 9, 10, 369, 371, 373.
Scindia, Jankojee Rao; 7.
Scindiah, Rajah Jayajee Rao; 19.
Sealkote (Sialkot); 328, 481, 488.
Sebastopol; 307, 308.
Secrora; 488.
Seekeepoor (Seheepoor); 117.
Seepri; 488.
Seetul Misser; 353.
Segowlie; 402, 488.
Seheepore; 130.
Sehouree Chilapoor; 162.
Sehut-ood-Dowlah; 124, 128, 273, 280, 281
Sekunder Hushmut; 95.
Selby; 288, 289.
Serampur; 414.
Serassee; 116.
Seton; 143.
Sewaee Bulwunt Singh Bahadoor; 19.
Sewajee Madho Rao; 30.
Shadeeabad; 476.
Shahabad; 147, 283, 402.
Shahbadee Khan; 426.
Shahgurh; 435.

Shahjehanabad; 449.
Shahjahanpur (Shahjehanpore); 146, 244, 466, 488.
Shahamut Ali; 431.
Shahunshah Mehral Shah Kubendur; 439.
Shakespear, W.; 464.
Shamaprosad Chatterjee; 292.
Sham Bazar; 32.
Shaster; 19, 20.
Sheikh Sukhun, Resaldar; 426.
Sheo Rao; 54.
Sheopur; 394.
Sheradhone; 368.
Shergurh; 4, 6, 9.
Shew Pershad; 428.
Sialkot; *see* Scalkote.
Sitara; 466.
Sholapur; 37.
Shubkudder; 353, 354.
Shujaat Nishan Mubarak Shah Khan; 422, 423.
Shunkuracharya Swamee; 370.
Shultun; 19.
Shumshar Bahadoor; 67, 71, 72.
Shumshoodeen Khan Newab; 466.
Shurf-ood-Dowlah; 223, 224, 225, 226, 230, 283, 424, 426, 427.
Simla; 309, 339, 396.
Simson, R.; 15, 129.
Sirhind; 488.
Sirpura, 147.
Sirsa; 142, 488.
Sitapoor (Seetapore); 115, 130, 488.
Sitaram Bawa; 372, 375, 376.
Skene, Captain; 56.
Smith, Dr.; 404.
Smith, Vernam; 290.
Smyth; 332, 404.
Soba Ram, Dewan (Sobha Ram); 428, 429, 430, 434.
Soktee (Sakaitee); 434, 436.
Soobadar Bahadoor; 353.
Soobhan; 385.
Sookdeo; 436.
Sookhoo Bace; 49, 55.
Soltan Jehan Muhul; 198.
Soorteepoor; 116.
Soorujkoond; 397, 398.
Sophia; 404.
Sorapoor; 368, 372, 373.
Spankie; 302.
Spartacuses; 317.
St. Petersburgh; 306.
Subah Sadiq; 313.
Sucheekoo Punt; 19.
Suckharam Shetia; 367.
Suddasew Punt Funsulkur; 370.
Sudeseo Bhao; 15.
Sulloct, I. S. D.; 344.
Sultanpore; 115, 117, 122, 130, 132, 187, 193, 203, 248, 249, 343, 346, 488.
Sunkurpoor; 117.
Sunree; 117.
Surat; 44, 241.
Sutherland; 18, 29.
Sutlej; 488.
Syed Hossein; 361.
Syud Ahmud; 432.
Syudah Muhul; 198.

Taee Baee; 34, 37, 43.
Talbot, G. C.; 339.
Tanteea Topey; 435.
Tara Kothee; 426, 427.
Tarai (Terai); 142, 314.
Tatwabodhini Patrika; 282.
Tayler, B.; 163.
Tehran; 305.
Tehree; 435.
Taj Rae; 431.
Temple, R.; 440, 441.
Tepraha; 121.
Tehie Kothee (Terhee Kothi); 125, 127.
Thakur Das; 283, 432.
Thaneysur; 353.
Thomas; 383, 384, 408.
Thomason; 159, 161, 164, 167.
Thornhill, Barcley; 123, 125, 126, 145, 215, 245, 250, 252.
Thurburn, F. A. Y., Captain; 381, 382, 384, 385, 386, 387.
Tikhari; 402.
Times, The London; 268, 296, 411, 475, 482, 483, 484.
Tipu, Sultan, (Tippoo Sultan); 323, 466.
Tirohan; 15.
Toolsheepoor; 118, 119, 314, 424.
Toolsheeram; 430.
Torab Ali; 432.
Torsur; 427.
Travancore; 373.
Treveor, E. T.; 254.
Tucker; 151, 160, 240, 344.
Turan; 453.
Turkey; 312, 452.

Ujjain, *see* Oojein.
Ujmul; 432.
Ukhtar Muhal Sahiba; 110.
Umballa (Umballah); 305, 309, 329, 337, 388, 393.
Umrae Rao; 15.
Umrit Rao Bahadur, Maharaja; 65.
United States, America; 313, 315.
Unnao, *see* Oonaw.

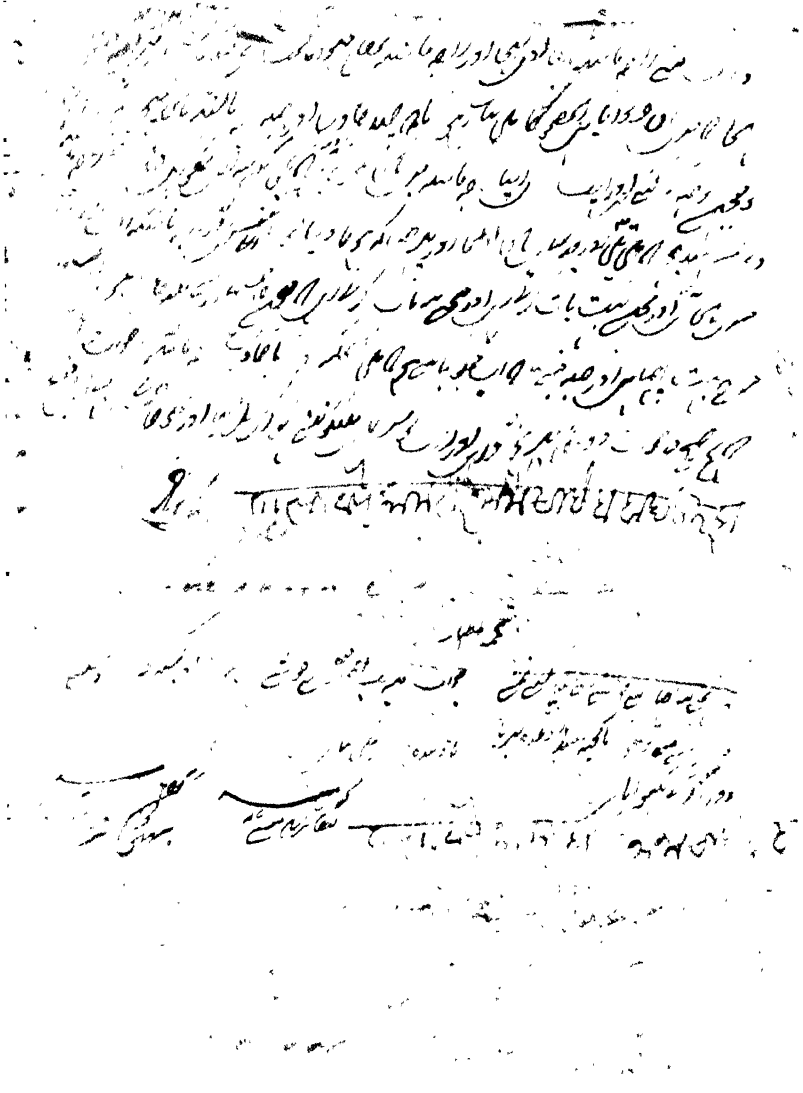
Vajeerun Singh, Soobadar; 328.
Vansittart; 245, 246.
Vellore; 322, 323, 324.

Vijoygarh; 437.
Vinaik Rao Baper; 15.
Vittoo Shetia; 367.

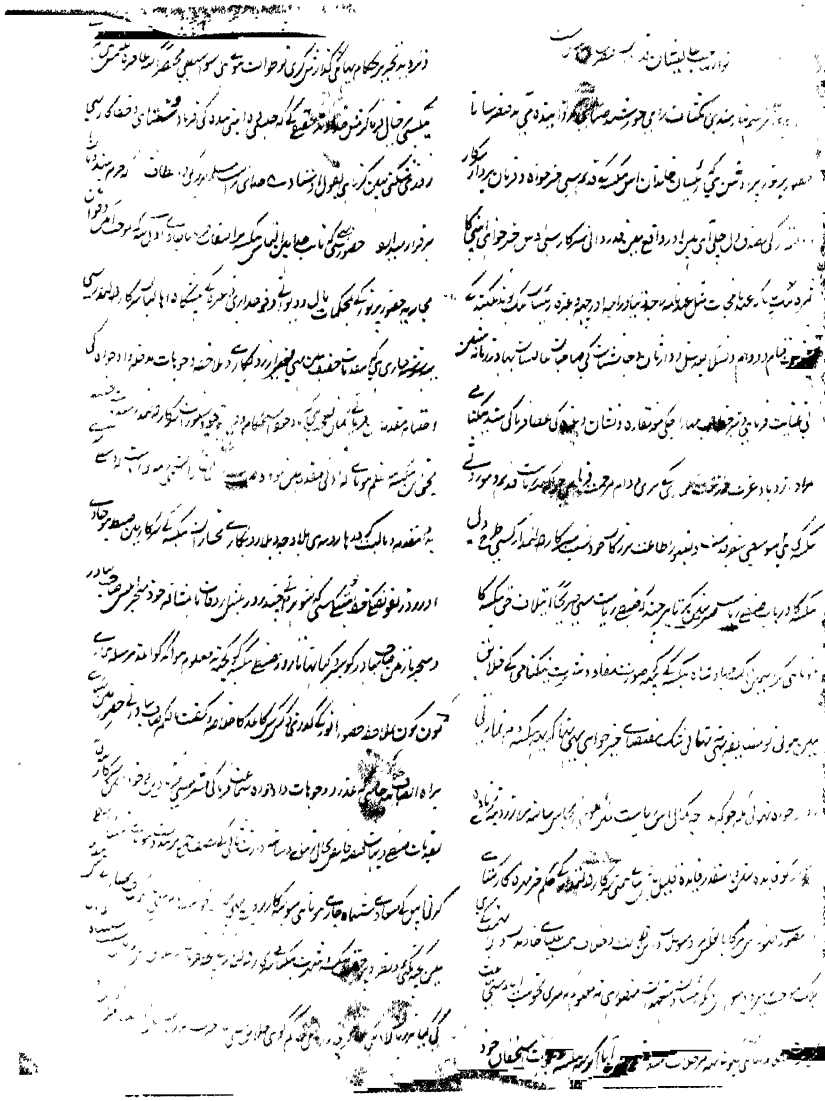
Wahid Ally Khan; 426.
Wajid Ali Shah, His Majesty the King (Nawab) of Oudh, (King of Lucknow); 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 123, 124, 126, 127, 136, 137, 208, 218, 219, 220, 222, 224, 225, 227, 229, 272, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 333, 342, 361, 380, 423, 425, 462, 466.
Wakefield; 354.
Waman Raojee Deshpandy; 370.
Ward; 333.
Waris Ali; 360.
Wasecooddeen, Kazi; 428.
Washington Union; 315.
Waterloo; 327.
Watson, Lieutenant; 340, 341, 343.
Wazeer Khan; 128.
Wazir Ally, Meer; 426.
Wellesley, Henry; 143.
Weston, Captain; 94, 107, 232.
Wheler, Brigadier (Wheeler, Lieutenant Colonel); 99, 293, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300.
Wheeler, Sir Hugh; 376.
Winkins; 257.
William the Fourth, King; 141.
Wilson, General J. C.; 402, 448, 449, 451, 475.
Wingfield, C.; 118, 188, 192, 243, 245.
Wittoba; 370.
Wikes, Jack; 411.
Wright, G.; 234.
Wright, J. A.; 330.
Wuddunda, Ghat; 364.
Wuleedad Khan; 87, 264.
Wuzeer Ally, Naib; 80, 81,

Yaqoob Ali; 432.
Yar Ali; 78.
Yarkand; 313.
Yar Mahommed Khan; 305.
Yaya Baee; 35.
Yedneshwar Dixit Ayachit; 369.
Yehiya Ganj; 282, 283.
York, Duke of; 391.
Young, A. R.; 414.

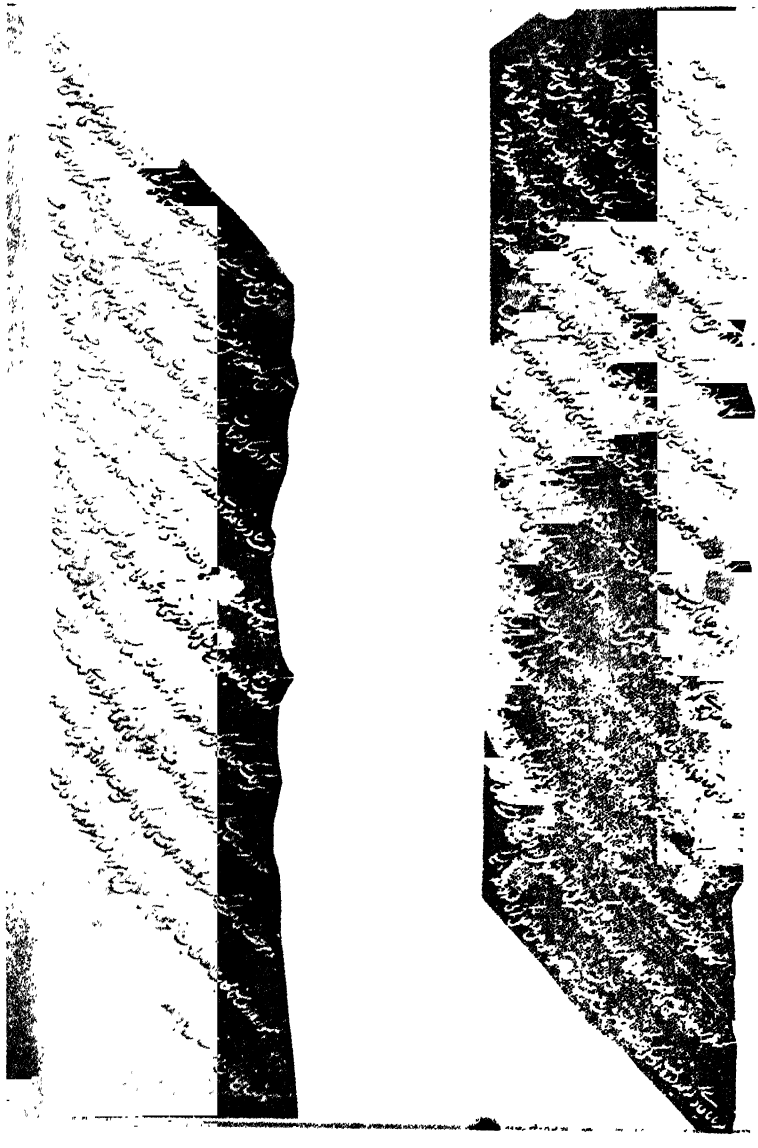
Zalim Singh, Koowar; 434, 436.
Zoolficar Ally (Nawab of Banda); 67, 69, 71, 72.
Zurd Kothee; 94.



Signatures in Hindi of Tatya Tope at the end of his Statement.
(cf. p. XVI)



Letter of Rani of Jhansi to the Governor General.
(cf. pp. 491-94)



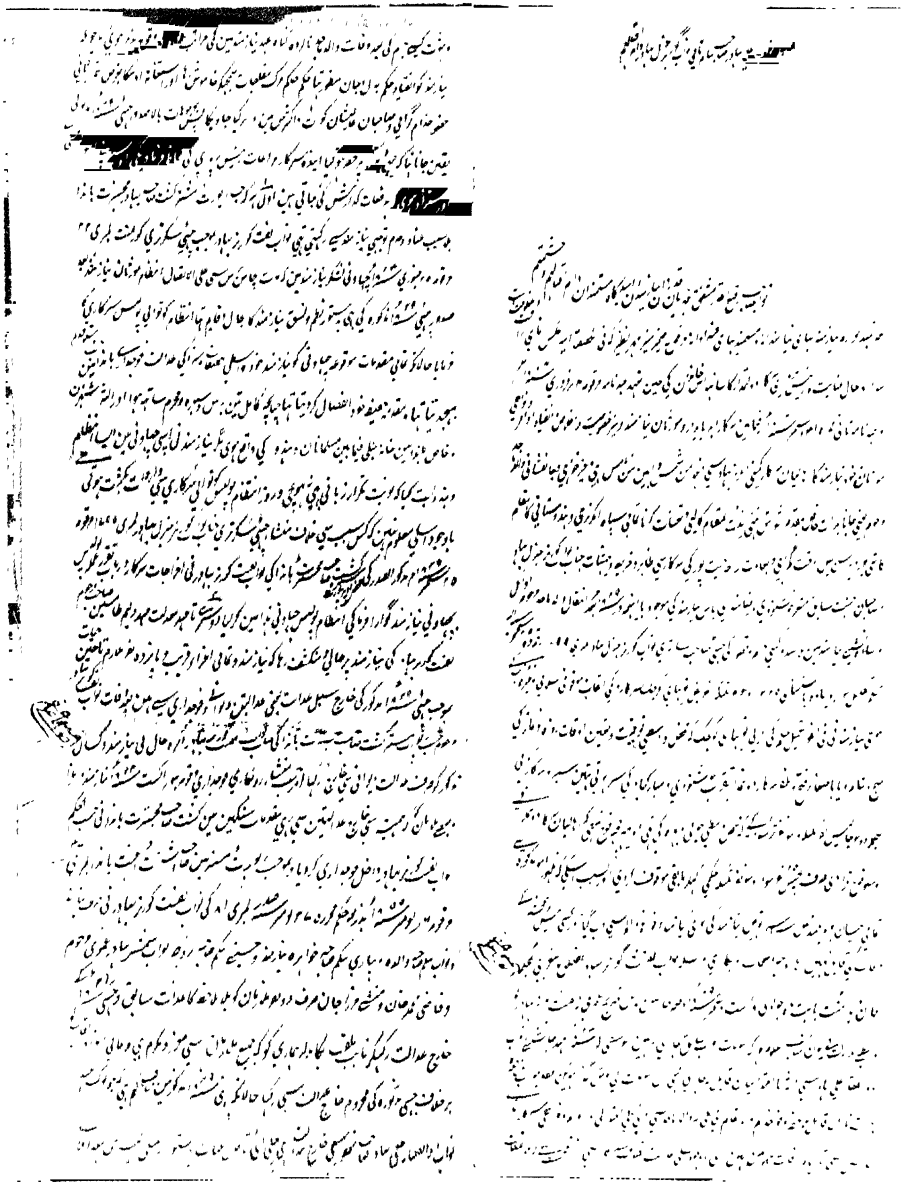
(Continued)

Letter of Rani of Jhansi.

Translated

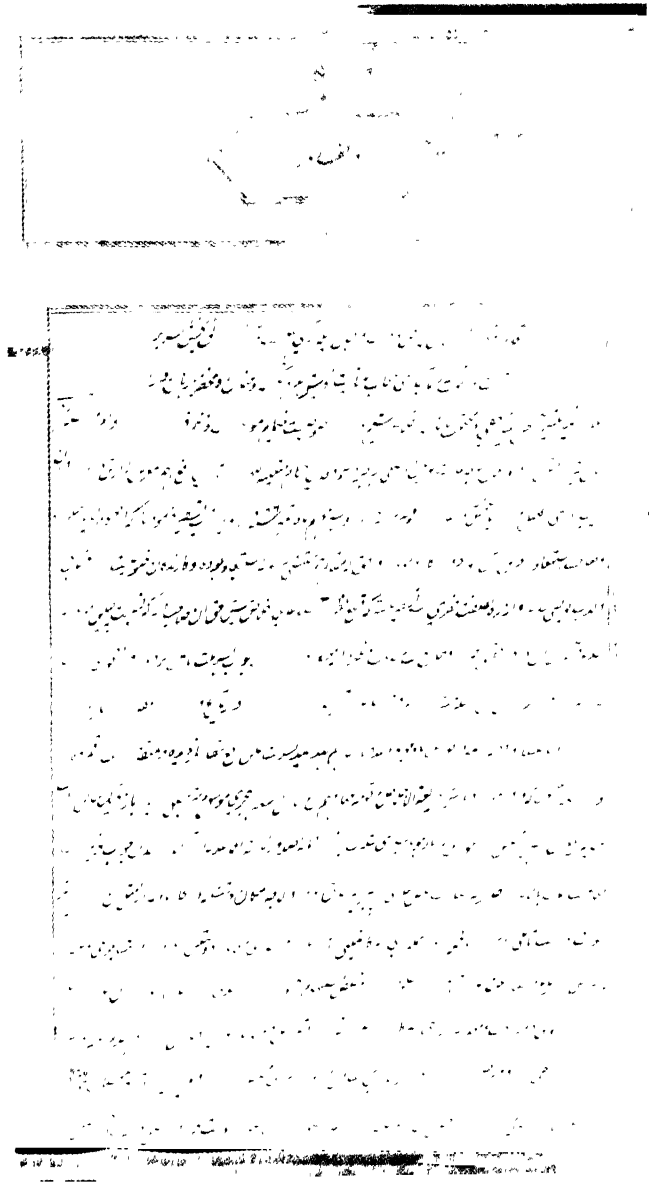


Envelope of the letter of Rani of Jhansi, with her seal.

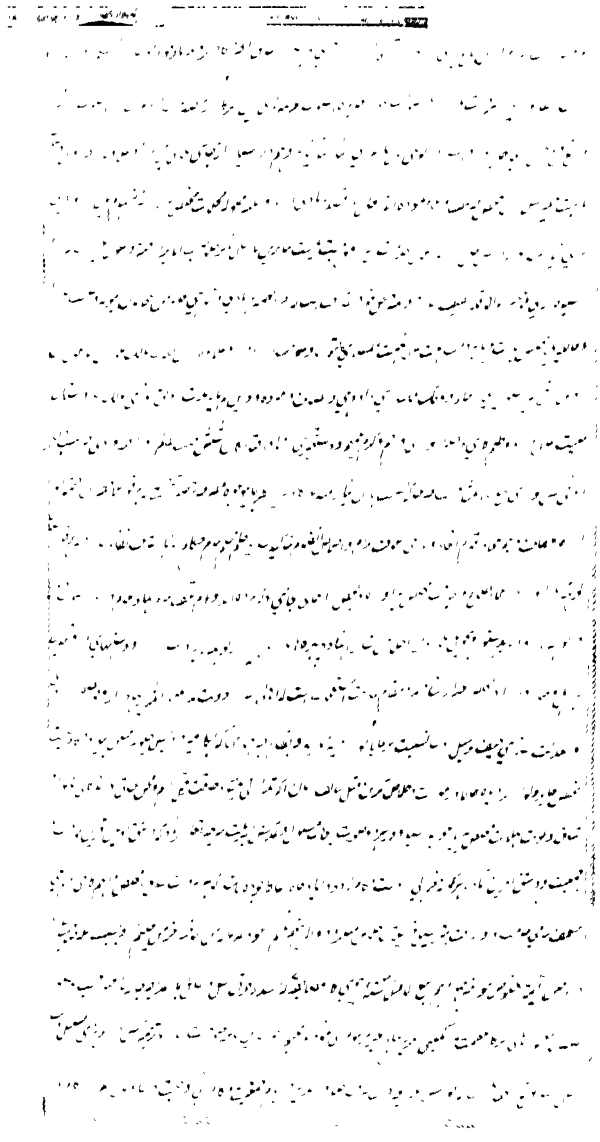


Letter of Nawab of Banda with his signatures in the margin.
(cf. pp. 70-71)

PLATE NO. 6



Letter of Wajid Ali Shah to the Governor General.
(cf. p. 276)

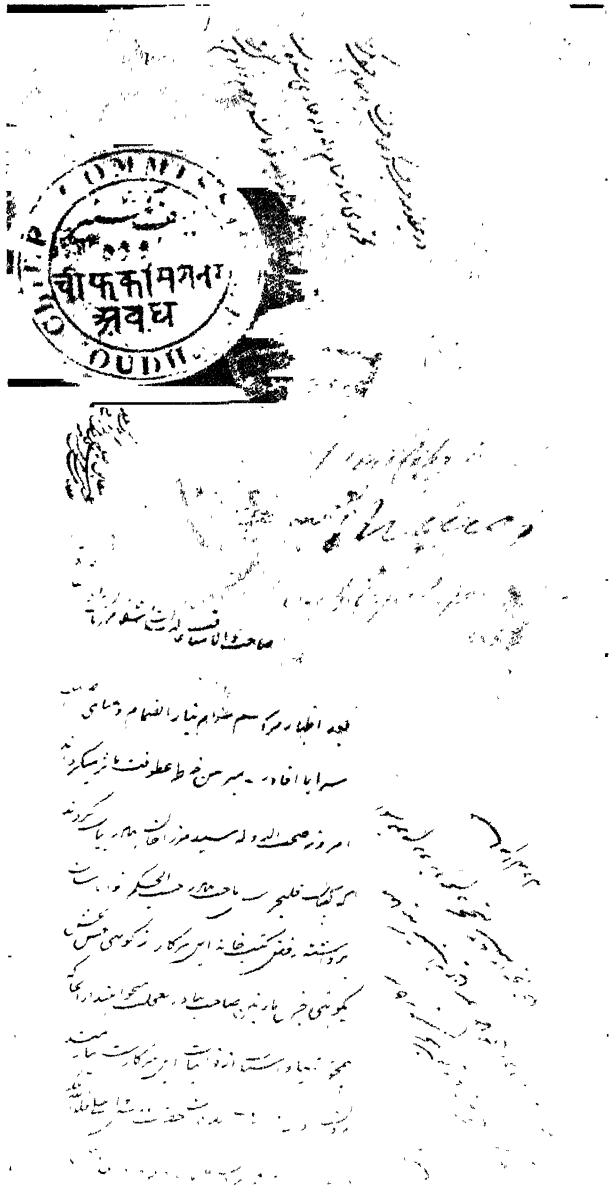


(Continued)

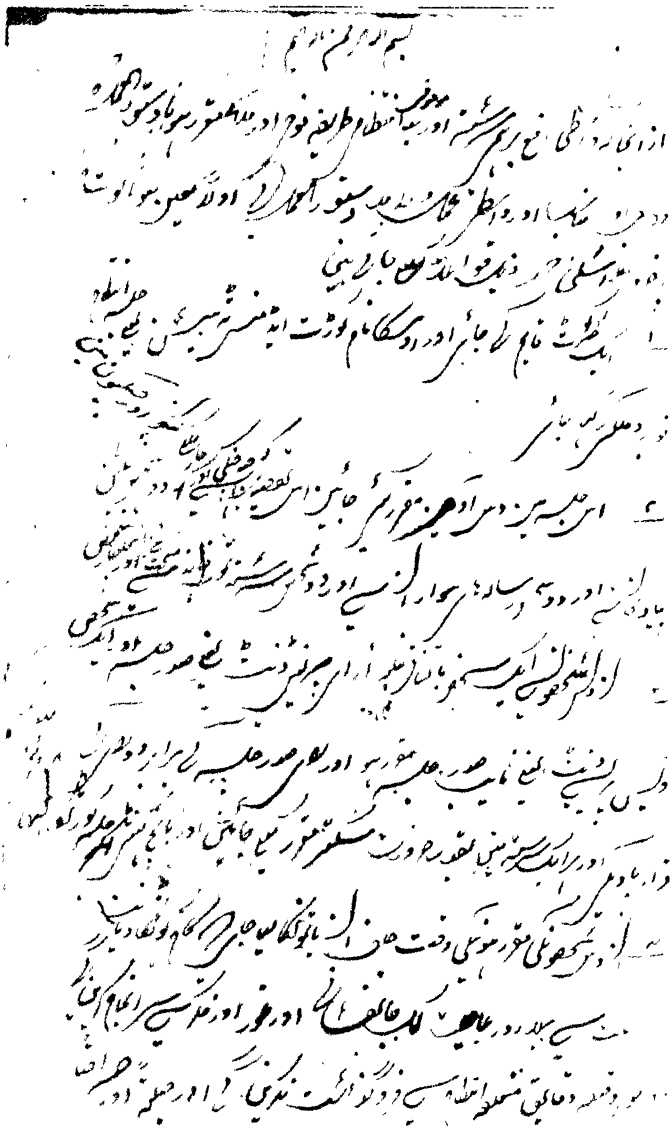
Letter of Wajid Ali Shah to the Governor General.

PLATE NO. 8

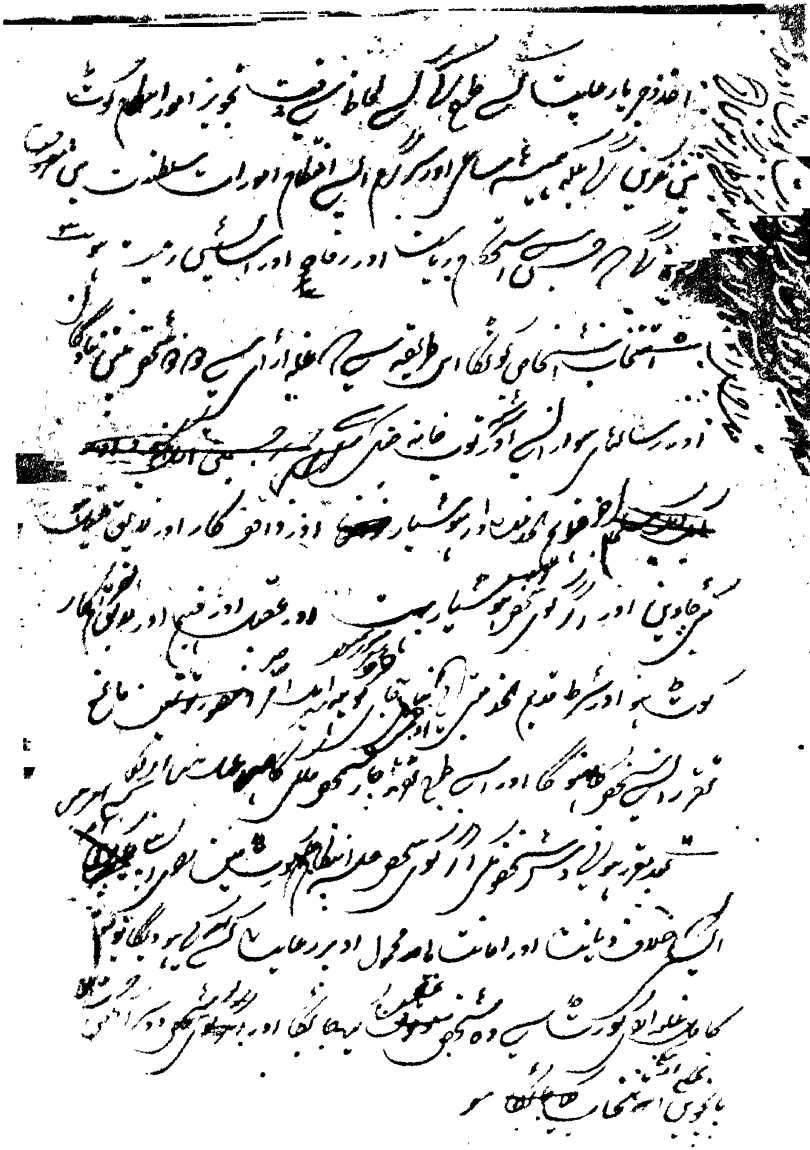
Envelope of the letter of Wajid Ali Shah.



Protest of the Officers of Wajid Ali Shah on the transfer of Ex-King's library.

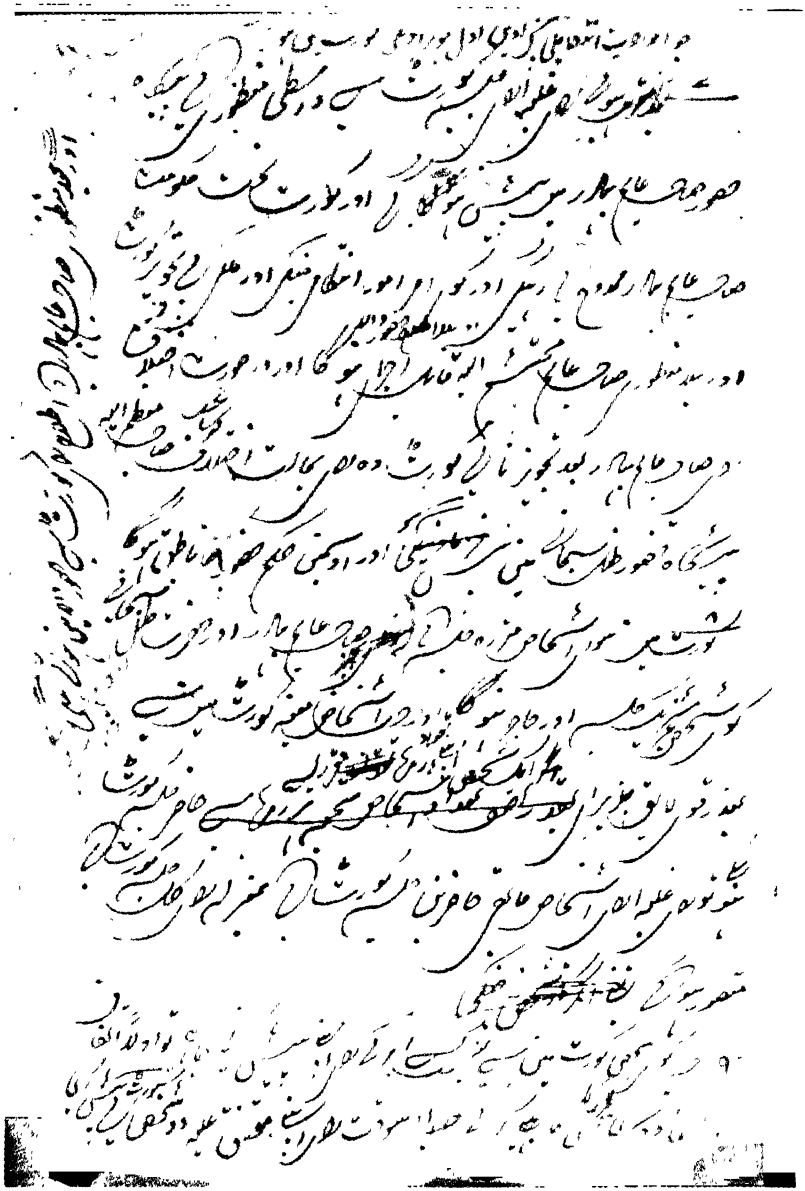


Constitution of the Court of Administration at Delhi.
(cf. pp. 419-421)



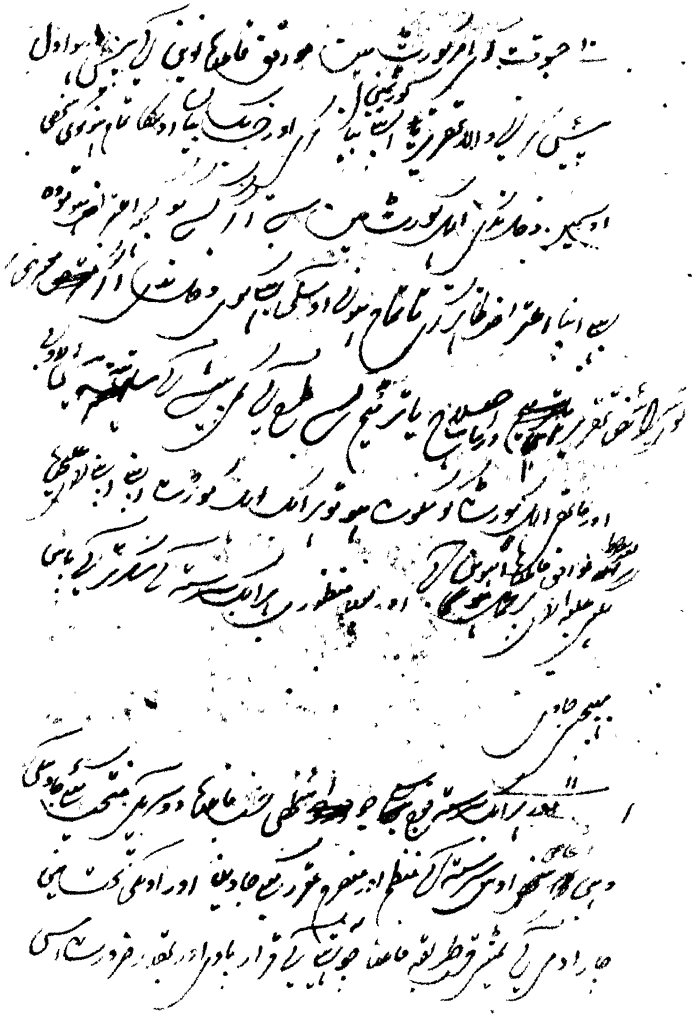
(Continued, p. 2.)

Constitution of the Court of Administration.



(Continued, p. 3.)

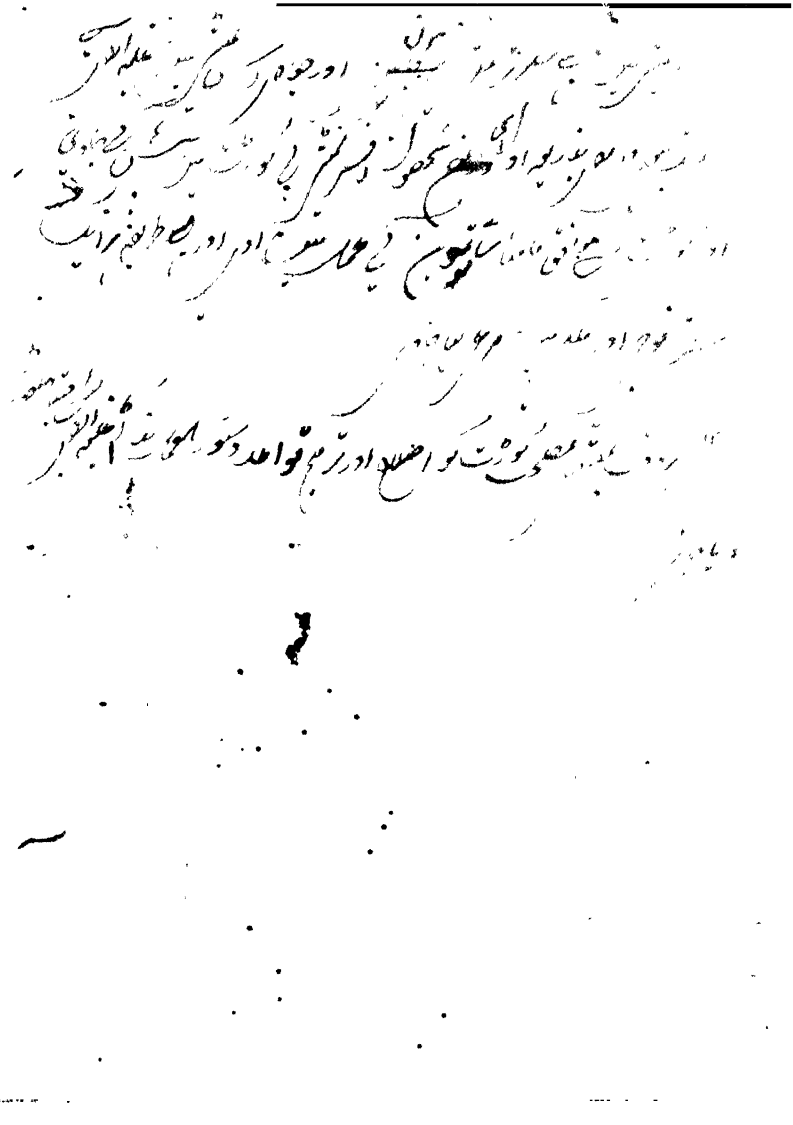
Court of Administration.



(Continued, p. 4)

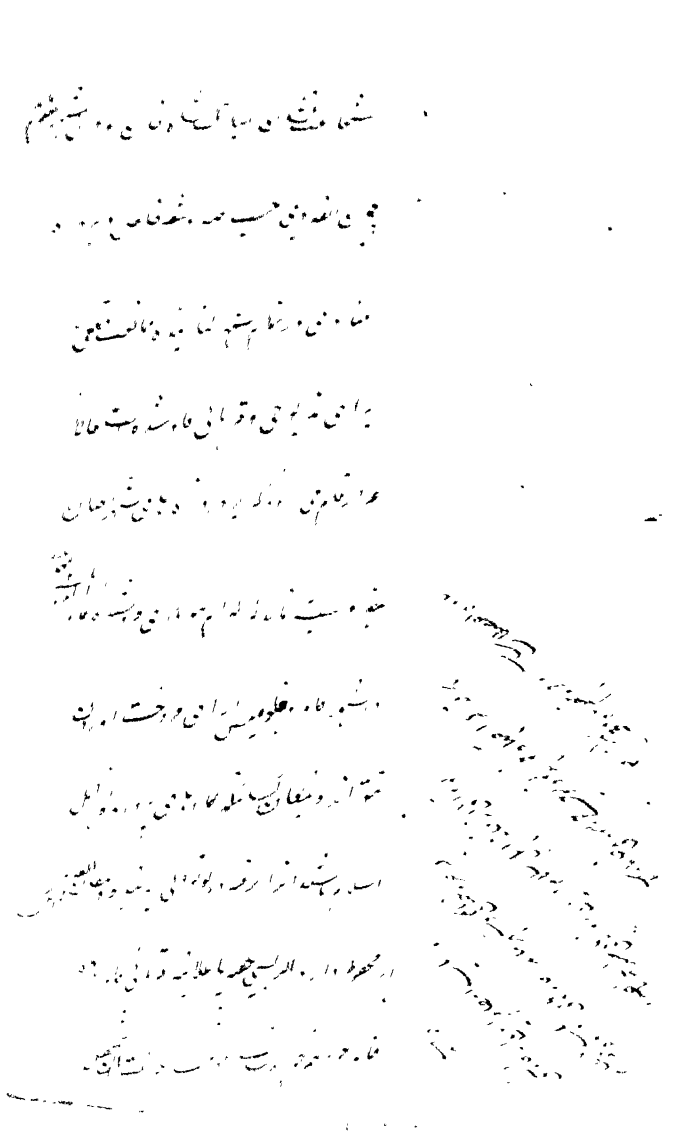
Court of Administration.

PLATE NO. 14



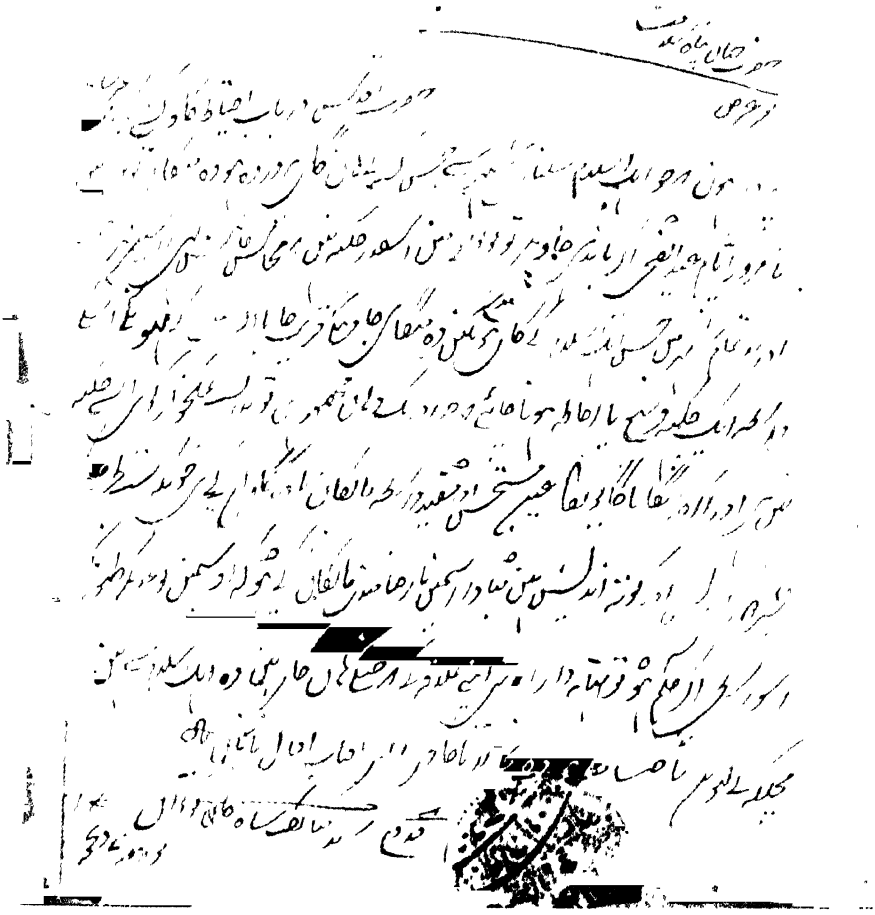
(Continued, p. 5.)

Constitution of the Court of Administration.

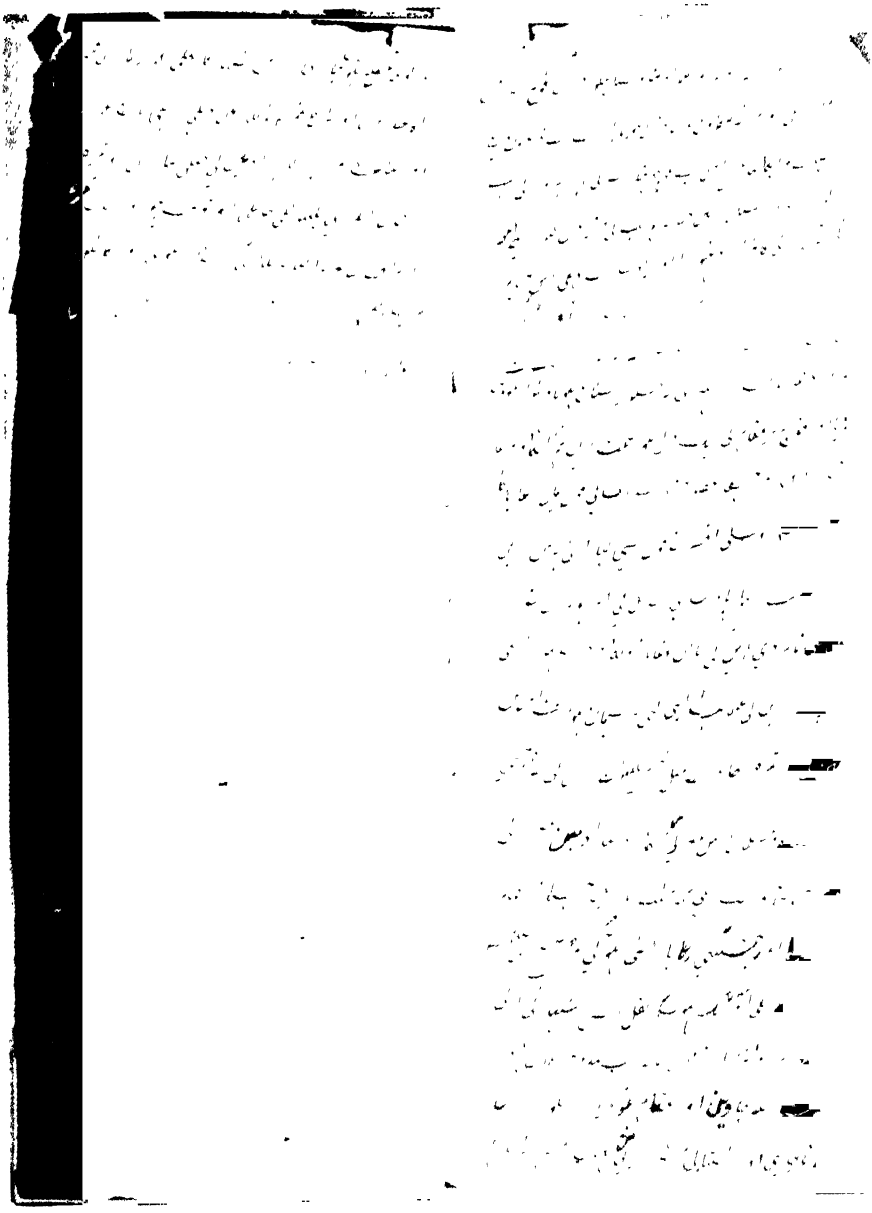


Letter of Bahadur Shah to Mubarak Shah Khan Kotwal regarding the Prohibition of Cow-Sacrifice.
(cf. p. 422)

PLATE NO. 16



Letter of Mubarak Shah Khan Kotwal of Delhi regarding Prohibition of Cow, Sacrifice. cf. pp. 422-23



Proclamation of Bahadur Shah.
(cf. pp. 438-39)

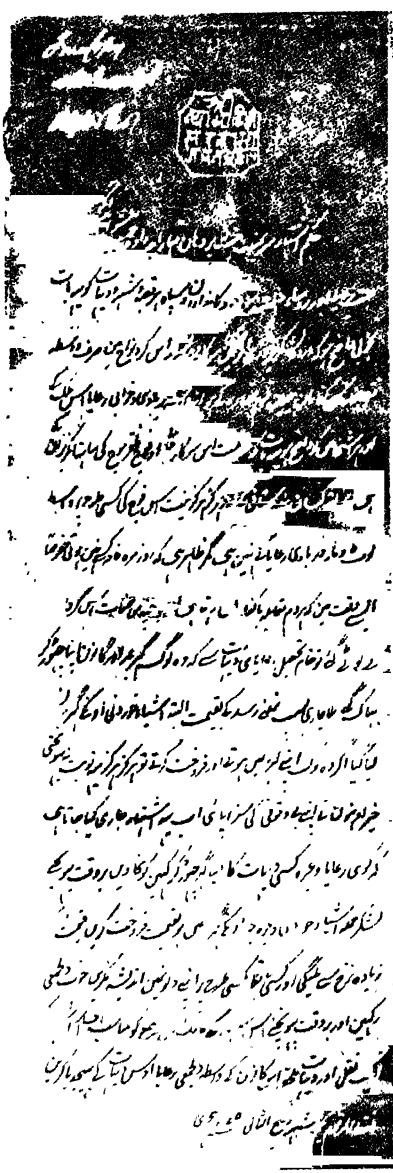

اشتہار

Proclamation of Nana Sahib.

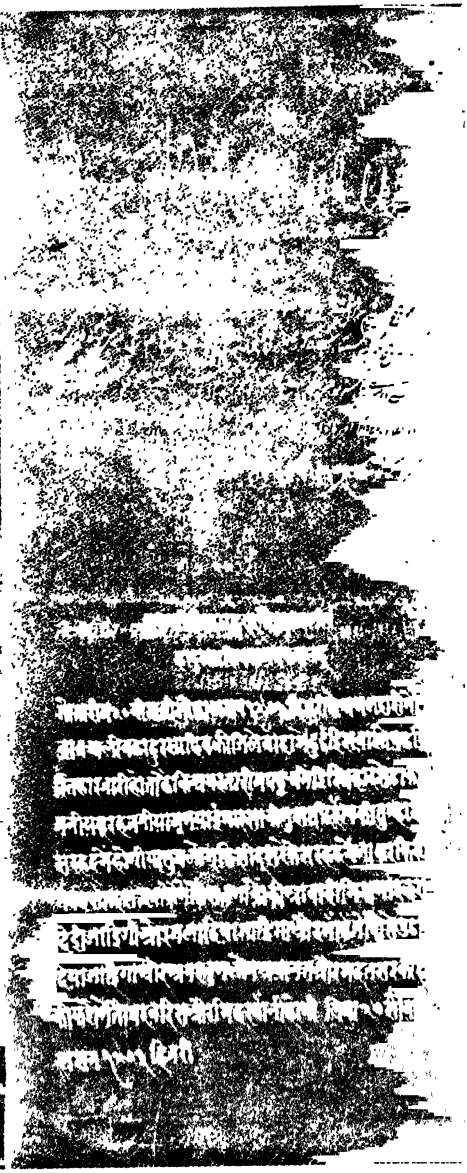
(cf. pp. 451-53)



Proclamation of Birjis Qadar both in Urdu and Hindi, with his Seal at the top. (cf. pp. 450-451)



Proclamation of Rao Sahib.
cf. pp. 464-65



Proclamation of Nawab of Banda, Both in Urdu and Hindi.
cf. pp. 444-45