

We discussed the matter of surrender again at Akola<sup>4</sup> in the middle of a forced march from Kankrauli<sup>5</sup> in Meywar to elude the pursuit of the another B.F. On that occasion it was determined to send into Neemuch to ascertain what terms would be granted and accordingly on passing the station in our flight two of our party were deputed on the mission. They fell into the hands of the police of Jeerun under the Neemuch Superintendency. The letter was written by myself answered by Capt. Dennega, Suptd. Neemuch and reached me after our crossing the Chambal.

When the Neemuch mutineers arrived at Agra, fought with the British troops. Wazir Khan was present in the city. The British troops retreated into the fort and the mutineers went over towards Muttra. He remained in the city till Sunday. He took flight to Muttra where he joined the Neemuch mutineers to Delhi.

On the reoccupation of Delhi by the BF, he left Delhi with the retreating rebels crossing the Jamuna at Mathura, they (rebels and Wazir Khan also) came to Bewar<sup>6</sup> where he was separated from the mutineers. He went to Farrukabad where he remained for about 2 months and met Firoz Shah who came there after his defeat at Agra in September (Sept. 1858).

3 days before retaking Farrukabad he left that place for Bareilly and Firoz Shah went away to Lucknow. Firoz Shah came to Bareilly where Wazir Khan met him again. After the battle of Bareilly, Wazir Khan left that place with Feroz Shah, went towards Bangarmhow. Feroz Shah remained there during the rains (rains of 1858) and returned back to Mohamdi since which time both are there.

Feroz Shah is a near relative of King of Delhi being either his grandson or nephew. About 2 years before the outbreak, he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return landed in Bombay when the rebellion was at its height. He was proceeding to his home at Delhi. When on reaching Dholpur enroute, and finding the road unsafe, he remained there for a few days, but on being informed by the Raja of Dholpur that his remaining there any longer might lead to his capture as being a relative of King of Delhi, he

fled to Gwalior (*Morar ki Chhawni*), where the mutineers from Mhow had previously arrived. He accompanied them in their attack on Agra where they were defeated by the British troops. Firoz Shah then separated from the greater part of the Mhow-Indore mutineers and went into Mewat with about 10-12 followers and remained there for sometime. On arrival of the Jodhpur Legions in Mewat, he accompanied them to Farrukabad, remaining there for a short time with the intention of going towards Lucknow. When about to leave Farrukabad, the rebelled 41<sup>st</sup> NI prevented him from going and placed him at their head. On retaking of Farrukabad by the British Forces, Firoz Shah went to Lucknow where he remained till that place was reoccupied by the British. Leaving Lucknow, he went via Shahjehanpur to Bareilly. After a few days he left Bareilly with about 150 followers with the intention of going to Naseerabad. On evening of arriving at Moradabad enroute, a collusion with the Nawab of Rampur troops was forced upon him by their not permitting him to halt unmolested them during the night for rest as he wished. On that occasion in their narration, opening their guns on him Firoz Shah charging out the head of 150 horse captained them. 1600 guns routed the Nawab's troops. Moradabad fell into his hands. Thence he marched to Bareilly taking the captured Rampur's guns with him and remained at Bareilly till the place was retaken. On the approach of the British troops, Nana who had come to Bareilly a month before, and was Khan Bahadur Khan's guest, offered to march out and give battle to the British of Khan Bahadur would place his troops under his command. The Khan did so. Nana marched out at their head but instead of advancing to meet the British he tempered with the troops that had been enticed to him by promises of increased pay, caused him off into Oudh. The Nawab of Farrukabad and Naseerabad – Masum Alee Khan and other leaders who were at the time at Bareilly accompanied by Nana.

On reoccupation of Bareilly by the British troops; Feroz Shah, Khan Bahadur Khan, Ismail Khan and other leaders who had remained for its defense retreated to Mohamadi where was the

Maulana Ahmadoola Shah. From there Firoz Shah proceeded to Sundela, the police of which place fled on his approach. He stayed there during the rains, the whole distt. having fallen into his possession.

After the same he left Sundeela and went towards Mohamdi and had several encounters with the British troops, retreating there, arrived at Biswa Baree where another fight took place. Continuing his retreat he arrived at Mohemdabad from where he escaped the Ganges unopposed between Fatehgarh and Cawnpur with about 2,000 fighting men, 1500 were cavalry. When about to cross the Jamuna canal he came unexpectedly in contest with a British detachment. Firoz Shah was at the time siding with Wazir Khan, and about 50 *sawars* at a distance of about a mile on the flank of his main column. He thereupon rode to the main column to bring up his troops and returned with about 300 cavalry which alone he could collect at the moment. With these he determined to engage the detachment and formed his men in 3 divisions charging himself in front. Pir Zahoor Alee on the left, and the Wordy Major of the 12<sup>th</sup> Irregular cavalry Regt. on the right. He could not take the guns and retreated after a severe encounter to Tulfun – a British Officer was hurt in the fight and many rather on their side. On our side only one man by name Risaldar Niaz Mohd. Khan formerly *bafadar* on the 16<sup>th</sup> Irregular.

On reaching the Jamuna a little above the confluence of Chambal – the rear party on that occasion was surprised by a British detachment and a few cut up, proceeding south, then we were again surprised at Mrandi in the Gwalior Distt. by Napier – on that occasion Maulvi Fazal Haq and a good many men besides some being made prisoners among others Pir Zahoor Ali's brother who was riding on an elephant. We lost also 6 elephants, Wazir Khan had a narrow escape being in the same elephant with Maulvi Fazal Haq but not considering it safe I had dismounted.

From Marandi we continued our course on South to the Seronge Jungles where we met Nasar Mohd. Khan, thence west to Paron jungles passing through the Chuppra<sup>7</sup> Distt. and Nahargarh

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of Kota, at the latter place the Paron Raja Rajee met us and conducted us to his place in the heart of the jungle tract. Remaining two days at Paron we passed NW through the Kota territory getting into that of Jeypore via the Lakhera<sup>8</sup> pass, Indargarh<sup>9</sup>.

Here we joined the Rao Saheb party – halting two days for his arrival, an information of his arrival communicated by Nawab Raheen Ulla Khan who had preceded the Rao. We all 3 marched together towards Jeypore diverted from that route by the advance of an British column, we went to Dausa, and were surprised the next morning by a British column. On that occasion the 12<sup>th</sup> Irregular Cavalry of Pir Zahur Ali were principally engaged both sides, lost several men, the sawars getting mixed up in the melee undistinguishable owing to the similarity of dress. A General on our side formerly a Subedar in the 9<sup>th</sup> Regt. by name Talyar Khan was badly wounded. He had fought all through the Delhi seize. He was afterwards killed in the surprise at Sikar.<sup>10</sup> Thereafter he proceeded from Dausa via Katpatee.

The Seekar affair might have been disastrous to our force but for the same covering parts of the 12<sup>th</sup> Irregular of Pirjee's and special for the presence of mind of a native officer of the 12<sup>th</sup> Irregular by name Amir Khan. Feigning the pressure of a considerable body under the command he gave word of command accordingly. The Officer commanding the advance party of the British halted and sent for guns. The delay administered of our people of getting off. But even in different direction, the Rao and Feroz Shah going towards Deedawana in Mewar, the covering party of 12<sup>th</sup> Irregular of Pirjee's whom I accompanied retreating to Laxmangarh<sup>11</sup> and Sikar we did not effect a function again for 2 or 3 days.

In the interval Taty Tope was reported to have left the force at Deedawara, during the night with a few followers for what purpose was not given out.

From Deedwana<sup>12</sup> we went towards Beekaner when in that country the question of surrender was first moved and dropped as above mentioned.

On passing Haduo in Marwar the Thakur treated us ill in allowing his people to take money for individuals of the force for supplies and newer furnishing any. Further, in refusing the refund the money when applied to by the Rao to do so. For this reason the Rao ordered the place to be attacked. It was caused by storm, the Thakur with the survivors of storm driven within the keep and the village burnt.

In the Bikaner country 600 cavalry – the greater part of the 12<sup>th</sup> Irregular cavalry under J. Gurreef Khan broke off from our force. We don't know where they went.

Proceeding south through Mewar we were surprised again by another British column at a village with a tank a few miles from Bheelare.<sup>13</sup> It was fortunately in the evening and darkness, as we should have suffered a great loss. We escaped by dividing into several groups where all affected a junction the next day further to south.

To escape from the pursuit of the several British columns in the open country, the leaders decided to shape a course again for the strong country of C.I. To this end, we first attempted to pass the *ghats* eastward at Peepli but found it occupied by some local troops and were repulsed, we then tried another *ghat* some 6 or 7 Kos further south. It was reported to be closing, but the Rao gave the money to the villagers who brought the information to open it, which was done. It was very difficult for horses and camels about 8 miles ascent, branches of trees and straw which had been cleared away were found strewn at the intervals up the ascent.

On ascending to the plan of Meywar we marched straight to Kakrauli but gathering from a party of regular cavalry we surprised them that a British force was in the vicinity. We continued our fight after but 6 hours rest through we had come that day 18 Kos. It was after 30 miles further continuous flight to Akola that the question of surrender was again discussed, matters were henceforth to issue by learning that fresh British force (Bg. Somerset) was in rapid pursuit of us and deputation was accordingly sent to Neemuch to sue for terms, the result of which has been above detailed.

Besides TT who reported to have gone at Deedwana and 600 cavalry in the Bikaner territory, Yusuf Khan, a General of the Rao Saheb left also in the Bikaner country with 50 men. Some *sawars* of the 5<sup>th</sup> Irregular detached themselves at Kankrauli. Abdul Sattar Khan of Jaora left the force between Sadree and Mandsore in the recent flight from Bg. Sommerset brought to retreat into the Banswara jungle saying as he left. Since you are going to surrender I will go and surrender through Myanna Nawab at Jaora – 14 or 15 men accompanied him. Chhota Tantiya (nephew of Tatyia Tope) and Ghashani Lal Puree and lastly Pir Zahoor Alee with 300 men who have surrendered. Besides the above of note and good many have broken off signally or in small groups either beaten by the fatigue or hoping to find an asylum with friends en route.

At the time of discussion for surrender both the times, Wazir Khan was to the closest intimacy with the leaders and indeed was the medium of informing them of all concerning ourselves which appeared from time to time in English papers that found their way into our camp, the most reliable information we received of the movement of the several British columns in the field against us was from the papers and also regarding that of such of our leaders as got separated from us or were in rebellion in distant parts, thus we never enabled to effect a junction with the Rao and TT on leaving Oudh.

At first none of the leaders disposed to surrender as they were not aware of the safety of their lives, but in some of the English papers falling into my hands and on reading about the amnesty I opened the subject for surrender to Firoz Shah the only leader who know would take my advice. He willingly understood the proposal and discussed the matter with the Rao Saheb, when it was agreed that a copy of the amnesty should be procured and its contents well understood. We had no opportunity of getting one, however till we arrived in the Bikaner territory the question of surrender them mooted, was broken up as has been above related.

On the last occasion at Akola, Firoz Shah after getting all his officers to agree to the proposal of surrender sent Wazir Khan with

the Darpan Gaure and Imam Alee, to speak to the Rao Saheb on the subject, the Rao after listening with earnest attention said that he could not be the first to open negotiations in the matter on account of his relations and head of his House, the Nana Rao not having made any offer of submission, but if we thought fit to open the correspondence he would have no objection to go as we did, if the terms granted were favourable, since he would then have alternative but to join us in submission. It was then agreed by all the Sardars to depute some persons with letters touching the question of surrender to the nearest station. On passing Neemuch then in our flights from the column closely pursuing us from Kankrauli, we deputed two of our party – viz. Surmat Khan and Abdul Raheem Khan to the station to seek for terms pursuing our course, meanwhile across the Chambal, we had all determined to await the answer of our letters at Rooneeja<sup>14</sup>, while en route thither, and before we crossed the Chambal the answers from Neemuch signed by Capt. Denny reached us but did not convey the guarantee required by the leaders so we pursued the course as above related. Here Feroz Shah and Rao Saheb went off from Raoraja on learning of the approach of a column which might have cut off their retreat. I believe if they had received the guarantee of life conveyed in Gen. Michel's notification they would have come in. For the Shahzada Feroz Shah at last I can speak with confidence. He wept when he parted from me, and wished he could accompany me (Wazir Khan) with safety.

Feroz Shah's age is about 22. He is of a good disposition, he has always borne the character of Talib-ul-ilm, or a seeker of knowledge, has learnt Arabic and other general languages. He has invariably opposed to plundering during our recent wanderings, and has on several occasions severely punished his followers for committing excess.

The question of surrender by Taty Tope was never mooted out up to the time that he was with the camp, but I should think he would never think of it unless his life was granted. Taty Tope has much influence on Rao Saheb. He, it was who brought in the

Gwalior contingent mutineers to join the Nana Rao, up to which the Nana invested him with supreme command over that Division of force, notwithstanding this Taty Tope does not assume any degree of independence relatively to Rao Saheb but differ to his superior rank.

The Rao presented Nazar to Feroz Shah on the two forces uniting and presented all his *Sirdars* in farm who also presented Nazar. The Shahzada however, desired all of them on that occasion to retain entire central of their respective bodies of troops and never interfered with them.

I think all or most of the Mohamdans of the force besides his immediate followers which may amount now that Pirjee has come in to about 300. Some of the Hindoos leading men would also follow him if surrendering. Gauri Shanker, the Principal Military Officer of the Rao was particularly anxious to forward on the recent negotiations.

The treasure with the Rao Saheb is believed to be contained in gunny bags that are carried on 7 or 8 camels each rider by use of the Rao's own trustworthy followers (Marathas). They are escorted always by a body of 20 or 30 chosen vilayatees. However, besides the treasure supposed to be in 3 bags, the Rao carries a bag, of course white cloth constantly on his own horse and is never detached from his ride for a moment, and no one is allowed to touch it on the ground that it contained the Rao's food. It may be so from the tenacious anxiety however, with what this bag is shifted about with him in every change of place, convergence or position, it is possible it may contain jewels of value. This is the general supposition in the camp.

Rao has 5 or 6 horses to ride on, and changes them day about but his favourable and best is a dark gray Arab. At rest time, the Rao changes his dress generally adopting that of the country in which he may be moving and that of an ordinary description.

Rao's time of march changes frequently. No one but his immediate followers know where he may be riding. He is always on horse back.

The camp usually pay for the supplies wherever they are given willingly, but if it is sure to be plundered unless strong enough to resist attack. Again when villages are found deserted supplies are necessarily taken, and not paid for. This was most frequently the case within the Jodhpur territory.

Village area started from the *Ghat* was in Marwar at a distance of 7 has journey from the post of *Ghat*, it was about 9 Kos from Palee. The Rao gives Rs.500. We started from the village at 3 in the morning and reached the foot of the *Ghat* at 10 a.m. and do not get our half bathing place at the top till 6 in the evening.

The people in the country no where seemed very unfriendly but that may have been because we were strong enough to resent incivility. This source of strength and security is indeed the chief hand of union in the force. It is generally believed that if they break up all will perish, one race of people only, I heard, spoken of as unfriendly and that is the Bheels of the Meywar jungle tract. Some closed the passes against us as in the case of Marwar Pass above referred to. In the Jeypore territory we came upon 3 companies of Nyjeehe (?) marching to reinforce Kot Potlee.<sup>15</sup> We took them prisoners, but set them free after a day's detention. In the Jodhpur country, a party of Raj *sawars* followed up to cut of strugglers but we sent a party to attack and drive them off which they did, killing a few of the Raj *sawars* and taking some prisoners.

The revolt of the soldiery arose without any doubt from their belief that the Govt. desired to destroy their caste through the new cartridges. The musket for which the same are adopted are commonly called and distinguishes in the rebel camp to this day as *Bedharmi Bandook*.

When Feroz Shah joined the Rao Saheb at Indurgarh the former had between 1800 or 1900 Cavalry (Govt. mutineers) chiefly Irregulars and some 3 or 4 hundred of undisciplined horsemen.

The Rao had between 4 or 5 thousand chiefly Govt. mutineers of which there might be about 5 or 6 hundred infantry, between 2 or 3 hundred mutineers cavalry and the rest undisciplined horse. A good many of his men had been disposed in the jungles after their

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defeat at Burade (Bg. Sommerset) and have been separated from the main body ever since. On the occasion of his presenting the Nazar to the Shahzada, on presenting his officers of his force who also offered Nazar introduced them as belonging severally to his 3 divisions under the names of Bengal Haltha, the Maratha Hattha, the third .... At that time then the united rebel force must have been amounted to between 6 or 7,000 fighting men.

The 12<sup>th</sup> Irregular cavalry entirely was with Feroz Shah and the 5<sup>th</sup> Irregular entirely with the Rao, the rest were composed of soldiers single or as parties up to the strength of a troop from all the different regiments. These formed themselves into regiments of *Risaldar* under self elected commanders.

Orders were daily issued under the name of Rao. That for the march was ordinarily well observed at starting and indeed maintained throughout when in the proximity of a B.F. or in approaching towns where opposition was expected. Fitters were the column struggled along the road.

Bala Rao is the younger brother of Nana. He has been an active leader in the rebellion. He was commanding the mutineers at Cawanpore when the Gwalior contingent mutineers arrived, and was present in the attack on Cawnpore – garrison on that occasion.

### Deposition of Pir Zahoor Ali

Extracts from Translation of the Deposition of Pir Zuhoor Ali (Pir Zahur Ali) late of the 14th Bengal Irregular Cavalry taken on the 4th March 1859.<sup>16</sup>

... A portion of the Infantry and Cavalry with 2 guns went towards Malagurh which they reached in 3 marches. On hearing that the British troops had arrived at Golowlee<sup>17</sup> we got ready and went there with two guns. In the evening on arrival at Golowlee and encamping, a shot was suddenly fired on our Camp by the British upon which we all got under arms and opened our guns. After 5 or 6 rounds the British force retreated and we remained in our position the whole night. Marching the following morning we arrived at (a) village name unknown. Here the Nawab of Malagurh ordered us to

destroy those *zemindars* who would not pay money. The cannonading lasted till late in the evening but not being able to effect a breach in the wall we returned back to Malagurh. On hearing that the British troops had arrived at Bolundshuhur the Nawab of Malagurh marched with his troops and we followed him the same evening; at 9 P.M. our force reached Bolundshuhur and advancing further from the city we threw up a breastwork and stood to our arms the whole night. The following morning our videttes informed us that the British had come. They opened fire on us, we returned it. The fight lasted for 3 hours. Cavalry from both sides then charged on each other and fought hand to hand and we took flight leaving one of our guns the carriage of which was broken and carrying away the rest of them.

#### **Encounter at Kasganj**

A portion of our force reached Malagurh and the rest scattered and got separated as well as the Nawab. Marching (p. 123) from Malagurh and descending the Unoopsuhur (Anupshahr) Ghat we reached Bareilly taking some reinforcement from that place with the intention of going back to Malagurh; and crossing the Ganges we met and fought with the British at Kasganje (Kasganj). The latter retreated to a place 4 *koss* off and we remained at Kasganje for 18 days. On hearing that the British were coming on with more troops we advanced to meet them with 3 guns and an action took place. We were defeated and fled leaving 3 guns in the field. We arrived at Kangeerree<sup>18</sup> where we were joined by some force of the Nawab of Faurruckabad. We remained with them for a day. The next day a British force reached that place and another fight took place on which occasion we were again defeated and fled leaving 18 guns in the field. Some went to Lucknow some to Bareilly and the rest in different directions. . . .<sup>19</sup>

#### **Encounter near Etawa on the Yamuna Canal**

. . . Joining Firoz Shah and the 12th Irregular Cavalry, at Mahmoodabad, we turned toward this side (south). When crossing

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the Ganges we met with some British Cavalry one of whom was killed and the rest retreated. On reaching the Jumna Canal we were engaged with the British force which was there with Mr Hume the Collector of Etawah on which occasion Lieutenant Cuyle and some sowars were killed and Mr. Hume with the Infantry and guns retreated into a *Ghurrie (Garhi)*. We continued our march and arrived at Joffaon.<sup>20</sup> Crossing the Jumna we halted on the other bank. The following morning we were surprised there by a British force. Retreating and crossing the Chumbul we passed between Jhansee and Dutteea (Datia) and went towards the Bujrungle Jungles. At Narode<sup>21</sup> *en route* we met with a British force where we lost some elephants and other property. It was at this place we missed Moulvie Fuzzul Haq; whether he was taken prisoner or killed is not known. While marching we plundered some stores of the British *en route*. The following day when encamped in the dense jungle we were surprised by British troops where we lost 3 elephants and other property. Proceeding on westward we crossed the Chumbul and reached Indurgurh. Here we expected Rao Sahib and halted two days for him when he joined us. We then marched all together towards Jeypore at Daussa. When about to march in the morning we were surprised by a British force; retreating we arrived at Seekree and were surprised there again. We then took our course towards Beekaneer in which territory we received a *Hookunnama* from the Rajah to the effect that an amnesty was granted and notifications had been issued by the British Govt. on the subject. On receiving this paper all the leaders agreed among themselves and deputed Mohamed Vuzeer Khan, Surmust Khan, Gowree Sunker and Deisai Gungadhur Puth<sup>22</sup> to Beekaneer with letter from Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah, but the *ressaldar* of Beekaneer somehow or other sent the deputation back.

We then took our course towards the south. Two days after, the 12th Irregular Cavalry got separated from us and returned and we continued our march. Arriving at a village we were again surprised by the British troops. From thence we went to Peepleea *Ghata* but the Bheels there would not allow us to pass. Turning to

another *Ghata* or 7 *koss* (from) Peepleea which was closed and known to us we opened it and got through with great difficulty one by one. From thence we passed Kunkrolwee and Akola and halted two *koss* from the latter place. Here we discussed the question of surrender and deputed two *Vakeels* to Neemuch. On passing near that station in our flight reaching Roaneeja we received a notification from Captain Showers but hearing that a British force was advancing from the Augur direction, though Rao Sahib and Ferozeshah went away, myself and followers remained back to await the arrival of the *Vakeels*. On their return with a guarantee of safe conduct from General Michel we left for the British camp at Boorha and surrendered ourselves there.<sup>23</sup>

### Reference :

1. Foreign Department, Political Proceedings, 30-12-1859, No. 311, letter no. 54, dt. 9-3-1859.
2. *Seventy kilometers north-west of Kota, Rajasthan.*
3. This is Agar. 65 kilometers north-east of Ujjain, M.P.
4. Forth five kilometers south-west of Chhittorgarh and twenty kilometers east of Mawali, Rajasthan.
5. Sixty kilometers north of Udaipur, Rajasthan.
6. Thirty kilometers south-west of Farrukhabad, UP.
7. Chuppra may be Shivpuri, which was then called Seepri.
8. Lakheri is 10 kilometers south of Indergarh in Rajasthan.
9. Indargarh is seventy kilometers north-east of Kota, Rajasthan.
10. One hundred fifty kilometer north-west of Jaipur, Rajasthan.
11. Twenty kilometers north-west of Sikar, Rajasthan.
12. One hundred fifty kilometers north-west of Jaipur.
13. May be Bhilwara, Rajasthan.
14. Sixty kilometers east of Mandsaur, M.P.
15. Hundred kilometers north of Jaipur.
16. F. S. U. P., Vol. V, pp. 122-124.
17. Appears spelt for Gulaothi
18. Appears spelt for Gangaji.
19. The account given here deals with the battle at Musabagh, Lucknow, under the leadership of Ahmad Ullah Shah, the encounter at Bari—13 kos from Lucknow and revolutionaries' march to Muhamdi and Shahjahanpur, encounter

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with British forces at Shahjahanpur and fight of the revolutionaries from that place.

20. May be Jalaun
21. Appears misspelt for Nagode.
22. Appears to have been misspelt for 'Punth' (Panth).
23. Foreign Department, Political Proceedings, 30th Dec. 1859, Part II, No. 313, pp. 4 to 6.