

RAO SAHEB

AT TAL BEHAT

Letter No. 511 of 1858 from R. N. C. Hamilton, Agent to the Governor General for C. I., Indore Residency, dated 30th October 1858, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General.

By my despatch No. 496, dated 25th instant the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of India was informed of the success gained by Major-General Michel, C. B. A., Sindowah, and the pursuit of the rebels to Bera near Baunpoor, from whence the rebels continued their flight to Tal Behat. Here their main body with women and children had been since their retreat from Chundeyree under Rou Sahib (Rao Saheb) and it was supposed that their object was to attack Tehree, or effect their escape towards Nurwur by crossing the Betwah at the Seris (Siras) Ghaut or into Bundelcund by Bamoree.

2nd—The advance of Colonel Liddell's Column to Bamoree checked the escape by Bamoree; this road had been examined by order of Major-General Sir Hugh Rose when it was contemplated to move from Tal Behat to the relief of Chirkharee and would have been difficult with baggage at this season.

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations. National Archives, New Delhi. Letter No. 4146, dated 29th Oct. 1858.

3rd—At Tehree every disposition had been made for a vigorous resistance, the fords had been well guarded and the banks of the river scarped; besides Colonel Liddell's move had covered Tehree. The Seris Ghat was watched by a party of Gond Police Corps, under Captain Macleon (or McLean) supported by a Column under Colonel Scudamore who also watched this ford and the Myapoor Pass.

4th—Captain Shakespear, my assistant, was with Colonel Scudamore. I wrote to him and to Brigadier Smith, besides to General Michel pointing out a ford near Kotra which was one very likely for the rebels to try as there was thick jungle and an Island in which the Baunpoor Rajah had retreated after the fall of Chundeyree.

5th—Hearing from Goonah that they had very few troops and that Maun Singh had plundered Rampoor 18 miles to the north where he was with a large body of rebels, I directed Captain Buckle who was moving up the Agra road to proceed from Beora to Goonah and thence to Ranode, a position which would have brought him near the head of the Myapoor Pass and into communication with Colonel Scudamore on his left at Dokrai and Brigadier Smith on his right at Chundeyree.

6th—By a demi-official letter from Captain Pinkney it seems the rebels finding they could do nothing to the east tried the Seris Ghat, and then the Kotra Ghat, but were unable to cross. Hearing of the disposition of our troops, they then turned south towards Lullutpoor.

7th—After he was beaten at Sindowah and pursued to the vicinity of Baunpoor, Tantia Topey, General Michel writes, made for Tal Behut but finding they could not cross the Betwah he moved rapidly down to Jaklone. Jaklone is a fort in very strong position surrounded by a dense jungle at the gorge or the Hills, on the right bank of the Betwah. Major General had reached Lullutpoor where this information reached him and marched at once 27 miles to Deogur. The rebels moved on to Duriakhera near Kimlassa, I imagine by the Berugree¹ Ghat which turns off near Gona (perhaps Goonah), from whence they pushed on plundering Chandpoor and were next heard of at Bagrode on the Saugor and Mhow road 13 miles south-west of Rautgurh.

¹ Not clearly decipherable.

8th—Major-General Michel followed them to Koorai where my letters from him are dated the 24th.

9th—Brigadier Parke had been moved up to Borassa with a view to cover Bhilsa and Bhopal, and on hearing of the rebels being near Kimlassa, he moved as reported in Lieutenant Burton's letter dated 24th instant, on Bhilsa.

10th—Having been requested to move the troops intended to reinforce Major-General Michel by routes which my information of the movements of the rebels seemed most likely to be advantageous, I had directed Colonel Becher with his Regiment of Beatson's Horse to move to Seronge; Major Learmouth, with a Squadron of the 17th Lancers, to move on Bhopal *via* Sehore; Lieutenant Kerr with the Southern Mahratta Horse, I turned off at Asseergurh, and requested to march by Hosshungabad (Hoshangabad) crossing the Nerbudda there and thence on Bhilsa.

11th—Colonel Benson, with the Headquarters of the 17th Lancers, and Colonel Gardener with D. Troop of Royal Horse Artillery I am directed to keep the Agra road from Indore to Beora.

12th—Colonel Becher was thus able to push on to Bagrode. He writes me from Ghauspoor under date 27th that after getting on the track of the rebels he had almost reached them but was obliged to hold the Kemdev¹ pass where the Hills open on the Saugor road, the jungle coming down and being very thick for some distance and in the morning reached Bagrode as their rear guard was leaving their encampment. He at once attacked them; his men behaved admirably, they killed a number of the late Gwalior Cavalry and 5th Irregulars, took some camels and horses, and the rebels fled towards Sewass; from hence they moved rapidly towards Nawab Bassowda (Mahomed Ghur Bassoda of the maps) and here they divided into two parties—one would seem to be making towards the Nerbudda, and the other west. Colonel Becher was moving on Bhilsa where he expected to arrive on the 29th.

13th—Major Learmouth should be at Bhopal on that day as Major Richards reports he left Sehore on the 28th.

¹ Not clearly decipherable.

14th—Lieutenant Kerr was to cross the Nerbudda on the 30th or 31st (vide para 11) at Hosshungabad.

15th—Colonel Benson who (*sic*, whom) I requested to move from Dewass *via* Ashta on Bhopal consequent to the more recent intelligence would reach on the 1st with the reinforcements. Major-General Michel who Colonel Becher mentions as having he believed reached Bagrode, will I have no doubt be able to give a good account of the rebels who are by the servants of the Nawab of Banda arrested in Saugor stated to be in great distress wanting ammunition without guns jaded and knocked up with abundance of money, (*sic*.)

16th—I have presumed to draw up the above from the letters I have received from the several officers that the Governor General may know what has been done, and what arrangement made and I trust that on the whole His Lordship will be satisfied.

17th—I have addressed a similar letter to the Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay.

P. S.—Since the above was written the two accompanying daily reports have been received by which it appears General Michel had reached Bagrode on the 28th instant, and Brigadier Parke Bhilsa on the 27th.

The rebels moving to the Nerbadda as reported by Colonel Becher, and at Gyrolghur¹. *

Zahur Ali's deposition regarding surrender by Rao Saheb and Feroz Shah.

.....Joining Ferozeshah and the 12th Irregular Cavalry at Mahmoodabad we turned towards this side (south). When crossing 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 Dayle and some sowars were killed and Mr. Hume with the Infantry and guns retreated into a *Ghuree* (*Garhi*). We continued our march and arrived at Juffaon.²

¹ Not clearly decipherable.

* Foreign Deptt. Proceedings, 21st January 1859, Cons. No. 113. Gen. No. 2437. National Archives, New Delhi.

² Name not clearly decipherable.

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 Duttea (Datia) and went towards the Bujrurgurh jungles. At Narode *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 *Hookumnama* 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 Puth¹ 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* 6 or 7 *koss* (from) Peepleea which was closed and unknown 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,

¹ Appears to have been misspelt for 'Punth' (Panth).

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.¹

NEGOTIATIONS FOR SURRENDER

Letter from R. Simson, Under Secretary to the Government of India, to the Brigadier General, G. St. P. Lawrence, Agent to the Governor General for the States of Rajpootana, dated Fort William, the 23rd March 1859.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 3rd instant, No. 56, together with its enclosure from the Superintendent of Neemuch, *regarding overtures made by the rebels under Feroze Shah and Rao Sahib to surrender under the terms of Her Majesty's Proclamation.*

In reply, I am directed to state that the Governor General in Council approves of Captain Denny's proceedings, as therein reported.²

TERMS OFFERED TO RAO SAHEB

Translation of a letter from Robert Hamilton, Agent Governor General for Central India, to Baba Aptia, Sir Soobah (Sar Subah) of Malwa, dated 20th March 1859.

I have received your letter dated 23rd instant, in reply to mine. It gave the account of one Marohee³, *Hazoorya* of the rebel Rao Sahib with a request to you that I have nothing to do with Rao Sahib or the Nana Sahib. Of course I have to do with Rao Sahib as long as he remains within the limits of the Central India Agency and the order of the Governor General with regard to him is as follows—

"If Rao Sahib surrenders, his life will be pardoned. He will not be put into irons or imprisoned nor suffer any indignity; a provision will be made for his maintenance. He will have

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th Dec. 1859, Part II, Cons. No. 313, Pp. 4 to 6. National Archives, New Delhi.

² Foreign Political Consultations, 15th April 1859, No. 620. National Archives, New Delhi.

³ Name not clearly decipherable.

to reside in such part of India as the Govt. will fix for him. These promises are made to him provided he has not with his hand or tongue incited or caused the murder of British subjects".¹

CAPTURE OF RAO SAHEB

Some portions of official letter sent by R. H. Davies, Secretary to Punjab Government, to the Secretary of Government of India's Foreign Department, dated 9th April 1862, about "Rao Sahib".

Intelligence having been conveyed to the Lieutenant Governor of the residence of "Rao Sahib", a nephew of the Nana in the Jammoo Territory, Mr. McNabb, the Deputy Commissioner of Sealkote, was directed at once to proceed to Jammoo and arrange for his capture with the Maharajah who was requested by letter from this office to render his best assistance.

Mr. McNabb accordingly went and apprehended him at Chaneneni, the seat of a petty Rajah.

The Rao Sahib was surprised and seized without any trouble together with his wife and child, but no male associates. He had some 3000 or 4000 Rupees in gold and jewels.

The Lieutenant Governor is not thoroughly informed of the antecedents of the Rao Sahib, but he is reported to have been a leader and instigator of rebellion during the period.

Further information has been sought for from Cawnpore and Gwalior.

Apparently His Highness (of Kashmir) had no previous knowledge of the residence of the refugee within his territories.²

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Letter from Col. R. Shakespear, Agent Governor General for Central India, to Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Govt. of India, Foreign Deptt., Fort William, dated Indore Residency, 7th June 1859.

I have the honor to forward a copy and translation of a Vernacular paper written by my predecessor on receiving

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 17th June 1859, No. 288. National Archives, New Delhi.

² Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*. Bundle No. XVII, File No. 61, year 1855-80.

your Telegram of date 19th March last, regarding the terms to be granted to the Rao Sahib in case he surrendered.

You will remark that Sir Robert Hamilton translated the expression "taking direct part" by changing the sentence as follows : "provided he has not with his hand or his tongue incited or caused murder of British subjects".

I considered this translation unacceptable and wrote some days back to tell General Sir J. Michel that I was responsible for its correctness—but late evening I saw in one of the newspapers mention made of Govt. having strongly noticed the omission of the word "*Shureek*" in Major Barrow's letter to the Nawab of Furruckabad (Farukhabad).

Sir Robert published his translation of the terms to be given to the Rao Sahib on 25th March last, and any change now made would cause suspicion which is of course to be avoided if possible; but if Govt. thinks the insertion of the word essentially necessary I hope you will signal up to me to that effect and I hope I am right, in the meantime, in taking no steps in the matter.¹

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Letter from C. Beadon, Secretary to the Govt. of India, to Colonel R. Shakespear, Agent to Governor General for Central India, dated Fort William, the 16th June 1859.

In reply to your letter dated the 7th instant, No. 286, I am directed to acquaint you that Governor General in Council would not now alter Sir Robert Hamilton's published translation of the terms offered to the Rao Sahib. It is desirable however that in such cases the terms of the authorized version of the Royal Proclamation should be adhered to.²

NEGOTIATIONS FOR SURRENDER AND AFTER

Deposition of Rao Sahib.

Then I said to Firoz Shah, "If you think proper, let us

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 17th June 1859, No. 287. National Archives, New Delhi.

² *Ibid.* No. 289. National Archives, New Delhi.

present ourselves now before the English" and then both of us reached the side of Sironj. Firoz Shah told me that he had sent his *Vakil* to the English with the request that he was willing to go over (to the English). Then I also sent my servant Mohd. Ishaq to the General at Sironj and made a request (to allow) to go over (to him). The General sent me a *Parwana* saying that I should go over (to him) that would not be bad for me. I, therefore, tried a number of times to present myself but the people of the army who accompanied me did not let me do it. The *Parwana* is not with me now. The people of the army did not let me write the sort of reply I desired to send to it but they despatched one which I never liked. The next day, Mohd. Ishaq who had taken the letter of reply returned and told me that it was not liked by the government and the General had ordered that I must present myself within ten hours. The people of the army left me and only about 200 or 300 soldiers were left. The next day I took ten or twelve of my chief men and left the army. Then they also dropped off one after the other and only Umrao Mussulman, Ganesh Brahman and Poker Ahir, the personal attendant, were left. I wandered about here and there in the territories of Tonk and Gwalior with these three persons, as a mendicant. Then Umrao Mussulman and Ganesh Brahman also left me in the jungle. Umrao Mussulman brought my wife and her mother to me in the jungle. I did not consider it advisable to live in the jungle and so reached Pushkar near Ajmer. Then I reached Thaneswar through Ajmer, Delhi and Jeypur (Jaipur). I had by then given myself the name of Lachman Dass Pandit. I stayed at Thaneswar for 15 days and then went to Jwalaji, Kangra, Pur Mandal and Sudh Mahadeo in the Jammu territory and then to Tarkata. I had a mind to go to Kashmir and therefore went to Chandani. I sent the old lady with a person to Kashmir while I stayed with my pregnant wife at Chandani in the Jammu territory. Madho Rao Brahman was with me from Pushkar. He had fallen ill at Mandal and I reached Purmandal from Chandani to take him with me. Then I took Madho Rao with me for the purchase of a buffalo at Jammu and thence we went to Sialkot where we bought a buffalo and some other things and returned to Chandani. I used to go to the new temple for worship frequently. There Bhim Rao who was with Tayta Tope came in the guise of a mendicant and recognised me although I could not recognise him. When I

came outside the temple and was about to ride my horse he accosted me thus, "I have tasted your salt. Now, after wandering about, I have come to you". He stayed with me for 1½ months at Chandani and then said to me, "I am also a rebel but as the rebellion has subsided, rebels are no more brought to book. I shall therefore go home". I bade him farewell and gave him Rs. 25/-. Two months or two and a half months after he took the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot and got me captured at Chandani.

Question—You have made a mention of the General's *Parwana*. State what conditions were offered by the government and what by you ?

Answer—The General wrote that my life would be spared and my honour respected by not being fettered.

Question—Did he write specifically in what cases would your life be spared ?

Answer—He did not specify the cases.

Question—What were your conditions ?

Answer—The first condition was that the property of my followers and also my own should not be confiscated; I should be given a place to reside on the bank of the Ganges, from Benares to Hardwar, somewhere. Other conditions are not now in my memory. Although I do not exactly remember, still, I think the *Parwana* also stipulated the condition that if I did not present myself within 12 hours I would be considered culpable and that was why I feared to appear (before him).

Question—Did you ever go to Hyderabad Deccan ?

Answer—I had never been there.

Question—A person in Hyderabad fictitiously called himself Rao Saheb and tried to create bad feelings against the English in the army. Do you know who he was ?

Answer—I do not know the man.

Question—You have deposed that the Toll Tax Collector was murdered. Did you see him with your own eyes ?

Answer—When the army reached Chobey Pur I heard from my servant that they had an English gentleman and a lady. These persons were with the army at Bangla Bagh. I said to Abha Dhanuk Dhari, "The Englishman and the lady will experience inconvenience with the people of the army. Hand them over to me and I shall keep them". Abha Dhanuk Dhari called them from the army and sent them to my place. When they arrived I was taking my meals. I saw them through

an aperture in the drain and ordered that they should be lodged in the other house. Third or fourth day, after, the soldiers of the place to which the Englishman and the lady belonged came to my place and forcibly took the Englishman and the lady from our men. After four or five days I heard that the Englishman was killed by the soldiers but I do not know under whose orders he was put to death. I had kept them for 3 days with the intention of sending them over to the Government and thus getting some good out of it. The yard in which I had quartered them was about 40 paces from my residence. The soldiers first killed the Englishman only and left the lady, but some days after they put her also to death. I do not know why they did not put the lady to death at first.

Question—Who were the soldiers you kept as guards on the Englishman and the lady for those 3 days ?

Answer—I do not know their names.

Question—Is the statement you gave before the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot on May 8 and that was just read out to you, all correct ?

Answer—Yes. It is mine and is quite correct.

Question—You have stated above that you had no powers. Now, if it is true that you had no power over the army, how could you take the Englishman and the lady from their hands ?

Answer—I did not take them by exercising my power but by entreaty, from Abha Dhanuk Dhari.

Question—You have stated in your deposition at Sialkot, just now attested by you, that Bhim Rao, the spy was imprisoned by your order. If you had no authority, how was Bhim Rao put into captivity ?

Answer—I had no powers. Every one agrees to a right thing said by a person of status. I had said a right thing as an independent person and consequently Bhim Rao was taken captive.

Question—Do you have any witnesses to support your statement ?

Answer—I have no witnesses.

Signatures in Hindi

(Illegible)

*Signatures in English.*¹

¹ "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Govt. vs. Rao Saheb*". Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

**PANDURANG RAO'S (RAO SAHEB) DEPOSITION IN THE
COURT OF THE MAGISTRATE, KANPUR, DATED
JULY 4, 1862. (NOT ON OATH).**

My father's name is Sada Sewak, Deccani Brahman by caste. My age is 35 years. My profession is *Riyasat* (Ruling class) and my residence is Bithoor.

Question—You have been charged with the crime of being a leader of the rebels of 1857 and for having fought against the government as the leader of the rebel troops. What have you to say to this ?

Answer—I was neither a rebel nor a leader of the rebels and never fought against the Government. The real state of affairs is this:—During the Mutiny of 1857, I was working at Bithoor. Nana left me at Bithoor with the instructions, "If a critical moment overtakes, you will shift away with ladies and children to any place you choose, at the time I send a message to you". My name, at first, was Sita Ram but Baji Rao adopted me as his son and changed my name as Pandurang Rao. The servants and other people called me 'Rao Saheb'. When he adopted me, I received at first no allowance but I was being brought up like real sons. At Baji Rao's death Nana became the head of the family and he treated me as before. He let my boarding and lodging arrangements remain as before, but allowed Rs. 200/- p. m. extra for my monthly expenses. Still he granted me no allowance (salary). During the Mutiny, I continued to receive these Rs. 200/- p. m. When Nana Rao and Bala Rao had fled from Kanpur to Bithoor, Bala Rao had a bullet wound. Nana, accompanied by all the ladies and myself, went to Patkapur¹ and there we crossed the river by small boats. We stayed on the other side of the river in a court-yard built by the Nana. The next day, Jessa Singh and Bhopal Singh heard about us and reached there, took us to Fatehpur Chaurasi and kept us in Bhopal Singh's house. Some days after, elephants and vehicles were sent by the Begam from Lucknow, and they took all of us there. (Then the deponent amended his statement and said that): Nana sent only the ladies to Lucknow and Tatya Tope, Nana, Bala Rao and myself remained at Fatehpur Chaurasi. After this Bala Rao went to

¹ A Mohalla in Kanpur city.

Delhi, Nana to Lucknow and Tatyā to Morar. But I stayed at Fatehpur Chaurasi. Then Bala Rao fled from Delhi and reached Fatehpur and *Nana also sent the ladies back from Lucknow to Fatehpur. Nana stayed at Lucknow and afterwards himself came back to Fatehpur after some days.* Tatyā Tope brought the army from Morar and came upon Kalpi. Bala Rao left Fatehpur and reached Tatyā Tope at Kalpi.

Sheorajpur¹ and Bilhore² are in the Dewar territory. At the same time Jwala Prasad, the *Karinda* of Nana Saheb came to realise the dues. He made his entrenchments somewhere in the *Ilāqa* of Sheorajpur or Bilhore. When Tatyā Tope and Bala Rao crossed at Kalpi and came close to Akbarpur, they called Jwala Prasad to themselves and Nana sent me for realisation of dues to Sheorajpur and Bilhore in *Pargana* Dewar. He also sent (a) Company of troops (Johnstone's) with me for my protection.

Question—If you were appointed to realise dues from Parganas Sheorajpur and Bilhore, Dewar, why were these men posted for your protection ?

*Answer—*Nana feared that I, the deponent, might slip away to some place in *Rajwarah* and therefore he posted the Company of troops.

*Question—*Were these men under you or not ?

*Answer—*They were under me but they did not leave me and did not go to distant places even if I ordered. I was close to *Garhi* which is near Sheorajpur, when at dawn I received a *Parwanah* of call from Bala Rao. I left the place and saw Bala Rao the same evening at the bridge on the Bhawanti. Then I remained with him till he fled from Kanpur. Both of us crossed the Ganges at Birwa Ghat. The same day Bala Rao joined Nana and I stayed at Naubat Ganj and Jwala Prasad and Tatyā Tope were with me. Tatyā Tope crossed on

¹ *Shivarajpur*—Tahsil of *Cawnpore* district, *United Provinces*, coterminous with the pargana of the same name, lying along the Ganges between 26° 31' and 26° 46' N. and 79° 35' and 80° 12' E., with an area of 276 square miles. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, 1908, p. 293).

² *Bilhaur Town*—Head-quarters of the tahsil of the same name in *Cawnpore* district, *United Provinces*, situated in 26° 50' N. and 80° 4' E., on the Grand Trunk road, and on *Cawnpore-Achhnera* Railway. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VIII, 1908, p. 236).

this side and went to Kalpi and Jwala Prasad took me to Nana at Aura Maoo.

Question—Jwala Prasad was simply a sowar or horseman in the army who used to move about among the clerks of the *Thana* and *Tahsildari*. How was it that he got the honour of bringing a person like you to Nana ?

Answer—In the days of my grand-father, Jwala Prasad was simply a soldier drawing Rs. 6/-. Nana made Jwala Prasad a *Risaldar* after Peshwa's death. During the rebellion Tatya Tope and Bala Rao were masters of the entire army and so was Jwala Prasad. His influence was over-weening and even if I had objected, nobody was prepared to pay any heed. Jwala Prasad and myself came to Nana at Aura Maoo. The same day Bala Rao, after the finalization of all things accompanied the ladies from Aura Maoo to *Mauza* Birwa Thora. He took all the property with himself. Nana took me to Bhagwat Nagar with the intention of going to Kalpi. There we stayed in the country-side bordering the Ganges with the intention of crossing the river. During this period Nana received a letter from Tatya Tope asking him (Nana) to reach at once, and another from the ladies complaining that they had been put to much trouble by Bala Rao. Nana instantly sent Gauri Shankar, a high Military Officer, who had taken flight from Delhi, with 400 Horsemen and Foot-soldiers with me to Tatya Tope.

Question—Why did Nana send you to Tatya Tope ?

Answer—I do not know. He simply ordered me to report myself to Tatya Tope at Kalpi. I reached Kalpi and stayed there for about 3 months.

Question—What announcement was made at Kalpi when you reached there ?

Answer—When I reached Kalpi nothing about my arrival was announced.

Question—Was a mendicant hanged at Kalpi ?

Answer—I do not know.

Question—What was the strength of the army when you reached Kalpi and what strength was retained there for 3 months ?

Answer—There was a large army of about 2,000 or 3,000 but I do not know the exact strength.

Question—To which *Paltan* did this belong ?

Answer—It belonged to *Paltan* Morar and *Paltan* Gaytri

and to one more *Paltan* the name of which is not known to me. When Nawab Banda fled and stayed at Kalpi, he had one *Risala* and two or three hundred *Tilangas*.

Question—Was someone, suspected of spying, killed at Kalpi ?

Answer—At Kalpi all those, who were killed, were put to death at the hands of one Chatta Singh, an officer of Morar army, and by the order of Tatya Tope. When the fighting at Jhansi took place, Tatya Tope went there to help the Rani. He went *via* Charkhari while I stayed at Kalpi. *Tatya Tope was defeated by the English army at Jhansi and therefrom came back to Kalpi.* The mother of the Nawab of Banda wrote a letter inviting me to Banda. With Tatya Tope's permission I left for Banda and had gone a *koss* from Kalpi when I met Nawab Banda and his mother who, I learnt, had fled from Banda.

Question—You have just said that you were entrusted with no duties at Kalpi. Why did the mother of the Nawab of Banda call you in case you held no office ?

Answer—Nawab Banda was my kinsman and his mother for many years had cherished the desire of meeting all the members of my family; because I was near at Kalpi, she called me. Then the Nawab of Banda stayed at this place for 3 or 4 days and, after this, sent all the members of his family to Kalpi. I stayed there with the Nawab and after eight days I reached Kalpi with the Nawab. After this Tatya Tope marched again and faced the English army. He was defeated at Koonch and came flying to us. Seven or eight days after the English army came to Kalpi, and from there Tatya Tope, Nawab of Banda and myself went to Gwalior side and stayed 3 *kos* on this side of Gwalior. He encamped at a distance of 3 *kos* on this side of Gwalior. The same day a Deccani person was sent by the Raja of Gwalior to Tatya Tope with the message that he would arrange supplies for him but that he should not come to Gwalior. The next morning, the Raja's army reached this place and fought Tatya Tope's troops. A large part of his army fled but the Nawab's *Risala* attacked the Raja's army on the flank and put it to flight. *The whole soldiery of the Raja joined Tatya Tope.* The Rajah of Gwalior fled from Gwalior to Agra. Tatya Tope, Rani Jhansi, Nawab Banda and myself now entered Gwalior. After a fort-night, the English army attacked Gwalior from two sides. The Rani was killed with the sword a day before our flight and Tatya Tope, Nawab

Banda and myself accompanied by some army fled and halted at a place 13 or 14 *Kos* from Gwalior. Two or three days after, the English army together with some of the Raja's troops got to this place as well. We fought and again fled to a place 10 miles off. All our field-pieces were captured by the English. Then we reached the territory of Jeypur¹ through the forest, then went to Bondi² and after this reached Rampur in the Holkar territory. Then we went to Jhala Patan³. Then Mussulmans of Patan, may be *Wilayatis* (foreigners) or of any descent, came to us 10 *Kos* from Patan and took us together with our army to Patan. The Raja of Patan did not give us supplies. We fought him and his army came over to our side. Taty Tope made the Raja captive and brought him to me. Then he suggested to me, "I shall use harsh words and you should use gentle language to the Raja so that he may yield money".

¹ *Jaipur State*—State in the north-east and east of *Rajputana*, lying between 25° 41' and 28° 34' N. and 74° 41' and 77° 13' E. It is bounded on the north by Bikaner, Loharu, and Patiala, while its detached district of Kot Kasim adjoins the Rewari tahsil of Gurgaon district and the State of Nabha; on the west by Bikaner, Jodhpur, Kishangarh, and the British District of Ajmer; on the south by Udaipur, Bundi, Tonk, Kotah and Gwalior; and on the east by Karauli, Bharatpur, and Alwar. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII, 1908, p. 382).

Jaipur City (Jainagar)—Capital or the State of *Jaipur* in *Rajputana*, and also headquarters of the Sewai Jaipur Nizamat, situated in 26° 25' N. and 75° 50' E., on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway and the Agra-Ajmer trunk road. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII, 1908, p. 399).

² *Bundi State*—Native State in the south-east of *Rajputana* lying between 25° and 26' N. and 75° 15' and 76° 19' E. It is bounded on the north by Jaipur and Tonk; on the west by Udaipur; and on the south and east by Kotah. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IX, 1908, p. 77).

Bundi Town—Capital of the State of the same name in *Rajputana*, situated in 25° 27' N. and 75° 39' E., about 100 miles south-east of Ajmer city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IX, 1908, p. 87).

³ *Jhalrapatan Chkhaoni* (or Cantonment)—Chief town and official capital of the state of *Jhalawar*, *Rajputana*, situated in 24° 36' N. and 76° 10' E., on a rising stretch of rocky ground over 1,000 feet above the sea, between the fort of Gagraun (in Kotah) and the town of Jhalrapatan. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIX, 1908, p. 122).

Jhalrapatan Town (Locally called Patan)—Headquarters of the Patan tahsil and the commercial capital of the state of *Jhalawar*, *Rajputana*, situated in 24° 32' N. and 76° 10' E., at the foot of a low range of hills and on the left bank of a stream known as the Chandrabhaga. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 123).

The Raja promised to give a few lacs and Tatya Tope sent him home under the escort of the army. In two or three days the Raja first gave us some money but then he fled away by winning over the people of the army. His family still remained there. His *Karindas* arranged with the money-lenders and supplied us the money. Now we marched out of Patan accompanied by horses, elephants and baggage. Then two battles, one at Bilwara (Bhilwara) and another at Kotwara were fought against the English by Tatya Tope. I do not remember if these two battles were fought before the fight at Patan or after it. From Patan we came to Rajgarh and thence to Biawara (or Bilwara). On the way there was a battle with the English army and they captured all the field-pieces Tatya Tope had. Thence we fled to Sironj where we stayed for eight days and then went to Isagarh. Tatya Tope fought the army of the Raja of Gwalior at this place. His army broke open the door of the boundary wall of the town, made entry in and plundered. The next day Tatya Tope left Isagarh and marched out to Chanderi where he fought the army of the Raja of Gwalior. He ordered me to go to Bundelkhand with the ladies and to stay there. We reached Lalitpur from Saugor and a battle took place at Khajauri¹. Tatya Tope fled with his army once again, Nawab Banda, Tatya Tope and myself again came to the side of Sironj and 10 *Kos* away Sironj there was another battle. Tatya Tope and myself again took to flight. Nawab Banda, Tatya Tope and myself then crossed the Nerbadda and reached Fatehpur. Then we reached the bridge of the Pali river through the forest. *Now the Nawab of Banda wanted to present himself before the English, but the officers of the army intervened. Then he deserted us and presented himself before the English.* Now Tatya Tope and myself came from Khargon² to Indore. There 200 horsemen came over to Tatya Tope's side and, while yet on the way, we fought the English army. The next day, we crossed the Nerbadda and marched towards Baroda.

¹ Apparently *Khajuri*—Thakurat in the *Bhopal Agency, Central India* (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV, p. 220). Area one square mile (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VIII, 1908, p. 125).

² *Khargon*—Headquarters of the *Nimar* district, *Indore State, Central India*, situated in 21° 50' N. and 75° 37' E., on the left bank of the Kundi river, a tributary of the Narbada. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV, 1908, p. 251).

Tatya Tope fled from this place to Banswara and plundered some chattels there. Then another engagement with the English army took place at Partabgarh and Tatya Tope fled. Fourth day, after, there was again a battle against the English army and Tatya Tope fled. Four or five days after we crossed the Chanbel (Chambal), and reached near a fort in the Jeypur territory. *Now we met Firoz Shah and Tatya Tope. Firoz Shah and myself came to Jeypur territory where we again faced the English army.* Then we came flying to Dhousa. There was again a battle with the English. One night Tatya Tope left us, un-informed, with half of the army and since then we have not met. *I said to Firoz Shah that we might present ourselves before the English if he so wished;* and he consented. Then we both came towards Sironj. Firoz Shah said that he had sent his *Vakil* for establishing good relations with the English. Then I sent my servant Mohd. Ishaq as a *Vakil* to the General at Sironj, with a verbal request of presenting myself. The General sent a *Parwanah* to me asking me to go to him and that would not be detrimental to me. Several times I made up my mind to do so but the people of my army did not let me do it. *The Parwanah is no more with me; it has been lost.* The people of the army did not allow me to draft the reply in (the) manner I wished, rather they sent one against my intentions. The next day Mohd. Ishaq who was sent to deliver the reply came back and told me that my request was not conceded to by the *Sarkar* and that the General had ordered that I should present myself (before him) within a period of 10 hours. But the people of the army did not allow me to present myself there. The next half of the army left me but about 200 or 300 men were still present. Next day I took 10 or 12 of my chief men with me and left the army. After this, they also dropped on the way and only three persons remained (with me) namely Umrao Mussulman, Ganesh Brahman and Pokar Ahir, my personal servant. I wandered about, disguised as a mendicant, in the territories of Gwalior and Tonk. Then in that jungle, Umrao Mussulman and a few days after Ganesh Brahman also, left me. Umrao Mussulman brought my wife and her old mother to me in the jungle. Now, considering my stay in the forest improper, I came to Pushkar¹ near Ajmer.

¹ *Pushkar*—Town, Lake, and place of Pilgrimage in *Ajmer* District,

After this, we reached Thaneshwar¹ *via* Ajmer, Jeypur and Delhi. I had adopted the name of Lachhman Das Pandit. For 15 days we stayed at Thaneshwar then we went to Jwalaji, from there to Kangra², and then to Pur Mandal, Soodh and Mahadeo in the Jammu territory and then to Tirkata. I had a mind to go to Kashmir and therefore went to Chandenee. I sent the old lady along with a man to Kashmir and I with my pregnant wife still remained at Chandenee in the Jammu territory. Madho Rao Brahman accompanied me from Pushkar but he fell ill at Pur Mandal. I came from Chandenee to Pur Mandal to take him. Then I and Madho Rao reached Jammu to buy a buffalo. Thence we reached Sialkot, bought a buffalo and returned to Chandenee. The new temple is $1\frac{1}{2}$ Kos from Chandenee where I used to go for worship frequently. Here Bhim Rao who was with Taty Tope met me in the guise of a mendicant. He recognised me although I did not. When I came out of the temple and was going to ride my horse, he accosted me thus, "I am your old slave who had tasted your salt. Now I have come to you after much wandering about". He stayed with me for $1\frac{1}{2}$ months at Chandenee and then said, "I am a rebel, but as rebellion has subsided, rebels are no more being brought to account. I shall, therefore, now go to my home". Two or two and a half

Rajputana, situated in $26^{\circ} 29'$ N. and $74^{\circ} 33'$ E. 2,389 feet above sea-level. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 1).

¹ *Thanesar Town (Thaneswar)*—Headquarters of the tahsil of the same name in *Karnal* district, *Punjab*, situated in $29^{\circ} 59'$ N. and $76^{\circ} 50'$ E., on the banks of the Saraswati, and on the Delhi-Umballa-Kalka Railway. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, 1908, p. 305).

² *Kangra District*—North-easternmost district of the *Jullundur Division*, *Punjab*, lying between $30^{\circ} 21'$ and $32^{\circ} 59'$ N. and $75^{\circ} 37'$ and $78^{\circ} 42'$ E., with an estimated area of 9,978 square miles. It is bounded on the north-west by Chamba State; on the north by Kashmir territory; on the east by Tibet; on the south-east by Bashahr State; on the south by the Kotgarh villages of Simla district, and by the States of Kumharsain, Sangri, Suket, Mandi, and Bilaspur; on the south-west by the District of Hoshiarpur; and on the west by Gurdaspur. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 380).

Kangra Town—(*Nagarkot* or *Kot Kangra*)—Town in *Kangra* district, *Punjab*, formerly the headquarters of the district and still the headquarters of the *Kangra* tahsil, situated in $30^{\circ} 5'$ N. and $76^{\circ} 16'$ E. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 397).

months after this Bhim Rao came with the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot and took me captive.

Question—You have mentioned about the General's *Parwana*. Clearly say what were your terms and what terms were offered by the Government ?

Answer—He had said that my life would be spared and I would not be fettered and thus my honour would be safeguarded.

Question—Did he not write, in which cases ?

Answer—No.

Question—What were your terms ?

Answer—The first condition was that the property of my followers including my own should not be forfeited and that somewhere between Benares and Hardwar I should get an open place on the bank of the Ganges for my residence. Other things I do not remember. Although, I do not fully recollect other details, still I think the *Parwana* said that in case I did not present myself I would be considered guilty. This frightened me and so I did not surrender.

Question—Did you ever go to Hyderabad Deccan ?

Answer—Never.

Question—A certain person in Hyderabad wanted to create trouble in the army in order to put it to flight. Do you know who he was ?

Answer—I do not know who he was.

Question—Is the deposition, just read out to you, and made by you before the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot, correct ?

Answer—Yes, it is so. I gave this deposition.

Question—You said you had no power, but you also said that you kept the (English) gentleman and his wife in your protection. If you had no power over the army, how did you take them from the army ?

Answer—I did not take them by force but entreated Abha Dhanuk Dhari to hand them over to me.

Question—You have got it written in your deposition, acknowledged by you just now, that the spy, Bhim Rao was taken captive at your suggestion. If you had no authority how was Bhim Rao imprisoned ?

Answer—I had no authority, but everyone agrees to a good thing said by a person of note. I had said a right thing independently and so Bhim Rao was taken captive.

Question—Do you have a witness for anything ?

Answer—None.

Question—Your deposition has been read before you word by word and you have acknowledged it. Now, what answer do you have for being a rebel leader ?

Answer—I am neither a rebel nor a rebel leader.

Question—If you were not a leader how did you recruit the army ?

Answer—I did not recruit any army.

Question—If you were not a rebel why did you accompany the army for an attack on Kanpur and fought (*sic*,) the English ?

Answer—Just as Bala Rao had kept me at Fatehpur Chaurasi so Nana Rao also kept me with himself. I had no power independently.

Question—If you were not a rebel leader, why was an announcement made in your name at Kalpi ?

Answer—All announcements used to be made by Nana's name. Bala Rao was not at Kalpi and I was alone. Tatya Tope was there with me. The announcement was not made in my name. Tatya Tope was the commander of the army, stationed both outside and inside the fort. I was staying in the open outside the fort. I know nothing about the mendicant's being hanged nor do I know who did it and when. I also do not know about the fine imposed on the people at Kalpi.

Question—If you were not a rebel why were you there with Firoz Shah ?

Answer—When Tatya Tope left me I thought it was in my power to join the English but I had no friend or acquaintance to introduce me. If I alone would join I would be killed. Therefore, first I sent my *Vakil*, Mohd. Ishaq to the General. I could not present myself before the English because I was in Tatya Tope's captivity.

Question—Once you alone took an army to Jalaun and then once to Lalitpur and fought the English. Why did you do so if you were not a rebel and only a captive in Tatya Tope's hands ?

Answer—I did not fight in Jalaun nor (*sic*, or) in Lalitpur.

Question—You have said above in your deposition that the Nawab of Banda segregated himself and joined the English. Could you not act the same way, if you were not a rebel ?

Answer—I could not avail of an opportunity; the Nawab of Banda had a large number of females with him and on this pretext he stayed behind and thus availed of an opportunity

to join the English. I was all alone and could find no pretext.

Question—Who has a better opportunity of segregating himself, one who has females with him or one who is all alone like you ?

Answer—The Nawab of Banda had a reason for staying behind while I had none. The army had already marched forward and the Nawab being left behind, he went over to the English.

Question—You have said above in your deposition that Tatya Tope brought the Raja of Pain (*sic*, 'Patan') captive before you and asked you, in order to squeeze money from him, to use gentle words for him and himself to address him in harsh tone. This shows that Tatya Tope and yourself were one in all matters and you and Tatya Tope exacted fine from the Raja.

Answer—I did not take any fine from the Raja, only Tatya Tope did so. I had to do what Tatya Tope asked me to do. It was Tatya Tope who asked me to do this, and not I who had asked Tatya Tope.

Question—The Commissioner of Jhansi has stated in the Narrative of Events of that district that in October 58 (1858), 1,000 men came down upon the Jhansi territory, under Rao Saheb, plundered some villages, killed a large number of those who had been in the service of the English, amputated and cut off the noses of many and deformed them and then crossed the Bindha (or Bindua) river at Sirsa Ghat.

Answer—I had seen a bungalow on fire at a distance of about 10 *Kos* from Jhansi. It was government bungalow but I do not know what it was built for. The people of the army had set fire to it. I do not know what else they had done. The Nawab of Banda and myself were there with the army but Tatya Tope was not there although other officers of the army were there.

Question—Who was the chief of the army that accompanied you ?

Answer—Gauri Shankar and Imam Ali were the officers of the army. I had not (*sic*, no) authority and simply accompanied the army whenever it moved.

Question—(Deputy Saheb)—If you were not a rebel why did you cross the river Bindua, go to Lalitpur with the army and join Tatya Tope who had brought an army from the side of the South—Deccan, and then stayed together at Lalitpur ?

Answer—As I was under the authority of Tatya Tope and of the army, I had to go wherever the army went.

Question—From the Commissioner's deposition it is learnt that you fought a battle with General Mitchel at Sidhwaya where you were defeated and from where you went to Bhopal via Saugor (Sagar). What have you to say about this ?

Answer—The army was staying at a place between Saugor and Sironj. The news of the coming of the English troops from the Saugor side was received in the night and therefore our army marched out at midnight. Half of the army had proceeded on, and the remaining half was still left. This faced the English troops with the result that it took to flight. I was with the first half which had already left and this also took to flight.

Question—From the depositions of the witnesses, attested to-day in your presence, it has been learnt that you were an accomplice of the rebels and of their leaders and it was known to all the people of Jhansi and Lalitpur (where this army marched and where this gentleman was the Commissioner) that you were the chief of the army. Why was Tatya Tope or Nana Rao not known as the leaders of this army ?

Answer—Bala Rao and Tatya Tope were the masters of the army and not I. As there are many of my kinsmen in the Deccan side, this may be a reason why I became known as a leader.

Question—Bhim Rao, the man who got you captured, also says you were a leader.

Answer—He tells a lie; I can't say why.

Question—Do you have any witnesses in support of this ?

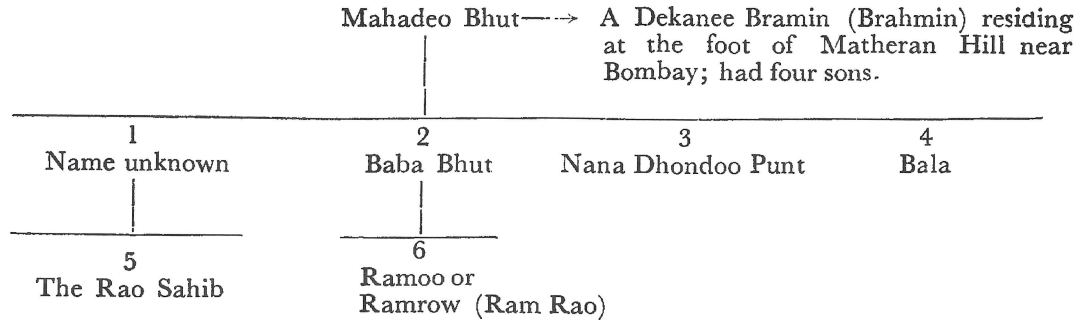
Answer—There were many in the army. But now I have none.

Signatures (Illegible in Hindi)
Signatures (Illegible in English).¹

¹ "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Govt. vs. Rao Saheb*". Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

APPENDIX I

GENEALOGY OF RAO SAHEB



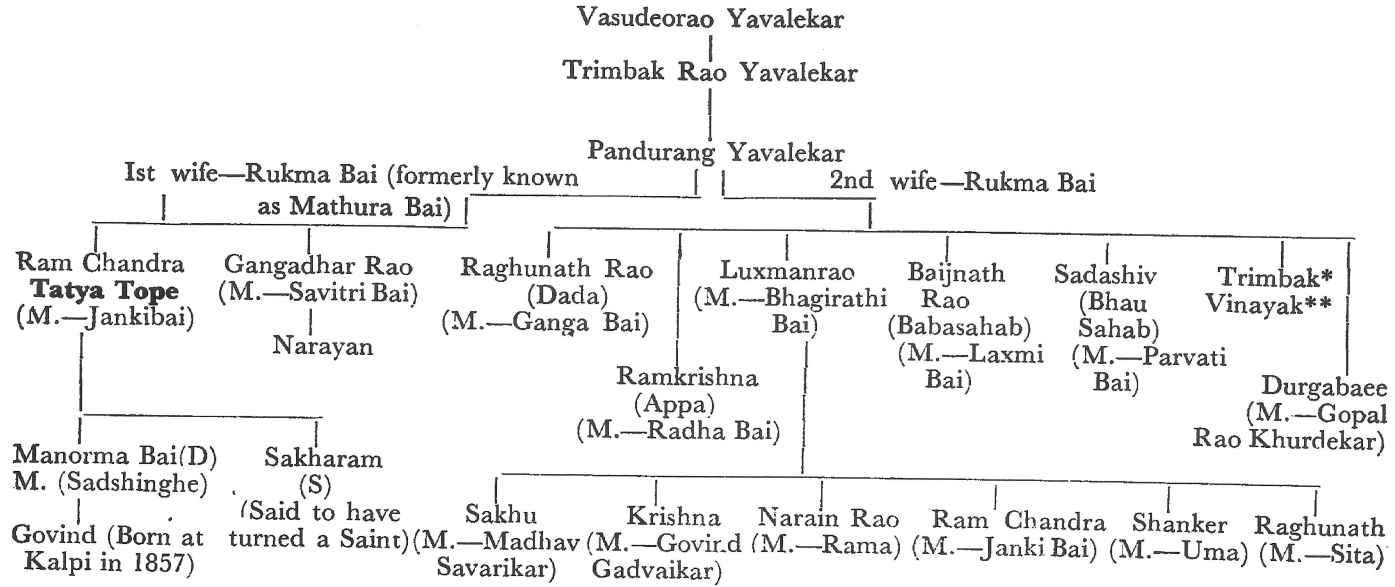
Remarks—

1. Died long before the Mutiny of 1857.
2. Was engaged in massacre at Cawnpore but is now dead.
3. Reported dead, but supposed by many to be alive.
4. Dead.
5. Dead.
6. My prisoner—who admits he is a Dekhany Bramin and about 30 or 32 years old; he looks that age, answers to the description on roll, except that his eyes are very dark brown not black.

Sd/—*Illegible*
Magistrate.¹

¹ Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*, File relating to Rao Sahib and Ramoo or Ramrow. 1864.

APPENDIX II
GENEALOGY OF TATYA TOPE

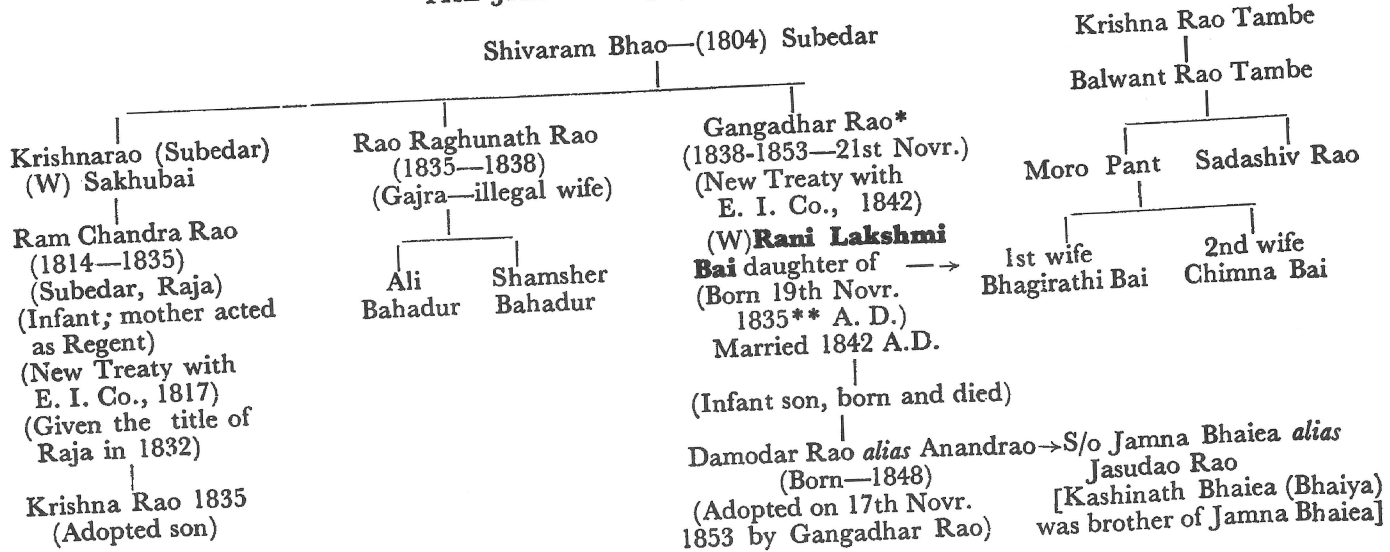


**Vide Permit issued in the name of Ramkrishna Pandurang Tope and other members of Tatya's Family. "Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India", Vol. I, 1818-1885. Bombay 1957. And information supplied by Sri Narain Rao Tope of Bithoor, and from various Marathi sources through the courtesy of Sri S. B. Hardikar, Kanpur.

*According to Sri Narayan Rao 'Vinayak'.

APPENDIX III

THE JHANSI RAJ (Genealogical Table)



* Other Rivals (i) Krishna Rao—adopted son of Ram Chandra Rao:—(ii) Ali Bahadur illegitimate child of Raghunath Rao (iii) Wife of Raghunath Rao.

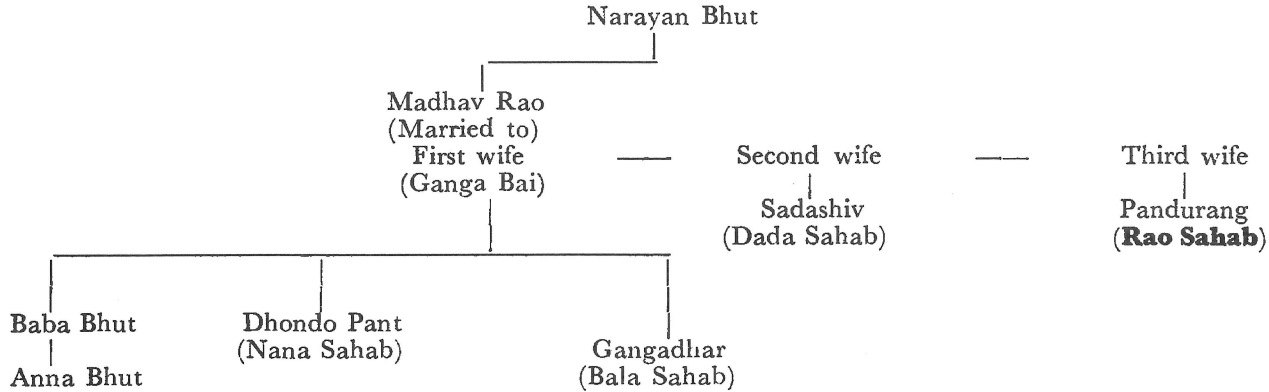
W—Stands for wife.

** Vide S. N. Sen : “*Eighteen Fifty Seven*”, Pp. 269-70.

Source:—1—Parasnis : “*Maharani Luxmee Bai*”. 2—“San 1857” by Prof. Narayan Keshav Behre and other Marathi writers through the courtesy of Sri S. B. Hardikar, Kanpur.

APPENDIX IV

THE FAMILY CHART OF BHAT FAMILY TO WHICH **RAO SAHEB** ORIGINALLY BELONGED



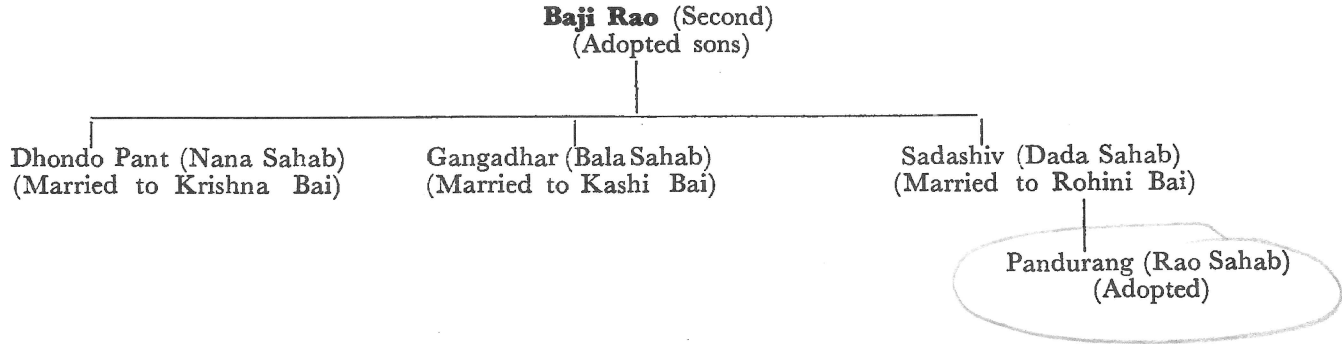
Explanation:—

1. Narayan Bhut's son Madhav Rao married three wives.
2. His first wife was Ganga Bai, who was the mother of three sons namely, Baba Bhut, Dhondo Pant and Gangadhar, the latter two, respectively known as Nana Sahab and Bala Sahab.
3. His second wife was the mother of Sadashiv known as Dada Sahab.
4. His third wife was the mother of Pandurang known as Rao Sahab.¹

¹ Source : Prepared, from original sources in Marathi language, by Sri S. B. Hardikar, Kanpur.

APPENDIX V

FAMILY CHART OF THE LAST PESHWA BAJI RAO



N. B. Thus Rao Sahab originally was the youngest step-brother of Nana Sahab, Bala Sahab and Dada Sahab, but after adoption the first two were his adopted uncles and Dada Sahab who died before adoption was his adopted father.¹

¹ Source : Articles by R. M. Athawale and other Marathi writers through the courtesy of Sri S. B. Hardikar, Kanpur.

MEMORANDUM

FAMILY OF NANA SAHEB

Mahadeo Bhut, a Dekhany Brahmin, residing at Fort of Matheran hill, near Bombay; had three sons, viz. 1st, Baba Bhut; 2nd, Nana Dhondoo; 3rd, Bala; and two daughters viz. Mutrah (Mathura) Bae and Shyama Bae. All these children were adopted by Bajee Rao, with the exception of the eldest Baba Bhut.

The principal perpetrators of the Massacre at Cawnpore besides Nana were:—

1. Baba Bhut—the eldest Brother.
2. Bala, youngest Brother, who is said to have carried into effect with fiendish delight, Nana's order of the massacre on 15th July, 1857.
3. Jowala Pershad—whom Nana made Brigadier.
4. Ajim-ool-lah (the son of an Ayah), who was appointed Collector of Cawnpore by Nana. This man was taught English in Cawnpore school, and was sent to England and the Continent by Nana; he was most conspicuous in seizing Europeans after the surrender of General Wheeler.

All these, enumerated in the list were present at the massacre at the Ghat on the 27th June 1857.¹

¹ U. P. Govt. Civil Secretariat : N. W. P. Proceedings, Political Department to June 1864. 30th January 1864 Part I, Political Department A, p. 19 : Index No. 17. Proceeding No, 72 dated July 4, 1863.

APPENDIX VII

"DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF NANA RAO, HIS FAMILY AND ATTENDANTS".

Name	Caste	Age	Comple-xion	Stature and personal appearance	Form of Face	Form of Nose	Form of Eyes	Teeth	Marks on Breast	Marks on Face	Color of Hair	Ring marks on Ears	Remarks
Nana Rao Dhondhoopunt	Dekhany Brahmin	Yrs. 36 in 1858	Fair	5 feet 6 inches, powerful appearance and stout	Flat and round	Strai-ght and well-shaped	Large round eyed	Regular	Covered with hair	—	Black	Yes	Has the features of a Mahratta strongly depicted; on one of his toes has a lancet mark, and at present by wearing a beard, he presents a Mahomedan appearance. A servant with a cut-ear never leaves his side.
Bala	Ditto	Yrs. 28	Black	Tall and lean	Long	Crooked	Round	No front teeth	Covered with little hair	Pock-marked	Ditto	Ditto	Has a shot mark on his breast; and, by wear- ing a beard presents a Mahomedan appear- ance.
Pandurang Rao	Ditto	30	Fair	Ditto	Ditto	Long thick	Large				Ditto	Ditto	Has a high forehead and marks of leprosy are beginning to appear; he also presents a Mahomedan appearance.
Naroo Punt Bala Bhut	Ditto	55	Yellow	Tall & well-made	—	Ditto	Small	Large	Few gray hairs on breast	—	Gray and very little left	Ditto	
Sodashew Punt Oodhir	Ditto	55	Black	Short & square built	Broad	Large	Round	Regular	—	—	—	Ditto	Uses his left hand as well as his right.
Jowala Pershad (Brigadier)	Brahmin of Kanouj—two marches from Cawnpore	40	—	Tall & slight	Long	Long & thin	—	—	—	Pock-marked	—	None	Has a nasal voice, and wears locks of hairs; also presents a Mahomedan appearance.
Lalpoorie (Commissary of Ordnance)	Gosaein	50	—	Short and slight	Round	Strai-ght and thick	Large	Small and regular	—	—	—	Ditto	Wears a Mahomedan appearance : his beard is growing.
Allo Dhoopunt	Ditto	26	Fair	Short and stout	Round	Flat	Round	No front teeth			Very little	Yes	Wears a Mahomedan appearance.

Abha Dhanook Dharee (Baxee)	Dekhany Brahmin	60	Fair	Short and fat	Round and heavy	Flat	Brown and small	Nearly all gone	—	—	Very little left	Yes	Wears no whiskers.
Narain Mahratta (Moosahib)	Ditto	42	—	Short	Round	Straight	Brown and large	Regular	—	—	Black	Ditto	Has a sabre wound on the right eye, and is a good-looking man.
Tantia Topee (Captain)	Ditto	42	Black	Middling height and fat	Bloated	Flat	Large	—	Few black hairs on breast	Pock-marked	Ditto	Ditto	The founder of the outbreak at Cawnpore.
Jhoomree Singh (Jemadar)	Brahmin of Kanouj—two marches from Cawnpore	60	—	Short and broad	Round	Heavy	Small	—	None	Ditto	Gray	—	Was an old servant of "Nana" and was made by him Thanadar of Bithoo ; he is now hidden in the house of his son's father-in-law, 10 miles from Etawah, near a village called Mulhouse.
Gungadhur Tantia	Dekhany Brahmin	23	Fair	Short and well-made	Ditto	Long and thin	Brown	Small and fine	None	None	Black	Yes	Is the son of Bappoo Aptia, and grandson of Bappoo Gugolay, his breast is like a woman's.
Rammo Tantia son of Baba Bhut	—	25	Yellow	Middle height and thin	—	Straight	Black	Regular	—	—	Ditto	Ditto	Served under his father during the outbreak.
Azimoolah	Mussulman	—	Yellow	Tall and well-made	—	Flat	—	—	—	—	—	—	Speaks with drawling accent. ¹

¹ U. P. Government Civil Secretariat : N. W. P. Proceedings Political Department : Jan. to June 1864 : 30th January 1864, Part 3, Political Department A, Pp. 19-20 : Index No. 17, Procg. No. 72 dated July 4, 1863.