BABU KUNWAR SINGH

BIOGRAPHY

OF

KUNWAR SINGH

AND

AMAR SINGH

By *By*

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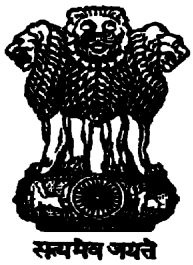

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The Government of Bihar established the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna in 1951 with the object, *inter alia,* to promote historical research, archaeological excavations and investigations, and publication of works of permanent value to scholars. This Institute is one of the five others planned by this Government as a token of their homage to the tradition of learning and scholarship for which ancient Bihar was noted. Apart from the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, five others have been established to give incentive to research and advancement of knowledge,—the Nalanda Institute of Research and Post-Graduate Studies in Buddhist Learning and Pali at Nalanda, the Mithila Institute of Research and Post-Graduate Studies in Sanskrit Learning at Darbhanga, the Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad for Research and advanced Studies in Hindi at Patna, the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Jain and Prakrit Learning at Vaishali and the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Arabic and Persian Learning at Patna.

2. As part of this programme of rehabilitating and reorientating ancient learning and scholarship, the editing and publication of the Tibetan Sanskrit Text Series was first undertaken by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute with the co-operation of scholars in Bihar and outside. It has also started a new series of historical research works for elucidating history and culture of Bihar and India. The Government of Bihar hope to continue to sponsor such projects and trust that this humble service to the world of scholarship and learning would bear fruit in the fulness of time.

PREFACE OF THE GENERAL EDITOR

The Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute was founded by the Government of Bihar in 1951 for the purpose of promoting historical and cultural researches by undertaking explorations and excavations, by editing rare manuscripts preserved in and outside India and by publishing works of permanent historical value embodying researches of scholars. It started its work by undertaking excavations in Kumrahar, whose Quinquennial Report is being printed at present. It has published so far the Pramanavartika-bhashya of Prajnakaragupta and Dharmottarapradipa of Durveka, which were both lost in India. Abhidharmakoshabhashya of Vasubandhu, so far known only from its Chinese translation, is in the press, as also Biography of Chag lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal, a Tibetan pilgrim-scholar, who visited Bihar in 1234-35 a. d.

With the publication of the present book on the Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh, the Institution is beginning its work of publishing books of permanent historical value. It is a happy coincidence that the publication of this work should synchronise with the Centenary Celebrations of the Freedom Movement.

It was about two years ago that the Government of Bihar entrusted the publication of this Biography to the Jayaswal Research Institute. It naturally allotted this task to Dr. K. K. Datta, the well-known historian of the State. The Institute is grateful to him for undertaking this work and finishing it in time, in spite of his multifarious commitments.

Salient facts about the lives of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh were already known to some extent. But the Institute was anxious that the new Biography should be worthy of the occasion and be based upon a study of the available material lying buried deep in Government archives and record offices. It therefore allotted the laborious task of collecting and arranging such material to two of its research fellows, already well trained for the work, viz., Shri Q. Ahmad and Shri J. S. Jha, who worked efficiently and enthusiastically under the able guidance of

Dr. K. K. Datta. They studied the material and collected the necessary extracts not only from the archives in Bihar but also from several places outside the State like Delhi, Allahabad, Gwalior, Calcutta, etc. The Institute is confident that the present work would be found to be utilising most of the important unpublished data available for the reconstruction of the Biography of the two heroes.

The present work is no doubt called Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh ; but it actually covers a wider field. The early history of the family is dealt with in the opening chapter. To write the life of Tilak or Gandhi without referring to the National Movements of 1905-1920, or to the Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements of 1920-22 and 1930-32 is almost impossible. Equally difficult is the task of writing the Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh without referring to the risings in other parts of Bihar. In this Biography Dr. Datta naturally devotes some space to describe the incidents in the movement in Chota Nagpur, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions.

There is considerable controversy about the nature of the 1857-59 movement. Some call it a mutiny of the sepoys, others a revolt of the vested and feudal interests ; while still others think that it was a National Movement for Freedom from foreign rule, overt in some places and concealed in others. Perhaps an impartial critic may conclude that the movement assumed all these aspects in different parts of the country according to the local circumstances. It was certainly not a revolt of the people in the sense of the Quit-India Movement of 1942. It was undoubtedly too early to expect such a movement in 1857. But the movement was more widely based on popular sympathy and co-operation than was the case with the earlier efforts of the Peshwa or the Scindia to liquidate British supremacy. And its grandeur lay in the circumstance that its leading figures like Nanasaheb, the Rani of Jhansi and Kunwar Singh knew full well how heavily the dices were loaded against them and still staked and sacrificed everything for the realisation of their cherished goal.

I am confident that the narrative of Dr. K. K. Datta will be found to be objective and impartial. There can be no doubt that this biography will be found by scholars to be an important addition to the literature on the 1857-59 movement.

The Institute desires to express its indebtedness to the Government of Bihar for the generous manner in which they have financed the publication of this work.

It is grateful to Mr. S. N. Chatterji, Superintendent, Government Press, Bihar, Patna, for expediting the printing, so as to render the publication of the work possible on 15th August 1957.

Patna :

1r/ *August* 1957

A.S.ALTEKAR

Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The Indian Movement of 1857'59 was a gigantic challenge to British political authority in India. It caused immense anxiety and alarm to the Whitehall, to Simla, to Calcutta and to those placed in other centres of British Administration in India. Speaking of it the famous British statesman, Disraeli, observed on the 30th September 1857 : "One of the greatest calamities that ever befell this empire has fallen upon us.....; it is in fact one of those great events which form epochs in the history of mankind.....". It marked, indeed, a turning-point in the history of India and produced momentous consequences, though it was ruthlessly suppressed by the ruling authority.

Bihar played a highly significant role in this great Indian Revolt, with Shahabad as its spearhead, under the inspiring leadership of Kunwar Singh, who was ably assisted by his worthy brother Amar Singh and some other leaders indifferent parts of Bihar. Kunwar Singh was undoubtedly one of the greatest military leaders of India during this Movement, who displayed wonderful valour, courage, military skill and strategy. In spite of heavy odds against him and unwearied by the weight of advanced age, he resisted foreign authority not only in Bihar but also outside its area with grim determination and vigour and got laurels of victory at several places. To inspire a band of followers to fight with him against the growing strength of the British power, possessed of various means of modern warfare, was indeed a great task. A consum mate strategist and a skilled warrior, Kunwar Singh changed his military tactics and movements with great celerity to suit varying circumstances and often baffled the well contrived plans of his enemies to their utter bewilderment.

As a student of history I felt very much interested to study the career of this important personality on the basis of authentic evidence of contemporary original sources of different kinds. The National Archives of India, New Delhi, the State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad, the Record Room of the West Bengal Government in Calcutta and the State Central Records Office, Bihar, and Divisional and District Record Offices in

Bihar have proved to be veritable repositories of many precious records. All these have been comprehensively studied with due and careful scrutiny. Evidences of contemporary literature and popular ballads, etc., have also been carefully incorporated. I owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Dr. S. K. Sinha, the Chief Minister of Bihar, and his Government for all sorts of facilities which they were pleased to afford me in the preparation of this work. I am also profoundly grateful to my esteemed friend Dr. A. S. Altekar, Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, who made some valuable suggestions in the final typescript of the work. My two ex-pupils Shri Jata Shankar Jha, m.a., and Shri Qeyamuddin Ahmad, m.a., now Research Fellows in K. P. Jayaswal Institute, have laid me under heavy obligation by collecting materials from different parts of India, and also in various other ways. But for their assistance, it would have been extremely difficult for me to complete this work in the midst of my various pressing engagements. 1 am obliged to all the Divisional Commissioners, particularly to Shri S. V. Sohoni, i. c. s., to all the District Officers of Bihar and to Shri R. B. Lal, i.a.s., Director of Public Relations, Bihar for the assistance that I myself and my Research Fellows received from them in the matter of utilising their original records. I must also express my obligation to the Director of National Archives of India, New Delhi, to the Keeper of Records, West Bengal, and to the staff of the State Central Records Office, Bihar, particularly Shri Narayan Saran, m.a., and Shri Aditya Prasad Jha, m.a., for their help in studying the records under their custody.

I am conscious of the various imperfections in this work for which I crave the indulgence of my learned readers. Their kind and constructive suggestions will be most gratefully acknowledged and will be incorporated, where necessary, in the subsequent editions of the work.

Patna : K. K. DATTA

1*st August* 1957

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CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE

Brief history of the origin of the Parwar Rajputs and their advent into Shahabad—foundation of Jagdishpur, Udwant Singh, the founder of Jagdishpur family—his immediate successors—Gajraj Singh, Shivraj Singh and Bhupnarayan—disputed successions in the family—Saheb ada Singh and his litigations with Ishree Prasad—Kunwar Singh, Early life and training, fondness for hunting, riding and archery, etc,—marriage and family life.

The origin of the Parmar Rajputs and their advent into Bihar in the early 14th century are inextricably mixed up with legends and mythological accounts and the absence of authentic contemporary accounts renders a scientific study of the subject extremely difficult. There arc, however, a few original sources of information regarding their ancestors, pj The earliest and comparatively trustworthy and valuable source is a Hindi document, probably fragmentary, prepared originally in 1719 V.S. (1662 A. D.) by one Bodh Raj of Pugal, Bikaner, who visited Jagdishpur and collected the local accounts of the various principalities of the Parmars including Bhojpur, Dumraon, and Jagdishpur, which last place he visited during Shahjahan's reign. But this account ends with Gajapati Singh and Dalpat Singh (16th century). Another and a later source is the Udwant Prakash [2], an 18th century work in verse by one MauliKavipJ of village Bajrangpur, district Fatehpur. It contains an account of the Jagdishpur family and was prepared at the instance and under the patronage of its virtual founder, Udawant Singh.

pi Discussed in Prof. 8. H. Askari's article, entitled "Ujjainia Ancestors of Kunwar Singh", *J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XII, Pt. I, 1955.

p] The manuscript copy, dated 1746, was kindly made available to me by Shri Sachchidanand Singh of village Dalippur (Shahabad), a descendant of Dyal Singh, brother of Kunwar Singh.

p] Mauli was the author of two other works, entitled *Uduant Binod* and the *Ban Singh.* He was granted a few villages in *Jagir* by his patron, for preparing the *Udwant Prakash.*

The account, however, has the inherent defects of a work made to order, and is more in the nature of a genealogical list interspersed with poetical hyperboles and exaggeration, than a piece of sober history. Yet another source is the printed official history of the Dumraon Raj, entitled *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia.* It was published in 1898, in four volumes, by Munshi Vinayak Prasad at the instance of Maharaja Radha Prasad of Dumraon. It is primarily concerned with the history of the Dumraon Raj, but has a separate chapter on the Jagdishpur family. Although the author had a vast and varied collection of original records for preparing this history, he did not make a very critical use of them with the result that legends and gossips have been mixed up with historical facts. Moreover, preparing it after the Move ment of 1857-59, t ie author is at pains to establish that the Maharaja of Dumraon had nothing to do with this Movement and glorifies the services rendered by the Maharaja to the English. With all these defects, volume three of the *'Vaivarikh-i-Ujjainia* is one of the very few printed works dealing with the early life and career of Kunwar Singh. A mid-nineteenth century document [*[1]], bearing on the family history of the Jagdishpur Babus, is a letter, dated 10th April, 1858, from Mr. H. G. Madock, officiating Collector, Shahabad, to Mr. E. A. Samuclls, the Commissioner of Patna. It gives a very brief account about the advent of the Parmars into Bihar. But the sources of its information are not indicated. Many of its statements are un corroborated and some definitely wrong. The Collector himself noted : "It is not strictly accurate though sufficient for all prac tical purposes."

The major difficulty in reconstructing the early history of the Parmars out of a comparative study of these above mentioned sources is that there are divergences in the different accounts. Important personages mentioned in one are either not mentioned in the other or put in different periods and under different names.

It is not essential for the purposes of the present book to go into the details of these controversies and to try to reconcile

p] This document was discovered in the Shahabad Collectorato by two Research Fellows of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, Shri J. 8. Jha and Shri Q. Ahmad in the course of their search for materials relating to Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh, and is now preserved in the State Central Archives, Bihar, Patna.

the various contradictory genealogical tables. An attempt is made here to present a brief account of the early history of the Parmars up to the time of Udwant Singh as a sort of background for the history of the subsequent periods. Some of the leading personalities of the dynasty, like Gajpati Singh, Dalpat Singh, Pratap Rudra, and Kunwar Dhir, played significant roles in the history of Bihar, right from the days of Akbar to the time of Muhammad Shah, and are mentioned in the contemporary Persian histories [A] and other documents.

The Parmars trace their descent [*] from the famous and legendary Raja Bhoj of Dhar (Malwa), who was the tenth in descent f3J from the equally famous Raja Vikramaditya of the same dynasty. There are some literary evidences tracing theii descent from Raja Udayaditya, a collateral of Raja Bhoj, who was seventeenth [4] in succession from Raja Vikramaditya. He is said to have revived the ebbing fortunes of the family and to have given a new lease of glory and prosperity to the family centre of Dhar, which he recovered. He had two wives f5], who gave birth to two sons, named Jagdeo and Randhir or Randhi-vola, at about the same time 16J. The former established a sepa rate principality at Baglana in Gujrat, while the descendants of the latter continued to rule over Dhar until they were over thrown by the Khaljis in the beginning of the 14th century. Bhojraj, the younger brother of Mulukdco, the last Parmar ruler of Dhar, emigrated to the Kekat country (modern districts of Gaya and Shahabad), a Cheru principality, and took shelter with the local Cheru Raja, Mukund. This period witnessed the beginning of the long and bitter struggle between the estab lished Cheru principalities in Shahabad, and its neighbouring area, and the Rajputs moving east under pressure of the advancing Muslim forces. The Cherus were an aboriginal tribe of semi-Dravidian origin, who were settled over the greater part of the Shahabad area. After a long and fluctuating struggle,

p] Abul Fazal's *Akbar-namah, Jahangir's Memoirs, Inayelullah's Alumgir-Ramah, Maasir-ul-Umara,* and *Ghulam Hussain's SiyarubMutakherin-*

[2] Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia, **Vol. I, pp. 66-68.**

['] ***Ibid,*** **p. 74.**

[*] ***Ibid,*** **p. 79.**

[*] ***Ibid,*** **p. 80.**

[•] ***Ibid,***

which continued till much later times, the Cherus were finally ousted from the District by the Rajputs, who were often aided in their object by the Muslims. The eastward emigration of Bhojraj into this area and the subsequent conflicts with the Cherus was but a link in the long chain of the migrations and conflicts of this period. Bhojraj was killed by Sahasbal, son and successor of Mulukdeo, who in his turn was killed (1333 A.D.) t[1] by Devraj, son of Bhojraj. The victorious Devraj occupied the Cheru principality and was acclaimed by his compatriots as their head under the title of Santan Singh.

The conquered domain was renamed Bhojpur in honour of the pioneer founder Bhojraj. Santan Singh became the progenitor of the various branches of Parmar Rajputs in Bihar at Bhojpur, Dumraon and Jagdishpur. After they had settled in Bihar, these branches, originally hailing from Dhar and Ujjainia, were designated as Ujjainia Rajputs.

Devraj (Santan Singh) was succeeded in 1343 by Somraj, who died in 1388. Somraj was succeeded by his three sons named Hariraj, Gajraj and Jagdeo, one after another. They were the contemporaries [2] of Khawja Sarwar, entitled Malik-us-Sharq, who had been deputed by Firuz Tughluq in 1393 to rule over the eastern regions from Kanauj to Bihar, and they had sporadic skirmishes with the Muslim forces [3J. Their earliest stronghold was Karwar, [4] which they had to abandon on account of Ibrahim Husain Sharqi's advance, and to withdraw from Bhojpur. They retreated into the neighbouring jungles but carried on a relentless struggle under their new chief Sangramdeva and finally reoccupied Bhojpur after the death of Ibrahim Husain Sharqi. Sangram moved his capital to Dawaf[6]. He died in 1510 V. S. (1453 A. D.) and was succeeded by his son Ishwari Singh.

The cycle of events repeated itself once again. TheUjjainias had to evacuate their new capital at Dawa on the advance of

['] ***Bodhraj's Account.***

['] **For details see Prof. Askari's article in J. B. R. S., Vol. XII, Pt. I, 1955, pp. 106-32.**

[®] ***Bodhraj's Account.***

[*] A village in *Paragana* Danwar, Shahabad District.

['] **A village in *Paragana* Behea, Shahabad District.**

the Sharqi forces. But they reoccupied it later under Onkardeva, who, however, shifted the seat of authority to Bihta. Onkardeva was succeeded by Durlabhdeva in 1545 V.S. (1489 A.D.), who was a contemporary of Jamal Khan Sharangkhani, the Afghan governor of Jaunpur. His death in 1575 ¥.8.(1519 A.D.) was followed by the division of the Ujjainias into a number of mutually hostile and warring groups, represented by his sons, Badal , Sheoram and Mahipal, born of different wives. Badal occupied the *gaddi* (prince's or chief's seat) of Jagdishpur and the other two established themselves at Bihta and Mathila respectively. Out of the tripartite fratricidal struggle Sheoram came out successful for the time being. Badal's wife escaped into the jungles with her two sons Gajpati and Bairisal. The former on coming of age met f[1]] Sher Khan (Shah) with whose advice and help he fought and defeated Sheoram Singh and ascended the *gaddi* in 1590 V.S. (1534 A.D.). Gajpati Singh had soon an occasion to reciprocate the services of Sher Khan. He rendered substantial help [[2]J to Sher Shah in the crucial battle of Suraj-garh (1534). Gajpati was an influential *%amindar* of his period, and has been mentioned [[3]] by Abul Fazal. Nothing definite is known about the causes of his revolt, [[4]] which took place in Akbar's time. He rebelled (1576) while Muzaffar Khan Turhi, the famous and valient governor of Bihar, was away in Bengal, to fight the battle of Akmahal (Rajmahal), which resulted in the death of Daud Khan and the end of Afghan supremacy in Bihar. He was, however, opposed and checked by another imperial general Shahbaz Khan. Aided and guided by a local chieftain in the jungle-clad difficult terrain, Shahbaz proceeded to Dawa and Jagdishpur, the stronghold of Gajpati, and seized both the places. Towards the end of Akbar's reign the Ujjainias again sought to defy the imperial authority. Prince Danyal, governor of Allahabad, advanced into Bihar and reduced to submission Dalpat Sahi, son of Mahipal and cousin of Gajpati.

Raja Narayan Mull (1605-22) was another important personality of the period. A detailed but incomplete account of his

f[1]] *Bodhraj's account.*

[«] Ibid.

['] ***Akbar-Namah,*** **Vol. Ill, pp. 30, 135, 139, 239-41, 260-65, 280.**

[<] For a detailed discussion of the topic see Prof Askari's article *"Bihar in Akbar's time" in Bengal (Past and Present),* Vol. LXIV.

career is given in a Persian manuscript entitled *Raq i-Narawi [*].* It is a versified account of the military exploits of Narayan Mull, his suppression of the Cherus and his conflicts with the local Mughal officials. Pratap Rudra was another important personage in Bihar during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan. He rendered valuable services to Shahjahan during his rebellion, but later on rebelled against his authority as a ruler, during the governorship of Abdullah Firuz Jung [2] (1632-39). A double pronged expedition, jointly by the Governors of Allahabad and Bihar, was undertaken against him. The Raja put up a spirited defence, but was ultimately defeated and captured. He was brought to Patna and executed at the Western gate of the city. The rising of the famous Kunwar Dhir Ujjainia of Baraon is an important event in the history of Bihar during the reign of Aurangzeb and has been frequently referred to in the contemporary *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla,* and the official history of Inaetullah. Notwithstanding the restraining influence of his father, who was a loyal though a defaulting *amindar,* Kunwar Dhir caused repeated disturbances, killed the local officials of *paragana* (an administrative subdivision of the country) Peero and attacked the neighbouring *amindars* of Saran, Champaran and Gaya. *Hhe Akhbarats* (News-letters) of different dates contain various references to the activities of Kunwar Dhir against Mughal authority in Bihar. [2J Inayetullah refers to the suppression and death of Kunwar Dhir during the governorship of Azim-us-Shan. The authors of *Ibrat-Nawah* and *Hadiqat-ul-Aqaleem*$_y$ who belonged to the eighteenth century, have wrongly attributed a longer period of life to Kunwar Dhir. Evidently they confuse the later activities of Sudisht Narayan of Muhammad Shah's time, with those of his father Kunwar Dhir.[3J

Udawant Singh was the real founder of the Jagdishpur branch of the Ujjainias. He was the great grandson of the

PJ It was written by one Qazi Reza, a descendant of the famous Qazi family of Chausa of the Mughal period. The family had intimate connection with the Dumraon Raj. The manuscript dated 7th June, 1902. contains several paintings by the author himself. It has been recently microfilmed with the consent of its owner, Qazi Sayeed Azmi of Dumraon, through the efforts of Prof. Askari and Sri Q. Ahmad.

p] *Ṁaasir *ul-Umara Vol. HI, p, 786.**

[®]S. H. Askari's article entitled "Bihar in the times of Aurangzeb", *Journal of Bihar Research Society,* Vol. XXXII, Part II, p. 179.

famous Raja Narayan Mull of Jahangir's time. On the death of Narayan Mull there followed a dispute for succession. His son Parbal Sahi went to Delhi to get his claim acknowledged. He was converted to Islam and given a *Firman* (imperial order or deed of grant) acknowledging his succession. On his return his claim was contested by his nephew, Raja Rudra Pratap. In the battle at Bhojpur (near Dumraon) he was defeated and killed and Rudra Pratap ascended the *gaddi.* Subsequently, on Rudra Pratap's death, the two sons of Parbal, Mandhata and Soojan, came over to Buxar. The former occupied *the gaddi.* The younger, Soojan, who had been earlier granted some 800 villages in *paraganas* Arrah, Behea, Panwar, etc., by his father, moved over to Jagdishpur in 1702 pj and developed it as a separate centre. He died in 1708 [2J at the hands of the soldiers of the *fa/ijdar* (a local officer of the Police Department) of Shahabad. He had three sons, named Udwant Singh, Subh Singh and Budh Singh, the first of whom succeeded himpj.

Udwant Singh was an important historical personage of Bihar in the 18th century, and his activities in connection with the bewildering political upheavals of his time have been frequently mentioned in the contemporary history of the famous Bihar historian Ghulam Husain. He came into conflict with Nawab Fakhruddaulah, the last Mughal Governor of Bihar, whose tenure was characterised by oppression and harassment of many prominent local chiefs. The Bihar Governor, assisted and accompanied by some of the *qamindars* of the province, like Tribhuvan Singh of Tikari, Pahalwan Singh ofNokhaand Horil Singh of Mathila, led an expedition against Udwant Singh, and captured the strongholds of Dawa and Jagdishpur, which were destroyed. Udwant Singh retreated westward and sought shelter with Nawab Abdullah of Ghazipur, who was his old friend and patron. In response to his request the Nawab deputed a contingent of 500 *sawars* (horsemen) for his help. Udwant Singh soon recovered his territories and captured and beheaded the Nazim's deputies. Later on, he presented himself before the Governor at Patna [3] and was pardoned.

[*] TawartM-i-Cjjatnta, Vol. HI, p. 65.
***[*] Ibid,* p. 66.**
***[']* Ibid, p. 141.**

Bihar was at this time passing through one of those political revolutions which appeared in India with a sickenning mono tony throughout the 18th century. Following the battle of Gheria (1740) and the defeat and death of Sarfaraz-ul-daula, Alivardi, Deputy Governor of Bihar, became the virtual master of Bengal and appointed his nephew and son-in-law, Nawab Zainuddin Haibat Jung, his deputy in Bihar (1740-48). Haibat Jung gave general satisfaction by good management of the state affairs. Sunder Singh of Tikari, the Mayi chiefs Kamgar Khan, Namdar Khan of Hasua , and several other provincial magnates became reconciled to him. But Horil Singh of Dumraon and Udwant Singh of Jagdishpur did not prove amenable to his authority. On their refusal to pay the arrears of revenues, Haibat Jung led an expedition to chastise them. Both were eventually subdued. But it was during this time that Haibat Jung stained his hands with the blood of Roshan Khan Tarhi, a valiant Pathan general and *xhenfa/ydar* of Sahahbad, on the suspicion of his being in league with the disaffected Ujjainias. The Afghans were alienated by this act and bided their time sullenly. This period was also disturbed by several Mahatha raids into Bihar, and the rebellions of the Afghans of Darbhanga. Mustafa Khan, the rebellious Afghan general of Alivardi, was joined by Udwant Singh of Jagdishpur and he also sought the aid of the Marathas. Haibat Jung, however, boldly faced the allied rebel forces and Mustafa Khan was killed near Jagdishpur. The victorious forces of Haibat Jung assaulted and reduced the *garb* (fort) of Jagdishpur.

Notwithstanding all this, the period of Udwant Singh's chief tainship was characterised by internal prosperity within his jurisdiction and development of the Jagdishpur town. He was the sole and undisputed proprietor of the family estate and refused to partition it among his brothers. He, however, set apart the proceeds of certain villages for the maintenance of his younger brothers, Subh Singh and Budh Singh and also looked after their education and upbringing after the death of his father. He had a small but efficient army at his disposal. It was at his instance and under his patronage that Mauli Kavi prepared the versified genealogical history of the family, entitled *Udwant Prakash.*

Udwant Sinigh had four sons, namely Gajraj Singh, Omrao Singh, Ran Singh and Deega Singh. The line of succession

continued from the family of the eldest son for three generations. On Bhoopnarayan, the grandson of Gajraj Singh, dying issueless the succession reverted after considerable litigation to the descendants of the second son, Omrao Singh, who was the grandfather of Kunwar Singh. The third son, Ran Singh, succeeded in the lifetime of his father to the property of Jai Kunwar, the sister of Udawant Singh and withdrew his claim to the family property. The fourth son, Deega Singh, died issueless. Udwant Singh was succeeded by his eldest son Gajraj Singh in 1765. But fraternal disputes for succession to, and partition of, the family property soon broke out among the brothers. Umrao Singh, on the refusal of his elder brother to allot him a separate share, left Jadgishpur and went over to Nawab Abdullah of Ghazipur, the old benefactor of the family. It was during Omrao Singh's stay at Ghazipur that his wife gave birth to a son, who was named Sahebzada Singh. [1]

The ralations between Gajraj Singh and Omrao Singh regarding the succession to the property were somewhat complex. During the lifetime of Gajraj Singh, Omrao Singh made several unsuccessful attempts for a separate share in the estate and he renewed his efforts on the death of his elder brother. In a petition, dated July, 1786, addressed to the Board of Revenue, Omrao Singh set forth his claims. He submitted in it "Baboo Guzrauz Singh, Baboo Run Singh, Diggaw Singh and I are the sons of Udwant Singh. Diggaw Singh died without heirs and Run Singh resigned his property to us ; the manage ment of our concern devolved upon Baboo Guzrauz Singh and me. In the year 1179 F. (1771-72 A.D.) the whole of our *zamin-dary* consisting of Peero, Nonore and Punwarrah, etc., in Shahabad, except the *Y akhraj* (rent-free) *Mou ahs,* Jagadeespore and Dalippur was rendered *Khas.* These *Mou ahs* are divided between us, Gujraj Singh taking the former and I the latter. Our *Malikanab* (an allowance paid to the owner of the land as distinct from the *amindar* to whom only the revenues of that land are farmed) was stopped to pay up our balances. In the year 1184 F. (1776-77 A. D.) our balances being paid up the Council of Patna ordered that for the present our allowances should be made good to us till an account should be made out and the balance in our favour ascertained. Upon which we

[i] Ibid, p. 183.

wrote an *Aryee* to the Patna Council through Rajah Khyallyram requesting that our accounts might be settled and our balances paid immediately. To ascertain which the Patna Council accordingly wrote to Zahoorullah Beg, *Darogab* at >the *Amanat Dajtar* (Registry Office) J[1]. Having examined the accounts they sent our *Ar ee* to Calcutta and the Committee in the year 1187 F. (1779-80 A.D.) ordered them to pay us our *malikanah* at the rate of 10 per cent. Accordingly the Patna Council having summoned us demanded a receipt for the balance of *malikanah* to the. end of 1184 F. which amounted to Rs. 39,037-8-9. I accordingly signed and sealed and delivered to the *Mutsudees* a receipt for my half, amounting to Rs. 19,518-12-4! for which I obtained a draft upon the Treasurer of Patna and the same included in Mr. Maxwell's (the Revenue Chief of Patna) *Jumma Kharcha* (account of income and expenditure) which he transmitted to Calcutta. The Treasurer put off from day to day the payments of the draft and being taken ill I went to my place of residence, at the same time Baboo Lail Sah (who upon his father's death which happened previous to this transaction, has succeeded his property), died also, his son Bhoop Naraiu who was very young, at the instigation of several persons wrote an *Ar ee* to the Council of Patna and with Baboo Ran Singh (who had formerly relinquished his property) went there and by their misrepresentation and in spite of everything my *Vakeel* (Agent, Pleader) could say obtained a decree, ordering the whole of the *malikanah* to be paid to Bhoopnarain who could distribute to each the share of it, that was due to him. By this decree my share is not disallowed to me but they have unjustly made him the principal. Since the year 1184 F. (1776-77 A. D.) Rs. 50,000 are due which added to the original Rs. 39,037-8-9, making in all Rs. 93,130-1-9, due on account of *malikanalg vt* my share of which, amounting to Rs. 46,566-9-3, I have not received any part. I have therefore to request that my share of the *malikanah* to the end of 1182 F. (1774-75 A.D.) may be paid to me and the same may also be paid to me every year."

[1] The *Amanat Daftar* (Registry Office) papers are preserved *parganawisc* and they contain statistical accounts of the various villages, the number of the *mouzas* (villages) in each, their area, *jumma* and proprietorship. The papers for the year 1182-94 F. (1775-87 A. D.) show that Jagdishpur and Dalippur were held jointly by Gajraj Singh and Omrao Singh.

The Board forwarded *]*] the petition to Mr. Augustus Brooke, Revenue Chief of Patna, and called for a report. The latter informed [2] the Board that "on examining the proceedings of the Patna Council I find that they decided the rights of inheritance in Baboo Bhoopnarayan agreeable to the custom of the country and that of the family*** Bhoopnarayan has strictly attended to his obligation of providing for Omrao Singh and the family agreeable to their Reah (sic). Omrao Singh is incapable of attending business on account of his advanced age and infirmities." This much is certain that after the death of Udwant Singh, Gajraj Singh succeeded to the *gaddi* and Omrao Singh had certain villages set apart for his maintenance. But the quarrel between them served as a precedent for future family disputes for succession in the family.

After some initial conflicts the brothers Gajraj Singh and Omrao Singh were reconciled. Gajraj Singh died in 1773 and was succeeded by his son Shivraj Singh, better known as Lail Singh, who also died after a brief period (1779).

Bhoopnarayan succeeded his father in 1779. He a a we ll organised establishment [3] for the administration' of his estate and collection of revenue. There were four centres of rent col lection at Jagdishpur, Anatih, Suhvara and Sakardih. *Zanrindari kutcheries were* located at Pcero and Patna, while the settlement officers had their offices in the villages. It w'as in Bhoopnarayan's time that Mr. Brooke, the Revenue Chief at Patna, settled the *paraganas* of Peero and Nonore with him. The two *mou as* (villages) of jagdishpur and Dalippur, which were so long held, as *nankar{* rent free) were also settled on rent with him.

Not much is known about the actual foundation and settlement of Jagdishpur. It is, however, referred to as early as the middle of the 16th century as one of the strongholds of Raja Gajapati, who rebelled in Akbar's time. It continued to be a stronghold of the Ujjainias since then. Raja Narayan Mull (1608-22 A.D.) developed it further as a separate family centre. Soojan Singh, the grandson of Narayan Mull, on the accession of

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P] *Letter from Secretary , Board of Revenue, to Augustus Brooke, Revenue Chief of Patna, \$th July.* 1786.

[a J *Report from Augustus Brooke, Revenue Chief of Patna, to the Board of Reve nue, 30th September,* 1786.

[•] Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia, Vol. Ill, p. 78.

his elder brother, Mandhata Singh, shifted to Jagdishpur and fixed up his residence there. The town developed and prospered under his successors, specially Udwant Singh and Kunwar Singh, who beautified it with several magnificent buildings, and improved it by constructing broad roads, digging wells and establishing markets, fairs, etc. A Persian court proceeding f[1], dated 29th April, 1841, of Mr. Robert Fergusson, Special Deputy Collector, gives us a brief history of the settlement of the two *mou as*$_y$ Jagdishpur and Dalippur. The proceeding is in connection with the resumption of these two *mou as* under Regulation III[[2]J of 1828. The respondent was Kunwar Singh, who won the case as it was clearly established with reference to old records [[3]J that these two *mou as* were originally held in his family rent-free, as *nankar,* but were later on settled with Bhoop Narayan in 1197 F. (1789-90 A.D.) on a *jumma* of Rs. 850. So there was no question of their being revenue free and the resumption proceedings were accordingly quashed.

On the death of Umrao Singh, Bhoop Narayan confiscated [[4]] the village of Dalippur and its dependencies together with the income from the Jagdishpur Jungles, which had been decreed to Omrao Singh. Discontended at this, Sahebzada Singh, son of Umrao Singh, left Jagdishpur, leaving his two elder sons, Kunwar Singh and Dyal Singh, with one Umrao Sahu, a money-lender of Dalippur, and vowed never to return to Jagdishpur in the lifetime of Bhoop Narayan.

Bhoop Narayan died issueless on 10th February 1794* Just a day prior to his death, Bhoop Narayan had adopted, in a rather hurried manner, Ishree Prasad, grandson of Run Singh, the third son of Udwant Singh, as his son and heir. Sahebzada Singh, however, returned to Jagdishpur on hearing of the

[[x]] Found in Persian Revenue papers in the Shahabad Collectorate, Arrah.

[*] It was one of the Regulations passed to verify the authenticity of the title of lands claimed to be held revenue-free. Similar Regulations, XXXVII of 1793 and II of 1810 had been passed earlier to cope with the problem of the excessively large number of rent-free land tenures.

[[3]J *Register of Nawab Honhiyar Jung and Daftar Amanat papers.* The records of this case, along with the Nazir's report, which gives a brief history of the settlements of the villages, as deduced from *Amanal* papers and Registers of rent-free lands from 1774-89, are highly important.

***[<] Letter from A. Tufton, Collector, to* IF. *Cowper, President and Member, Board of Revenue,* 1st *October,* 1796.**

death of Bhoop Narayan and disputed the legality of the adoption of Ishree Prasad and consequently his claim for succession. This led to a prolonged and bitter litigation for succession between Bhoop Narayan and Sahebzada Singh. Mr. Welland, the ther* Collector of Shahabad, wrote several letters[[X]] to the Board of Revenue endeavouring to give "the leading circumstances in this case" and seeking the Board's order as to "whether either of the parties can be acknowledged as the heir to the *%amindari* without there being a necessity for investigation or decision in the *Dewanny Adawlut* (Civil Court)." Writing in a letter, dated 17th February, 1794, a week after Bhoop Narayan's death, the Collector observed : "During the lifetime of Bhoop Nayaran, his uncle Omrao Singh frequently endeavoured to obtain some independent share of the family possession and his claim having being submitted to the Government by the Patna Council was invalidated owing to the deposition of Run Singh, his brother, who declared on oath that the above was the rule *{primogeniture)* by which their maintenance had been transmitted and which having descended to Bhoop Narayan as the acknowledged heir it remained with him to provide for their family. I understand a day or two previous to Bhoop Narayan's death he adopted Ishree Prasad, the nephew (?) of Run Singh as his heir, being the younger branch of the family, in preference to Sahebzada Singh, the son of Omrao Singh who was the elder uncle. It remains, therefore, to determine whether Ishree Parshad, as having been adopted, has the superior right of succeeding to the inheritance or Sahebzada Singh, the son of Omrao Singh, as being a descendant of the elder branch of the family..... On my return to Arrah..... I shall endeavour to ascertain which of the parties may have the most probable claim of which I shall send the Board the necessary information." In a subsequent letter, dated the 13th March, 1794, the Collector submitted the following additional particulars of the case ; "On my return at Arrah I have endeavoured to ascertain the proper person to whom might be given possession, on the least fear of mistake or apprehension of mismanagements and embezzlement, as the difficulty of deciding between the two parties, claiming these estates, appears of a nature which requires much investigation to be determined.

t[1]] **Letters** ***from the Collector of Shahabad, to the Board of Revenue, Ylth February and*** **13th** ***March,*** **1794.**

Ishree Pershad the adopted heir is about sixteen years of age and the mode in which the ceremony was performed by the late *%awindar,* a day only previous to his death having placed his turban over his head and delivering his wife over to him, whom with his relations and dependants he enjoined the young man to provide for and protect, at the same time he declared for his heir and to whom he gave his whole inheritances and property. He then directed two *Aryes* (petitions) to be written, one to Mr. Chauvet, the Judge of the District, and the other to me in which he acquainted us of his having adopted Ishree Pershad as his successor to his inheritance and requesting our protection of him. It remains to be ascertained in deter mining in the above circumstance whether the late *%amindar* ILandlord) had the right of adopting an heir to the exclusion of the other branch of the family and if he had, whether the manner of selecting and maintaining Ishree Pershad was agree able to the established forms of Hindoo profession. These must belong to the *Adairlat* to investigate and for the several facts to be legally proved .... To explain the grounds upon which the other claimant Sahebzada Singh prefers his right, it is necessary to revert to the origin whence the several branches have taken their rise, which the Board may better comprehend from the following table.

OODWANT SINGH

Gudge Raj (Gaj-raj) Singh eldest son of Oodwant (Udwant) Singh Lail Saha, son of Gudge Raj Singh, Bhoopnarayan (Bhoop Narayan) son of Lail Saha.	Omrao Singh the second son of Ood - want Singh, Sahebz a d a Singh, son of Omrao Singh.	Run Singh the third son of Oodwant Singh, Ram-bux Singh, son of Run Ish - ree Parshad, son of Ram Bux.	Decga Singh the 4th son of Oodwant Singh died without leav-ing any child.

From the above the Board will perceive the next heir to the inheritance after Bhoop Narayan (Omrao Singh being dead) is Sahebzada Singh and in case the adoption of Ishree Pershad be found invalid he appears to be the person to whom the estate must devolve, the only objection urged against his

right, in addition, is the charge of insanity. It is said in the time of Mr. Maxwell at Patna on account of some violence committed by him, he was seized and put in confinement and was not released until Raja Bikramajeet and another person became surety for him by entering into a *jyal Zaminy* (stand ing security for). There are other circumstances represented of his unbounded passion and rage in having drawn his *Talnw* (sword) and attempted the lives of several persons which occasioned his father, for many years during his life, to keep him at a distance from the family residence and he has for a long period been separated from his wife and children, in a different village from any of the rest. Nothing, however, seems to warrant the idea that he is distracted in his intellect, and altho' of a weak mind joined to great violence of temper they can scarcely be interpreted into total incapacity and mad ness, which if the plea be thought warrantable, proof must be adduced and examined in the regular manner. I have thought it necessary to mention the circumstance as being of weight in the consideration whether or not he could be allowed posses sion until the superior right of either party may be determined. I am not informed if in this part of the country it has been usual for females to succeed to their husband's possession, no instance of the kind having occurred within my notice and from mv enquiries I cannot learn it has ever been the practice in Bihar. The custom of this family, in particular, from all the inheritance centering in a single person seems to militate against it."

Pending a decision by the Civil Court in the title suit filed by Sahebzada Singh, the government accepted the adoption and succession of Ishree Prasad as an interim arrangement. As, however, Ishree Prasad was a minor, the estate was placed under Court of Wards for about five years![1]. The Collector of Shahabad reported [2] the following arrangement to the members of the Board of Revenue for the appointment of a Manager and guardian for the care and superintendence of the person and estate of Baboo Ishree Prasad :—

"Baboo Nirkoo Singh, a natural son of Lail Saha, the father of Bhoop Narayan appears from my enquiries to be

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[i] *Tawarikh-i-Ufjainia,* Vol. Ill, p. 79.

[*] Letter from Mr. Welland, Collector of Shahabad, to Mr. W. Cowper, President and Member, Board of Revenue, I8IA *May,* 1794.

the best suited for the office of manager conformably to the Regulations. His having been born in an illegitimate state deprives him of all rights and claim to any part of inheritance and it is only by his zeal and diligence and upright conduct in doing the best in his power for the advantage of the inheritance that he can depend to recommend himself to his relation for his maintenance and patronage. The character given me of him is that he is well informed of the proper mode of conducting business of a zemindary, having been employed by the late Bhoop Narayan as the principal agent under him in settling and collecting a considerable part of his estate and that he bears a fair report for conciliating the renters and the ryots by his good faith and discernment. The person whom I propose to be appointed as guardian is Noorul Hasan Khan a considerate Talooqdar, but who having accepted of *Malkana lands* (lands given in allowance to owners of lands as distinct from zamindar to whom the revenues of the land are farmed without proprietary rights) in lieu of his large *Malgu aree* (rent, land revenue) property, he now holds the independent enjoyment of them, he has been at various times employed as the farmer of the greatest part of Shahabad and Chainpur and Sahsram and is thoroughly experienced in every part of the duty of a farmer and landholder. He has a good capacity and much experience and judgment and having formerly been engaged in the instruction of Raja Mitrajeet Singh, the Zamindar of Tickaree, in Behar, of whose abilities and acquirements the Court may be acquainted, I conceive there could be no other who could be found better suited to the office required. Both these men have consented to undertake the stations I have proposed for them and should it meet the approval of the Court on the receipt of your orders, I shall regularly invest them in their employments and require from them the acknowledgements prescribed by the Regulations for disqualified landholders."

On Ishree Prasad coming to age, the estate was released from the Court of Wards. Its affairs became very much confused due to maladministration. Ishree Prasad was an inexperienced young

man unfit to govern. His incapacity gave an opportunity to a set of selfish courtiers to enrich themselves at the cost of the interests of the estate. Even the allowance of Doolhin Talemand Kooer, widow of Bhoop Narayan, was not duly paid to her. This served to alienate her from the cause of Ishree Prasad. Sahebzada Singh exploited her discontent to his own use. He won over her sympathies by sympathetic promises of a liberal maintenance allowance in case of his winning the title suit and succeeding to the zemindari. As a matter of fact, her testimony had much influence on the ultimate decision on the case.

Sahebzada Singh contested the succession of Ishree Prasad on the ground, *inter alia** that the adoption had been done by Bhoop Narayan's wife without the permission of her husband and that Ishree Prasad being a cousin of Bhoop Narayan, the latter could riot adopt him as his heir, according to the injunctions of the Hindo *Sbastras.* Talemand Kooer (widow of Bhoop Narayan), who was won over by Sahebzada Singh, deposed that being afflicted with grief over the dying condition of her husband, she was hardly in her senses and the necessary rites of adoption were not performed. The case was decided in favour of Sahebzada Singh by the Provincial Court. But the courtiers of Ishree Prasad, in whose interest it was to prolong the litigation, induced him to appeal to Sudder Dewany Adaulut, Calcutta, which also upheld the judgment of the lower court. The hirelings of Ishree Prasad then started arrangements to move the Privy Council f[1]. But during their stay at Calcutta in connection with their case, Sahebzada Singh met[2] Ishree Prasad and convinced him that the hirelings were making hay out of their mutual litigation and that they should stop it. Ishree Prasad readily agreed on condition of Sahebzada Singh's foregoing the cost of the decree.

After returning from Calcutta, Sahebzada Singh ascended the *gaddi* (Prince's or Chief's seat)[3] in 1804. He gave village Anatih and several other villages to Ishree Prasad for his maintenance. Later on he gave him the villages of Nipan and Manch in *paragana* Panwar, in exchange [4] for village Anatih, and also

[*] Taivarikh-i-Vjjainia, **Vol. Ill, p. 81.**

['] ***Ibid,*** **p. 81.**

[»] ***Ibid.*** **p. 83.**

[*] ***J bid,*** **p. 89.**

two other villages, Ramnagar and Banjari, for *Kisht* (cultiva tion). In accordance with an understanding with Talemand Kooer, he gave her, for her maintenance, five villages with a total annual *jitmma* (amount of revenue payable to Government) of Rs. 6,000, besides about *icobigbas* (unit of land measure ment, J of an acre) of cultivable land and some plots of mango orchards. It is significant to note that Sahebzada Singh made a grant of land in 12u F. (1804 A.D.) for the upkeep of a Muslim shrine, situated in *mahalla* (a quarter or ward of a town) Nanmohia, Patna City f[1]] to Data Peer Bux, its *Sajjadah Nashin* (Head of a shrine or monastery). It appears that in the course of his litigation with Ishree Prasad, Sahebzada Singh was in financial troubles. Worried and distracted at this he once visited this shrine. The Shah Sahab consoled him and advised him to continue his efforts. On his success Sahebzada Singh, out of gratitude, made a grant of 112 *bighas* of rent-free land in village Bajauria, in *paragana* Nonore, for meeting certain expenses of the shrine.

In the course of his survey of the Shahabad district (1812-13), Buchanan collected certain information regarding the Ujjainia Rajputs and the two branches of the family, in the district, at Dumraon and at Jagdishpur. Sahebzada Singh was then aged sixty-five. He could not interview the latter personally as he was at that time hurt and confined to his home. He, however, met Kunwar Singh, whom he, strangely enough, characterised as a "mild young man". He has testified to Sahebzada Singh's keen sense of sportsmanship and his popu larity with the tenantry[2]. "Sahebzada Singh", he writes, "is a great favourite with his tenantry and those who farm his rents from neither of whom he ever exacts money by legal process or violence, and both classes are said to be deeply in arrears. Owing partly to this and partly to the expense in the law suit with his kinsmen he is very deeply involved in debt, the family seems on the eve of ruin, the four sons which he has, having already begun to dispute about the succession which will prob ably end in the total alienation of their estates..... He is

P] The original papers of this grant including a copy of the *sanad* of Saheb* zada Singh and the subsequent petition of Kunwar Singh are preserved in the custody of Shah Zafar, the present *Sajjadah Naahin* of the shrine, who kindly made 'hem available to Shri Q. Ahmad.

[»] Buchanan's Shahabad Report, pp. 367-68..

said to owe Rs. 3,00,000 for which he does not pay an interest less than Rs. 60,000 a year..... All his rents are paid, by those who farm them, in his house at Jagdishpur, where he has a *Dewan* or *Steward,* a *Kha anchi* or Treasurer, 5 clerks or *Muis/(dees,2 Tahsildars* or assistant stewards (collector of revenue) and a *sulabkas* or Councillor who are supposed to manage his affairs, but every thing is at the disposal of a *D/isad.* He has 5 *jamadars* or officers and 125 *Piyadabs* or guards for his safety, and employs one agent at Arrah, another at Patna and a third at Calcutta. His domestics amount to 350, and 100 persons are fed daily from his kitchen. The expense is regulated by 2 clerks *(M/its/tdee').* He keeps 1 elephant, 10 horses, 8 carriages drawn by oxen and a large establishment of hawks and dogs."

Sahebzada Singh was a powerful chieftain. But he was impulsive and impetuous. The Collector of Shahabad had, as far back as 1794,|.[1] J drawn the attention of the Company's Government to his ''unbounded rage and passion in haying drawn his *talwar* (sword) and attempted the lives of several people." The *Pawarikb-i-lJjjainia* contains many an anecdote of his physical strength and impulsive actions, for one of which he was remanded to jail at Patna for six months. He was, however, released, before the completion of his term, for his gallantry in killing a lion which had entered the city.

As was then usual with most of the members of the territorial aristocracy, Sahebzada Singh was extravagant in his expenses. In fact, litigation, extravagance and lack of effective management of the estate affairs encumbered him with heavy debts, the amount of which swelled during the time of Kunwar Singh. Sahebzada Singh had four sons. The first two, Kunwar Singh and Dayal Singh, were born before his Accession to the *£addi.* The other two sons, Rajpati Singh and Amar Singh, were born probably after this event.

Kunwar Singh was spirited and adventurous from his early days. His early education suffered due to the long absence of his father from Jagdishpur, and also the limited financial resources of his father prior to his accession. Kunwar Singh usually lived away from the family residence. He built a beautiful

['] ***Letter to the Board qf Revenue, 13th March,*** **1794.**

bungalow (Thatched house)!/] in the jungle of Titaura* adjacent to the *garb* (fort) of the famous Kunwar Dhir, where he used to spend his time in hunting and other outdoor excursions. He frequently roamed over the jungles around Jagdishpur, in company with some 100 *sowars*[2].

Kunwar Singh and Dayal Singh were both married with the daughters of Raja Fateh Narayan Singh of Deo-Munga estate. Sahebzada Singh was then badly in need of money to contest, in the Civil Court, the legality of the succession of Ishree Prasad. His difficulty was to some extent solved by the marriage of his two elder sons in the Deo family. The marriage was finalised on the understanding that the Deo Raja would finance, on completion of the marriages, the proposed litigation on behalf of Sahebzada Singh. These terms were negotiated through one Nagachand, a *'Cbikando* (one who works flowers on muslin or other clothes) of Patna Cityf[3]].

There are references in contemporary English and Persian records to several concubines kept by Kunwar Singh. It was a glaring social evil of those days, and Kunwar Singh was no exception to it. Amongst his concubines, there was one Dharman Bibi, who was his chief favourite. Stories and couplets relating to Kunwar Singh's excessive love for her are still current in Shahabad villages. She accompanied him to Rewah and other places outside Bihar after the fall of Jagdishpur. Two mosques constructed by her and bearing her name are still extant at Arrah and Jagdishpur respectively.

Kunwar Singh had only one son named Dalbhanjan Singh* who predeceased him. The relations between the two were not very cordial on account of a woman named Nanhi Bibi, whom Dalbhanjan Singh had taken as a concubine against the wishes of his father. Kunwar Singh performed the marriage ceremony of his grandson Birbhanjan Singh, son of Dalbhanjan Singh, with great pomp and eclatf[4]]. He was married in the Gidhaur Raj family (Monghyr district). The *Barat* procession, which included the Rajas of Tikari and Deo, who came up to Patna, was like

['] ***Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia,*** **Vol. HI, p. 98.**

[«] ***Ibid,*** **pp. 92-93.**

['] ***Ibid,*** **p. SO.**

I[4]] ***Ibid,*** **pp. 100-101.**

Close-up view of the two pillars of the 'Garh' at Jagdishpur which are said to be part of the original building.
Photograph taken from North

2 self-contained caravan having its own bazar, where everything could be purchased. Ten *Hakims* (Yunani physicians) and twenty-five *Vaids* (Ayurvedic physicians) accompanied theB ra/ (marriage procession) to look after cases of illness on the way. The journey to and from Gidhaur took io days each way and the *Barat* halted there for 5 days. Raja Jai Mangal Singh of Gidhaur, the host, entertained the *Barat* on a lavish scale. On return from Gidhaur, Kunwar Singh gave one party at Arrah and another at Patna to the English Officials. Birbhanjan Singh accompanied his aged grandfather on his march to Rewah and died later at Banda![1]].

With the accession of Kunwar Singh began a new era of peace and prosperity, splendour and magnificence in the estate. Jagdishpur town itself was expanded and beautified. New *bazars* (markets) were laid, wells and tanks dug up and soon the town became a centre of various festivals, *melas* (fairs), etc. He laid the foundation of the Mahadeo Bazar in Arrah, which is still called after him *"Baba Ba%ar"*. In the months of Phalgun and Baisakh, the Shivratri[2J festival was celebrated at Jagdish pur with much pomp and a big *wela* (fair) was held on the occasion. Kunwar Singh took steps to induce compulsory attendance at this *wela* by local merchants and forbade them to carry their goods to other *melas.*

It is interesting to know that Kunwar Singh was very much interested in afforestation. Under his orders, the Jagdishpur jungles were developed and protected on an extensive scale according to a plan, and new plants were reared up. Through out the struggles of 1857-59 this ver Y jun gle °f Jagdishpur, developed with so much care by Kunwar Singh, proved a haven of refuge to his compatriots and an insurmountable barrier to the English forces. Time and again the English generals wrote to their Government of the difficulties provided by the jungles to the pursuing English forces. There were secret but well-laid-out paths throughout the jungles, known only to a small band of KunAvar Singh's followers, through which they silently passed from one comer to another, baffling their pursuers and sometimes overwhelming them by sudden attacks from hidden resorts.

[*] Tawtrikh-i'Uijainia, **Vol. Ill, p. 231.**

[»] Ibid, **p. 104.**

These jungles were afterwards leased at favourable rates to European contractors, who cut them up with the double purpose of obliterating for ever this famous resort of the nationalists and providing sleeper for the expanding railway lines.

Kunwar Singh renovated and strengthened the *garb* at Jagdishpur in various ways. He constructed a tank to the west of the *garb* to match with another on the cast. There was a big central court in the *garb*, opposite which there was a stone *chabntra* (raised square platform) flanked on either side by a three-roomed *verandah*. Down the front of the *chabntra* there was a beautiful garden and a big *Han* (small water reservoir, basin) with fountains. To the north stood the kitchen and the arsenal. The *verandah* was double storeyed, decorated with all sorts of arms and implements, hanging from iron pegs. The walls were dotted with small holes for keeping *'Diyas*[9] (earthen lamps with wicks) on the occasions of illuminations. Kunwar Singh also started constructing a Siva Temple at Jagdishpur but it could not be completed.

Kunwar Singh often rode out in procession through the *ha%ar*. These processions were taken out with great pomp and grandeur, armed *sowars* (horsemen) marching in the front, drums playing and the criers proclaiming in pompous phrases the passing of the august procession.

Kunwar Singh was then on friendly terms with most of the English and Indian officials of the District. He was generous and lavish in his entertainment of these officers. The one very common and prevailing form of entertainment was a hunting trip and there are some references to Kunwar Singh accom panying them for *Shikar* (hunting) p].

When the financial trouble of Kunwar Singh's estate came to a head and the matter engaged the attention of the Govern- ment, practically all the District Officers wrote highly favourable letters regarding the high character and popularity of Kunwar Singh, expressing their warm friendship and admiration for him and recommending to Government to adopt some measures to alleviate his difficulties.

[1] There is a beautiful painting, in the Khuda Bukth Library, showing Kunwar Singh hunting on a horseback.

Panoramic view of the tank built b> Kunwar Singh on the western side of the 'Garh' at Jagdishpur. Photograph taken from East

Writing in December, 1856, when the financial affairs of Kunwar Singh were engaging the attention of the Government, Mr. Tayler, Commissioner of Patna, made the following observation about Kunwar Singh : "the real fact is that Kunwar Singh is a high spirited old chieftain of the old school, who in former years like a Cameron or Macdonald was somewhat too ready to resist the aggressions to which his difficulties rendered him liable and of which his passionate attachment to his ancestral acres made him tenderly sensitive, but this is not calculated to deprive him of sympathy or to lessen the desire to relieve him from difficulty. I have always openly professed esteem for the old gentleman and must candidly confess that nothing has given me greater satisfaction than the prospect now held out to him of ending his davs in peace and full possession of the land which he so dearly loves".

CHAPTER II

KUNWAR SINGH'S BROTHERS AND HIS EARLY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

Brief descriptive sketches of the brothers of Kamrar Singh— their mutual relationship—strained relationship between Kamrar Singh and his father—the Sulahnama *of* 1812, *allocating the individual shares of the brothers during the life time of Saheb ada Singh— Kunwar Singh's succession litigation with the brothers over the question of overall proprietorship of the estate—Kunwar Singh's stand finally vindicated.*

As in the case of Kunwar Singh, there is very little information about the early life and training of his brothers, Dayal Singh, Rajpati Singh and Amar Singh, except the brief references in the *Tawarikb-i-Ujfainia\'*[1] *],*

Dayal Singh was the second son of Sahebzada Singh. Like Kunwar Singh he was a skilled warrior, a good rider, a tine swordsman and a distinguished marksman. He got a pamphlet, entitled *'Book of SIarksmanship* written in Persian by one Munshi Lakshman Lal. The pamphlet was lost during the general upheaval of 1857-59. He was marf ied along with Kunwar Singh in the Deo-Munga family. He had three sons, Reetbhanjan Singh (Ripubhanjan Singh), Gumanbhanjan Singh and Aribhanjan Singh.

Unlike Kunwar Singh, Dayal Singh engaged himself from the beginning in the management and superintendence[2] of the family estate. He performed this task to the complete satisfac tion of his father, who consequently held him in great affection. He was also on very friendly terms with Raja Jayprakash Singh of Dumraon. The friendship and cordiality with the Dumraon family continued during the times of Maharaja Janki Prasad and Maheshwar Bux.

p] *Tawarikk-i-Ujjainia,* **Vol. II F.**

[*] Ibid

Close-up view of the original door frame and wooden carving of the building at Metaha. Photograph taken from North-West

On the death of Sahebzada Sin h and the litigation with his elder brother, Dayal Singh, along with his mother, Panchratan Kunwar and the younger brothers, Rajpati Singh and Amar Singh, left the ancestral residence at Jagdishpur and moved over to Dalippur. Dayal Singh died before the Movement of 1857-59. The house at Dalippur, which gave shelter to the female members of the family during the Movement and which was attacked by Eyre, is still extant and bears the marks of his vandalism in damaging and burning it.

The third son, Rajpati Singh, developed insanity. He was married probably before he became insane, and had two sons, named Bindeshwari Prasad Singh and Mahabir Prasad Singh. Both of them died issueless, and their estate devolved first on Mahabir Prasad Singh, the younger brother, and then by adop tion on Deshpati Singh, the fourth son of Gumanbhanjan Singh.

The youngest son was Amar Singh, who played a notable role in the Movement and successfully assumed the command of the Shahabad forces on the death of Kunwar Singh. He was born much later and was in fact a minor at the time of the Agreement of 1221 F. (1813-14 A.D.). He had a strong physique, fair complexion, and a mole on the right side of the nose. He too, like the other brothers, was a skilled warrior and an adept in the use of various weapons. Hunting was his chief hobby. Just as Jitaura was the favourite resort of Kunwar Singh, so the area covering the ruins of the Rohtas fortP] was the favourite spot of Amar Singh for hunting. He was specially interested and skilled in hunting big game. Elephants, lions, wolves, bears, deer and foxes were frequently hunted and bagged by him.

Fondness for hunting and games did not, however, mar the other qualities of his nature. He was of a deeply religious temperament and had the *Mahabbarat* recited to him every night. His knowledge of reading and writing was rudimentary. He, however, memorised the entire text of the *Udwant Prakash,* the family history. He travelled widely and performed pil grimages, along with his wife, to Jaggannath Puri, Ramesh-waram, Chitrakut, Kashi, Prayag and Vindhyachal. He visited, alone, the famous Pashupatinath temple of Nepal. Having at

[1] ***T.iwiTikh-i.Ujjniniet,*** **Vol. in, p. 110.**

first moved over to Dalippur with Dayal Singh he later on settled at Metaha, where the family residence still exists. He died issueless in 1859.

Relations among the brothers were not quite cordial even during the life time of their father. Buchanan, while visiting Shahabad [*] noticed signs of the impending succession dispute among the brothers. As noted earlier, Dayal Singh, although younger to Kunwar Singh, had shown greater interest in the management of the estate. He assisted his father in the day to day administrative affairs and gradually won his confidence.

Either following!/[2]] Mitrajit Singh of Tikari, who partitioned his estate, in his life time between his two sons, Hitnarain and Modenarain, or probably out of greater affection for Dayal Singh and the younger sons, Sahebzada Singh wanted to set aside, in his life time, certain villages for their maintenance. Kunwar Singh resented this and filed a suit against it in 1219 F. (1811-12 z\.D.)[3]. Saner counsels, however, prevailed. A *Siikihikima* (Deed of Agreement) was drawn up and signed in 1221 F. (1813-14) by the four brothers. Sahebzada Singh also signified his assent to the Agreement and put his seal on the Deed. The Agreement made a detailed allocation of the individual shares of the four brothers, and that of their mother. It was arranged that the entire property was to remain under the unfettered control of Sahebzada Singh during his life time, the brothers being required to abide by all his decisions, and that after his death, each of the brothers would take "possession of" and "hold" the share allocated to him, and, on paying the govern ment revenue "each shall enjoy the profits of his share (z///7-*kiaf)* (proprietorship) and his heirs after him in perpetuity"[4].

The agreement, however, did not provide a final solution of the problem. It appears from the petition of [5] Kunwar Singh, previously referred to, that Sahebzada Singh, with a view to circumventing the conditions of the above *Sulabnunia* (Deed of Agreement), attempted to execute fictitious sale deeds

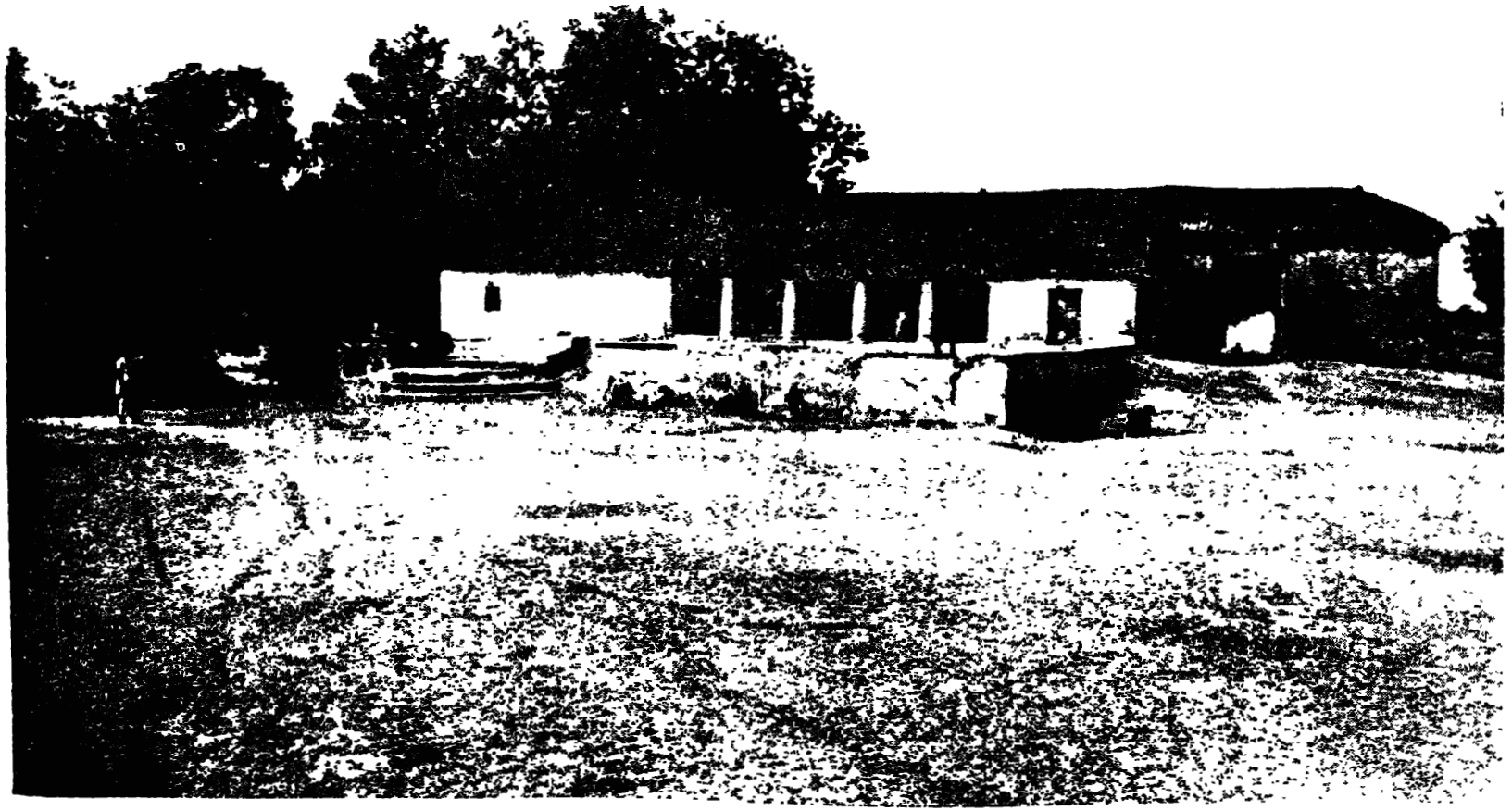
[*] Buchanan'a Shahabad Report, **p. 368.**

[*] Tawarikh-i-lJjjainia, **pp. 93-94.**

['] **Persian papers in the Commi«wioner'R offtre, Patna; Bundle No. 4. Pargana Behea, District Shahabad: Kunwar Singh's petition, dated 22nd January, 1827.**

[*] Commissioner office, Pntnn, Register No. 448.

[•] Vide ante.



General view of the residence of Amar Singh at Metaha. Photograph taken from North-West

of certain villages in favour of the other sons and to get the villages registered in their names. iVccordingly on the 21st February, 4818, Sahebzada Singh forwarded the sale deed of village Aanhar, *Pargiina* Bhojpur, to the Registrar to be-entered in the name of Dayal Singh. Kunwar Singh once again filed an objection to the proposed transfer of names and the judge ordered a stay of the execution of the sale. Eventually,, a compromise was effected, and a *Ra eena/ a* (Agreement) was filed by the brothers re-affirming, in effect, the conditions of the *Snlahnama.*

Sahebzada Singh died sometime in 1826, and Kunwar Singh after performing the obsequies was formally installed on the *gaddi.* The ceremony of *Dasturbandi* (putting on the turban, a ceremony signifying succession to a family estate) [signifying the formal accession)] was duly performed, and the other brothers acknowledged the new arrangement by presenting *na ar* (offer ings) to Kunwar Singh.

At the time of Kunwar Singh's accession the total revenue-of the estate was some 5 to 6 lakhs of rupecsf[1]] out of which Rs. 1,66,000 (Rs. 1,36,000?) was paid as Government revenue.

Following his accession, Kunwar Singh took steps to get the entire property registered in his name, and under his over all possession. He also asserted that the revenues of the younger brothers' shares of property should be paid through him and not direct to the Government. This was opposed by the other brothers, who claimed that they had complete and unrestricted proprietary right over the shares allotted to them as also the-right to pay the revenue direct to the Government.

As a compromise the Collector of Shahabad decided that "in consideration of the actual possession of the younger brothers and of the revenue of their respective shares having been paid separately by them in the Treasury for a period of six years" the name of Kunwar Singh should be registered as the general proprietor and that of the brothers as the actual proprietor of their respective shares. Kunwar Singh objected to this arrangement and the petition, referred to above, was riled before the Board by Mr. Henry Williams, Attorney of Kunwar Singh. The petition recalled the age-old family custom of

p] *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia*, Vol. III, p. 97.

primogeniture as also the previous judgments of various courts upholding the rights of the eldest son whenever*similar disputes had occurred in the past.

The controversy led to a prolonged litigation, which involved appeals and counter-appeals from the local Court to the Sudder Dewany Addalat, Calcutta. The main issue to be decided was whether or not the younger brothers possessed full and inalienable proprietary rights over their shares and, as a corollary, whether they had the right to pay the revenue direct in the Collectoratc or not. The point was clearly brought out in the following letter to the Vice-President in Council—"We have the honour to submit to your Lordship in Council the enclosed copy of a report from the Collector of Shahabad dated the 3rd ultimo, relative to a recent case of *Dakhilkbary* (transfer of property) of names in the Register of Landed property which involves certain questions on which we deem it proper to 'solicit the instruction of the Government.

The circumstances of the case are as follows:—"Baboo Saheb-zada Singh, the proprietor of exclusive estates in the district of Shahabad, had four sons, namely, Koor Singh, Dayal Singh, Rajputtee Singh and Ummer Singh. Constant disputes occurring in the family the four brothers with a view to remove the grounds of dissensions existing between them entered into a mutual agreement in respect to the future division of their father's property, executing a deed, denominated a "*Sttlabnama*" in which was distinctly specified the portion of the estate pro perty which was to devolve upon each son upon the death of Babu Sahebzada Singh..... the Estate to be assigned for the maintenance of their mother Punchratton Koor during her life. A copy of the English translation of this deed which beats the date, 11th Poos 1221 F. (18th December, 1813) is herewith submitted."[4]

Notwithstanding this arrangement the family quarrels seem to have continued and in the year 1227 F. (1819-20 A. D.) Baboo Kuer Singh prosecuted his father in the Provincial Court for the purpose of an order restraining him, the father, from effecting a transfer of any portion of the property, with a view to evade the conditions of the *Sulahnamciy* to which

p] *Vhlt Appendi.e.*

The Naubatkhana of Amar Singh's house at Metaha

Sahcbzada Singh had signified his assent by adding his signature when the deed was executed. The result of this proceeding was an interchange of engagements between the father and the son who mutually executed a *Rji eenawa* and *Iqrarnama* (Deed of Agreement) binding themselves to abide by the terms of the *Sulabnama* of 1221F. (1813-14 A. D.). On these documents being filed in the Court the case of Kunwar Singh was dismissed, the Court merely directing that the parties should abide by their own agreements.

From this period, viz., 1227 F. (1819-20 A.D.) Babu Sahcbzada Singh resigned into the hands of his sons the entire management of the several portions of his property which at his death would fall to each under the terms of the *Sulahnawa*- and the Government revenue has since Ikcii paid separately by each party into the Treasury.

Babu Sahebzada died in the course of the last year and an application was made shortly after to the Collector on the part of the eldest son Babu Koor Singh to record his name in place of that of his father as *Malik* (proprietor) to the entire Estate and to cause the revenue of the shares held by his brothers to be paid through him as he was the head of the family. A counter application was made at the same time from the younger brothers claiming to have their names recorded as proprietors of their shares and to be permitted to pay their revenues direct to the Government Treasury.

The Collector in consideration of the actual possession of the younger brothers and of the revenue of their respective shares having been paid separately by them into the Treasury for a period of six years and with a view to protect their interest from any encroachment on the part of their cider brother, so far decided in their favour as to order that the name of Koor Singh, the eldest son be recorded in the column of proprietors as the general *Malik* of the entire property and that the names of the younger brothers should also be recorded in a second column as actual *Malik* in possession of their respective shares, for example ..... Atnar, which form the portion of D yal Singh, the second brother stands on the record thus :—

Village—Aths r, *Malik*—Koor Singh, Actual *Malik* in possession—Dayal Singh.

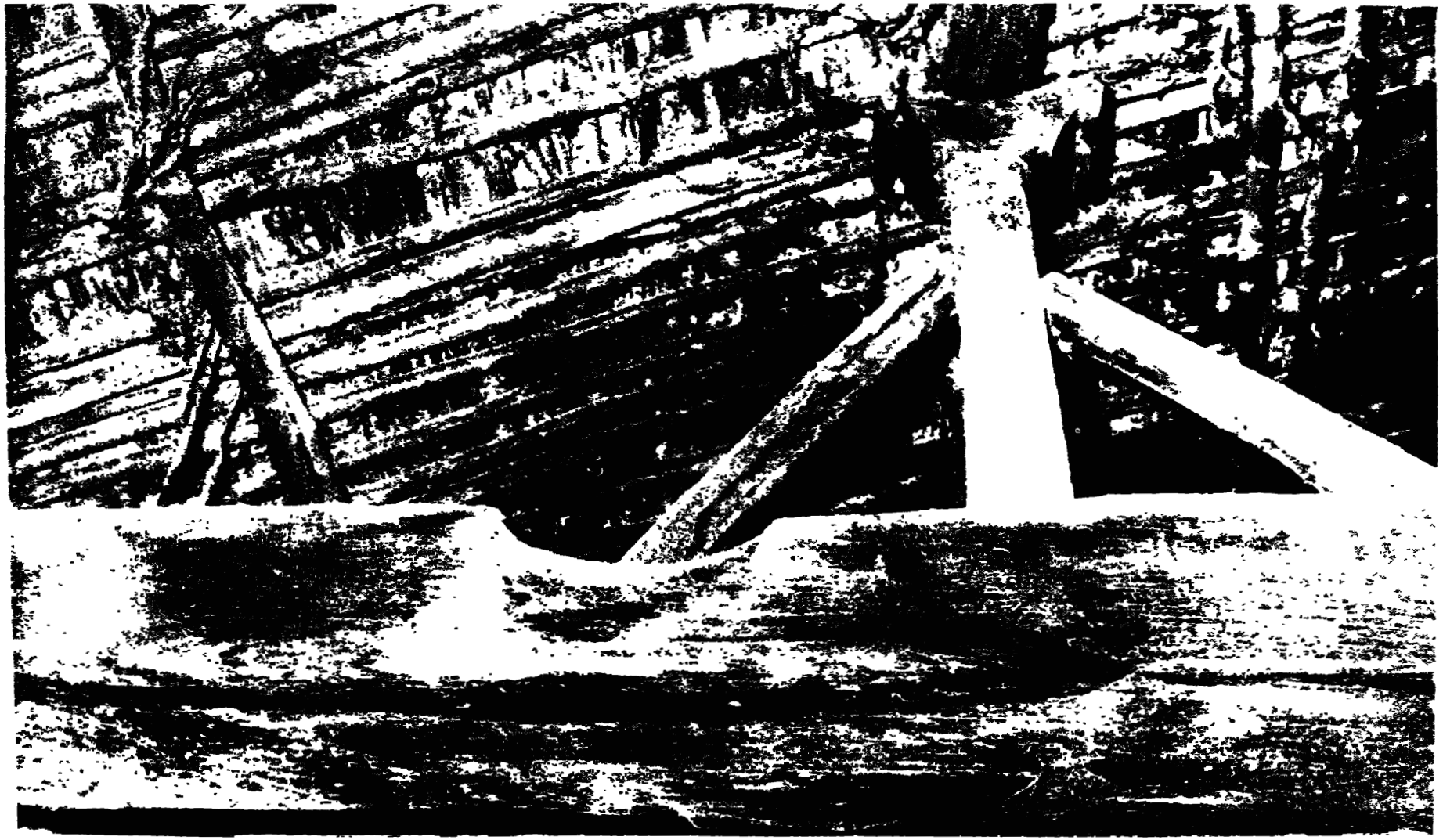
The registry of the portion *of the* other brother has been wade exactly in the same manner.

Against this arrangement Koor Singh has appealed to us alleging that the estates assigned to each of the younger brothers were simply..... for their *Kborisb wa Posbisb* (maintenance) and that agreeably to the custom of the family as well as the terms of the *Sttlabnama* and subsequent agree ments he is entitled to have his name recorded as the *Malik* of the entire property and to pay the revenue, the brothers furnishing their respective quotas through him. Your Lordship will observe there is no dispute regarding the extent of the several shares or the right of each brother to enjoy the profits of the *Mahal* (primary land unit, paying revenue to Government) allotted to him.

In disposing of the point at issue it seems proper first to consider what has been the custom of the family and the precise intention of the several engagements executed by the parties. As the *fka enama* and *Iqrarnama* of 1227 F. (1819-20 A.D.) are merely confirmation of and to the same purport as the *Sidahiiama* of 1221 F. (1813-14 A.D.) it is very necessary to con 'sider the terms of that paper and as it expressly provides that the name of Koor Singh should stand in the place of that of his father as the *Malik* of the entire property it so far bears out Koor Singh's claim as regards the registry and hitherto the custom of the family has certainly been to record the entire estate in one name.

But further than this we consider the claims of Koor Singh to be quite untenable, for though the words "*Kborisb wa Posbisb*[1]" are made use of in the head it was evidently believed that the portions of the younger brothers should be held by each without being subject to the control or interference on the part of Koor Singh, in short that each share should to all intent and purposes form the *Milkeat* (property) of the party to whom it was allotted, and that each should be entitled to pay revenue direct to Government.

Assuming then the right of uncontrolled occupancy and of paying the revenue direct to Government to be established in favour of the younger brothers we should feel disposed to uphold the decision of the Collector as fdr as regards the



Close-up view of the wooden beam inside Dayal Singhji's house at Dalippur. Showing marks of burning

admission of the claims of the younger brothers, notwithstanding the argument that the terms of the *S:!kib;iama* furnish in favour of Koor Singh's claim to have his single name recorded, but it appears to be a question whether having interfered so far the Collector should not have gone a step further and have required the property to be regularly divided, under the Regulation, for there is something anomalous in the position in which the estate is now placed. The property during the life time of Sahcbzada Singh was joint and undivided. At present there is an apparent division without any legal partition having been effected and Koor Singh is registered as the general *Malik* of estates to which he has no right of management or control. Suppose then a balance to occur in..... Athar, the portion of Dayal Singh, the Collector could not dispose of that..... or any portion of it without also disposing of the general right of Koor Singh in it who under the present arrangement is clearly not responsible for the balance and again the right which is thus secured to Koor Singh is merely nominal so that he would he no loser were his name to be left out of the records of his brothers' portions.

Under all circumstances and adverting to the opposite construction put upon the terms of the *Stilabnama* by Koor Singh (regarding?) the right to registry of names and payment of revenue, we think it ought to have been more regular, had the Collector decided to make..... alterations in the Register until the case should be decided by the Courts .... authority one or the other of the parties will eventually have recourse to.... in the event of Koor Singh prosecuting, will be made a party in the suit. But as the mutation has been effected we have deemed it proper to postpone passing any final order thereupon until favoured with the opinion of your Lordship in Council as to the course which should have been adopted under the circumstances of the case."

The antecedents of the family history as also the previous judgments on the points were in favour of Kunwar Singh, who finally won the case.

The litigation was necessarily a prolonged and costly one, which left behind it a legacy of heavy strain on the financial

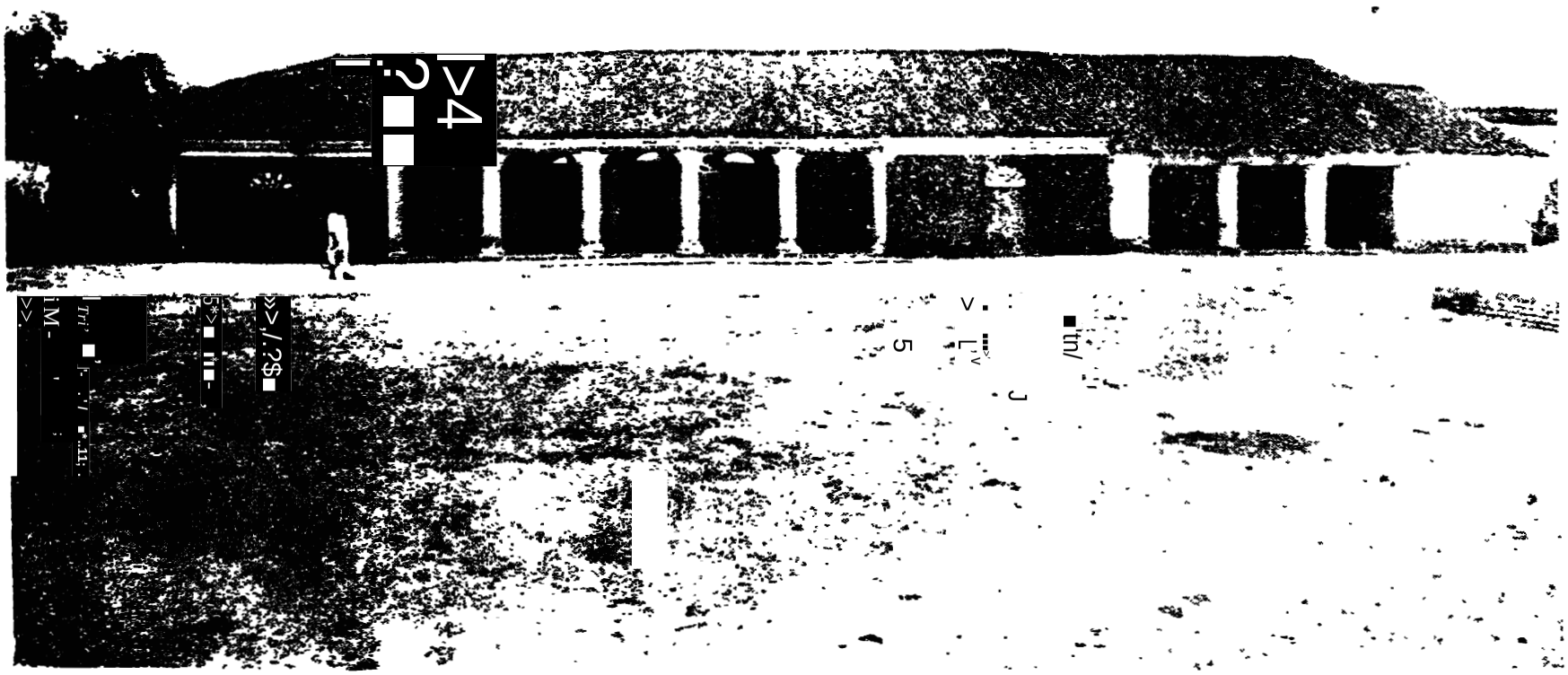
resources of both the parties. A total expense p] of Rs. £ lakhs and Rs. 5 lakhs was incurred over the case by Kunwar Singh and Dayal Singh respectively. This, along with the considerable debt accumulated during Sahebzada Singh's life time and inherited in legacy by Kunwar Singh, conditioned to a large extent his future financial embarrassments.

Feelings among the brothers were temporarily ruffled as a result of the litigation. Dayal Singh left Jagdishpur and moved over with his mother and younger brothers to Dalippur.

It has, however, to be borne in mind that, although the family feud created some heat and acrimony for the time being,, the relations among the brothers remained on the whole cordial. As it has been already mentioned, the younger brothers presented themselves before Kunwar Singh on formal occasions and when ever they met together they treated him with all regard and deference due to an elder brother and the head of the family. Amar Singh's spirited and valuable co-operation with his brother in the Movement of 1857-59 *s a nota blc example of the continuance of brotherly love and affection.

[»] Tawartkk-i'-Ujjf'inw, **Vol. Ill, p. 98.**

Close-up view of the original door frame of the building at Dalippur. Photograph taken from North-West



General view of the building (Dayal Singh's residence) at Dalippur. Photograph taken from North

CHAPTER III

KUNWAR SINGH'S REVENUE AFFAIRS

Large and extensive estates—charitable donations for schools, and other public and religious institutions—lack of efficient supervision of his estate—enormous amounts of debts, mostly negotiated on usurious rates of interest through the machinations of his own staff with the mahajans {money-lenders)—negotiations with the heirs of Peshwa for a loan—placing the estate under a Government-appointed Surbarakar *{Manager)—Government's threat to wind up the arrangement just on the eve of the rising—how far was it responsible for Kunwar Singh's participation in the Movement?*

Kunwar Singh inherited a fairly large estate and added to it further during his life-time. His was the largest landed estate, next to that of the Dumraon Raj, in the Shahabad District. He was the sole proprietor of two *parganas,* Peero (Piro) and Nanaur and of several *Palooqas* in *parganas* Behea, Bhojpur, Panwara, Sasaram and Rohtas. The annual *jumma* of his ancestral estate, excluding the portion allotted to his brothers according to the *Sulahnama* (Deed of Agreement) of 1221 F. (1813-14 A.D.), as enrolled in Government register, was Rs. 1,48,000 and, in addition, he paid a *jumma* of Rs. 1,18,624 for his personal estate. The exact figures[1]] of his income and expenditure in 1262-63 F. (1854-56 A.D.) submitted by the Deputy Collector, Syed Azimuddin Hussain Khan, who was in charge of the estates during the period when these were placed under a Government

***[x] Enclosure to a letter, dated 23rd July,* 1856, *from the Deputy Collector, to Mr. A. A. Swinton, Collector of Shahabad,* reporting on the affairs of Kunwar Singh's estates.**

appointed *Surbarakar* (Manager) were as follows :—

CASH ACCOUNT FROM ASSIN TO BHADON 1262 F. (1854-55 A. D.).

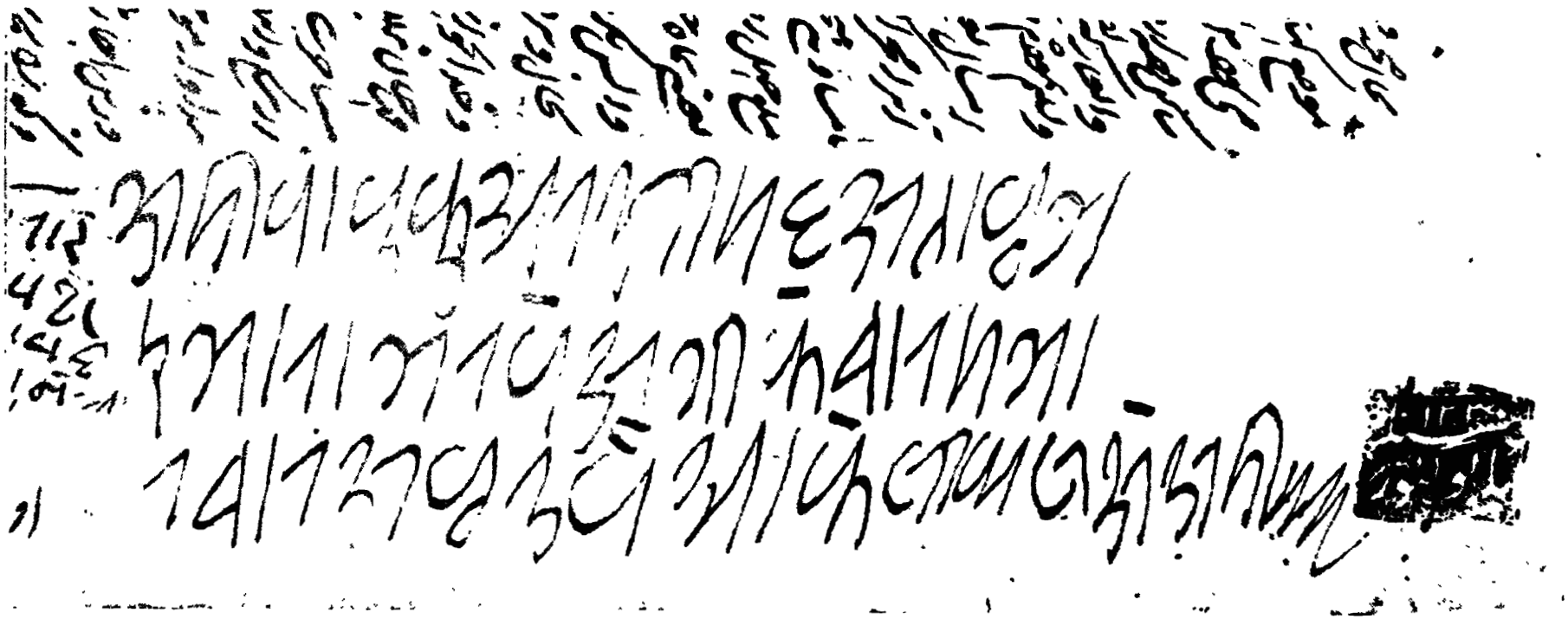
	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
By rollerbion from estates in the possession of the Baboo.	2.08.027	14	9	To be paid on account of public revenues.	1,07,473	8	9
Ditto on account of arrears of last year.	6,921	13	0	Ditto the Baboo's expenses.	54,198	4	3
Cash in hand being the balance of list year's collection.	6,183	0	0	Ditto expenses of law suits.	4,787	7	0
				Ditto Establishment ..	4,578	2	9
Ditto miscellaneous items.	7,051	15	9	Ditto other expenses ..	5,179	11	9
				Ditto liquidation of debts	51,117	8	0
Total ..	2,28,187	1!	6	Total ..	2,27,314	10	6
Cash in hand on account of estates in the hands of Baboo's creditors.	1,54,937	1	3	*Add*—Sums realised by Baboo's creditors in liquidation of their respective debts from estates in their possession.	1,54,937	0	6
					3,82,251	11	0
				Balance in hand to bo accounted for in the account of 1263 F.	873	1	9
TOTAL ..	3,83,124	12	9	TOTAL ..	3,83,124	12	9

CASH ACCOUNT FROM ASSIN TO ASAWRH 1263 F. (1855-56 A. D.).

	Rs.	a.	p.		its.	a.	p<
By balance of last year brought forward.	183	1	0	To be paid Government revenue.	97,627	7	0
Collections from estates in the Baboo's possession from Assin to Asawrh 1263 F. from villages under the management of *Surbarakar.*	1,10,982	2	9	Ditto to creditors ..	1,87,266	8	0
				Ditto expenses of Burhca	8,207	11	0
				Ditto law suits ..	13,169	12	0
				Ditto charity ..	400	0	0
From villages under the collection of the Baboo.	1,23,088	6	9	Ditto stumps purchased for writing of fresh bonds.	953	4	0
				Ditto purchase of a village	225	0	0
Total ..	2,34,070	8	6	Ditto establishment for 10 months.	10,124	14	9
Collection on account of Bukya balance.	4,863	3	0	Ditto miscellaneous ..	6,000	0	0
Ditto *Salamee* and *Meeaan.*	986	8	0	Ditto purchase of articles for the marriage of the Baboo's grand-daughter.	10,360	9	6
Ditto interest of small sums temporarily placed in the Itffrl of Mahajans and tW discount of bank notes.	752	3	3	Ditto funeral obsequies of the wife of Baboo's grandson.	511	15	3
				Ditto Baboo's allowance	28,390	0	0
Ditto amount of decree — cash realised.	1,228	9	6				
					3,63,236	15	9
Ditto price of land received from the Railway Commissioner.	2,729	3	8				
				Cash in hand ..	36,132	5	3
Ditto *peahgee* paid in by the farmers.	7,366	0	0				
Ditto fresh loans taken from Narain Doss, etc., to pay the most pressing demands.	1,46,500	0	0				
TOTAL ..	,3,99,369	5	0	TOTAL ..	3,99,369	5	0

These figures show that the estates of Kunwar Singh, if properly managed, were big enough to provide him with a comfortable income. But due to certain factors, he became deeply involved in debts and mortgages. Referring to these financial liabilities of Kunwar Singh, Mr. Tayler wrote in a letter, dated 19th December, 1856, addressed to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, "He is the scion of an ancient and noble family, the proprietor of a large and valuable estate in Shahabad, a generous and popular overlord, much beloved by his tenantry and respected throughout the District both by the Europeans and natives. But like most of the Rajput nobility he was altogether illiterate and he has thus been an easy prey to the designing, and a puppet in the hands of interested agents, while a liberal disposition and hereditary habits of extrava gance involved him in profuse expenditure which was sustained only by borrowed funds. As time progressed the affairs of the Baboo appear to have become more and more complicated, the necessity of meeting with punctually(sic) the claims of Govern ment with an empty purse placed him at the mercy of money lenders, who exacted the most exorbitant terms for every advance ; and every sale, advertised in execution of ecrees, against him, was the signal for further and more merciless exactions ....." There is no doubt that Kunwar Singh's liberal generosity beyond means, extravagance in the observance of certain social customs, huntings and pastimes and the wilful machinations of some self-interested courtiers, officers and friends were responsible for plunging his estates into ruinous debts.

Being a man of generous and liberal disposition he made extensive grants for charitable purposes to different individual and institutions. A very large number of *sanads* (Deed of grant) by Kunwar Singh and his ancestors are available among the Persian Revenue papers of the Shahabad Collectorate. Most of their texts are in Hindi and they bear the signature of Kunwar Singh. Their phraseology is more or less the same, only the names of the individuals and the villages differ in respective cases. We find that in 1228 F. (1820-21 A.D.) a grant of 25 *bighas* of rent-free land was made by Kunwar Singh in village Jagdishpur, in *pargana* Behea to one Manoraih Singh, in 1233 F. (1825-26 A.D.), a grant of 30 *bighas* of land was made in



Loan deed, dated the 21st February. 1828, executed by Kunwar Singh

Signature in Hindi

Seal (Square) in Urdu

Kaqbah (an area of land) Jagdishpur to Salloo Missir, on the occasion of the illness of Babu Sahebzada Singh, in 1249 F. (1841-42 A.D.) Kunwar Singh granted 8 *Kathas* of land to Jawahar Raout, his servant, for construction of a house, in 1263-F. (1855-56 A. D.) he made a grant of 3 *bigbas* 17 *katbas* (Unit of land measurement) of rent-free land in village Jagdishpur, in *pargana* Behea, to Manorath Ram Sahu ; and in 1261 F. (1853-54 A. D.) a grant, as *Khairat* (given as charity), of 12 *bigbas* of land was made to Mannu Lal. Such grants were made out of benevolent disposition. They, however, entailed considerable financial strain on the resources of the estates. No efforts were made by any one to effect much needed economy in expenses of various kinds. Even as late as 1263 F. (1855-56 A.D.), when Kunwar Singh was under a heavy debt and his estates had been placed under a Government appointed *Swbarakar*, a total expense of Rs. 19,080-2-0 was incurred under the following heads :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Expenses of *Rurbea*..	2,*zo-j*	n	3
Purchase of articles for the marriage of Baboo's grand-daughter.	10,360	7	6
Funeral obsequies of -the wife of Baboo's grandson.	511	15	3
Total . .	19,080	2	o

Kunwar Singh's hunting excursions and pastimes, in which he was accompanied by a close circle of friends, were very expensive. Ready cash money was required on such occasions, and due to shortage of funds in the estate exchequer such money had to be arranged on loan. As was usually the case with most of the aristocratic chiefs of those days, some persons, though not engaged in any useful activities, remained like hangers-on, dependent on him, and their ways of living added to the estate's financial liabilities. To serve their own interest such parasites arranged loans with greedy creditors, at usurious rates of interest.

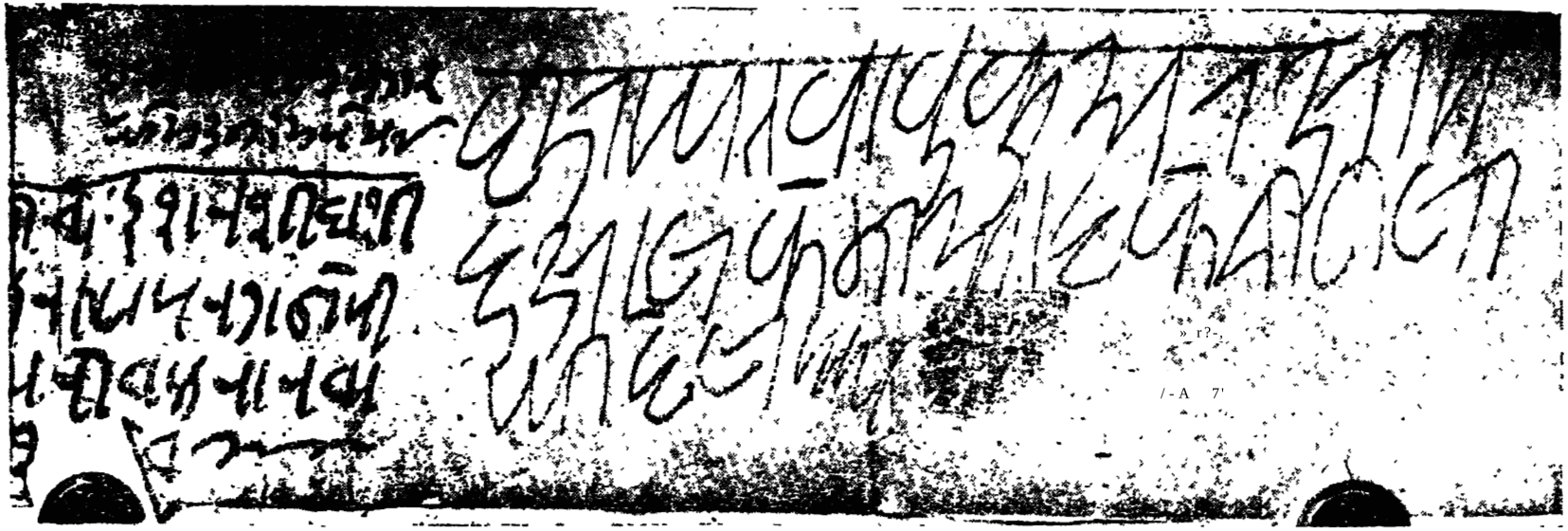
The Persian Revenue papers in the Shahabad Collectorate are full of details about Kunwar Singh's loans and mortgages.

There are a large number of mortgage bonds f[1]], executed by Kunwar Singh. The usual procedure was that certain villages were leased out in *ijara* (contract) for a specified number of years, varying in different cases, to the creditors who were to realise their amount, principal and interest, out of their income and to pay the surplus, if any, to Kunwar Singh. The contract remained in force until the full amount was repaid. This was the arrangement during the earlier times when Kunwar Singh was in possession of his own estates. Later on, when the estates were placed under Government appointed *Surbarakar*, the arrangement was modified to the extent that the creditors were to be paid by the *Surbarakar* out of the proceeds of Kunwar Singh's estates.

The transactions for these loans were carried on by Kunwat Singh's *Amlahs* (subordinate agents, staff), majority of whom made personal gains out of these by fraudulent practices in collaboration with the creditors. The most common practice for them was to under estimate the income of villages leased out in mortgage. In this way the creditors realised much more than their due out of the income of the mortgaged villages. When later on Kunwar Singh came to know of these glaring abuses, he started series of civil suits against such creditors, suing

f[1]] Translated text of one such bond, executed by Kunwar Singh and duly registered, is given below as a specimen :

"I, Kcoer Singh, *Malik* of *parganas* Peer© and Nonore, acknowledge Lav•ng borrowed Company's Rs. 50,000 from Roy Narain Das, son of Roy Srikishun, son of Raja Patnee Mai of Banures at the rate of 1 percent per month to discharge my previous debts. Whereas under orders of Govern ment dated 12th April, 1855, the management of my landed property having been undertaken by Government, a *Surbarakar* has been appointed, I, therefore, write and acknowledge that I shall repay the Government officials every month the interest amounting to Rs. 500 and the principal in two instalments of Rs. 25,000 one in 1268 F. (1860-61 A. D.) and the other Rs. 25,000 in 1269 F. (1861-62 A.D.) from the collection of my estate which will be made by the *Surbarakar ;* and as security for this loan 1 pledge *Talooqa* Rchea, *Talooqa* Narainpore, *Mauza* Perpra of *pargana* I'eero of which I enjoy the *Milkiat* and possession until the said debt is paid up. That I shall not alienate the property specified above openly or clandestinely, if I do so it shall not be considered valid or legal. If for any cause the said loan bo not paid through the *Surbarakar* to Roy within the specified period it shall be optional with Roy to realize the same from this or other property of mine. If I do not pay the interest every month or if I alienate tho property pledged he after waiting for 3 months is authorised immediately to realise the principal and interest in one lump sum. In this I or my successors will have no objection. For this purpose the *Tamasuk* (mortgage) has been written. Dated 9th August 1856."



Letter in Hindi of Kunwar Singh, dated the 5th Karnck, 1259 F.. regarding ' *Patta ZarpevhgP* of villages Nirva Dehri and Kiratpur, Paragana Behea. Shahabad

Signature in Hindi

Seal (Square) in Urdu

them for reimbursement of the extra amounts realised by them. In an application addressed to the Deputy Collector, Azimuddin Hussain Khan, Kunwar Singh pointed out these notorious practices in unmistakable terms. He noted that "with reference to the requisition that I should mention the names of all my creditors, separating those with whom I may have effected a settlement, I beg to state that my creditors have already appro priated large sums of money from the usufruct of my estate, much more than was due to them. Out of these six have to refund me surpluses appropriated by them after recovering their principal with interest and those *Mahals* which I had mortgaged to them I have obtained possession and against several parties I have instituted suits in the Civil Court for the refund of profits appropriated by them and against others I will bring a suit as soon as the civil courts open", f[1]]

The glaring frauds and injustice, committed upon Kunwar Singh by his greedy and unscrupulous creditors, attracted the attention of some of the Judges before whom the matter went up and were commented upon by other English officials as well.

Mr. Dent, Judge of Shahabad, was the first to recommend to the *Sadar Diwaw Adalat* the adoption of some suitable measures for the proper management of Kunwar Singh's estates with a view to relieving his pecuniary distress. He wrote in this connection the following letter to the *Sadar Dwani Adalat* on the 15th October, 1838: "1 have the honour to transmit a copy and English translation of a petition presented to this Court by Baboo Kour (Kunwar) Singh on the 21st August last, together with copy of my proceedings, dated 14th September, for consideration and orders of the superior Court.

The substance of the petition is as follows:—

Baboo Kour (Kunwar) Singh the petitioner is a descendant from a long line of noble ancestors holding by right of inheritance large landed possessions in the District, has through his own neglect and the mismanagement and roguery of his dependants become so much involved that he sees no prospect of retriev ing his affairs unless Government will interpose its aid and he

f[1]] There are a large number of such case papers in the contemporary English and Persian iecords.

accordingly requests that the whole of his land may be held in sequestration by Government until the claims of his credi tors are satisfied, a suitable allowance being in the form of adjustable subsidy made to him for his support. He further adds that the estates being an undivided hereditary ancestral property he does not possess the power of permanently aliena ting any portion of it by sale or otherwise.

The Court will observe from the accompanying copy of a decree, dated 13th August, 1835, in a suit between BabuKour (Kunwar) Singh and his brothers, which was affirmed by the *Sudder Dewani* in appeal, that it was held that the family demesne under notice is of the description of *Mahals alluded* to in Reg. 10 of 1800 as descending entire to a heir, and in this respect resembling very much the large entailed properties of Great Britain in which the hereditary occupant possesses only a life interest without the power of permanently alienating any portion of it by gift, sale or otherwise. It is therefore very questionable whether the estates under notice are liable to be sold by orders of the Court of Justice for the personal debts of the occupant for the time being. The Baboo, however, does not wish to avail himself of this privilege further than to prevent the estates from permanently passing out of his family; he is willing to give up the entire profits, for the benefit of his creditors, rescuing only a small allowance for his own support. I have made enquiries into the assets of his estates, which include two entire *parganas* and several smaller divisions, they pay an annual revenue to Government of Rs. 90,000 and yield profit of about two lacs of rupees, and with proper management I believe that all the debts amounting to about (17) seventeen lacs of rupees might be liquidated in about 15 years.

The petitioner notices one case (the Raja of Vizianagram, now residing at Benares), in which the Madras Government have interposed to save a-noble family from ruin and the claims of that person could scarcely be stronger than those of the petitioner's family who have always been steady supporters and adherents of the British Government and I feel convinced that in case of need the petitioner himself can be fully relied upon for powerful assistance.

The modes of extending relief to the petitioner occur to me, viz.:—

First by sequestration of the petitioner's estate under orders of the Court and applying the proceeds in the same way.

Secondly, by Government placing the estates under Court of Wards and applying the proceeds in the same way.

And thirdly, by Government authorising the Collector to effect an arrangement with the petitioner's creditors who if they can sec any certainty of ultimate payment would agree to anything that is reasonable and any advance of funds which the Government might be called upon to make might be recovered from the estates which would of course remain under the Collector's management until all debtors are paid. The petitioner is the representative of one of the remain ing old influential families in the District (the Raja of Bhojpur is the other) who have hitherto with stood the operation of our Revenue and Judicial systems, but unless the Government interpose the estates must inevitably pass into other hands and thus another noble and influential family will be added to the list of malcontents.

The importance of the subject render any apology unnecessary for what may at first sight appear an irregular application."

It is evident from this letter that Kunwar Singh himself mooted out the idea, as far back as 1838, of the Government standing security, in some way or other, for the repayment of the loans. The application of Kunwar Singh, dated 21st August, 1838, which formed an enclosure to the above quoted letter, envisaged the eventual shape of things to come. For, when later on in May, 1855, a *Surbarakar* was appointed tomanage the estates of Kunwar Singh, the Government did in fact undertake an arrangement more or less similar to the one proposed by Kunwar Singh himself in 1838. It has also to be noted that whereas the total amount of Kunwar Singh's loan stood at about 17 lacs in 1838, it rose up to more than 20 lacs by 1857. Things may have taken a different shape had the

petition of Kunwar Singh been accepted in 1838 and had his financial liabilities been cleared in about fifteen years according to the estimate of Mr. Dent. The Judges of the *S#dar Diirani Adalat* replied that they "had no jurisdiction in the case." Mr. Dent then entered into private negotiations with the principal creditors and a temporary settlement of affairs was effected, but not on such a footing as to afford permanent relief or to secure the redemption of the estates, the great majority of which were mortgaged for the loans obtained.

Mr. A. A. Swinton, Collector of Shahabad, wrote in a letter, dated 21st November, 1854, that "the financial embarrassments have reduced him (Kunwar Singh) to such a state of extreme indigence that it is with the greatest difficulty that he can pay the Government revenue as it falls due and is compelled to submit to whatsoever terms are dictated to him by the money lenders, who withhold their assistance to the last moment, that they may make conditions advantageous to them and ruinous to him". In the concluding portion of this letter he remarked that "every respectable and well-disposed person in the District (of Shahabad) will rejoice that he (Kunwar Singh) was delivered of distress and ruin and none but a few grasping merchants who are profiting by his misfortunes will raise a voice against it."

Mr. Tayler, who professed friendship with Kunwar Singh and high regard for his character, wrote in a letter, dated 10th December, 1855, addressed to the Secretary, Board of Revenue: "I am happy to say that such interest and sympathy has been exhibited by every public officer in the district, high or low, except Mr. Cunliffe and I may further repeat what I have already stated to that officer, that the benevolent aid afforded by Government to this old and high family has done more than any single action that can be named to conciliate the loyalty and goodwill of all the high classes in the Division." Writing again to the Board on the 19th December, 1856, Mr. Tayler observed : "I have always openly professed esteem for the old gentleman and must candidly confess that nothing has given me greater satisfaction than the prospect now held out to him of ending his days in peace and full possession of the land which he so dearly loves."

In his eagerness to get rid of the incubus of the outstanding debts by their repayment, Kunwar Singh made frantic efforts to get an advance of a lump sum from new creditors on cer tain conditions. For this he opened negotiations with Narayan Rao and Madhav Rao, sons of Vinayak Rao f[1]].

The origin of the loan negotiations is known to us from a petition of Kunwar Singh, himself, of the month of November, 1854. He wrote therein; "The Peshwa originally received from Government 7 lacs of rupees annually for maintenance and support, after his death this maintenance was stopped and there being plenty of money in his Treasury, the heirs resolved on lending them out on interest so that the principal should not be touched, and with this intention offered a loan of Rs. 50 lacs to any creditable and trustworthy person, who felt inclined to take such a loan, but finding that no one was interested in borrowing such a large sum of loan they invested Rs. 25 lacs in Government Promissory notes and offered to lend me Rs. 13 lacs, and are negotiating for a loan of Rs. 7 lacs with the Raja of Darbhanga."

In the case of Kunwar Singh the negotiating creditors demanded that Government should undertake the management of his estate, to ensure a proper security for the repayment of the loan. Kunwar Singh accordingly moved the Government in November, 1854 to undertake the management of his estate as desired by the Peshwa's heirs so that he could obtain the necessary loan. The Collector of Shahabad, Mr. A. A. Swinton, endorsed this plan and recommended it favourably to the Commissioner of the Patna Division for submission to the

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PJ *Letter no.* 553, *dated IQtk December,* 1856, *from Mr. Tayler, ConimiMioiter of Patna, to the Board of Revenue.*

Righoba had adopted a boy Amrit Rao. before the birth of Baji Rao IT, as he had given up all hopes of having a son of his own. Amrit Rao was oh Lad terms with his brother Peshwa Baji Rao II and at one time his son Vinayak Rao was sat up as a claimant to the Peshwasbip. Amrit Rao retired to Benar.*.* on a pension of 7 lakhs per annum. After his death Vinayak Rao settled at Karvi near Chitrakut. It was with his sons, Narayan Rao and Madhav Rao, that negotiations were opened on behalf of Kunwar Singh for a loan of 13 lakhs. They at first agreed to advance the sum. Both the brothers were suspected of Mutiny and their residence was looted. A dispute arose about the prize money and it is one of the famous prize cases of the times. The two brothers wen* later pensioned off. Probably their lines still survive.

Bjth Amrit Rao and Vinayak Rao used the surname of Peshwa because they balonged to the Peshwa family.

Government, f[1]] Mr. Swinton observed: "I now beg to add that a highly respectable party is willing to advance at once a sufficient sum to pay off all *bona fide* claims, *at moderate rate of interest and thus relieve the unfortunate petitioner from all his difficulties solely on the condition that Government will appoint a *Sarbarakar* to manage the estates (which the petitioner will mortgage as security for the loan).

This condition is by no means unreasonable, the party offering the advance is a resident of another district and cannot undertake the management of the estates himself and naturally wills for good and unquestionable security in such an important transaction involving the advance of 13 or 14 lacs of rupees.

The object to be affected is so extremely desirable in all points of view and the means are so extremely simple that I trust you will support the prayer of the petitioner by your powerful advocacy.

Numerous petitions (32 up to date) have been presented within the last few days on the part of Babu's creditors expressing their regret at the discontinuance of the negotiations which were in progress and supporting the prayer of the petitioner, to these I solicit your notice and request that they may also be forwarded to Government, along with this letter."

A draft Agreement [2] to be executed by Kunwar Singh, laying down the terms and conditions of the proposed loan from the heirs of the Peshwa, was prepared. It contained a complicated arrangement for ensuring the repayment of the loan, and the rates of interest, sought to be imposed on Kunwar Singh by his prospective creditors, were exorbitant.

The draft is an undated and very long document containing 19 clauses. Its relevant and operative clauses were:—

> "I, Kunwar Singh Bahadur, am the proprietor of parganas Peero and Nanour and sundry *Lalooqas* (minor Subdivision of land) in parganas Behea, Panwara, Rohtas and Sasaram.

***[*] Letter from the Collector of Shuhabad to the Commissioner of the Patna Division, dated 21«1 November* 1851.**

[>] Original in Persian has been translated into English.

Whereas the total annual *jumma* of my ancestral permanent Zemindari estate, including the villages recently purchased by me, and excluding the villages belonging to my own bro thers Dyal Singh and others, with their heirs, according to the *Soolahnama* dated 1221-F. (1813-14 A.D.) and the judgment of the Civil Court, dated 1835, concerning the execution of the clause of that *Soolahnama,* is Rs. 1,48,000 as recorded in the Government register.

Whereas I am also the sole proprietor of other parganas and villages paying a *jumma* of Rs. 1,18,624, as registered in Arrah Collectorate records.

Whereas the accumulation of a large number of loans incurred by way of mortgaging villages and in satisfaction of court decrees threaten the forfeiture and alienation of part of my ancestral estate.

I, therefore, with a view to paying off all my previous debts and releasing the mortgaged property and thus saving the ancestral estate (from forfeiture) agree to take a consolidated loan of Rs. 13 lacs for the above purpose, from Madhav Rao and Narayan Rao, minor adopted sons of the late Maharaja Vinayak Rao Bahadur through Babus Raghubans Prasad and Mukund Rao, the guardians of the said minors. For the reali sation of the said amount I agree to hand over the manage ment and collection of my estates to a *Sarbarakar* appointed by Government in accordance with the Report of the Board of Revenue No. 151, dated 26th April, 1856, and the letter of the Secretary to Government of Bengal, No. 346, dated 3rd May, 1856, addressed to the Board in reply to the above report. Having come to an agreement with the *Sbrimats* (Madhav Rao and Narayan Rao) through these guardians I agree to the execu tion of the above arrangement under the follwing clauses:—

(1) That the amount of Rs. 13 lacs which I am taking as loan from the *Sbrimats* shall be paid in old *Farrukhabadi* [*] coins in which the Peshwa was paid, and that I will repay

[*] jFarruA;W>ad» Rupee.

One of the many varieties of coins, current in the Company's territory prior to 1885. It weighed 180 grains containing 165.215 of pure silver. The Company Rupee of 1835 was based on this Farrukhabadi rupee. The *Sicca Rupee* bore to the *Farrukhabadi Rupee* a proportion of 16:15, roughly.

the full amount principal and interest in *Sicca rupees*[1] without making any discount and that I will bear the loss incurred in this exchange.

(2) That I agree to pay a Commission of 4 per cent on the amount -of loan and therefore the *Shrimats* shall deduct, as agreed by me, a commission of 4 per cent on all amounts they will pay, on my request, into the Allahabad Treasury for trans mission into Arrah Treasury. The amount of loan will, how ever, remain the same. It will not be affected by the deduction (of 4 per cent).

(3) That the interest of the loan at the rate of 10 annas per cent per month amounting to Rs. 7-8-0 per annum and Rs. 150 per month as salary of the agent *ot Shrimats* will be payable by me from the date of the transmission of the money from their Treasury and the arrangement will remain in opera tion till the complete liquidation of the loan.

(4) That the transport, security, and all other incidental arrangements connected with the transmission of money from the personal treasury of *Shrimats* situated in Amritnagar, par-gana Narnawan, *Zillah* (District) Banda, to the Treasury, Arrah, *via* Treasury, Allahabad, will be my responsibility and at my cost, and that I will make the necessary arrangements as and when the amounts are to be transmitted.

(5) That the amount of the loan will remain deposited in the Arrah Treasury, and as and when I draw upon it, through the Collector, for repayment of my previous debts, I will hand over the receipt of the repayment of these previous debts to the Agent of the *Shrimats* through the Collector; that a

[*] A variety of coin.

***Sicca Rupee.*—Literal meaning, coined money. Up to 1835, there was a great variety of coins, current in the different parts of the Company's territories. The term *Sicca* money applied to newly coined money which were at a *Batla* or pre mium to money worn out in use, or the *Sanaut* rupee. With a view to terminating the prevailing confusion the Bengal Government ordered in 1793 that all rupees coined in future shall boar the impress of 19th year of Shah Alam's reign, and this Rupee the 19 *San Sicca* rupee was to be the legal tender in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This Sicca Rupee weighed 192 grains: 176 fine grain (pure silver) 16 alloy grain.**

The Company's rupee which introduced uniformity of coinage throughout Bengal in 1835 weighed 115 grains silver. The *Sicca rupee* was allowed by the Act VII of 1833 to continue as an exceptional coin in Bengal but was abolished in 1836.

deed pledging (to *Shrimats)* the property, thus released from previous debts, upto the extent of the amount repaid out of these 13 lacs, will be executed by me on a stamped paper duly registered and attested by witnesses and signed by the Regis trar and handed over to the Agent of *Shrimats* through the Collector; that the supervision and collection of these released property, to be mortgaged again to *Shrimats,* will be entrusted to a *Sarbarakar* apppointed by Government; and in this way having drawn upon the entire amount of Rs. 13 lacs, and having released the entire property from previous debts and handing them over to the Collection and management of a Government appointed *Sarbarakar,* I will draw up the final document (mortgaging the entire property, thus released, to *Shrimats),* and hand it over to their Agent.

(6) That pending the repayment of the entire amount, principal and interest, due to the *Shrimats* the entire property will remain under the collection and management of a Government appoint ed *Sarbarakar,* and this arrangement will in no way be dis turbed.

(7) That out of the amount collected, through the *Sarbarakar,* from the estate, deductions will be made, for, the payment of Government revenue of those estates, miscellaneous expenses connected with collection and litigation, and my (Kunwar Singh's) own personal expenses amounting to Rs. 60,000 as recorded in the proceedings of the Collector, Arrah, dated 29th May, 1855, and out of the remainder repayment of the principal and interest and remuneration of the Agent will be made, the procedure for which shall be as follows : first the amount of interest and the monthly remuneration of the Agent will be paid, through Government Treasury, in two six monthly instalments and whatever is left, after making these payments, will be paid at the end of each year in one lump sum towards the liquidation of the principal amount. That all these above-mentioned amounts will be paid to *Shrimats* at Amritnagar, through a .draft, to the Treasury at Banda to be sent annually and in accordance with the above conditions, that the *Shrimats* will have nothing to bother for the transmission of the draft, that I will make all arrangements for it, and bear all expenses incurred, and the receipt of the draft by *Shrimats* will be con sidered enough by way of proof and record.

(8) That the grains which will be in my possession will likewise be treated as mortgaged for the loan of 13 lacs and that I or my heirs will have no right of transfer except for (personal) expenses, over the amount of income collected.

(9) That not a pie shall be used, out of the amount of loan deposited in the Treasury, for purposes other than the release of mortgaged property and liquidation of previous debts because *(see* clause 5) the release of the mortgaged property, from out of the amounts drawn from time to time on my request, out of the deposited amount of 13 lacs of rupees, is incumbent; that although I will continue paying interest on the amount, deposited and set apart in the Treasury for the payment of certain dues under dispute and pending settlement that amount will be treated as a trust of the *Shrimats*\ and that the amount lying deposited in Treasury, out of the collection of my estate under a *Sarbarakar's* supervision shall likewise be treated as belonging to *Shrimats* and no one else can be paid out of this amount, in satisfaction of his dues or execution of court decrees, for the money does not belong to me (Kunwar Singh).

(10) That if there is any dispute or difference over interpretation regarding this arrangement, necessitating any legal action or explanation by the *Shrimats*, I will pay, without any objection, all expenses incurred by the *Shrimats*, on this count.

Whereas my debts and commitments are diverse and fairly large, whereas it is not possible to mortgage my estates to *Shrimats* without first releasing them from previous mortgages, and whereas it is essential, both, to take a loan *(from Shrimats)* for the repayment of previous debts and to ensure the proper satisfaction of *Shrimats.*

It is therefore laid down according to this *Satta* (contractual agreement) that whatever proprietary rights I possess, now or may do hereafter, shall be considered mortgaged for this loan from the date on which the *Shrimats* deposit the money in the Treasury in accordance with my request, that pending the writing of mortgage deed by me, later on, as laid down above *(see* clause 5) this *Satta* will have the value of a mortgage deed so far as those estates are concerned which are (according to clause 5) to be pledged to *Shrimats* after

release from previous mortgage, out of *Shrimats* loan. This *Satta* (mortgage) will have priority over other claims of debts.

Provided, however, that if, after the finalization of this *Satta)* the *Shrimats* fail to supply the money, through the authorities, as requested by me, within a month of the date of my request then in that case I have the option, in the first instance, either to treat this agreement as cancelled or to continue it and secondly to observe the above conditions in regard to whatever amount of money has been taken as loan up till that date and to refuse accepting the remaining amount (out of the proposed loan of 13 lacs)."

Actual completion of this loan transaction was, however, thwarted by the intrigues of the local creditors of Kunwar Singh. In utter selfishness and inordinate greed they sought to prevent liquidation of his old debts so that each of them might continue like a Shylock to exact interest on them for an indefinite period. Kunwar Singh himself wrote in a peti tion: "The reason for his (heir of Peswa) proposing certain conditions in some of his letters is this that a loan at the rate of 10 annas per cent per month having been agreed upon by me, subsequently the *Mahajtms* (money lenders) of this place, to annoy and perplex me, informed the heirs of Peshwas that it is the practice of the *Mahajuns,* here, to take 5 per cent as commission and one year's interest in advance from Kunwar Singh before granting him loans. At this calculation 3 lacs would be required to be given in order to obtain a loan of 13 lacs which I consider rather exorbitant and I therefore informed the heirs of Peshwas, through their Agent who were negotiating the loan what I thought proper." The actual com pletion of the negotiations, characterised throughout by delay and procrastination, was in this way held up from time to time and finally retarded altogether due to the intrigues of the go-betweens and the malice of the local *Mahajuns.*

While there was procrastination delaying finalisation of the abovementioned loan negotiations, Kunwar Singh arranged for a loan of several lakhs of rupees from some bankers of Banaras, jointly, to pay off his previous debts. He wrote to the Government in this connection : "Irrespective of this loan (with the Peshwa's heirs) I am, with the view of protecting

my interest, negotiating with *6* other individuals . . . after they are satisfied that their loans will be liquidated through a *Sarbarakar** then they will of their own accord come forward to lend me as. much money as I require." In fact he got the following loans at an interest of 12 percent from the Banaras bankers :—

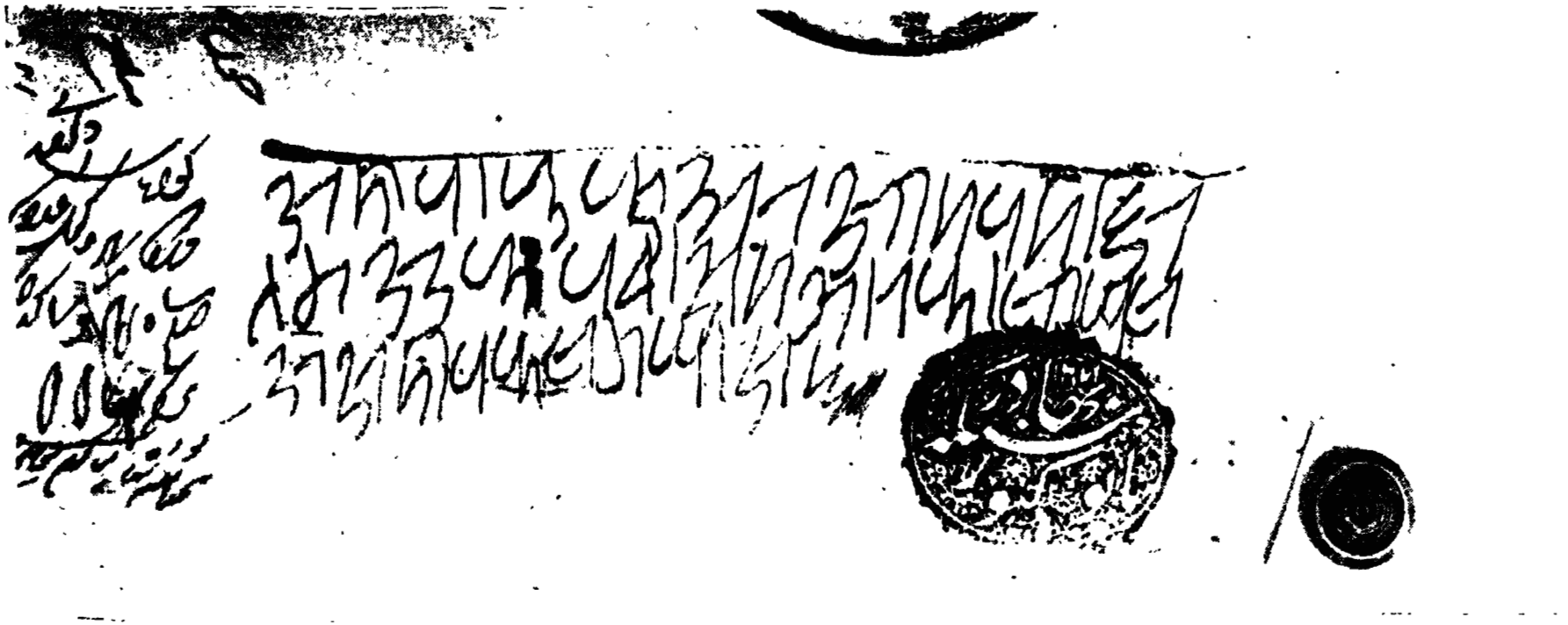
	Rs.
Narain Das-5 bonds	1,20,500
Manohar Das	20,000
Purshottam Das	20,000
Benar Parsad	10,000
Rao Beneeram	10,000
Ramkishun Das	60,000
Kishore Das and Maunee Lail ..	10,000
Total	2,50,500

The sums noted against each name were paid into the hands of the Collector of Shahabad at different times, and security bonds, endorsed by the Collector, were executed by Kunwar Singh, pledging certain villages as security for the loans. These loans were taken in view of the long delay in the completion of the loan from the Peshwa's heirs and were utilised for repaying some of the more pressing of his previous debts.

In the meantime, anticipating the finalisation of the negotiations for the loan from the Maratha chief, steps had been taken by the Government for the appointment of a *Sarbarakar* to manage Kunwar Singh's estate. The Collector of Shahabad [X] appointed, with the consent of Kunwar Singh, one Kashee Prasad as the *Sarbarakar,* and Kunwar Singh executed the following agreement *(Jqrarnama)* accepting the arrangement :

"My affairs being in a disturbed state owing to my being deeply involved in debt and the impossibility of retrieving them by the Agency of my own servants, I presented a petition to the Collector, praying for the appointment of a *Sarbarakar* to manage my estates and provide means

(?] Proceedings, dated 29/A *May,* 1855.



Deed of **Tamaswk* dated the 17th November, 1856, executed by Kunwar Singh in favour of Ram Kishen Das Sahu of Benares for a loan of Rs. 50,000

Signature in Hindi

Seal (Round) in Urdu

for the liquidation of my debts. The Collector out of sentiments of sympathy and benevolence reported the case, with the sanction of Commissioner, to Government, and was enjoined to adopt measures in consultation with the Collector (Commissioner ?) in accordance with his original report dated aand November, 1854, and that of the Collector of aist idem for the appointment of a *Sarbarakar*. The Collector held *Bubkari* (Court Proceedings) on 29th May, 1854, and with my consent appointed Kashee Prasad, a *Sarbarakar,* in order that from 1263-F. my estate be placed under him, with the Collector's superintendence, the collections being annually deposited in the Treasury from which after payment of Govern ment revenue and expenses of *Tuhseel* (collection of reve nue) Rs. 1,50,000 to be paid towards the liquidation of the principal and interest of the fresh loan (from Banaras bankers) to be obtained for the repayment of my old debts, that with reference to Rs. 60,000 which is fixed for my personal expenses I have retained under my own collection estates yielding an annual *jumma* of Rs. 32,000 and the remaining Rs. 28,000 I shall receive in cash from the *Sarbarakar,* to be deposited in the Treasury, and appropria ted with my consent, to a further liquidation of my debts or to any other necessary expenses. Whereas this arrange ment has been sanctioned for the sole purpose of protec ting my property without any responsibility being incurred by the Government, which might make it liable for any claim, therefore, for the satisfaction and security of Government from all manners of loss and liability I bind myself, by this acknowledgement, that from 1263-F. (1855-56 A.D.) till the time the whole of the loan which might be obtained from one or more *Mabajuns* on bonds executed by me I have made over to the charge of Government all estates *Asli* (chief village originally settled) and *Dakhlee* (additional villages subsequently acquired) in my name or *Benamee* of which I am *Malik* and which is now under my occupancy or may hereafter come under my posses sion I or my successors shall not interfere in the manage ment thereof, openly or clandestinely. That whatever sums might be forwarded upon bonds executed by me for the liquidation of my former debts the same be

made over with the sanction of the Revenue Officer to the lending *Mahajan,* as long as the whole of the said debt principal and interest be not fully paid up through Government, my property be not exempted from liability. I or my successor will, however, have no right or claim to take possession of or interfere with property. Per chance shall I or my successors deviate from the conditions or arrangements above set forth it will not be considered legal in any way.

It is also a condition that until the liquidation of the principal and interest of the new loan which will be obtained under the above conditions, all my property according to the terms of the *Iqrarnama* and bonds given to *Mahajans* shall remain pledged and mortgaged and that I shall not, of my own authority, transfer them by sale mortgage or conditional sale nor shall my successor; should such however take place, it will be null and void or if within the period of the repayment of the fresh loans a change in the appointment of the *Sarbarakar* be considered necessary, although within the power of Government Officer, it must be effected with my consent. It will be the duty of the *Sarbarakar* to present *Potthas* (a deed of purchase or transfer) of the villages which shall be leased to the Government officer, after (for?) my perusal and signature and the accounts of the annual income and outlay shall also be signed and checked by me. As soon as the said loans obtained by the sanction of Government officers and the Bonds executed by me shall have been paid in full, *Sarbarakaree* management shall cease and the estate shall revert to my possession and management without delay."

It is thus evident that the estates of Kunwar Singh were not placed under a regular Court of wards arrangement and that the above arrangement regarding it was a semi-private one. Mr. Tayler emphasised this point repeatedly in his letters to the Board of Revenue. In a letter, dated 29th June, 1855, he pointed out: "All the parties concerned are folly aware that the Government in sanctioning the arrangement now in contemplation, merely engaged that so long as the estates are left under the management of a *Sarbarakar* appointed at the instance and request of the proprietor so long the surplus proceeds shall be devoted to the payment' of the Baboo's

creditors and that no further responsibility whatever attaches to the Government or its officers." In a subsequent letter, dated 10th December, 1855, he reiterated: "These proceed ings (the appointment of *Sarbarakaf)* not sanctioned by any law though certainly not prohibited, they are to be considered to some extent as private arrangement between the Baboo and the Government and that neither Government nor its officers were to involve themselves in any responsibility or to become to any extent a party to any transaction. The above is I believe a correct exposition of the case and in accordance with the character of the transaction the greatest possible care should be taken that neither Government nor its officers should incur the slightest responsibility." As Mr. Tayler wrote again to his Government on the 19th December, 1856, this arrangement was sanctioned " on the express condition that nothing was to be done which might directly or indirectly involve the Government or its officers in any responsibility. It was clearly to be understood that the money was borrowed by Kunwar Singh and the estates pledged by him, that the appointment of the *Sarbarakar* for the collection of rents was undertaken by Government as a trust at the request and soli citation of the proprietor and for the benefit of himself and the creditors and all that Government engaged to do was to make the payments specified in the bond from the proceeds in their hands." Kunwar Singh himself admitted the above interpretation when he wrote in his petition, dated 25th June, 1857, that "his application (for the appointment of a *Sarbarakar)* was therefore accepted with the express stipulation that the Government or its servants will bear no responsibility what ever for the arrangement."

Although Kunwar Singh could not procure the promised loan of 13 lacs from the Peshwa's heirs, he had in the mean time taken other measures to alleviate the burden of his loan and had succeeded to a considerable extent in his efforts. The Deputy Collector had also reported favourably on the state of his affairs and had recommended to the Government to give him a loan of 6 to 8 lacs of rupees to clear off the remaining debts. There was thus some improvement in the affairs of Kunwar Singh's estates. But he was soon informed by the Government that they would withdraw the arrangement

regarding his estates unless he procured, within one month, the promised loan of Rs. 13 lacs from Banda. Kunwar Singh was very much disturbed and distressed at this adverse turn of events, and he submitted to Government a long petition, dated 25th June, 1857. After summing up the actual position up to date and emphasising the beneficial effects of the existing Government supervised management of his estates, he expressed the hope of being able to liquidate the loans by other alternative arrangements, even if the promised loan of 13 lacs was not receivea. In fact, he asserted that his affairs had improved to such an extent that he was no more in need of that money. He finally requested the Government not to leave him in the lurch at such a time.

The petition, written exactly one month before the Dinapur outbreak of 1857, is a significant document. After recount ing the course of negotiations with the Government for appoint ment of a *Sarbarakar* to manage his estates, Kunwar Singh submitted in it : "As I was at that time negotiating with the heirs of Maharaja Benaik Rao Bahadur Peshwa for a loan of Rs. 13 lacs on an interest of 7 per cent the Commissioner recommended that if they (the heirs of Peshwa) agree to for ward a loan, principal and interest, may be repaid out of the collection of my estates. Your Honour is well aware that the heirs of Shri Benaik Rao Bahadur repeatedly promised through letters and through their Agent Lala Raghubans Sahay to advance the loan and on their promise a *Sarbarakar* was appointed and negotiations with my creditors for the repayment of their loan was taken up. As a matter of fact, a considera ble portion of my debt was paid out of the collection of my estates, and several repayments in instalments, without interest were agreed upon by some creditors. Although the promised amount of Rs. 13 lacs was not received from *Shrimats* but a considerable portion of my debts was paid off out of fresh loans. Another loan had, however, to be taken at the rate of 12 per cent (from Banaras bankers)".

After giving a detailed statement of his loans up to date, and the course of their adjustment and liquidation, Kunwar Singh further wrote: "I now beg to state that I have been informed by the Deputy Collector of the content of the recent orders of the Board of Revenue saying that on failure of

Petition of Kunwar Singh, dated the 22nd May, 1857. appealing to Government for some loan to tide over his financial difficulties

Petition in Urdu

Signature m Hindi

receiving the promised loan of Rs. 13 lacs within a period of one month recommendation will be made to the Lieutenant-Governor to withdraw the existing arrangement. Your Honour, I beg to submit that I am deeply obliged to Government for under taking the management of my estates and the authorities are well aware that I have spared no effort to obtain a loan and although I have not yet received the amount expected from the Peshwa I have taken a loan of Rs. 3,45,829 from different *Mabajuns* on the strength of the present arrangement (of a Government apppointed *Sarbarakar* supervising my estates) for paying off the more pressing of my standing dues. Your Honour by the grace of the exalted Government my financial conditions are now improved and I do not think there is any necessity now of taking the huge loan of Rs. 13 lacs. In spite of the failure of Peshwa to act up to his promise I did manage to procure several lacs of rupees by recent arrange ments, detailed above. I beg to claim, without any boasting, that part at least, if not the entire, of the conditions laid down by the Commissioner in his letter of 14th April, 1854, have been observed, and I am convinced that if the present arrange ment is continued for some time more all my affairs (loans) will be gradually and favourably settled without the necessity of taking any further loans. I therefore humbly submit that the stoppage of the present arrangement would render my affairs worse than what they were and as the Government bears no responsibility in this matter, they should have no objection in the continuance of the present arrangement. I have never asked as yet for any help from any officer. Un doubtedly however if I could procure a loan of 4 to 5 lacs of rupees from somewhere the loan which I have recently taken at 12 per cent interest could be repaid and if the Government by way of aiding and protecting my interest could give me on suitable terms a loan of the said amount I will be freed of my worries. The petitioner considers himself the well-wisher and servant of the Government and will pray for its prosperity."

While this petition of Kunwar Singh was still pending consideration, the Dinapur soldiers revolted on the 25th July,. 1857, and thus began a new phase in the history of the revolution of 1857-59 in Bihar. The sudden threat of the

Company's Government to remove the *Sarbarakaree* arrangement and their dilatoriness in taking any decision on the petition of Kunwar Singh could not but cause discontent in nis mind. This might have been one of the contributory causes for his assuming the leadership of the movement of 57"59 in Bihar. Tayler holds the procrastination of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Board of Revenue in this respect to be solely responsible for goading Kunwar Singh to join the movement. Explaining his viewpoint Mr. Tayler wrote: "Suddenly about a month before the Dinapur Mutiny the Suddcr Board of Revenue sent through me, as Commissioner, a peremptory message to Kunwar Singh that unless he obtained the entire loan within a month (which was impossible) they would recommend to the Government to withdraw from all interference with his affairs and abandon the management of his estates. Anything more ill-advised or ill-timed can scarcely be conceived. The effect of such a measure would' have been to throw him bound, hand and foot, into the power of his creditors and make him altogether desperate and this just at the moment when all knew he was being anxiously sought for as a leader by the Dinapur Sepoys. The message was necessarily communicated but I lost no time in writing to the Lieutenant-Governor pointing out the imprudence of such a step at such a critical time and begging him to authorise me to assure the old Baboo from himself that he should not be thrown over. In reply to this after some time a doubtful answer of the stereotyped character came to say that enquires would be made from the Board and the Lieutenant-Governor would see what could be done, or words to that effect.

This is a matter of the utmost urgency and at a most critical time notwithstanding that I, as Commissioner of the Division, had pointed out the danger if the same routine course of dilatory procedure was to be pursued (sic) as when there was neither danger nor crisis at all.

Ten days afterwards Kunwar Singh was at the head of 10,000 rebels."

Mr. Tayler was dismissed from his post, during the course of the rising, on the charges of inability to handle the situation effectively and insubordination to the Lieutenant-Governor. The

episode caused a long and bitter controversy between Mr. Tayler on the one hand and the Government, as represented by Mr. Samuells, his successor as Commissioner of Patna, on the other. Ever since his removal, Mr. Tayler engaged himself in writing a series of memoranda and pamphlets defending his acts and policies. The Government, in its turn, drew the attention of Mr. Samuells to these and asked for his views on them. In a long letter, dated 4th December, 1858, addressed to the Secretary to Government of Bengal, Mr. Samuells refuted the allegations of Mr. Tayler point by point and held Mr. Tayler's own acts of high-handedness and terrorism to be responsible for the rising of Kunwar Singh.

In a Memo., dated 18th August, 1857, Tayler wrote:—

"My successor may wish to have my ideas regarding Kooer Singh. A few days before the Mutiny at Dinapur I received a letter from him (Kunwar Singh) with his own signature promising to come after a certain date (a date I have since heard fixed by Brahmins). It may appear strange but I am strongly impressed with the belief that he intended to come, what prevented him from coming will probably form a matter of enquiry. He has since openly rebelled and opposed the State and so of his fate there can be no doubt but in my own mind I look upon him as a victim of circumstances and a rebel by compulsion. I can give much information on the subject which I do not care to write. I sent Azimuddin Hussain, Dy. Collector of Arrah, to his house leaving by night and without warning and no appearance of preparation could be discerned. His report (in original I think) was forwarded to Government. If anything could have saved Kooer Singh and prevented these disasters it would have been the inducing him to come to Patna."

On the contrary, Mr. Samuells asserted with great force and justification that it was precisely due to Mr. Tayler's own terrorising acts that Kunwar Singh decided not to come to Patna. Mr. Samuells wrote in his letter referred to above : [Q]The general opinion and belief is that Kooer Singh's decision was forced on him by, 1st, Mr. Tayler's improper treatment of the Wahabees in Patna, 2nd, by the indiscreet language used by Mr. Tayler. Could Kooer Singh have relied on

Mr. Tayler's justice and impartiality he would have appeared at once notwithstanding the derogatory threat; but seeing the whole system of hanging going out at Patna at the tigie, and the breach of all honorable engagements indulged in by the head of the district, Kunwar Singh in a moment of exasperation and in despair of being more honorably treated than others threw off his allegiance to the British Government. Another letter, which has been mislaid, in giving an account of the share which the different members of Kunwar Singh's family took in the rebellion, mentions specifically that, while others coun selled Kooer Singh to obey the Commissioner's summons, Hari Krishna Singh, who had from the first advocated rebellion argued the arrest of Wahabees and the executions at Patna as to why he should not trust himself there. The opinion that Kooer Singh did not obey Mr. Tayler's summons for fear of being seized on arrival, so far from being my supposition is very widely spread and certainly has probability on its side". It may be added here that the *'Tawarikh-i-Vfjainia* also supports the above interpretation of Mr. Samuells.

The rising cannot be attributed to any one of these factors only. There were complex factors, deeply rooted in the con ditions of the times, which caused it. The circumstances like those mentioned above might have precipitated it. In fact, the faggots had already accumulated, the flame was ignited by these events occurring just on the eve of the outbreak.

CHAPTER IV

ANTI-BRITISH PLOT OF 1845-46

Kunwar Singh's political activities prior to 1857—*General political unrest and risings in Bihar in that period—attempts by Khwaja Hasan Ali and some others to tamper with the alle giance of the Sepoys—the plot of* 1845-46—*its genesis and the personalities involved in it—Kunwar Singh's role in this plot.*

The battle of Plassey sowed the seeds of British Political supremacy in India, and one century following it was marked by its rapid development. This naturally conducted India through manifold processes of transition, which, for diverse reasons, generated fumes of discontent leading occasionally to secret plots or open revolts against growing British supremacy in this country.

In Bihar, many nursed discontent due to the various changes brought by the alien rule, and they often sought to assail its authority even before the revolt of 1857-59, either by organising movements against it, or by sympathetic partici pation with those that originated either in the Province or in other parts of the country. A British military officer, with several years' experience of Indian affairs, wrote in 1857 : "From the days of Kashim Ali Khan (Mir Qasim) Patna had always been a rebellious city" f[1]]. The insurrection of Raja Chait Singh of Banaras [[2]] had repercussions on the contiguous Province of Bihar. Some of the Zamindars here were his supporters and rose against the Company. On the 29th August, 1781, Mr. Grome, the Collector of Saran, wrote to Mr. Ross, [[3]] Revenue Chief at Patna: "Reza Cooly Cawn, formerly the *Amil* (Superintendent of Finances, Collector of

***[*] The Mutiny of the Bengal Army, An Historical Narrative* (1857), p. 174.**

['] **Exact nature of this insurrection and its influence deserve to be critically studied.**

[■] On the death of Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Ross took charge of the office of Reve nue Chief on the 20th August, 1780, which he held till the 18th of October, when relieved by Mr. Brooke.

Revenue) of Sasaram, is at the time with Raja Cheyt Singh. Many of the inhabitants of that district and probably the Oojains, a tribe of Rajpoots, are sincerely attached to him. Petamber Singh of the family of the Ticcari Raja is most intimately connected with Cheyt Singh and his dependants are remarkably good soldiers. He has also a number of horsemen in his pay." It appears from a letter of Mr. Ross to Major Hardy, commanding the Patna Militia, dated the 6th October, 1781, that "One Fattah Shah (of Hathwa) was giving trouble in Saran at this period while several Zamindars and others in the jurisdiction of the Revenue Chief of Patna armed and clothed their dependants in the military accoutrements of the Company." f[1]]

Narayan Singh, Zamindar of Seres and Cotombah (in Gaya district) then resisted the march of the Company's troops near Ramnagar at the foot of the Sasaram hills[2]. For this he was arrested and sent as a State prisoner to Dacca on the $th March, 1786. Raja Akbar Ali Khan of Narhat and Samai also rose in insurrection against the Company at this time.

After the treaty of 21st January 1798, between the English East India Company and Saadat Ali of Oudh by which the latter was recognised as the Nawab of Oudh, Wazir Ali, another claimant to the *wasnad* (Large cushion, signifying seat of authority) of Oudh, was sent to Banaras to live there as a pensioner. Discontented with this lot, Wazir Ali planned an all-India conspiracy [3] against the English, and had some confederates in Bihar, including Raja Mitrajit Singh ofTikari in the district of Gaya. In 1831-32 there was a formidable insurrection of the Coles in Chotanagpur [4J.

In fact, there was a strong undercurrent of popular dis-content in Bihar against the English East India Company for

[*J Hmd, *Early English Administration of Bihar*, pp. 9-10.

***[»] Ibid,* pp. 15-16.**

[a] I hive given a detailed account of it in my paper on "*The Conspiracy of Wazir Ali,*" published in the *Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1937.

[<] There ia a abort account of thia movement in Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India,* Vol. I, pp. 202-204 and another account in the *Calcutta Review,* Vol. XXIX, No. 97. Recently I discovered some original records contain ing plenty of additional information about it, which have been utilised for the History of the Freedom Movement in India.

various reasons. In 1845-46, when in the course of the First Anglo-Sikh War the English were faced with a grave situation due to stubborn and formidable resistance of the Sikh Army, and "all the resources of the Company's Government" were being drawn to the North-Western Frontier [x], there was a plan, at Patna, to assail and uproot their authority. Referring to it, a British military officer wrote in 1857: "Even so lately as 1846, its (Patna's) Mahomedan nobility had endeavoured to take advantage of our balanced fortunes on the banks of the Sutlej. They had then succeeded in corrupting some of the native officers and sepoys stationed at Dinapur." [2]

On the 18th December, 1845, Major Rowcroft of the First Regiment was informed by Motee Mishra, a *Jamadar* of the same Regiment, about Peer Buksh, *Moonshee* (Tutor, writer) of his Regiment, being in secret league with certain rich and influential men at Patna, Who had been distributing money to excite religious prejudices of the Indian officers and sepoys with a view to tampering with their allegiance. To test the veracity of this information, the Major asked the *Jamadar* and another Indian officer enjoying his confidence, to receive the money. Next day, a detachment of the Regiment was to proceed to Gaya, with which these two officers were also to go. Accordingly an arrangement was made to receive the money near the Golghar [3], where the detachment was to encamp. At the appointed hour the money was brought by one Syed Ali and delivered by Peer Buksh to Motee Mishra. It was immediately reported to the Major. Yet, it is rather strange that no action was taken till the afternoon of the 24th December, on which day the Major arrested Peer Buksh Monshee and reported the matter to Mr. J. E. S. Lillie, the officiating Magistrate of Patna. In course of the search that followed his arrest, a private *Dawk* or memorandum book was discovered in his house, showing that he had been in correspondence with Rahut Ali.

The officiating Magistrate, Mr. Lillie, at once took steps to arrest Rahut Ali, whom he knew since the jail disturbance at Patna. ' Next day, on the 25th December, he deputed the

P] Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War* (1870), Vol. I, p. 6.
***[*] The Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, p. 174.**
['] The old granary at Patna near the Lawn.

Joint Magistrate to search the town house (in Sabjibagh Mahalla of Patna) of Rahut Ali and to arrest him if he was found there, and he himself proceeded with a party of police to his country house at Neora. There he only got the information that a Moghul from Delhi was in the habit of visiting the village with the ostensible purpose of selling books. Rahut Ali was, however, arrested by the Joint Magistrate in his town house. The Magistrate ordered the Postmaster "to stop all letters to the address" of Rahut Ali, which he wanted to open "either in his presence or of his recognised agent" and further announced "a reward of 600 rupees to any one giving a clue to the plot and a reward of 200 rupees for the apprehension of the supposed Moghul." [X]

During the search of Rahut Ali's house a large number of papers along with a *Dawk-book* (Book of letters) and *Mab arna-mah* (Public Petition) were seized. Rupees sixteen, rupees sixty and rupees one hundred and one were also found tied up in three separate pieces of cloth. The *Dawk-book* revealed that Rahut Ali was in regular correspondence with Peer Buksh and Shah Kubeeroodeen (Kabiruddin) of Sasaram. Meanwhile, the statement of Peer Buksh had been also recorded, by some officers of the Government who had ascertained from it that Khwaja Hossein Ali (Hasan Ali Khan) Khan[2] of Patna was the principal leader behind the plot and all payments had been made through him. Soon steps were taken by them to arrest Shah Kubeeroodeen and Khwaja Hasan Ali. The latter, how ever, eluded their grasp due to the connivance of Meer (Mir) Baqar, the head *Kotegusht* (patrol) Darogah of Patna. The Magistrate also received information from private sources about a number of influential persons and Zamindars being connected with the plot.

P] *Letter from the officiating Magistrate of Patna, to the Secretary to the Govern. ment of Bengal, 26th December,* 1845.

[*] Khwaja Hasan Ali Khan was for several years at Gwalior in the employ of that State and also remained in Calcutta for some time as its *Vakeel (Vakil)* Shri F. Balkhi, a Research Assistant of mine, has supplied to me the following information about Rahut Ali and Hasan Ali Khan:—

(1) Rahat Ali was an influential *zamindar* of village Neora. He was a relation of the Late Sir Ali Imam, and was the grandfather of M. Zamiuddin, a former Principal of Patna Law College. He had built a tower in which holes had been made for firing 'guns. (2) Hasan Ali Khan was the grandfather of the Late Justice Khwaja Muhammad Noor.

Genesis and development of this secret anti-British alliance can be traced from the various official reports, statements of the persons arrested in this connection and contemporary private letters seized in the houses of its leaders. Its fundamental cause lay in the deepseated discontent of certain sections of the people against the new Government for the various innovations it was introducing and which were considered by them to be interference with some of their old beliefs and practices. As far back as the year 1829 a big demonstration under the leadership of Meer Abdoollah (Mir Abdullah) and Rahut Ali (Rahat Ali) was staged before the *cutchary* (office, court) of Mr. Elliot, Resumption Officer of Patna, as a protest against the severity of the resumption laws. The demonstrators presented a joint petition to the effect that the resumption of lands endowed to religious institutions was "contrary to the immunities held out to them by the regulations and Acts of Parliament". Certain activities on the part of the Christian missionaries added to their discontent and they were not also happy with the encouragement given to the spread of the English education. Just before the introduction of the messing system in the Jails, the Magistrate of Patna, at the request of the Principal of the Patna College, instituted certain enquiries regarding the population of the city, their caste, profession, etc. As the purpose of such an enquiry was not given publicity, it aroused such suspicion and excitement among the people that the Principal had to issue a clarification to allay them. When the messing system was introduced in the Jails, there broke out serious disturbances in many of them. Some people, outside, considered it to be a positive interference on the part of Government in their religious observances and social customs f[1]] . About this time a ship with pilgrims bound for Mecca was put under quarantine in Bombay. Soon the rumour spread wide that the officers of Bombay had "closed the ways for the men of Islam to proceed to Mecca".

[i] Some of the Sepoys of the First Regiment told Major Rowcroft that "when on leave of absence at their villages, their relations told them if they would not make a stand for their religion, they would have to fight against their brothers and relations. Our village furnishes 300 for the army, but if you will not listen to us, we will send 2,000 *Jowana* (youths) to oppose you". *Leiter from officiating Magistrate, Patna, to Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 3rd January,* 1846. Vide also Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War,* Vol. I, p. 305, footnote.

All this led some people to think that their religion was at stake and they began to combine secretly to save it. A *Mah-%arnamah* was drawn up and signed by "a large body of the inhabitants of city (of Patna) bankers, *Amlahs* of the courts, etc., etc." binding themselves on oath to do whatever was required for the protection of their religion and caste [x]. They then sent secret invitation to some influential persons, *Zamindars* and Rajahs of the province of Bihar to assemble at *Hiireehar Chhetra (Haribar Chattar)* on the occasion of the Sone pur fair. A large number of Hindu and Mahammadan gentlemen gathered there. The matter was discussed by them and a plan was chalked out in Khwaja Hossein (Hasan) Ali Khan's tent. For its successful execution, co-operation, or at least the acquiscence of the sepoys in it, was felt necessary. These persons also decided to obtain help from the Rajah of Nepal and the King of Delhi, to raise a force of their own.

Just after the secret convention of Sonepur, one Syff Ali appeared on the scene. He remained till the last a mysterious personality. He declared himself to be an emissary from the King of Delhi and was largely instrumental in winning over the sepoys of Dinapur. Since his introduction with Peer Buksh, the *Moonshee* of the First Regiment, at the Patna residence of Rahat Ali, till the time of his disappearance on the 23rd of December, 1845, he acted as an intermediary between the Sepoys and Khwaja Hossein (Hasan) Ali Khan. It was through him that money had been distributed among the native officers of the army. He had accompanied the *Moonshee* to the Golghar to deliver money to Motee Mishra *Jamadar* (subordinate officer).

Efforts were made by these persons to influence the Sepoy soldiers at other places too. Thus while Syff Ali was trying to win over the Native infantry at Dinapur, the *Kotegast* (patrol) *Darogah,* Meer Baqar, was despatched, after his partici pation at the Sonepur Meeting to Segaulee (Sugauli) where a body of Cavalry had been stationed under Major Wheeler. It is not exactly known as to how far Meer Baqar succeeded in his object. But he offered a gun and a diamond ring to Sada Khan, an officer of the above regiment.

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p] *Letter from the officiating Magistrate of Patna, to the Secretary to the Govern* merit of Bengal,* 31rf *December,* 1845.

Efforts to win over the Native forces appear to have been made at Hazaribagh and Doranda also. Further, an emissary sent to Nepal returned with assurance of help from the Rajah of that place. And recruitment for raising a force had already begun at Jagdishpur under Kunwar Singh.

But before the Hureehar-Chhetra *(Haribar Chattar)* resolutions could be fully implemented, information about the plot was communicated to Major Rowcroft by a *Jamadar* of his regiment, and by him to the Government. To allay excitement, Mr. E. C. Ravenshaw, Commissioner of Patna, issued within a week an *Istihar* (notification) stating therein that the Government had no intention whatever to interfere in religious matters. This was soon followed by a similar proclamation from the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, copies of which were sent for distribution to all district headquarters. Mr. T. C. Scott was appointed Civil and Sessions Judge of Patna and Mr. W. Dampier, an officer of judgement and experience, was transferred to Patna for the special purpose of making thorough investigation into the case.

Earlier, on receiving information from a private source of a bundle of papers having been thrown into a well inside the house of Malik Kadam Ali, a *Mooktar* (an agent or representative), the Magistrate of Patna had rushed to the place. There he discovered in one of the wells a parcel containing a piece of bamboo, well secured at both ends with a brick and stone as weight and the whole being wrapped in a piece of carpet. On opening it the contents were found wet. They were dried and then read with the aid of magnifying glasses. The outer paper (probably meant for wrapping the other letters) was found to be draft of a petition intended to be presented to Government "praying for the removal of all the functionaries at Patna and stating that the country would never recover from the effects of Resumption Laws". It bore the names of Malik Kadam Ali, Meer Abdoollah (Mir Abdullah) and Burkutoollah (Barkat Ullah), the Government pleader. Most of the remaining letters were from Kunwar Singh to Khwaja Hossein Ali, Kadam Ali, Burkutoollah and some others and all of them bore distinct impression of his seal.

Even before the discovery of these letters, the Magistrate of Patna had come to know of Kunwar Singh's participation

in the plot. Kunwar Singh appears to have played a very significant role in this anti-British combination. He had come over to Patna during the jail disturbance and "was in communication with Rahut Ali". f[1]] He is said to have gone to Nepal to represent to its Rajah "the acts of oppression committed by the Europeans" in Hindustan. While there the Rajah of Nepal received, in his presence, "the Gun-powder, etc., which were sent through Roopchand Sahoo, Budree" and some others, and assured him that he "will come down and erase the names and marks of the Europeans from Hindoostan". Kunwar Singh had also been assigned the task of raising a suitable force for the contemplated struggle. From the amount of money required to pay three months' advance to the Sepoys it appears that he had engaged a large number of them, and he was to proceed to Lahore with them (probably with the intention of assisting the Sikhs in the Anglo-Sikh war). It appears from a letter of Kunwar Singh that the money demanded by him was ready but it is not clear whether he could receive it before the plot was discovered.

The Magistrate of Patna at once wrote to the Magistrate of Shahabad to institute an enquiry and apprehend Kunwar Singh, if the latter felt it expedient to do so. Kunwar Singh was not arrested, nor any explanation for the discovery of treasonable letters was demanded from him. There was no doubt about the letters [2] and also about the organisation of a military force in Shahabad. The Magistrate of Shahabad had been informed by Lieutenant Sherwill of the Survey Department that he had personally seen a party of about 200 armed men, in the Chynepur (Chainpur) jungle, "ostensibly engaged on a shooting excursion with Burmeshwar Buksh Singh —a relative of Baboo Kunwar Singh," who had no means of keeping up an establishment without aid from any parties. Who this party was is quite clear from the seized letters. And yet why no action was taken against Kunwar is sufficiently indicated in the report of Mr. Elphinstone Jackson, Magistrate of Shahabad, to the Government, dated 22nd January, 1848.

p] *Litter from, the Officiating Magistrate of Patna, to the Secretary to the Govern. ment of Bengal, 27th December,* 1845.

[*] The contents of these letters were given the benefit of doubt in the absence of any other corroborative evidence.

He observed in it that "the arrest of Baboo Kooer Singh will very likely be followed by a rising of the people, who are at his beck. I have thought it my duty to call for military aid to preserve the peace—the slightest infraction of which might under existing circumstances lead to most serious results." This led the Government to desist from taking any hazardous step. In a letter of the 28th January, 1846, the following instruction was sent by them to the Magistrate of Patna: "It is not desirable that any measure should be taken that may have the effect of exciting the people to opposition, and if you should be of opinion that the actual arrest of Kunwar Singh cannot be effected without the probability of disturbance, you will do well to proceed by simple summons."

Had Kunwar Singh been the only Zamindar implicated in the plot, the Government might have taken a stringent step against him. It was a question of dealing almost with the whole province. The guilt of Baboo Mode Narain (Mod Narayan) of Tikari and Monshee Cheragh Ali, his *Dewan* (Chief Officer in charge of revenue and finances) was proved. That Khwaja Hedayat Ali Khan, Principal Sudder Ameen *(Sadar Amin)* (an officer of the land revenue department) at Gaya, Ashruff Hussain and Maulavi Neaz Ali, Principal Sudder Ameen *(Sadar Amin)* in Tirhut, not to speak of the *Amlabs* (officers) who had signed the *Muh arnamah** were in the know of it, was beyond doubt. The Magistrate of Patna had been privately informed that "the Rajah of Nepal, all the Rajahs in these territories, Durbhanga, Bettiah, Hutwa, Modenarain, Hetnarain, all the influential Zemindars in the surrounding districts. . . .the most powerful merchants and bankers are in league". There might be some exaggeration in this information, but there is no doubt that the plot was widespread.

The Government left no stone unturned to arrest Khwaja Hussain (Hasan) Ali Khan, the leader of the plot, who was absconding. The Khwaja offered to surrender himself to the authority on certain conditions, to which the Government did not agree. The search against him was pursued with all dili gence, but to no effect. In spite of strict vigilance on the part of the Police, the Khwaja went across the Ganges and reached Mauza Buree in Tirhut. From there he wrote a letter to Sukhichund Mahajan and others, which was

intercepted by Government officers. In this letter, besides seeking information about the state of affairs at Patna, he communica ted his intention to proceed to Chandi Chaur. #So a *darogah* (officer in charge of police-station) was immediately sent with all possible speed to arrest the Khwaja there, but the former found himself outwitted.

A letter, which was to be sent in reply to the Khwaja's letter, was also intercepted by some officers. About the state of affairs at Patna it contained the following information:—

"What shall we write about the affairs at Azimabad and the Magistrate's proceedings I He is committing oppressions on all the Zemindars and apprehending the opulent and the poor, putting them in confinement attaching all their property— so that by means of searching houses he has apprehended and confined Moonshee Rahut Ali, Syed Bakar, Khadim Ali and others." The writer of the letter requested Khwaja "to go to Nepal in any manner possible, and after seeing the Rajah there to endeavour to effect a release of the men who are confined". It is not known whether the Khwaja visited Nepal at all.

Meanwhile, the Government had granted pardon to Peer Baksh. He turned an approver and made slight amendments to his earlier statement before the Magistrate of Patna. He exonerated Moonshee Rahut (Rahat) Ali from his alleged acti vities, as a result of which the latter was discharged. Khwaja Hasan Ali's guilt was proved. On the 8th October, 1846, the Khwaja presented himself before the Magistrate of Patna and his trial began after that. But when Peer Baksh was asked to identify him he disclaimed any previous acquaintance with this Khwaja. He declared that the Khwaja was not the person to whom he had been introduced by Syff Ali as Khwaja Hussein (Hasan) Ali Khan and with whom he had held conversations described in the deposition. The Superintendent of Police had no doubt that Peer Baksh had been "bought off", but there was no way out now. The Khwaja was released on the 27th October, 1846.

Thus all the principal accused in the case came out unpunished. Meer (Mir) Baqar, a first grade *Daroga,* Neaz Ali \Q [a] *K!* of Patna) and Burkutoollah (Barkatullah), Government pleader at Patna, and some others, were dismissed from their

respective posts under the Government. Among the men of the Native Regiment, only Doorga Prasad Pundit (Durga Prasad Pandit) and Beekhan Khan *Jamadar* were tried by court martial in May, 1846. The court held both of them guilty and sentenced the former to three years' rigorous imprison ment and the latter to punishment of dismissal from his service. The Commander-in-Chief regarded the sentences to be very inadequate and directed the Court for a revision. Accordingly the Pandit's sentence was enhanced to death and that of the *Jamadar* to transportation for life. But, strangely enough, the Commander-in-Chief, on the 20th June, 1846, again got the Pandit's sentence commuted to three years' rigorous imprison ment, and that of the *Jamadar* to dismissal from service f[1]].

To the last all efforts of the Government to gain a clue to the plot proved to be abortive. The Government's atten tion and resources being then concentrated against the Sikhs, this Bihar event became less impressionable. Kaye expresses the same view when he writes that it was "an incident which, in quiet times, might have made itself heard all over the country, but which, lost in the din of battle in that momentous winter, gave only a local sound". [[2]] It has to be, however, regarded as one of the presages of the coming storm.

[i] "But it was not necessary to strike terror into the minds of an army hovering on the brink of general mutiny : so the sentence was not carried out." Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. I, p. 309.

[•J *Ibid*, pp. 303-301.

CHAPTER V

THE RISING OF JULY, 1857

General political background—widespread discontent all over the Patna Division, and its potential dangers—Tlayler's study of the situation— strategic position of Bihar—the rising of yd July 1857—its nature and extent.

The discovery of the plot of 1845-46 averted further trouble for the Company's Government at that time. But discontent against it still lingered in different quarters and the grievances, which caused it, still remained unredressed. Not only did the Company's Government connive at these, but also fresh provocations were offered by them from time to time. For example, they had already experienced sensitiveness of the people at the time of the introduction of the messing system in the Jails, and had also ascertained it to be one of the causes of the 'Combination' of 1845-46. But they ignored the lesson and made a fresh attempt in 1855 to substitute earthenware vessels for *lotahs.* The reaction against it was furious. The prisoners resisted the experiment, and in many places manifested their resentment with a fury which wasp] shared by some people outside the Jails also. Kaye writes, "At Arrah the excitement was so great that the guards were ordered to fire upon the prisoners, and at Mozufferpore, in Tirhoot, so formidable was the outburst of popular indignation that the Magistrate, in grave official language, described it as *a furious and altogether unexpected outbreak on the part of the people of the town and district in support and sympathy with the prisoners."* "The rioters," it was noted in the report, "*included almost all the inhabitants of the town, as well as a vast* number of *ryots,* who declared that they would not go away until *the lotahs were restored."* "So great was the danger," it was added, "of the prisoners escaping, of their plundering the reasury and pillaging the town, before the troops which had been

p] ***Kaye, op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 199.**

sent for could be brought up, that the Civil authorities deemed it expedient to pacify the insurgents by restoring the *lotahs* (water pots) to the people in the gaols." Although in a proclamation the Lieutenant-Governor disowned any "knowledge or sanction of the Government " [x] for introducing such an innovation in the Jails, the effect was no better, for it seemed quite "absurd to suppose that any person should perform a novel act without consulting the Government. " Many among the people received the Lieutenant-Governor's proclamation in the spirit that "when evil designs do not succeed, a false statement is made with a view to conceal them[2]."

Some among the Indians were also sore at the preferential treatment being shown io the persons receiving English education in the matter of giving appointment in Public Services. They contended that what was needed was knowledge and not the language. A man might as well acquire knowledge through Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit.

While Government's policy of encouraging English education by giving preference to English-knowing persons for appointments in Public Services was not liked by some, much excitement prevailed in the country due to the activities of the Christian missionaries. No doubt, the Government very often declared its strict neutrality in religious matters. But an over-enthusiastic English officer pictured "India as it may be under an enlightened patriarchal empire, peaceable, prosperous and Christian. . . . "[8]. Some other officers shared his feelings and were, on their own, doing everything in their power to help the spread of Christianity. For example, Captain Wilkinson, the first Agent to the Governor-General in South-West Frontier Agency, and Mr. J. R. Ousley, found in Chotanagpur a very suitable centre for the spread of Christianity and took positive measures towards that end. Mr. J. R. Ousley, one of his Principal Assistants, reported to the Government on the 30th November 1840, that "a finer field for the missionary never existed." He was very jealous of the Oriya Brahmans, who were endeavouring to convert

P] *Lieutenant*Governor's Proclamation* (1855).

[a] An anonymous petition in the name of the principal inhabitants of Bihar, forming an enclosure to a letter, dated the Sth October, 1855*, from the Under'Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Commissioner of Patna.*

[•] George Campbell, India as it may be (1853).

the Coles to Hinduism, and he even "applied to his Lordship, the Bishop of Calcutta, for assistance in this way." He further reported that "here among persons who are unchecked by caste, having no recognised religion whatever, • eating and drinking whatever is offered from our table *might be laid the foundation for the general conversion of the whole of India"* Rev. William Buyers (who travelled in some parts of Bihar and recorded his observations in a book f[1]] published in 1848) found that although the Baptist Mission at Patna was of long standing, it had made little impression on the inhabitants "hostile to the English influences". Missionaries had "often met with virulent opposition and even personal violence in the City, chiefly from the Muhammadans". One of them informed him "that on one occasion while attempting to preach, he had been abused and beaten by people". In 1855, when a Christian Missionary made wide circulation of a Pamphlet exhorting Indians to embrace Christianity, public feelings became very much excited.

The missionaries further pleaded the recent material progress in the country as an argument in favour of the adoption of one universal religion by the people of India. For example, in the Pamphlet referred to above, they pointed out that "the time appears to have come when earnest considera tion should be given to the question, whether or not *all men should embrace the same system of religion.* Railways, steam-vessels, and the electric, telegraph are rapidly uniting all the nations of the earth. The more they are brought together, the more certain does the conclusion become that all have the same wants, the same anxieties, and the same sorrows". Since the *Pamphlet* had been addressed to the educated natives, particularly those in the Government services, many people came to have the suspicion that Government servants had been exhorted to embrace Christianity. They reasoned, who else could ask Government servants in such a way ? And they felt that for a servant there was no way but to accept the behest of his master. Mr. W. Tayler, Commissioner of the Patna Division, very correctly read the popular feelings when he reported that the natives were "impressed with a full belief that Government

[1] ZJecoMec/iorw o/ *North India,* pp. 199—200.

were immediately about to attempt forcible conversion of its subjects". The Commissioner added that "a correspondence on this head had for some time been going on between native gentlemen in various parts of the lower provinces".

Mr. Tayler observed in his letter to Mr. W. Grey, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 27th June, 1855: "Owing to sundry causes.....the minds of the people in those districts are at present in a very restless and disaffected state and they have generally conceived the idea that there is an intention on the part of Government to commence and carry through a systematic interference with their religion, their caste and their social customs" [*]. He suggested in this letter the issue of a proclamation by the Government to allay popular discontent. This was done when the Lieutenant-Governor visited Bihar.

Administrative changes of different kinds introduced by the Company's Government, particularly the resumption laws, badly affected the position of some members of the territorial aristocracy. They naturally nursed discontent and bided their time to challenge the new ruling authority.

The Santhal Insurrection, which broke out in 1855 in an area extending from Bhagalpur to Birbhum, as a protest against the grinding oppressions of the officers of the new Government as also of the money-lenders and traders, served as an example for others in Bihar to make an attempt to organise an opposition against the alien masters of the country. Like the Santhals, who submitted a petition to the Government before resorting openly to arms, they also in the name of the principal inhabitants of Bihar, sent an anonymous petition to the Lieutenant-Governor, while on a visit of Bihar, enumerating their grievances and soliciting an early redress. In the

P)"More than two years before the first appearance of an insurrectionary spirit I had, myself, publicly reported to Government, that the minds of the Bchar people, and specially of the Mohammedans, were greatly disturbed, in consequence of reports that had been circulated of an intention on the part of the Government to interfere with their religious observances, and social customs: I pointed out the dangerous effects of certain measures in progress, and contemplation, the misconception which had arisen from the late orders regarding the messing and drinking vessels of the prisoners, the sudden establishment of an expensive educational machinery, and other matters of the kind, of which the object was either unintelligible or misunderstood by a people who are profoundly ignorant and profoundly sensitive, on all points connected with their faith, customs and caste." Tayler, *Our Crisis,* p. 6.

petition they gave a hint about their preparation and named the quarters from which they expected to get active support. The petition ran, " . . . . the *zemindars* and *Rajahs* of Mozuf-ferpore, Arrah, Chupra, Azimabad, Sahebganj and Bhagalpur and the districts, have formed themselves into a party one of whom has been deputed to the *Rajahs* of Putteallah (Patiala), one to the Santhals and another to the *Rajah* of Nepal and the emperor of Delhi. It is also known that the *Rajah* of Puttea llah, in league with the people of the Punjab, is arranging his troops. It is no wonder that the whole of the people of Hindustan will within a short time gather like ants, either in one quarter or in every district to fight for the cause of their religion. The people of Hindustan being thus helpless, have made preparations for a battle." Again and again the petition emphasised that true strength of a State lies in the happiness of its subjects. It said, "the rise and extension of an empire depend upon the happiness of its subjects and the king who made his subjects happy had his territories cultivated, but that the king who made his subjects unhappy suffered loss. It has been said by philosophers that the best course would be to secure the happiness of the subjects and at the same time to promote the interest of the ruler."

The petitioners held that "the object could be accomplished by abolishing the former schools and those that areabout to be established, prohibiting the destruction of Musjecds (mosques) and Hindoo temples, adopting measures for preventing the baptism of the natives, annulling the Act for attendance of females at the Court and by conferring situations on *Omedwars* (applicants) conversant with the Persian and Arabic languages without giving any preference to those acquainted with the English language. If this is done the whole of the people of Hindoostan will be satisfied and will continue to obey, but if otherwise disturbances will occur in several places."

It is not possible to say what was the actual strength of this opposition group and how far they were really prepared to measure their strength with the Government. But there is no doubt that there was widespread discontentment in Bihar, the manifestation of which in the form of Jail disturbances or in other forms, showed that they were not "sudden outburst of rash and misguided ignorance, but the deliberate work of

some of the rich inhabitants of the town, and some of the higher native functionaries of our Civil Courts". [x]

The Lieutenant-Governor's visit to Patna, and some of the measures adopted by the Government, cooled down the excitement for the time being. But the Commissioner, Mr. W. Tayler, who was the first to report officially on the excited state of popular feelings in Bihar, knew it very well that in spite of apparent calm on the surface, there were feelings in the minds of some people still waiting for a more favourable condition to burst into open flames. This oppurtunity came in 1857.

The news of the risings in Meerut and Delhi (in May, 1857) thoroughly unnerved the European community in Bihar. They became panicky and rushed towards Dinapur.

From Chapra, its Collector, Mr. Richardson, himself fled to Dinapur, leaving the district in charge of a 'native' officer. The English authorities at Muzaffarpur were also distrustful of their *Najeebs* [2] (Volunteer Corps) and requested the Commissioner of Patna for protection. The Judge and Collector of Tirhut sent a circular requesting all the Indigo planters to leave their Factories and to come to protect the station. [3] From Buxar and Arrah also most of the English residents came over to Dinapur. The Commissioner of Patna felt that this was shattering the prestige of the English and so issued a proclamation exhorting all to return to their respective places. In Patna itself the rumour of a rising of the Dinapur Sepoys on the evening of the 7th June caused great consternation among the English residents and under orders of the Commissioner they all flocked to his fortified house. In the night a letter inviting the *Najeebs* (on the guard of Treasury and Commissioner's house) to join the rising was seized by the Government. The bearer of this letter was capitally punished, while the informers were liberally rewarded. This made the Commissioner suspicious of an "intrigue in the city". He also came to know from several sources that there had been "secret

[i] Kaye, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 199.

[a] Letter from W. Tayler, Commissioner of Patna, to Sir F. J. Halliday, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, 18th June,* 1857.

[3] *From W. Tayler, to Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 29th June,* 1857.

meetings, correspondence, collection and distribution of money, and other unmistakable signs of combination and plotting". The Deputy Magistrate of Barh informed him that "the very coolies talk of the Shah of Delhi". Captain Rattrayf[1]] told him that "on the road as he was marching in, evident signs of a sulky disaffection was exhibited; as the Seikh (Sikh) Regiments marched through the town, even the first day, they were abused as Christian, and for days afterwards they were subjected to revilings, as having come to help the *Kaffirs* (infidels), and being themselves contaminated".

These developments were being watched by the Company's Government with deep anxiety. Recounting the situation the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir F. J. Halliday, observed in his Minute of the 30th September, 1858: "On the outbreak of disaffection in the North-West, I became more than ordinarily anxious for the Province of Bihar, bordering as it docs on the actively disturbed parts of the country, more than one of its districts supplying soldiers for the army, the town of Patna itself rightly or wrongly supposed to be the hot-bed of Muhammadan conspiracies, and of course at this time an object of more than usual suspicion . . . .an uneasy feeling on the subject of religion being reported to prevail; not looking to what had occurred at Meerut, Delhi and other up-country Stations, was the presence of three Native Regiments at Dinapur calculated to allay any anxiety that might be felt. Added to all this was the importance of the province, politically and finan cially, almost every district touching the Ganges, and the Grand Trunk road running through a large portion of the Division, so that anything happening to endanger the safety of the Province would, at the same time, have cut off the two great highways to the Upper Provinces; and again, in a financial point of view, its immense opium cultivation, the quantity of manufactured and partially manufactured opium inthegodowns at Patna, the large and scattered treasuries almost unprotected, and to crown all, except at Dinapore where their presence was absolutely necessary as a check on the native regiments, not a European soldier throughout the whole Division." Referring to the gravity of the situation, Kaye [2] remarks that it was "a

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[>] Jfe/n-o. *of the Commissioner of Patna, [W. Tayler, 2Qth June,* 1857.

[*] Kaye, *op. cit.,* Vol. Ill, p. 68.

time when Government were straining every effort to send upwards, along the Grand Trunk Road, small detachments of Europeans in wheeled carriages; for an outbreak of the Native troops at Dinapur might have closed the road, and delayed the advance of our reinforcements in the hour of our greatest need".

According to the instructions of the Government of India, their officers in Bihar took several precautionary steps to keep the situation in the Province under control. Additional forces were raised by them to assist the police (for which recruitment was made from the lower castes). Strict vigilance was kept on the ferry *ghats.* Forces were stationed on the borders of the disaffected districts to check the infiltration of the Sepoys in revolt. Removal of the treasure from the outlying districts to Patna was also ordered. Six Companies of Captain Rattray's Police Battalion stationed at Suri (now headquarters of the Birbhum District in West Bengal), which had volunteered for active service, were sent to Patna. Besides, several *Ra/as* and *Zamindars* came forward with offers of assistance and placed men and elephants at the disposal of the Company's Government.

Mr. Tayler had his own plan for the suppression of the anti-British elements in his Division. On the 19th June, 1857, he invited some respectable residents of Patna "for consultation on the state of affairs," and arrested three influential *Maidvies,* named Muhammad Hussain, Ahmadullah [1] and Waizul Haque [2], who had come along with others to his *bungalow* in response to the invitation. That very day, he arrested Maulvi Mehdee[3], the principal patrol *Daroga* of the City, on suspicion of collusion with the disaffected. He further demanded from the citizens of Patna delivery of their arms in the local *thanas* (police-stations) within twenty-four hours. Besides,

[1] Ahmadullah was later on the principal accused in the Patna Wahabi case (1865) and was transported for life to the Andamans, where he died.

[2] Waizul Haque incurred displeasure of the Government on account of his leading opposition to the propaganda of the Christian missionaries. On his release from jail he was offered a Government post, which he declined, and left for Mecca where ho died.

[3] Maulvi Mehdee, a resident of Lucknow, was suspected because he had been "frequently admitted to the Royal presence; when the King of Oudh passed through Patna". Patna Commfawner'* *letter no.* 622, *the 11th July,* 1857, *to the Government of Bengal.*

people were prohibited from leaving their houses after 9 p.m. While Mr. Tayler was using various repressive measures to keep his Division under control, Major Holmes (commanding the 12th Irregular Cavalry stationed at Sugauli) declared martial law in the districts lying between Gorakhpur and Patna. He issued the following instructions to the Magistrates of Saran and Tirhut and the Deputy Magistrate of Champaran:—

"*First.* —Let all the chief *ghats* (landing place, quay,) on the rivers be strictly guarded, removing, for the present, the small *amindaree ghats.* Let any suspicious characters be seized, and let all such be in detention in the jail for the present.

Second.—Proclaim a reward of rupees 50 for the seizure of each rebel sepoy, and should you catch any such, send them to the Military authority nearest the spot of their capture, either Segowlee or Dinaporc (not Ghazeepore); also send witnesses.

Third.—Proclaim a similar reward for information which may lead to the conviction of those guilty of speaking seditious words against the Government. Seize all such, and send them to me.

Fourth.—Send an order to all the petty *Rajahs* in your district to keep their followers on the alert to aid the police; warn them that for concealing any sedition, or any rebel, they will be punished as principals; and that they will receive honor for seizing any rebels.

Fifth. —Instruct your *Thannadars* and *Jemadars* of Police, that in case of any really good service in such matters, they will be recommended for reward to the Governor-General direct.

Sixth. —All the petty *Rajahs* should be required to furnish half the mounted men in their establishments to patrol through the district, and to watch for seditious persons."

Assumption of arbitrary power by Major Holmes was not liked by the civil officers and the Government of Bengal. But the former were advised by the Government to act in such a way as to avoid "placing" him (Major Holmes) in any kind

of slight or contempt. The Government considered that Major Holmes' "intentions are doubtless good".

On the 3rd July, 1857, Mr. H. Richardson, the Magistrate of Muzaffarpur, reported to the Commissioner of Patna that the following steps had been taken to "seize mutineers and deserters":—(1) *The Thikadars* (lease-holders) were to detain all sepoys and suspicious persons passing through their *ghats*> (2) orders had been passed for the closing of all *%amindari ghats* on the Gandak and the Ganges, (3) one *daffadar* (an officer corresponding to the sergeant) and three *barkanda es* (matchlockmen, runner, guard) had been stationed on every important *ghat**(4) the indigo planters had been instructed to help in these works and (5) rewards had been declared for the arrest of deserters, mutineer and seditious persons. Extra police was employed soon at important places, one *daffadar* and three *barkanda es* for each of the eight *ghats* of the Gandak, five *barkanda es* at the Lalganj Thana, three *barkanda es* at Hajipur, one additional *jemadar** four additional *sowars* and twenty-four *barkanda es* for Muzaffarpur town."

Major Holmes' cruelties led four exasperated soldiers to kill him and his wife at Sugauli (District Champaran) in the evening of the 25th July, 1857. Dr. Garner, Mrs. Garner and one of their children, and Mr. Bennet, the Deputy Postmaster, were also killed at the same place by the 12th Irregular Cavalry, who then went off to the North-West *via* Sewan, where the Deputy Magistrate, and the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent had a narrow escape.

The Company's Government declared *Martial Law* on the 30th July, 1857, in the districts of Sarun, Tirhut, Champaran, Patna, Behar and Shahabad.

Already on the morning of the 23rd June, Mr. Tayler had received information from Muzaffarpur about the arrest of Waris Ali, a Police *jemadar* of Tirhut, in whose possession had been found a large number of 'seditious' letters. These letters implicated Ali Karim of Dumri (in the Gaya district). The Commissioner sent Mr. M. Lowis, the Magis trate of Patna, along with a party of Sikhs under Capt. Rattray, to arrest Ali Karim at his house. But before they could arrive at his place, Ali Karim, on receiving information

about the measures of the Government, had quitted it on an elephant. They, however, pursued him. When Ali Karim caught sight of his pursuers he astutely forsook the open road and struck across the fields, where the elephant mpved rapidly but the *ekka,* (cart drawn by horse) carrying his pursuers, could not follow it. At this the Magistrate left the carriage and followed him on foot. But, as Mr. Tayler says [X], "the villagers not only gave him no assistance, but actually removed a *tatoo* (pony) that he had secured". So next day he returned, "wearied and disheartened", leaving his *Na%/r* (an officer employed in the judicial courts, supervisor of peons) to follow up the chase. Ali Karim, however, escaped.

Tayler's repression could not at once cow down those engaged in organising a plot against the Company's Govern ment. In fact, there was a furious rising at Patna on the 3rd July 1857, when a big mob, armed with weapons and shouting *"Deen" "Deen"* (Religion) attacked the Roman Catholic Church, close to Peer Ali Khan's house. Dr. R. Lyell, the Principal Assistant to the Opium Agent of Bihar, hurried to the scene of occurrence in the company of the *Nujeeb* guards, a Sudebar and eight Sikhs. But he was instantaneously shot dead. Then followed an exchange of shots in which a man was killed and one wounded, and before Captain Rattray's force arrived at the scene the mob had dispersed. The latter seized the wounded man and two green flags with inscriptions *"La Illah Illallaba".* Next day Peer Ali's house was searched. Five guns and a quantity of other weapons were found there, and also some papers which afforded a clue to the plot.

Other papers, which gave further clue in this respect, were those found in the possession of Waris Ali at Muzaffarpur. He was said to be related to the royal family at Delhi, and the Magistrate of Tirhut believed him to be employed as a spy for some time. Letters found in his possession were all addressed by Ali Karim, while those in Peer Ali's house were mostly from Museeh-us-Zamun, a Lucknow book-seller. Combined testimony of the letters, discovered either at Peer Ali's house or with Waris Ali, prove beyond

[*] Our Crisis, p. 40.

doubt the existence of a widespread conspiracy to overthrow the government.

Time and place, indicated in these letters, are very helpful for forming an idea of the nature and extent of the plot. Thus from a letter of Reasut Ali, dated Calcutta, the 23rd December, 1856, to Yusuf Ali at Patna, we learn that towards the close of the year 1856 Peer Ali and Musseeh-us-Zamun had gone to Lucknow (from Kanpur) where "a great Religious War had taken place". This was the year in which Oudh had been annexed to the British territory. The King of Oudh while returning from Calcutta had halted at Patna and granted several interviews to Maulavi Mehdee, the *Kotegusht* or patrol *Darogab* of Patna and some others, which subsequently became the ground for the imprisonment of the *Darogab* by Mr. Tayler, the Commissioner of Patna. Nana Saheb, who had lost all hopes, by 1853, of getting the family pension from Government, paid visits to Delhi and Kalpi, and on the 18th April, 1857, he proceeded to Lucknow from where he returned under "suspicious circumstances". Besides, Bithur (where the Nana was living) was only at a distance of twelve miles from Kanpur, the residence of some of the associates of Peer Ali, who had come over to Patna with a secret mission. Coincidence of all these circumstances leads one to think of contact and collaboration among the above mentioned disaffected persons for some time before the open outbreak of the movement of 1857. Subadar Hidayat Ali of the Native Sikh Infantry writes in a contemporary account : "It would naturally be asked, how I came to know the feelings of the Oude people ; in order therefore to satisfy this curiosity, I relate the history in full. On the 23rd February, 1856, I was transferred from the 8th Regiment N. I. into the Seikh (Sikh) Bengal Police Battalion. On the said day, I left Barrackpore for Lahore where the corps was being raised. On my way thither I reached Cawnpore on the 24th March, when the Nawab of Lucknow also arrived there, *en route* to Calcutta. I put up in the inn where the Nawab's *Vakeel, txz.,* also took their temporary lodgings. The chief persons of the city, the *Vakeel* of the *Raja* of Bithur and the Officers and Sepoys from the Regiments stationed there, used to pay visits to the *Vakeel* and servants of the Nawab. They were all of opinion that the

annexation of the country of Oude by the British Government was an unjust act. The *Vakeel* of the *Raja* of Bithur said that his master was much angry and displeased with the English for annexing Oude. I stopped three days in the Sarae *(sarai,* inn) being compelled to leave it in consequence of multiplicity of occupiers and their visitors. I then went to Ruhcem Bux, Soobadar ist Regiment, 2nd Company, N.L, and stopped with him for three days more. When there I found the Sepoys expressing their displeasure against the British Government for dispossessing the Nawab of his dominion. On the 19th March, 1 left Cawnpore and joined my corps at Lahore." Malleson also notes : "of this conspiracy (the conspiracy preceding the general outbreak), the Maulavi (Azimullah) was undoubtedly a leader. It had its ramifications all over India—certainly at Agra where the Maulavi stayed sometime — and Calcutta where the ex-King of Oudh and a large following were residing" *]*].

It appears that, besides the Wahabies, two groups of people at Patna were engaged separately against the Government. One was the Lucknow group with Peer Ali Khan, Yusuf Ali, Imamoodcen [2J and others. This group had begun to work, most probably, just after the annexation of Oudh. Another group of Ali Karim, W'aris Ali and some others drew inspiration and help from Delhi, and it was this group which had won over the Native Infantry, stationed at Dinapur, by various inducements, such as distribution of money, etc. But efforts had already been made to effect a collaboration between these groups. In one of his letters to Peer Ali, Museeh-us-Zamun, the Lucknow editor and book-seller, had emphasized the need of such combination, and instructed the latter to contact Ali Karim and others.

In fact, the two combined for the rising of the 3rd July. The slogans then used, *"Deen, Deen" "All, Ali"* (the 4th Caliph of Islam. The name is also used by Muslims specially Shia as a slogan, watch-word or war-cry.) and *"Badshah* of

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p] ***History of Indian Mutiny,*** **Vol. V., p. 292.**

[•] According to the statement of Imamoodeen, an associate of Peer Ali Khan, who had been severely wounded in the engagement of the 3rd July, 1857, Ali Karim gave two thousand rupees (which was made over by Munsiff Amjud Ali) to Peer Ali Khan and promised to keep 300 persons ready on the day of the rising.

Delhi" (King of Delhi) are sufficiently significant and suggestive. So is the green flag with the inscription *"La Illah Illallaha"*. Peer Ali was himself present in the mob and shot Dr. Lyell. And at least Maulavi Waizul Haque, one of the arrested Wahabi leaders, had knowledge of the plot.

The statements of some of the persons arrested on the 3rd July, particularly that of Imamoodeen, lend support to the view that the two groups united on this occasion. According to Imamoodeen's statement he had been engaged by Peer Ali along with some others and had been receiving money for the last three months, on the understanding that when the time arrived, they would fight for *"Deen"* and *"Radshah* of Delhi". He testified that in the parties concerned in the outbreak there were Muslims and Hindus also including the *R.aja* of Bettiah. Ali Karim was to have been elected ruler of the province, if the scheme had succeeded, but as he was absent in the night of the disturbance, a substitute named Kasim Shere was chosen. The Dinapur Sepoys had consented to the conspiracy, but there was a difference of opinion between them and the people of the town as to the date for the outbreak, the Sepoys preferring Sunday and the people of the town preferring Friday. And the 3rd July was actually a Friday.

Mr. W. Tayler, Commissioner of the Patna Division, in one of his letters to the Government of Bengal thus reported on the prevailing conditions, the leaders of the anti-government groups and the measures he took to deal with them : "Although I have always believed that in carrying out a great anti-Christian league—which we are.....warranted.....in regarding this Movement to be—all sects would be willing to merge their own sectarian differences for the time and to make common cause against the "Nazranees"—there were yet two special quarters from which danger might be—looked for at Patna—partisans and adherents of the Lucknow party since the annexation of Oude. .....secondly from the numerous and fanatical sect of the Wahabees. In addition to this was the great danger to be expected from the excitement which might break among the mass of the townspeople if an outbreak occurred. To each of these separate points I aimed a separate stroke as will now be shown.

It was previously within my knowledge that when the King of Oude passed through Patna, Mehdee Ali, the *Cptegusht* or patrol *Darogah* of this city who is a man of superior knowledge and attainments, resident of Lucknow, had been frequently admitted into the royal presence and was treated with the greatest consideration.

When the first idea of the Muhammadan combination began to be bruited my attention was drawn to this man's conduct. To all questions regarding the city and the Wahabees he always answered with contempt, who has the power to do anything. This man from his position had more power and influence than any other individual in the city and the good opinion entertained of him both by the Magistrate and myself naturally increased his influence.

Early in June, I had information from several quarters that secret meetings were held at Mehdee Ali's house at different hours of the night, at which some of the Wahabees were present.

Anonymous letters were also received pointing to him as a dangerous and designing character, and I obtained positive evidence the day I arrested the Wahabee leaders, that he (Mehdee Ali) had, the night before, at a large entertainment in the city (where he had no right whatsoever to be), actually warned some of those who had received my letter of invitation that he suspected there was some trap in it.

All these circumstances, combined, convinced me of the necessity of removing him from his post and in consideration of the last act of treachery I considered myself justified in placing him for a time under surveillance, thus depriving him of the power of mischief.

The arrest of Mehdee Ali removed a powerful officer who, from his influence in the city was if so disposed, a perfect shield to any native conspiracy which might be in contemplation and more specially on the part of the Lucknow party in the city.

The second group from which danger might arise I considered to be the Wahabees, a sect of Mohammadans who

take their name from the well-known Abdul Wahab, and who, among other characteristics which it would not be convenient here to detail, are remarkable for their unity, their extreme fidelity to each other and their extreme devotion to their spiritual head.

My object in arresting the Chief leaders of this body was, that by placing them under a vigilant and yet mild surveillance I should, without inflicting any further hardship upon them than loss of liberty for some time, still hold hostages for the good conduct of their numerous followers.

The third step taken was disarming, at least as far as practicable, of the townspeople. This has been done by proclamation. Some 5,000 arms have been produced voluntarily and deposited at the *Thannahs* . . . . . *I* have also insisted upon no body leaving their houses after 9 o'clock."

The long contemplated rising was finally precipitated, probably before time, by those measures of Tayler, along with the excessive employment of local spies *(Goindas)* which threatened the exposure of the great design so assiduously nurtured and so strictly kept secret.

On the discovery of the conspiracy Tayler started a reign of terror f[1]] at Patna which continued for slightly over a month. House-searches, arrests and executions became the common features of his repression. Many were hanged without regular trials. Tayler also sought to tamper with the course of justice. What he did in the trial of Lootf Ali Khan, a rich banker of the city, is a typical example of it. This man was committed to sessions by the Commissioner first on the charge of being 'an accomplice in the conspiracy' and that charge having failed, for harbouring a 'mutineer'. While this case was being tried by Mr. Farquharson, the Sessions Judge of Patna, Mr. Tayler tried to influence the latter by several private letters. He wrote in a letter of the 14th July, 1857 : " L. A. K. seems

t[1]] A letter from Hafiz Budrud-deen Ahmad to Meer Bhuttoo, Shah Dumree, etc., seized in the house of Peer Ali, gives a very graphic picture of the state of affairs in Patna at this time. It starts as follows -.—"Some respectable parties of the City are in prison, and the subjects are all weary and disgusted with the tyranny and oppression exercised by Government whom they all curse. May God hear the prayers of the oppressed very soon..... I cannot write to you the true state of things here'.

to have had a nest of ruffians in employ ; two of the hangees are shown to have been closely connected with him. The man himself admits that he was an *0 medwar* for 8 or io days with him. I fancy *hundreds have been hanged on less evidence than this."* Failing to gain his point Mr. Tayler requested the Judge to postpone the proceedings for few days to enable him to procure stronger evidence. As the Judge was not agreeing with him, he again wrote to him, on the 23rd July : *"Hundreds have been hanged on much less evidence,* but I can obtain a better still, and you will, I think, incur great responsibility if you do not postpone the case". Lootf Ali Khan was, however, acquitted of all charges. Tayler himself wrote : "14 were sentenced to death, 12 were hung within three hours after the sentence, 2 were detained for a few hours in the hope of obtaining some information. Six more have been added since, 3 capitally sentenced, 2 transported, and 1 to 14 years' imprison ment".

By various tyrannical means Mr. W. Tayler thoroughly terrorised the people of Patna for about a month. He employed several *"Goindas"* (spies) to get secret information about the people of the town. These *"Goindas"*, wrote Mr. E. A. Samuells (who succeeded Mr. Tayler as Commissioner of the Patna Division) on the 22nd September, 1857, "were much more formidable to innocent men from whom they extorted money by accusation than to criminals, who could generally secure their silence either by bribery or intimidation". The effect of such a policy did not escape the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor himself, as he observed in his *Minute* of the 5th August, 1857 : "Mr. Talyer's hasty and indecorous proceedings .....have tended to irritate men's minds and to produce a feeling of insecurity among the inhabitants".

Peer Ali, himself, was apprehended two days after the rising, after some struggle in the course of which he was injured. A very graphic account of his arrest is available to us among his trial papers f[1]]. The Police *Jamadar,* who arrested him, stated : "I beg leave to represent that yesterday at 2 p.m. Nand Lail *Chowkeedar* of Rustum Ali's lane attached to the

[x] Statement from Totaram, Jamadar of ChowkeeMehdeegunge attached to Thannah Moghulpurah, dated Qth July, **1857, to Hameed Ali, the** *Darogah* **of Moghulpurah.**

Thana of Ghaut Khaja Kullan came in haste to me at the *Chowkee* of Mehdeegunge and informed me that..... a robber was running away besmeared with blood..... On the receipt of this information I ran after the said robber without any hesitation ..... I apprehended the said Defendant (who has caused his name to be taken down in writing as Peer Ali Khan) and who was running through a grain field.....of *KJjesaree* (a sort of grain), in the village of Raneepore to the west of the *Chowkee* with a knife and a cudgel of the guava wood. *Khadim Hussain,* and Kanhaee Lail, the *Burknnda es* of the *Chowkee,* Nandlal *Chowkeedar,* the informer, *Neensuek Chowkeedar* of Mehdeegunge and Moti Tumolee were with' me. I took the said defendant to the *Chowkee* of Mehdeegunge where after having taken a rest, I brought him to you at your *Thannab,* and the answer of the Defendant and the deposition of the said informer Nandlal *Chowkeedar* were formally taken down in writing in your presence at your *Thannab".*

Peer Ali Khan was arrested on the 5th (July) evening and produced before the Deputy Magistrate Moula Bux on the 6th where he was interrogated and made a statement. The next day he was tried under Commission by the Commissioner and the Magistrate, sentenced to death and hanged "within three hours after sentence".

Peer Ali's cool and courageous behaviour in the face of certain death and in a state of physical exhaustion out of bodily injury and mental depression at the failure of his cherished dream of removing alien control over his country, was praise worthy. Even William Tayler, his staunch and ruthless opponent, bears testimony to his dignity and self possession at this critical hour of his life. "Peer Ali himself" he writes, "was a model of the desperate and determined fanatic, repulsive in appearance. With a brutal and sullen countenance, he was calm, self possessed and almost dignified in language and demeanour. After capital sentence had been pronounced upon him, I sent for him (as I generally did with such criminals) and questioned him in my private room in the hope of eliciting some further information regarding the plot. Heavily fettered, his soiled garment stained deeply with blood from a wound in his side confronted with myself and several

other Englishmen, the last hope of life departed, not for a moment did he betray agitation, despondency or fear. On being asked whether he could do anything to make it worth while to spare his life he answered with supreme coolness and some contempt : 'There are some cases in which it*is good to save life. Others in which it is better to lose it'. He then taunted me with the oppression I have exercised and concluded his speech by saying 'You may hang me or such as me every day but thousands will rise in my place and your object will never be gained'. .....I have dwelt at some length on the description of this man because, he is the type of a class with many of whom we have, in this country to deal, men whose unconquerable fanaticism renders them dangerous enemies and whose stern resolution entitles them in some measure to admiration and respect." p]

About Kunwar Singh's complicity in this combination of early July we have no direct evidence. During this period he was acting so cautiously that till the day of the Dinapur uprising his intention remained a riddle for the authorities. But there are certain evidences which suggest that he was think ing of plans to assail British authority for sometime before the revolt of the troops at Dinapur.

[*] Taylor, *"Our Crisis",* pp. 45*40.

CHAPTER VI

KUNWAR SINGH JOINS THE MOVEMENT : HIS CHIEF ASSOCIATES IN IT

The outbreak at Dinaptir—Kunwar Singh as its leader—divided opinions at fagdishpur about joining the Movement—the final decision and the factors leading to it—Kunwar Singh's associates—Amar Singh, Harekrishna Singh, Nishan Singh and AH Karim,

Despite all vigilance on the part of the Government authorities, the Native Infantry at Dinapur revolted on the 25th July, and proceeded towards Arrah. Reaching Arrah in the evening of the 26th, they were immediately joined by Kunwar Singh.

Opinions are sharply divided as to why and how Kunwar Singh assumed leadership of the rebel army. William Tayler, who was Commissioner of the Patna Division at the time, did not believe for long that Kunwar Singh would revolt, although some others, including the Magistrate of Shahabad, entertained such apprehension. Tayler wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 23rd July, 1857 : "Letters, anonymous and authenticated, have frequently reached me charging Baboo Kooer Singh with disaffection and conspiracy ..... My own knowledge of the Baboo's honorable and straightforward character, of his loyalty towards the State, and his feeling of personal friendship for myself (a friendship which unlike most natives he never professes when he does not feel it) forbade the supposition; and although in the present eventful days, the wisest calculations have been baffled and the firmest confidences betrayed, so that no absolute trust can be placed in any but Christians, I am still strongly convinced of Kooer Singh's fealty and good faith." Even when he received the news of Kunwar Singh's rising,* he believed that the wrong decision of the Board of Revenue "to withdraw all interference with his affairs and to abandon the

management of his estates", was alone responsible for it. He is said to have strongly protested against it in a private letter to Sir F. J. Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor, f[1]] This view was shared by many at that time, and later ©n endorsed by historians like G. B. Malleson and J. W. Kaye. According to Malleson [/A] Kunwar Singh, who "was eagerly watching the turn of events" since the rising of the Sepoys at various places, regarded the withdrawal of Government assistance "as tantamount to the sequestration of his property", and "thence forward his mind was made up". Kaye writes [[2]] that "he (Kunwar Singh) was, like many others, driven to despair by that miserable want of imagination and lack of sympathy which characterised the action of our Boards".

But there were some others among the contemporary English officers, including the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir F.J. Halliday, and Mr. E. A. Samuells, Tayler's successor as the Commissioner of Patna, who regarded Tayler's highhandedness in his Division responsible for precipitating the 'rebellion' of Kunwar Singh. In a very long report to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 29th January, 1858, Mr. Samuells wrote : "it is very probable Kooer Singh had been meditating rebellion for sometime before the outbreak at Dinapur, but the consumation was undoubtedly hastened, not by the orders of the Board .....but by the conduct of Mr. Tayler himself..... If any Government officer is to be blamed for the rebellion of Kooer Singh, the facts point to Mr. Tayler himself, and to Mr. Tayler alone".

Some have tried to point out that Kunwar Singh took the command of the 'rebel army' when the latter threatened to loot Jagdishpur in the event of his refusal to do so. In support of their opinion they quote a statement of Nishan Singh, a General of Kunwar Singh, given at the time of his trial. Again, a few hold that (Harkishun) Harekrishna Singh's manipulations led him to assume the command of the revolted sepoys.

[q Malleson, *History of Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I, p. 77, foot-note.

PA] *Ibid.*

p] Kaye, *op. cit.*, Vol. Ill, p. 100.

To ascertain the truth on this point we should take into consideration Kunwar Singh's temperament from his early life and the environments in Bihar for some years before the actual outbreak of the Movement of 1857. We have already shown that Kunwar Singh was a man of independent nature, which was partly responsible for absence of cordiality between him and some members of his family. We know from some revenue records that once, during the life-time of his father, when his estate was resumed, and was to be disposed of by public auction, he entered the court premises at Arrah with a band of armed followers to assault the District Collector. Again, when messing system was introduced in the Jails, he was in regular correspondence with Rabat Ali and some others, the leaders of the agitation of 1845-46[1]. In a previous chapter we have discussed his association with the organisers of the anti-British plot of 1845-46 in Bihar. The decade following this plot was very eventful. The Wahabi leaders of Patna, Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali, had "established a character for themselves on the frontier as fanatical firebrands", and in 1847 Sir Henry Lawrence "sent them as dangerous characters to their homes at Patna, where security was taken from them for their future good conduct." And yet they were found, in 1851, engaged in anti-British activities on the Punjab frontier[2]. On the 9th August, 1852, the Magistrate of Patna reported that "the rebel sect was on the increase in that city, sedition was openly preached by the principal inhabitants. The Police had leagued themselves with the fanatics, and one of their leaders, Maulavi Ahmadoola (Ahmadullah) assembled 700 men in his house, and declared his resolve to resist any further investigation of the Magistrate by force of arms."

While these leaders were influencing the minds of some people against British authority in Bihar and outside,[3], certain ill-advised steps on the part of the Government caused discontent of different sections of the people against it. Resumption laws or the policy of lapse affected the members of the landed aristocracy, viz., the *Zamindars*, the *Taluqdars* (Landholders)

[1] Vide *ante*, Chapter IV.

[2] Hunter, *Indian Mussalmans*, p. 22.

[3] Ibid. By 1852, the Wahabis had established a regular organisation for passing up men and arms from Bengal to the rebel camp at Sittans.

and other chiefs. But innovations like the messing system, and substitution of earthen vessels for *'lotahs** in the jails, had wider effect among the common people even outside the jails, as these concerned their castes and were considered ,by them to be opposed to their social laws or customs. But in social as in various other matters, the common men looked up to their *Rajahs* and *Zamindars* for advice and guidance. Naturally a man of Kunwar Singh's position and temperament could not have remained an indifferent spectator. He might not have directed the agitation, but there was some connivance at it on his part. W. Tayler wrote to the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, on the 3rd September, 1856 : "when the late Jail disturbances took place, the first question at Arrah was what the Doomraon Rajah and Baboo Koocr Singh thought and felt—and it was in every mouth that if they would drink out of earthen vessel, none of the Rajputs would object". Kunwar Singh was invited on the occasion by W. Tayler to use his influence in pacifying the prisoners during the Jail disturbances at Arrah. Fie came to Arrah, visited the jail, and so long he was at that place, there was apparent calm. But just on his leaving the place, the rising took such a furious turn that the guards were ordered to fire upon the prisoners. In fact, it is stated in the contemporary account of Hedayat Ali that "it was owing to him (Kunwar Singh) that disturbances had been made in the Arrah, Patna, Gaya and Benares jails".

Already before the movement of 1857 there were examples of anti-British movements in Bihar, such as the Santal rising of 1855-57 and the Patna conspiracy of 1857. So the political atmosphere in Bihar was disturbed for some time and it might have exercised some influence on the mind of Kunwar Singh.

It is true that Kunwar Singh was not financially well off. As a matter of fact, he had never been so throughout his life. He had inherited an encumbered estate. Even in the life-time of his father, the financial condition of the estate had so much deteriorated that Sahebzada Singh had to apply to the Government to take over the management of his estate. It was, however, not taken then. But this did not affect, in the least, the loyalty of Baboo Sahebzada Singh. So the question of taking over the estate under Government management,

or the continuity of it or even refusal to take it over under Government control was not sufficient to warrant such a bold step on the part of Kunwar Singh as to join the movement. The withdrawal of Government management might have been, at best, one of the contributory factors and not the sole factor.

Kunwar Singh's joining the movement was no doubt a bold but not a sudden jump. His object was to assail British authority and he must have been meditating on a plan for it for sometime before the outbreak of this movement. HedayatAli writes in his account : "In January, 1857, when I heard of the disaffection of the Native Army, I did also hear of Kooer Singh's determination to make a disturbance. When the 5th Company of our Regiment marched from Sooree (Suri, head quarters of the Birbhum District in West Bengal) to Patna, we stopped at Bhagalpore where the European and Native Officers called upon Mr. Yule, the Commissioner, and before all the audience I told the Commissioner that Kooer Singh was sure to turn a traitor. I heard of Kooer Singh's intention when at Shahjehanpore, and that it was owing to him that distur bances had been made in the Arrah, Patna, Gaya and Benares jails, and lately I did also hear that if the army make any disturbance, he would take part with them, and I am also told that it was through Kooer Singh's instigation that the Dinapore Regiments mutinied in May (July?) 1857". The Magistrate of Shahabad had reported to the Commissioner of Patna, long before the rising at Dinapore, about Kunwar Singh's communication with the sepoys (especially the 40th Regiment) at Dinapore and the probability of his taking the lead. The Commissioner, W. Tayler, had received reports to this effect from various other sources also. Tayler did not believe that Kunwar Singh was disloyal. But several reports from different sources appear to have later on created some suspicion in his mind. So once again he took recourse to what he described "most successful stroke of his policy" and which he had previously adopted in the case of the three Wahabi leaders of Patna. He invited Kunwar Singh to Patna. But this time the move failed. With the example of the bad behaviour of Tayler towards the Wahabi leaders of Patna, Kunwar Singh tactfully avoided it. Mr. E. A. Samuells,

Tayler's successor as the Commissioner of Patna, reported to Bengal Government on the 25th September, 1858 : "There is no doubt that he (Kooer Singh) had determined on rebellion for sometime before the actual outbreak took* place. The Magistrate (of Shahabad) strongly suspected him, and, was at no pains to conceal his suspicion." A. Money, Magistrate of Gaya, wrote in his letter to the Commissioner of Patna, dated nth* March, 1858 : "Kooer Singh's intrigues in Arrah had, previous to this (end of July, 1857), attracted my attention. I had reported his having enjoined upon his *ryots* to be ready when called, and had given the Commissioner notice of his writing to two of the largest *Zamindars* of this (Gaya) District (Deo Rajah and Modenarain of Tikari)." H. C. Wake, Magistrate at Arrah from sometime before the commencement of the movement, very significantly mentioned in his letter to the Commissioner of Patna, dated the 29th January, 1858 : ".....the information I have received leaves no room for doubt that Kooer Singh had for sometime been planning the rebellion, and was only waiting for the Dinapur Regiments. I am inclined to attribute the lull to the efforts made by him to keep the Rajput quiet until the proper moment arrived; and the good behaviour of the lower castes to the promise of license held out to them when the outbreak should occur. This view of the case is not so flattering to myself, but I am convinced it is the right one. I know that there is an idea prevalent that Kooer Singh's treason was not premeditated; but I am certain that for three months at least he was only biding his time. There is, or ought to be, in the Commissioner's office an anonymous petition or rather a petition from a man who could not come forward, forwarded by me to Mr. Tayler, the late Commissioner, detailing the whole of the Babu's (Kooer Singh's) plans and preparations, and even the exact date (the 25th July) on which the Dinapore Regiment would mutiny. This was forwarded by me, I think, a week before the mutiny, and every word in it proved true." We read in a contemporary work p] that after "breakfast in the morning of the 17th (July) an anonymous communi cation was found on the table of the Judge's office; and singularly enough, all the information contained in it after-

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[i] J. J. Hall, *Two Months at Arrah,* pp. 32-33.

wards proved to be true. The letter stated that Ali Kareem (Ali Karim) .....had arrived at Jagdeeshpore, the dwelling place of Koo war Singh; that Koo war Singh himself was concerned in an intended rising of the Sepoys which was certain to take place on the 25th of July ...." Malleson also mentioned in an account written in March, *867 t[1]. "It was then suspected, and has since been well ascertained that Kooer Singh had been for months carrying on an active correspondence with the disaffected regiments scattered over the lower provinces....." C. T. Metcalfe noted in the introduction to his translation of [1]*Two Native Narratives of the Munity* (1898),' that Kunwar Singh, "had been in constant correspondence" with Nana Sahcb and that he also "in his turn attempted to influence the Rajahs of Bihar" [2]J.

Even the Regiments at Dinapur had been in a state of excitement for sometime. Tayler wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 29th June, 1857 •' "On Saturday last I received a letter from the Magistrate (of Shahabad) informing that numerous sepoys with arms and plunder had marched through threatening anybody they saw, and had settled in a village near Arrah, and that he and his Police were powerless to arrest them".

According to *T'awarikh-i-Ujainia,* Kunwar Singh held consultations regarding the Dinapur outbreak with Amar Singh, Ripubhanjan Singh (his nephew), Krishna Prasad Singh, Parmeshwar Prasad Singh, Krishnadutta Singh, Kashinath Agarwala of Banaras (Dewan), Narayan Das Agarwala of Jagdishpur (Assistant Dewan), Hare Krishna Singh Bhadoria, *Tahsildar* (collector of revenue) of pargana Piro and Head of the *Tahsil* Department, Bishnu Lochan Singh of Kulodhar (Personal clerk)/ Narsingh Singh Bhadoria (an officer of the army), Sobhnath Singh of Jagdishpur *(Jamadar* of personal servants), Ramdhari Singh (spy of the army), Sheo Misser (Adviser) and Bhika Ojha (Guru). From the evidence of two later Hindi works, viz., *"San* 1857 *Gadar ya Sipahi Bidroh ka Itihas"* and Mathura Prasad Dikshit's *"Baboo Kimwar Singh,"* it

t[1]] G.B. Malleson, ***Recreations of an Indian Official,*** **pp. 302—329.**

[*] Page 9.

appears that the advisers of Baboo Kunwar Singh were divided on the question of his participating in the movement. One section headed by Harekrishna Singh counselled for joining the move ment and the other including Babu Amar Singh were for *status quo.* At last, the party in favour of participation prevailed on Kunwar Singh. It is also noted that the sepoys at Dinapur were in correspondence with Kunwar Singh. Chandra Sekhar Pathak in his "*San* 1857 *ka Gadar ya Sipahi Bidroh ka Itihas\y* [9] writes that Kunwar Singh sent Harekrishna Singh and Randalan Singh to Dinapur to ascertain the state of things there. They instead conveyed to the sepoys that Kunwar Singh had consented to lead them. This news overjoyed them and they rose and took the way to Arrah. On their arrival at Arrah, Harekrishna Singh sent for Kunwar Singh telling him that in the event of his refusal to lead them the excited sepoys threatened to loot Jagdishpur. Kunwar Singh then came to Arrah, According to G. B. Mallesonf[2]], however, Kunwar Singh was personally present on the bank of the Son to receive them and his men helped the Dinapur sepoys to cross the river. Whatever might be the stage when Kunwar Singh personally appeared on the scene, there is no doubt that he had been preparing to join the movement from before.

The chief associates of Kunwar Singh in this movement were his youngest brother Amar Singh, Nishan Singh and Harekrishna Singh. Something has been already noted about Amar Singh [3], It may be added that he was, according to an official report of 12th January, 1858, about forty-five years old at the time of the outbreak of the movement, and in appear ance nearly resembled his brother (Kunwar Singh). It appears that at first he was not happy with the decision of his brother to participate in the movement and kept himself aloof for sometime. It is not quite clear from records when he actually joined the movement. It is narrated in certain folk-lore[[4]J

[1] Published in 1922.

[■] Malleson writes that the Dinapur sepoys reached the banks of the Son on the morning of the 26th July. "Koer Singh himself was on the spot, and under the influence and advice of this honoured Rajput landowner, it was decided to march on Arrah." ***History of the, Indian Mutiny,*** **Vol. I, p. 79.**

[2] Chapter II.

[*] Kunwar Singh Ka Panwara, published in the special issue of "Bhojpuri",. April, **1955.** *

that when the English forces had reached the neighbourhood of Jagdishpur, Kun war Singh asked Amar Singh to write letters f[1]] to the Rajas of Tikari, Dumraon and Ramgarh and to the *malik* of Dalippur, asking for assistance from them as his kinsmen against the English in that hour of great need. Amar Singh is said to have replied that they had not sufficient resources to take up arms against the English. On hearing some touching words from Kunwar Singh he himself came forward to stand by his brother in that critical encounter, and he remained steadfastly loyal to him and fought till his last moment with undaunted courage and vigour. His heroic exploits will be narrated in a subsequent chapter.

Of all the *Zamindars* in the Sasaram subdivision (of Shahabad district) Nishan Singh, son of Raghubir Singh of Budee

P] According to *Tawarikh Ujjainia,* Kunwar Singh, on being summoned by W. Tayler, wrote letters to the following *Rajahs* and *Zamindars* :—

(1) Raja Hardit Singh, Rakwar, Raja of Bundi.

(2) Descendants of Raja Balabhadra Singh, Raja of Chilhari Rajput Rikwar,

(3) Mahesh Singh, Raja of Kalpi.

(4) Raja Digbijay Singh, Rajput Pamar, Raja of Mahona.

(5) Rana Boni Prasad Singh Bahadur, Raja of Shankarpur, district Baraili, relation of Kunwar Singh.

(6) Ram Bukhsh Singh, *Zamindar of* Doria Kheri.

(7) Raja Durga Baksh Singh, Raja of Chahrolka whose income amounted to about four lakhs.

(8) Gulab Singh, *Zamindar* of Nuzul, district Partapgarh.

(9) Ram Ghulam Singh, Rajput Kanpurbia, *Taluqdar* and *Zamindar* of Itha.

(10) Choudhri Data Singh, *Zamindar* of district Unao,

(11) Arjun Singh, Rajput Chauhan, *Zamindar* of Dorabra, district Kheri.

(12) Raja Loti Singh, Rajput, Raja of Tilni.

(13) Raja Jot Singh, Rajput Jatwar, Raja of Charwa, district Bahraich.

(14) Raja Dan Bahadur Sahi, Raja of Banke and Tulshipur.

(15) Raja Udaipratap Singh, Rajput Jatwar, Raja of Ikauna.

(16) Raja Dobi Baksh Singh, Rajput Basin, of Gonda.

(17) Raja Lal Singh (Kurmi by caste), Raja of Mau, district Fyzabad.

(18) Milkidars of Sultanpur proper,

(19) Raja of Nagar, district Gorakhpur.

(20) Raja Bahadur Khan of Nanpara on the border of Nepal.

(21) Khanazadgan of Taluqa Amhat, district Sultanpur.

(22) Raja of Satasi.

(23) Raja of Narharpore.

(24) Raja of Shahpore.

(25) Petition to Begum Saheba, Lucknow, mother of Birjis Qadr.

took a very prominent part in the movement. An old acquaintance of Kunwar Singh he was above sixty years of age when he joined it. The Magistrate of Shahabad in a letter, dated 15th August, 1857, reported that "Nishfti Singh appears to have been in constant communication with Kooer Singh and is now said to have collected a large force at Dehree Ghat on the Trunk Road."

Nishan Singh's own statement, given at the time of his trial, gives a very clear idea of his movements and exploits during this period. According to this statement he fled from Arrah on the arrival of Eyre's forces and came to Mauza Bagwa, took a horse from the *malik* of the village and returned to his own house. After eight days he again joined Kunwar Singh on the hills near Sasaram, and remained with him till the time of crossing the Ganges. While Kunwar Singh and a large number of his followers crossed the Ganges at Sheopur *ghat,* Nishan Singh and some others crossed it from a place about two to four miles west of that *ghat.* Nishan Singh stayed for sometime at Jagdishpur. From there he came to Baraon. Amar Singh was also there. Nishan Singh was in a state of serious illness. So when Amar Singh left Baraon with his forces, he (Nishan Singh) hired four Ahirs who carried him on a cot to his village. But his presence at home was not liked by his relation, Bhunjan Singh, and so he retired to the *jungle* in the neighbourhood with the intention of going to some other place. But here he was captured and arrested in the night of 5th June, 1858, by Captain G. Nolan, Deputy Superintendent of Sasaram Levy. He was tried by court martial on the 6th and "blown away from a gun" at Sasaram the next morning.

Harekrishna Singh was another leading compatriot of Kunwar Singh in the movement. He was one of the most influential *amlah* (subordinate staff) of Kunwar Singh and served him as the *Tahsildar* (collector of revenue) of pargana Piro. According to *Tarikh-i-lJjaima,* he was also the head of *Tahsildari department* (Revenue Collection Department) of pargana Piro f[1]]. A middle sized man of about 30 years at the time of the outbreak of the movement he wore whiskers and

[i] *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia* , Vol. Ill, p. 208.

moustache and brushed them backward like an up country sowar [*]. His deputation to Dinapur to ascertain the state of affairs in the cantonment there shows that Kunwar Singh had much confidence in him. His mission to Dinapur was a grand success, and he returned to Arrah safely with the revolted sepoys. After an easy occupation of Arrah he helped Kunwar Singh in organising a government of their own, which, however, lasted for a very short period owing to the unexpec ted arrival of Government forces under Major Eyre. He took prominent part in all the engagements from the time of Eyre's arrival till the occupation of Jagdishpur by the Govern ment forces. He then retreated along with Kunwar Singh, to Sasaram hills. Meanwhile a reward of rupees three thousand had been announced for his apprehension. This reward appears to have been increased later on to rupees five thousand [*]. From Sasaram hills he went, along with Kunwar Singh, to various places in Central India and Northern India.

On the 24th December, 1857, the Hathwa Raja informed the Commissioner of Patna Division, Mr. E. A. Samuells, who happened to be at Bettiah[3], that Mushruff Khan and Harekrishna Singh were at Mujhowlee and they had occupied Tumokee. On the 25th December, the Commissioner sent the following informa tion to Colonel Rowcroft, Commanding Field Force at Myrwah. "You will I apprehend be reinforced either today or tomorrow by the Gorakhnath Regiment of Ghoorkas and 290 men of H. M. S 10th Foot with two mountain Howitzers. The rebels opposed to you consist of 1,500 sepoys under Hur Kishen Sing of whom 500 are sick or wounded and all of whom it is believed are short of ammunition, of 300 cavalry of whom 60 are said to be trained troopers and of about 5,000 villagers and *Budmasses* (Vagrants) under Mushruf Khan and Ali Karim." From the depositions of some witnesses at the time of Harekrishna Singh's trial it appears that he was in command of the Bihar rebel forces during their campaigns in Azamgarh. In

P] *Letter from Magistrate of Shahabad, to the Commissioner of Patna, 12th January,* 1858.

***[*] Patna Commissioner's letter to the Government of Bengal, 23rd September,* 1859.**

[3] Mr. E. A. Samuells had gone to Bettiah to receive Maharaja Jung Bahadur.

appreciation of his successful operations there, Kunwar Singh is said to have conferred on him the title of "*Salar Jung*\ From the statement of Raniit Ram, a pay havildar of 40th N. I,, given at the time of nis trial early in 1859, we learn that Harekrishna Singh was with Kunwar Singh at the time of their crossing the Ganges at the Sheopur *Ghat* and after the latter's death he was "the leading man ..... and had charge of all the treasure, etc.", f[1]]

On the defeat of Le Grand and re-occupation of Jagdishpur in April, 1858, Harekrishna Singh helped Amar Singh (Kunwar Singh being then dead) in re-establishing their Government, which appears to have lasted for over four months. During this short period he tried to stabilise the Government by effecting improvement in the collection of revenue and by recruitment of army. He dealt severely with those who were acting on behalf of the English Govern ment in the interior or were in the habit of sending secret information about them. The result was that almost all the *'darogahs'* (officers in charge of police-station) of the Company left their stations. He held court regularly and took keen interest in the work. Learning that English Commissariat stores were being supplied by some merchants and *zamindars** he issued *'parwanas'* (letters, orders) in the name of the Maharaja (Amar Singh) to the various *'thanadars** (officers in charge of police-stations) "to prevent zamindars supplying provisions to the infidels and ill-fated English", and (in case of disobedience) "the sentence of death is final as regards the zamindars or ryots of that village which shall be proved to have aided the infidels." Within this period gun manufactories were also set up and an entrenchment was thrown up at Jagdishpur which was about seven miles in circumference. "The rampart was in many places 10 or 12 feet high and towards the point at which Sir Edward Lugard attacked last year, a strong work had been constructed on an elevation pierced with embrasures for seven guns and loopholed in every direction. Three Brass Guns recently made were found in the entrenchment and a large quantities of lead, saltpetre and other stores" [2].

f[1]] Vide Appendix.

***[a] Commissioner E. A. SamuelVs memo., 29th October,* 1853.**

In October, 1858, there was a strong rumour about the death of Harekrishna Singh. The feeling of the English officers in Bihar about it can be gathered from the memo, of Commissioner E.A. Samuells, dated the 6th November, 1858. He observed in it: "The report referred to is one which has been in circulation for sometime and it is difficult to say what reliance can be placed upon it. The death of Harkishen Singh would do more to break up the Shahabad rebels than any other event of the kind. He has more influence and ability than any man in the rebel camp and is said to have been the chief instigator ofKuer Singh's rebellion."

On the 20th October, Harekrishna Singh crossed the Trunk Road above Mohuneea (Mohania) and proceeded to the Ramghur Thana. The police of that place had already fled. On the 23rd, he marched through Dinarah to Lethan, five miles west to the Jagdishpur jungle. On the 24th a Eurasian lady, Mrs. Samuell, wife of a gentleman employed previously as a clerk in the Shahabad Collectorate, fell in their hands. But she was treated by them with kindness and sent to Major Fowler's Camp at Jagdishpur, under orders of Harekrishna Singh. According to a memo, of the Patna Commissioner, dated the 2nd December, 1858, Harekrishna Singh's followers; on the 29th November, 1858, numbered about 200 infantry and 150 cavalry, but on the 1st December when Colonel Seymoor, who was pursuing them, arrived at Adhora he found "that they had broken up into twos and threes and gone off in different directions". It appears that thereafter Harekrishna Singh went underground. He was subsequently captured and executed.

Ironically enough, in some popular ballads and folkloresf[1]] Harekrishna has been represented as a traitor. He is said to have betrayed his master and allowed the English forces a free passage to Jagdishpur under the temptation of being rewarded with half of Kunwar Singh's estates. This accusation, not supported by evidence of original records, may have been due to prejudices and bias of those who were jealous of his important position. In fact, as it has been noted above, he was prominently associated with the movement.

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p] *Kunwar Singh's Panwara published in the Special issue of "Bhojpuri" t April** 1955.

Ali Karim also played an important part in anti-British activities of this period both in Bihar and outside it. It is well known that Ali Karim, at the time of his» flight from Bihar, stayed f[1]] for sometime with Kunwar Singh, and had, probably, an earlier contact with him. At a later stage Amar Singh, with whom he was in regular correspondence during his exile from Bihar, wrote to him to come to Bihar with his forces and join hands with him in driving out the English. It is thus evident that their efforts formed part of the general movement. But for certain unforeseen and incalculable factors, even the rising of the 3rd July 1857, which was, *inter alia* a product of the joint efforts of some, would have ended in disastrous consequences [[2]] for the British Government.

Ali Karim [[3]] was the scion of a very respectable and wealthy zamindar family of village Doomri, in the Patna District. He was the son of Moulavi Mohammad Ali, a leading legal practitioner of Calcutta and a man of saintly character, who died at Calcutta and lies buried at Bhowanipore. Ali Karim was a scholar and linguist. Besides a thorough knowledge of Persian and Arabic, he read Sanskrit and was acquainted with the science of astronomy also [[4]j.

Ali Karim first came into prominence as an organiser of the rising of the 3rd July. He was called upon to collect together all such Acts and Regulations which had recently been passed by the Government and which were regarded by them as infringing on the religious and social susceptibilities of the masses [[5]J. For this compilation Peer Ali Khan was instructed by his chief compatriot, Museeh-uz-zaman to contact Ali Karim, whose command over the subject was widely acknow ledged. Museeh-uz-zaman wrote about Ali Karim as follows : "I am told that in knowledge of Laws and Regulations there is

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[*] J. J. Hall, "*Two months in Arrah,*" pp. 32-33.

[*] W. Tayler, *Our Crisis.*

(•] Sri Qeyamuddin Ahmad, Research Fellow of the Jayaswal Research Institute, has reviewed in detail the life and career of Ali Karim in an article contributed by him for the Indian Historical Records Commission.

[*] This brief biographical outline was given to Shri Qeyamuddin Ahmad by Lady Anise Imam, the widow of late Sir Ali Imam, one of the makers of modem Bihar. She is the grand-daughter of Ali Karim's son.

***[•] Judicial Proceedings, Government of Bengal, No. 1 of 3rd February,* 1859. *Letter from Maseeh-uz-zaman to Peer Ali Khan, 12th December,* 1855.**

not a second person to All Kareem. A friend desires a copy of all the Regulations injurious to the Mohammadan religion, for instance those relating to forcing the prisoners to eat or referring to any enquiry from Government about the corn factories of all the places or taking of arms from all people or those preventing circumcision or detrimental to the seclusion of women or ordering the Hindoos to give their widows in marriage or others like those of a nature which will tend to the extermination of Mohammedanism in future. At any rate as many as you can procure yourself will be highly acceptable, or if you cannot obtain all yourself, you will be able to get them through him ; and by being known to men like him, there is no doubt that after a short time, it will be productive of general advantage to us." Ali Karim's attempts were however prematurely exposed due to the sudden arrest of his collaborator Waris Ali, on the 23rd June, 1857.

A second and a distinct phase of Ali Karim's activities opened up from after his flight from Bihar. We get some idea of his activities in U. P. and his plans for re-entering Bihar, from some references in the reports of the Divisional Commissioner, Patna, and Magistrates of Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, etc. The very fact that the authorities were apprehensive of his plan of returning to Bihar to act in alliance with Amar Singh is a testimony to the potential dangers of his proposed move.

CHAPTER VII

KUNWAR SINGH'S LEADERSHIP AND EARLY EXPLOITS

Outbreak of the Movement of 1857-59— *nattm —revolt of the Dinapur Regiments—Kunwar Singh's leadership— siege of English garrison at Arrah —Shahabad virtually under Kunwar Singh's control— failure of Captain Dunbar's expedition—advance of Eyre and battle of Bibiganf— Eyre's repression at Jagdishpur—repercussions of the revolt of the Dinapur troops and the siege of Arrah in other parts of Bihar—removal of Tayler from Commissionership of Patna Division and appointment of Samuells in his place—steps taken by Samuells—panic in different quarters— arrival of Nepal troops—march of the insurgents into the Tarai.*

Kuwar Singh's assumption of leadership of the three revolted Dinapur Regiments, who had been already in a state of excitement [[r]J, meant an open challenge to the East India Company's authority in Bihar. It was mentioned in an official report of Mr. W. C. Wake, Magistrate of Shahabad, that the "Sepoys repeatedly declare that they were acting under his (Kunwar Singh's) orders; and after a short time he was seen on the parade, and remained during the siege" (of Arrah). Undaunted by various odds and the weightage of age, though then in the seventy-fifth year of his life, this brave Rajput chief had been able to inspire and gather round him a large number of loyal fighters, three or four thousands at the begin ning, who soon swelled to about ten thousands. In his stronghold at Jagdishpur he had stored six months' provisions for an army of 20,000 men and had arranged for the

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p] "On Saturday last I received a letter from the Magistrate (of Shahabad) informing that numerous sepoys with arms and plunder had marched through threatening anybody they saw, and had settled in a village near Arrah, and that he and his Police were powerless to arrest then®." ***Litter from Tayler to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 29/h June,*** **1857.**

manufacture of arms and ammunition. Indeed his heroic exploits form a highly exciting tale in the history of the Indian Movement of 1857-59.

This Movement was undoubtedly a grave crisis for the East India Company's Government in India. Lord Cromer signi ficantly observed : "I wish the younger generation of English would read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the history of the Indian Mutiny ; it abounds in lessons and warnings".

Some distinguished British statesmen realised the gravity of the Indian difficulty and urged before their constituencies the need for additional reinforcements and greater national support to fight against it. At a meeting of the Herts Agri cultural Society, held at St. Alban's on the 30th September 1857, Sir E. B. Lytton, one of the representatives of Hert fordshire, thus spoke about it : "The war that has now broken out, is not, like the Russian war, for the assertion of an abstract principle of justice, for the defence of a foreign throne, or for protection against a danger that did not threaten our selves more than the rest of Europe—it is for the maintenance of the British Empire. It is a struggle of life and death for our rank among the rulers of the earth. It is not a war in which we combat, by the side of brave and gallant allies, but one in which wc fight single-handed against fearful odds, and in which we must neither expect nor desire foreign aid", t[1] He added: "The present is not the time, nor is this the place, to criticise the policy which has produced the revolt in India; but I may be permitted to say, that revolutions or revolts are never sudden. Those which appear to us to be so, had always given long previous, though it might be neglected, warnings. Revolts and revolutions are like the springing of mines. The ground must be hollowed, the barrels filled, the train laid, and the match fired before we can be startled by the explosion; and therefore the man who tells us that revolt which must have taken months, if not years, to organise, no prudence could have foreseen, or no energy could have prevented, simply asks us to believe that policy is an accident and government a farce. But the whole of that question it will be the duty of Parliament to examine, not with the view of bringing the force of party to bear against individuals, who may

[1] **Charles Ball,** ***History of the Indian Mutiny,*** **Vol. II, p. 417.**

have committed mere human errors of judgment—and, after all, the public itself is not free from blames and its long indifference to out Eastern Empire—but for the purpose of obtaining knowledge and guidance for the future." [']

Referring to this movement the Right Hon'ble Benjamin Disraeli, the member for Buckinghamshire, observed in a meeting held at Aylesbury, on the 30th September, 1857 : "One of the greatest calamities that ever befell this empire has fallen upon us. ..... I believe it is now also the universal conviction, that the description originally given to these unfortunate and extraordinary movements in India, was not authorised by the circumstances of the case. Day by day, we have seen that which was at first characterised as a slight and accidental occurrence, is in fact one of those great events which form epochs in the history of mankind, and which can only be accounted for by considerations demanding the deepest attention from statesmen and nations. .....Nevertheless, if England, instead of being induced to treat these events as merely accidental, casual, and comparatively trifling, will comprehend that the issue at stake is enormous, and the peril colossal, I have not the slightest doubt that a nation so great in spirit and in resources as our own, will prove that it is equal to cope with dangers of even that magnitude. ..... I think that what has happened in India is a great Providential lesson, by which we may profit ; and if we meet it like brave and inquiring men, we may assert our dominion, and establish for the future in India a Government which may prove at once lasting and honourable to this country." [2]

Scholars have been divided in their opinion regarding the nature of this movement, —whether it was a mere military revolt or was the outburst of an organised conspiracy aiming at the overthrow of the British Empire. Even persons directly connected with this movement have expressed diametrically opposite views regarding it. In the opinion of Sir John Lawrence it was nothing more than a military rising of which the cartridge incident was the proximate cause [3]. But Sir James

P] *Ibid,* p. 418.

PJ *Ibid,* pp. 418—420.

[•] Sir Charles Aitchison, *Lord Lawrence,* p. 74.

Outram expressed the view that it was the result of a Muhammadan conspiracy which utilised Hindu grievances to its own advantage. The cartridge incident, according to the latter view, "precipitated the Mutiny before it had been thoroughly organised and before adequate arrangement had been made for making Mutiny a first step to popular in surrection". Taking a mean between these two views, a later writer, Mr. Innes, has observed that "the panic was engineered by political intriguers; but the insurrection was not organised. None of the Native rulers had made up their mind to rise. There is every indication that the Sepoys took their leap blindly in the dark, not knowing whither they were going. But there is also every indication that Nana Saheb on one side and a Mogul faction on the other had a great deal to do with working them up to take the leap, and that the Mogul faction at least had a tolerably definite idea of the use which was to be made of the leap to be taken." f[1]] Sir Charles Aitchison, who wrote a biography of Lord Lawrence in 1892, observes that "Lord Lawrence's view does not account for the phenomena ..... the Mutiny of the army assumed in places the character of a partial rebellion of the people already made uneasy by military revolt, innovation and change." [[2]J Prof. P. E. Roberts contradicts this opinion by stating that "on the whole, in spite of the fact that in some districts the people seem to have risen before the sepoys, Lawrence's view seems most nearly approximate to the truth. We may assume, there fore, that the rising was mainly military in origin but it occurred at a time when, for various reasons, there was much social and political discontent, and that the mutineers were promptly joined by interested adventurers, who tried to give it a parti cular direction to suit their own scheme." [[3]]

In the days of early revolutionary nationalism in India, during the present century, appeared Shri V. D. Savarkar's book on this movement which he described as the "Indian War of Independence, 1857." [[4]] Several others have in recent times subscribed to this view. Recently a different view about the

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[x] Innes, *A Short History of the British in India,* p. 307.

['] Sir Charles Aitchison, *Lord Lawrence,* pp. 75-76.

[®] P. E. Roberts, *History of British India,* p. 361.

[*] First published in Holland in 1900 and proscribed. First authorised and public edition published in India in 1947.

nature of the movement has been expressed by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar. "While it is true to say", he observes "that the outbreak was primarily the mutiny of the sepoys, thfre is enough evidence to support the views of Norton and Duff, that in some areas the commotion became widespread and soon developed the character of a general revolt." f[1]]

The first manifestation of the movement of 1857-59 was naturally in the more inflammable quarters of the Sepoy Army of the English. But it is not correct to regard it as a mere military rising. A contemporary British Military Officer in India wrote in his *Narrative*:—

> "The crisis came. At first, apparently, a mere military mutiny, it speedily changed its character, and became a national insurrection. The Rajpoot villages in Bihar, those in the districts of Benares, Azimgarh, Goruckpore, in the entire Doab, comprising the divisions of Allahabad, Cawnpore, Meerut and Agra, in the Provinces of Rohilkhand and Oudh, shook off our rule and declared war against us." [[2]]

Some contemporary records of the English East India Company regarding the Bihar phase of the movement refer to the active support of the common people behind it. Thus on the 18th June, 1857, Mr. W. Tayler, Commissioner of Patna, wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor : "The people of the districts to the west of Chapra are in open revolt." "The fact is", reported the Magistrate of Gaya to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, on the 21st July, 1857, "that in these provinces the wishes of the people are with the mutineers. They will not give them up." When some persons, who had participated in this movement, were being tried at Muzaffarpur in September, 1857, one °f them cried out that "the supremacy of the English and the Company was at an end, that it was now Koonwar Singh's reign." f[3]] A similar observation was made by some others in that area during their trial in the month of December next. After the defeat of Captain Dunbar's

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P] R. C. Mazumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and Revolt of* 1857, p. 218.

P] *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army (December,* 1857), p. 53.

[3] Letters from H. L. Dampier, Magistrate of Muzaffarpur, to R. Forbes, Commissioner, under section VII, Regulation XIV, of 1857, 15/A *September,* 1857.

Regiment at Arrah, Captain R. P. Harrison, commanding Detachment of Her Majesty's 37th Regiment, observed in his report to the Assistant Adjutant-General, dated 31st July, 1857 : "The loss we inflicted on the rebels I believe to be too small on account of the darkness, and the men being too exhausted to fire. The people of the country turned out against us." [x] When in the night of the 20th April, 1858, Kunwar Singh with his followers reached Manahar, in the Ghazipur district, there, as a contemporary English record notes, "He found himself amongst friends and the wants of his troops were voluntarily supplied by the villagers, who were almost universally in his favour."[2J In fact, as Mr. Robert Davies, officiating Magistrate at Azamgarh, wrote to Mr. F. B. Gubbins, Commissioner of the 5th Division at Banaras, on the 25th April, 1858, from his camp at Sheopur, there was enthusiasm and friendliness for Kunwar Singh among the common people in the Azamgarh district. On the 21st April, Kunwar Singh had a sharp encounter with the troops under Brigadier Douglas at a place called Bansdch on the north bank of the Ganges, equidistant from Ghazipur on the west and Chapra on the east. In spite of sustaining personal injuries he. crossed the Ganges in the night of that date with a large body of sepoys. A contemporary English record notes : "The villagers on the right bank assisted the rebels, many boats were raised from the places where they had been sunk ....." [3]

Though the Rana of Nepal became an ally of the English and his regiments co-operated with the troops of the latter in fighting against the Indian movement, certain leaders of it and their followers had, there is no doubt, some sympathisers or supporters of them in the border tracts.

Many of the Zamindars of Bihar whose interests were bound up with those of the English Company rendered assistance to the latter in the suppression of the movement. But the Company's officers in Bihar were suspicious of some leading Zamindars of this Province as being, in some way or the other, connected with the movement. Mr. W. C. Wake thus reported to the Commissioner of Patna his grievance in not receiving

p] Ball, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 110.
***[*] Secret Consultations*, 28th May, 1859, No. 59.**
***[»] Ibid*, No. 521.**

assistance up to his expectation from the Shahabad *Zamindars* (Landlords).

"The Principal Zamindars in this district are the Rajah of Doomraon, Baboo Rameshwar Bux Singh, his Brother, his Dcwan Ramjeevan Singh and Ram Koomar Singh, the Dewan's nephew of Sooroojpoorah, the Baboo Koer Singh of Jugdishpore. The Baboo Amar Singh, his brother of Metaha, the Baboo Reetbhunjan Singh, his nephew of Dullipore, Dulein Achiraj Koer of Kukeela, widow of Raja Puttee Singh, brother to Koer Singh, Ramgolam Singh of Nokha. Of these I have to report that the Rajah of Doomraon both before and at the time of the late disturbance played a supine and much pusil lanimous part, he could not have been ignorant of the Baboo's (Kunwar Singh's) intentions, and it is said and is most probable that the Baboo sought pecuniary assis tance from him, at any rate Koer Singh's emissaries were all over the district endeavouring to gain adherents, and whether himself personally solicited or not he must have known of such proceedings. Yet with the knowledge of what was about to occur he never gave me the slightest warning, nor until I spoke to his *mooktiars* on the subject did he offer me the slightest assistance at a time when the disturbances up country and the known disaffection of the Dinapore Regiments had put all the *budmasbes* (wicked persons) in the district on the *quivive* (on the alert) and deserters and mutineers were pouring into it. After my message he sent in 100 *bahulias* (messengers) and some few *Sowars,* But when I found that he did not apprehend or give information concern ing a single deserter, though his estates teem with sepoys from nearly every Regiment in the Service, I sent back his men and instructed him to show his loyalty by maintaining peace on his own land and apprehending all deserters or mutineers who resorted to them. Not one however did he send in though he made a great show of assisting me by sending me numbers of sepoys on leave furnished with certification. While the rebels were actually in arms in the district he appears to have remained neutral and fled from Doomraon until he heard of the retreat of the rebels fromArrah.

Major Eyre complained of the scanty assistance rendered by him when his force marched through Doomraon to the relief of Arrah. But it is probable that many of his elephants, etc., had already been taken by the Baboos. Although he would take no active part against the British Government, he appears to have been foolish enough to think that Koer Singh would be successful and was afraid to oppose him in any thing.

There is however no direct evidence to his having given him any assistance, nor as yet any of his villages having joined the rebels, and only a very few appear to have been guilty of plunder. From the date of the defeat of the rebels he has rendered me every assistance except the very important one of apprehending offenders and mutineers, but his villagers have remained quiet and abstained from the plundering that has gone on in several other parts of the district and I am inclined to believe that he really has not sufficient influence on his estate to enable him to interfere with a class which forms so large a proportion of its inhabitants. Since I have been in the district he never has rendered any material assistance to the Police and I long ago reported to Mr. Tayler that his conduct in this respect called for his interference. He should certainly be distinctly warned that the holder of so large a Zamindaree cannot be allowed to ignore his responsibilities as he has hitherto done.

The same remarks apply to Dewan Ramjeevan Singh and his nephew Ram Koomar Singh. The conduct of Baboo Koer Singh and his brother Umur Sing need no comments in this report, as they arc still in open rebellion against the British Government. Koer Singh's nephew Baboo Reetbhunjun Singh saved the life of Mr. Samuells, East Indian writer in the Collectorate who reported that Reet bhunjun had not joined Koer Singh and in consequence of that statement immediately after the defeat of the rebels at Jugdishpore, I despatched a messenger to him with a letter calling on him, if loyal, at once to repair to our camp. My messenger was absent for some weeks and on his return gave back to me my letter, opened, and stated that Reetbhunjun had joined Koer Singh, that he, the

messenger, had previously delivered the letter to one of his servants at his residence at Dulleepore who after two hours brought it back to him, open, with a message, said to be from Reetbhunjun, that he the messenger should know all about it in a week. There is however no evidence to his having joined Koer Singh and I think it not unlikely that he has fled from fright.

Of the rest there is nothing to report. They have rendered me no assistance, nor do they appear to have been connected in any way with the disturbance.

With the exception of Ramgolam Singh of Nokha who is said to have collected *russad* (provisions) for the 5th Irregulars. I am now investigating the truth of this report.

Not one Zamindar great or small in the whole of Shahabad properly rendered the slightest assistance to Government before or at the time of the disturbance and with the exception of the Rajah of Doomraon, have offered any since. Neither at any time has a single deserter been apprehended, through their means. A few of the smaller ones have proffered the loan of their elephants to proceed up country, but all my returns calling for them on this subject have not come in."

Suspicions were entertained by the Company's officers in Bihar also about the Rani of Tikari (in the Gaya district) having sympathy for the movement. The Commissioner of Patna was for demolishing the fort of Tikari and removing the Rani to Patna. The Lieutenant-Governor did not approve of these measures, but guns and ammunition found at Tikari were seized, f[1]]

Mr. E. A. Samuells, who had succeeded Mr. Tayler as Commissioner of the Patna Division, while communicating his impressions about the movement to Mr. A. R. Young, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in his letter, dated the 25th September, 1858, described it as "the great Indian rebellion" and observed that the "movement in Shahabad had all the dignity of a national revolt, and was supported by many of the minor Zemindars and more or less openly by all the Rajput [*]

[*] Minute of Sir F. Halliday on the Mutiny, **1858.**

population of the district." Thus there is plenty of contem porary evidence to show that in Bihar there was wide and enthusiastic response of the people in favour of the Movement. The army and some prominent members of the aristocracy naturally had the leading role in it. But they had behind them sympathy and support of the people.

From the end of July, 1857, Shahabad proved to be a veritable storm-centre for the English. On learning of the revolt of the Dinapur contingents, Mr. H. C. Wake, Magistrate of the Shahabad District, with his headquarters at Arrah, and all the European residents there, took shelter in the evening of the 26th July, 1857, in a two-storeyed building fortified by Mr. Vicars Boyle, a Railway Engineer of the Company. They had supplied themselves with some additional means of defence and provisions of various sorts for one month[']. Joined by the Dinapur troops on the 27th July, 1857, Kunwar Singhand his party besieged the English garrison at Arrah.

The *Nujeeb* guards of the English at Arrah now welcomed the revolted Sepoys of Dinapur. It might be that they had previously come to an understanding between themselves [*]. Mr. H. C. Wake made the following affidavit in this respect before Mr. Arthur Littledalc, officiating Sessions Judge of Shahabad, on the 8th January, 1858 :—

> "On Sunday, the 26th July, 1857, the Officer Commanding the detachments of *Najeebs* on duty at Arrah after we had heard of the Mutiny at Dinapur and of the approach of part of the Mutineers came to me for orders, I directed him to return to his post at the Jail and, should only a small body of the insurgents, attack it or the Treasury to do his best to defend them, and that in that case I would come to his assistance with the Sikhs ; but in case of an attack by so large a body of the rebels that assistance would be useless, I directed them to retreat, he assured me that nothing should induce him to retreat but that he would die at his post. I repeated my orders and returned to the jail. On the Sunday night he

[1] J Forrest, *History of the Indian, Mutiny,* Vol. I, p. 80.
[»] Tayler, *Our Crisis, pp.* 14-15.

slept in the fortified *bungalow* and about 9 A. m. on the following morning we saw the 5 mutineers' regiments enter Government compound in the centre of which is the Collectorate. On their 'approaching, which I saw, the Guard of *Najeebs* stationed at that Treasury ran to meet them with every appearance of welcome. After plundering the Treasury the rebels attacked the *Rnngalow,* and as after the first rush they availed themselves of the opposite *'Rungalow* outhouse, and trees, and every species of cover from which to fire, it was difficult to distinguish individuals but I saw several of *the Najeebs* firing upon us from behind the trees, and expecting that we should be carried by storm I recorded the fact on the walls of the *bungalow.* After our relief their clothes were found in the various places used by the rebels during their stay at Arrah mixed up with damaged accou trements and plunder left by the Sepoys. After the Mutiny at Jagdishpur many of their uniform caps were found in Coomar Singh's premises. During the whole of the disturbance many of the rebels fought without uniform and it was impossible to distinguish the corps to which they belonged, but there is every reason to believe that the riiajority if not the whole of the *Najeebs* joined the rebels, and left the district with Coomar Singh on his retreat".

It may be noted that no European was killed at Arrah by the party of Kunwar Singh. The Magistrate of Shahabad reported to Mr. E. A. Samuells, Commissioner of Patna, on the 29th January, 1858 : "there is one redeeming feature in the disturbances in the district. *** except in the case of the soldiers retreating from Arrah, there has been no cold-blooded assassination of Europeans". Mr. Samuells recorded, in his letter to the Bengal Government dated 25th September, 1858, that some of them who "fell into his (Kunwar Singh's) hands and those of his relative, Reetbhanjan Singh, were fairly treated".

The siege of the English garrison at Arrah by the troops of Kunwar Singh naturally caused much anxiety to the Company's officers. For their relief a body of European and Sikh soldiers

General view of the Arrah House

numbering about 5oof[1]] was deputed from Dinapur under the command of Captain Dunbar of Her Majesty's 10th Regiment. But they had to own defeat on the zcjth/ oth July, 1857. Captain Dunbar and several British officers were shot dead and the survivers retreated in utter frustration to Dinapur[[2]]. On the 30th July General Lloyd reported by telegraph to the Commander-in-Chief : "The result of the expedition to Arrah has been, I regret to say, very disastrous, owing entirely to the mismanagement of the Officer in command, the late Captain Dunbar of Her Majesty's 10th Regiment"[[3]]. Major General Lloyd again informed the Commander-in-Chief on the 2nd August, 1857 : "Troops here inadequate to cope with Koer Singh and mutineers in Arrah**.....**Koer Singh said to have mustered strongly on his own account ; sometimes said to meditate an attack on Patna, but real intentions not known. All the boats on the Soane (the river Son) are in his possession".

Shahabad now passed virtually under Kunwar Singh's control. He soon established there his own machinery of administration with Harekrishna Singh, who had taken a lead ing part in the recent siege of Arrah, at its head. Kunwar Singh "proclaimed himself ruler of the country", communicated Mr. Samuclls to his authorities in Calcutta on the 25th September, 1858, mentioning further that "all the acts of Koer Singh .luring the short time he remained at Arrah, showed that he considered his *Raj* to be firmly established and that he was desirous of modelling his*government on that of the Government which he had superseded"! [4]]. Kunwar Singh then established t > *thanas* at Arrah (eastern *thana* and western *thana)* under the control of Shaikh Ghulam Yahea as Magistrate. Shaikh Muhammad Azimuddin, an inhabitant of Milky Tola in the town of Arrah, was appointed *Jamadar* of the eastern thana : Turao Ali and Khadim Ali , sons of Dewan Shaikh Afzal,

[i] Charles Ball, *op. cit,* Vol. II, p. 105 ; 410 according to the writer of *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army,* p. 183.

[[8]] Kayo, *op. ett,* Vol. HI, p. 120, foot-note ; Forrest, *History of the Indian Mutiny,* Vol. Ill, pp. 424—426.

[*] Ball, *op. cit,* Vol. II, p. 108.

[<] Samuoll's notes in the letter referred to above that Kunwar Singh received the title of Maharaj "very shortly after the Mutiny". Malleson *(Recreations of an Indian Official,* pp. 302—329) also refers to his assuming the title of Raja.

were made *l&otwals* (Police Officer in charge of a city) in these *thanas.*

The failure of Captain Dunbar's expedition encouraged the besiegers of Arrah to push their efforts with greater determination than before against the beleagured garrison. A contemporary English writer aptly remarks that the "situation of the garrison would have been hopeless but for the occurrence of a seemingly fortuitous event which can be regarded in no other light but providential intervention' [1].

Vincent Eyre, a Major of the Bengal Artillery, then steaming *off* the Ganges on his way to Allahabad, marched towards Arrah on hearing of the disaster of his countrymen there. After a furiously contested engagement] with Kunwar Singh's force at Bibiganj on the 2nd/3rd August, 1857, the Major soon proceeded to Arrah and relieved the besieged English garrison. Some of the troops of Kunwar Singh took up their position at Jagdishpur and the others scattered themselves in different directions. Kunwar Singh went to his fortified residence at Jagdishpur.

In great fury Eyre lost no time in taking prompt vengeance. He disarmed the people of Arrah in forty-eight hours. Some Indian officers, who had acknowledged the authority of Kunwar Singh, were tried by drumhead court-martial composed of the Judge, the Magistrate and two Captains, Eyre himself presiding over the court. They were "hanged as an example"[3]. Reinforced by 200 men of the 10th foot, and 100 of Captain Rattray's Sikhs, Eyre defeated the Sepoys and the troops of Kunwar Singh at Jagdishpur in the morning of the 12th August, 1857. "I have the pleasure to report", he wrote in a letter from Jagdishpur on that day, "the total rout of the rebel force under Koer Singh this day by the force under my command. The enemy mustered, as far as can be ascertained, about 3,000 strong, of whom 1,500 were Sepoys. The action commenced at the village of Duloor at 11 a. m., where a strong position had been taken up, and entrenchments raised. Here they made

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[i] *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army,* p. 185.

[*] Murks of bullets could be seen by contemporaries on the trees?.

[3] Mallcson, *Recreations of an Indian Official,* p. 313.

a resolute attack for about an hour, when they fell back upon the dense and formidable jungle, which extends from thence about a mile and a half to Jugdishpore. A running fight was kept up to that place which we entered in triumph at i o'clock, and immediately occupied Koer Singh's residence, where much promiscuous property fell into our hands.. Two guns were captured in the action". At Jagdishpur, Eyre not only destroyed all the munition of war but also undermined all the important buildings. "All the principal buildings within Kunwar Singh's premises were", writes Kaye, "soon heaps of blackened ruins, and a Hindu temple on the Raja's estate, shared the fate of the other edifices"[1]. Exulting over it, Eyre wrote from Jagdishpur on the 14th August, 1857 : "I am destroying the town and preparing to blow up the palace and principal buildings around it. Today I partially destroyed a new Hindu temple on which Koer Singh had recently lavished large sums. I did this because it is known that the Brahmins have instigated him to rebellion. Captain L'Estrange reports having destroyed Koer Singh's new palace at Jitowata ; and Lieutenant Jackson, with the volunteers, on Jtheir way back to the camp, set fire to the residences of Oomar Singh and Dayal Singh, the two brothers of Koer SinghTJ.

Of course, Eyre wreaked vengeance on Jagdishpur. But already the revolt of the Dinapur troops and the Arrah episode had produced repercussions in other parts of Bihar and also in the border tracts in the north-west. In utter bewilderment Tayler ordered the Magistrates of Gaya and Muzaffarpur on the 31st July, 1857, to withdraw theii establishments to the central position at Patna with the money in their treasury, provided that did not endanger them. "Everything", wrote Mr. Tayler, "must now be sacrificed to holding the country and the occupation of a central position".

In defence of his withdrawal order Tayler wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 1st August, 1857 : "**.....**everything tends to show that

[i] Kaye, *op. cit,* Vol. HI, p. 145.

['] Charles Ball, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 127. Sir Collin disapproved of the destruction of the Hindu temple at Jagdishpur by Eyre "under a mistaken view of the duties of a commander at the present-crisis''.

the crisis is grave and imminent—and confirm, in my opinion, the policy which I have taken myself to adopt, viz., the concentration of all our strength at Patna and Dinapur and the striking of blow at the Shahabad insurgents—as soon as ever it can be done so effectively.....Under these circumstances—it appears madness to leave any of the English authorities or residents at the outstations with the mere protec tion of small forces of armed men. That the present war is a war of extermination deliberately planned and unscrupulously carried out, it is impossible to deny".

At Muzaffarpur the Commissioner's order was promptly followed. The Magistrate, along with the European residents there, started for Patna on the 31st July, though they could not carry with them money from the treasury. Immediately a small detachment of the 12th Irregulars revolted. But they were suppressed in a few days. The officers at Muzaffarpur and Arrah returned to their stations by the 12th August. Mr. E. F. Lantour, Magistrate of Muzaffarpur, informed Mr. R. N. Farquharson, officiating Commissioner at Patna, on the 14th August, 1857, that "the district of Tirhoot remains perfectly quiet and the planters are returning to their factories after depositing their families at Dinapur". Next day he committed to sessions six persons on a charge of "aiding and abetting the Sowars of the 12th I. C. when in a state of open mutiny against Government"[1]. For several days he continued this procedure of commitment mainly on the charge of using what the local officers of the Company considered to be "seditious language". Mr. H. L. Dampier, who succeeded Mr. E. F. Lantour as Magistrate of Muzaffarpur on the 5th September, 1857, continued his predecessor's ruthlessness.

Immediately on receipt of Mr. Tayler's express orders Mr. Alonzo Money, the Magistrate of Gaya, consulted the other European civil officers of the station about it and along with them started for Patna leaving, however, the Government money in the treasury at Gaya. He had not gone far when Mr. Hollings, local Sub-Deputy Opium Agent of the Company, convinced him that he was following a wrong course. So he returned with Mr. Hollings to Gaya leaving the troops and

[1] Letter from the Magistrate of Muzaffarpur , to R. Forbes, Judge of Muzaffarpur, **15th August, 1857.**

others to follow their own way. But there he was bewildered in few days and galloped away hurriedly towards Calcutta somehow managing to send his master's money at Gaya in charge of a detachment. The *Najeebs* at Gaya threw open the jail there. "The great mass of the population unquestionably believed that the Company's rule was at an end' [1]. The Magistrate of Gaya, writing to the Commissioner of Patna, on the nth March, 1858, referred to the "influence of Koer Singh (there) although not a zamindar in Behar proper".

Gaya was reoccupied by the civil officers of the company under Mr. Skipwith Tayer, Assistant Magistrate, and two parties of soldiers on the 16th August. Mr. Money returned there on the 25th August, 1857.

The European officers in North Bihar felt much alarmed after the incidents at Sugauli and Dinapur. Mr. H. C. Raikes, Joint-Magistrate at Champaran, wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 2nd August, 1857 : "The state of this district since the Mutiny of the 12th Irregulars and the subsequent Mutiny of the troops at Dinapur is unquiet. Considerable alarm was created by the report that a body of 25 Sowars had arrived at Sutterghaut from Chuprah and wished to cross over into this district". Two regiments of Nepal troops had already been despatched to hold Sugauli. Referring to it, Mr. Raikes communicated to the Commissioner at Patna that "the arrival of the Nepalese troops will do much to inspire confidence throughout the district which has been a good deal unsettled by the mutineers at Segoolee and Dinapore and by the authorities leaving their posts in Tirhoot, Sarun and Moteharee".

After the outbreak at Dinapur, the news of which reached Mirzapur on the 31st July, 1857, the English officers there became very much alert. "Ever since the information of the outbreak at Dinapur and the direction the rebels were said to have taken, the minds of the city people", noted Mr. P. Walker, Deputy Collector in the Mirzapur district, in his *Diary* on the 4th August, "were much disturbed—measures were therefore taken for the defence and protection of the city. The chief

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P] *SamuelVs letter to the Secretary, Government of Bengal,* 20th September, 1858. *"Company ka Raj ho Gaya", "Hindustan ka Rajya"* were their cries.

streets and inlets into the city were barricaded and gates constructed in many thoroughfares". At the request of Mr. Pollock, Joint-Magistrate, stationed at Chunar, "orders were issued (5th August) for the provisioning of the fort'*.

The Dinapur and Arrah risings caused panic among the officers of the Company also in the eastern part of Bihar. The Magistrate of Purnea, Mr. H. Balfour, solicited orders of his Government for "a detachment of European soldiers to be located" there. "Since the news of the 7th, 8th and 40th Regiments at Dinapur having mutinied", he wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 1st August, 1857, "great uneasiness is felt by the European inhabitants regarding the safety of Purneah as in the event of the troops at Jalpaiguree also following the example of the Regiments abovementioned from the condition of the roads and the country it is very improbable that they would attempt to march towards the upper Provinces by any other road than that through Purnea, in such a case no reliance can be placed on the two sepoy guards at the Collectorate's office and jails remaining staunch".

Officers at Monghyr also became panicky. "I have the honour to inform you", wrote Mr. W. T. Tucker, Magistrate of Monghyr, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 31st July, 1857, "that the affairs at Dinapur and Segouli have caused much panic. All have been quiet in this district but the proximity of the 5th Irregulars at Bhagalpur causes much disquietitude. I wish most respectfully to bring to the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor the absolute necessity that has now arisen for the presence of European troops at Bhagalpore and Monghyr. If anything were to happen to these stations the passage of River steamers and the conveyance of troops in these steamers would be rendered impossible". We read in the quarterly report of the Assistant Commissioner of Santal Paraganas for the second quarter of 1858 that after the Arrah incident "there was a little of sensation in the Deoghur town and in the neighbourhood".

At Hazaribagh the news of the Dinapur rising was communicated to its Principal Assistant Commissioner, Major Simpson, in the night of the 27th July by private express

message from Mr. Wilson, Deputy Magistrate at Burhee. Shortly before the revolt of the 7th and 8th Native Infantry at Hazaribagh at about 1 p. m. on the 30th July, 1857, Dr. Delpratt, the Assistant Surgeon, Captain Drew and Mr. Judge of the Engineers left Hazaribagh and being joined by Mr. Libart, a Coffee planter of Sitagarah, situated at a distance of about 3 miles from Hazaribagh, had gone to Bagodar on the Grand Trunk Road. Mr. James Money, Jailor of the Hazari bagh Penitentiary, had left Hazaribagh a few hours after them. On reaching Sitagarah he heard from the servants of Mr. Libart that his master and the others had already fled to Bagodar. Walking on foot Mr. Money reached Bagodar Telegraph office at about 11 a. m. on the 31st July, 1857. He found, there, Major Simpson, Mr. Wilson, Deputy Magistrate of Burhee, four Sergeants of the Public Works Department and the Telegraph officials. Dr. Delpratt and the other British officers coming from Hazaribagh had left for Raniganj in the morning of that day and reached that place on the 1st August too late to catch the night train for Calcutta. So they were detained there, and one hour previous to their departure for Calcutta on the 2nd August they were joined there by Major Simpson, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Bennett, Post Master, three European Sergeants from Burhee, Mr. 1lenderson of Aitka and Mr. James Moneyf[1]]. There were repercussions also in different parts of Chotanagpur, Manbhum and Palamau.

In the Chotanagpur, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Palamau areas also British authority was seriously challenged at this time. At Hazaribagh there were the detachments of the 7th and 8th Native Infantry sent from Patna on station duty in July, 1857. Ranchi was the headquarters of the local Ramgarh battalion, and at Chaibasa and Purulia there were detachments of that battalion. The Companies of Infantry at Hazaribagh revolted towards the end of July, 1857.

The two companies of the Ramgarh Infantry, with whom Lieutenant Graham had been ordered to proceed to Hazaribagh to disarm the battalions there on suspicion of disloyalty, revolted [*]

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[*] These facts have been collected from —* ***(a) A letter of Mr. F. J. Mouat, Inspector of Jails. L. P., to A. B. Young, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 4th August, 18H7,*** **(6)** ***a letter from Mr. James Money, to F. J. Mouat, 4th August,*** **1857,** ***and a letter from S. Delpratt, to F. J. Mouat, 3rd August,*** **1857.**

soon under the leadership of Madhab Singh, the *Jam.idar,* and hurried back to Ranchi to join others. Those at Doranda also followed suit under the guidance of Jaimangal Singh. Both Ranchi and Doranda soon fell under the control of the Sepoys, who had risen in revolt ; they took possession of what they found in the local treasury and released the prisoners from the jails. Some of the Zamindars of this area were in alliance with . them, the most prominent among them being Thakur Biswanath Sahi of Barkargarh and Pandey Ganpat Rai of Bhownro. Detachments of the Ramgarh battalion at Purulia and Chaibassa too revolted on the 5th August. Their comrades at Doranda left Doranda on the nth September and were joined at Chouriya by Bhola Singh, a *amindar,* and from there they went through Kata and Chandwa to Chatra [1] probably with the intention of joining Kunwar Singh at Rohtasgarh. There was a link among all who had revolted in Bihar, Chotanagpur, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Palamau under the common leadership of Kunwar Singh. Jaganath Sahi, son of Thakur Kapilnath Sahi, a *amindar* of Sulgee, joined them. People in the Ranchi area regarded him as an agent of Kunwar Singh, as he had married a daughter of his brother Dayal Singh P],

In panic and embarrassment the Commissioner, Colonel Dalton, the Judicial Commissioner, the officer commanding at Doranda, and one Lieutenant had left their respective positions and proceeded to Hazaribagh through the direct route via Pithauria. Dalton went towards the Grand Trunk Road like the Hazaribagh officials and reached Bagodar on the 13th August. On the 18th August he proceeded to Burhce (Barhi), where on the 26th August, 150 of Rattray's Sikhs under Lieutenant Earle, commanding Bengal Police Detachment, joined him[3]. Assisted by them he returned to Hazaribagh by the end of August, and regained this place temporarily. Already on the 18th August, 1857, the Lieutenant-Governor had caused martial law to be proclaimed in all the districts forming the Chotanagpur division.

[1] Br a lley-Birt, Chotanagpur, p. 215.

[8] Letters from J. S. Davies, to the Commissioner of Chotanagpur, January, 1858.

[•] Benga[1] : Past and Present, July—December 1941, pp. 41—43.

Soon the British Officers at Chotanagpur were supplied with reinforcements. The Commissioner returned to Ranchi with a batch of the relieving force on the 22nd or 23rd September. Major English with 150 men of the 53rd Regiment marched on Doranda, Rattray with about 200 Sikhs remained at Dehri, and Colonel Fisher, commanding a detachment of the Madras troops, proceeded towards Japla. But they could not trace the movements of the insurgents. "It is incredible, but a fact", wrote Colonel Fisher on the 24th September, 1857, to the Chief of the Staff at Calcutta, "that the Ramgarh Mutineers, with their guns, are moving about in a small province, and not an official, civil or military, can tell where they are to be found", f[1]]

The insurgents had marched to Chatra by that time. Here, on the 2nd October, they had a severe engagement with the troops under Major English and the Sikhs under Lieutenant Earle, and were defeated. As was stated by Major J. Simpson, Principal Assistant Commissioner of Hazaribagh, in his letter to Colonel Dalton, dated the 4th October, written from his camp at Kalapahari near Chatra, "their artillery with four six-pounder guns and ammunition (45 cart-loads) were captured. The killed and wounded of the British troops aggregated 56 men, 46 Europeans, and 10 Sikhs. The wounds of some of the Europeans were severe, 4 of them underwent amputation. Seventy-seven bodies of mutineers were buried in one pit on the 3rd October and the number of the wounded must have been very large". [*]

On the victory of British troops at Chatra, Colonel Dalton felt much relief. On the 10th October, 1857, he wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal /'Though not without some loss on their side, the success achieved had been brilliant, and will be attended with important results ; nothing could have been more favourable to the thorough re-establishment of the authority of Government and the speedy restoration of order than the circumstances under which the mutineers were signally defeated*** the object gained has been great and I trust will ensure the speedy tranquillity of the whole of the

[*] MaHeson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vo]. II, p. 140.

[[a]] *Bengal : Past and Present,* July to Dec[A]mbar, 1941, p. 42.

Province of Bihar, if not add considerably to the security of the country from the Son to Calcutta".

But Mr. Dalton's expectation was belied. Though the British troops had reoccupied Hazaribagh, Ranchi* and Purulia, the movement was progressing in Singhbhum and Palamau. The Kols of Singhbhum offered a stubborn opposition to the Company's officers under the leadership of Raja Arjun Singh of Porahat and his brother, and their activities greatly menaced the position of the Company in that area. By the end of December, 1857, Mr. Lushington, the ex-officiating Commissioner of Burdwan, who had been temporarily appointed Special Commissioner for the districts of Manbhum and Singhbhum, reported "the existence of a widespread insurrection among the various tribes in Singhbhum"!*[1]. About the middle of January, 1858, the Kols severely defeated the Company's troops. "Not an officer escaped", noted the Lieutenant-Governor in his *Minute,* "unhurt". Captain Hale, commanding the Sikhs, was wounded in four places,** Lieutenant Birch's arms was pinned to his side by an arrow whilst Mr. Lushington and Dr. Hayes, the only others present, were also, though less, severely wounded. Of the 50 Sikhs*** 25 were more or less severely wounded, one mortally, and one man was killed. The enemies are said to have left 150 dead on the field" [2], An attack made by the Company's troops on Chakradharpur, the residence of the Porahat Raja, proved to be of no avail.

Colonel Foster, who was at Raniganj, in Bengal, commanding the Shekawati Battalion, was deputed to Singhbhum to quell the insurrection there. After rapid marches he reached Chaibasa on the 17th January, 1858. Acting along with the Commissioner, there, he defeated about a thousand men assembled at Chakradharpur and destroyed the village. Then the force proceeded to Porahat, "burning many villages and seizing a large quantity of grain and cattle" [3]. But in the southern part of the district large number of the Kols held out bravely even after a force had gathered at the Siringsella Pass. Colonel Foster could disperse them from the positions they had taken

P] *Minute. of Sir Frederick Halliday on the. Mutinies, etc., Buckland, Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors,* Vol. I, p. 106.

[®] Ibid.

[>] Ibid.

up at some places in the jungles and the hills, after he was reinforced by a batch of troops sent from Midnapur. The Shekawati Battalion remained in the Singhbhum district till the end of February, its services being no longer required in that district. But the Porahat Raja and the Kols still offered formidable resistance to the Company's troops here and there throughout the year 1858, often harassing them in various ways.

The movement had taken a serious turn for the Company in the Palamau district too. The population of this area was chiefly composed of the Cheros and the Khairwars. There were some high-caste Hindus like the Brahmins and the Rajputs and a sprinkling of the Kols and other Adibasis. The Khairwars were divided into several classes, the chief of these being the Bhogtas. The Bhogtas under the leadership of Pitambar and Lilambar, two of their chiefs, with others of the Khairwar clan and a body of the Cheros, organised a strong opposition against the Company [']. They attacked Chainpur (situated 2 miles south-west of Daltonganj) on the 21st October, 1857. Here they were opposed by its proprietor, Thakur Raghubar Dayal Singh, who had already prepared himself for this, as, in the opinion of Colonel Dalton, he was "devoted to the interest of the British Government". . The allied forces then marched to Shahpur (opposite Daltonganj on the west bank of the Koil), where they captured four guns belonging to its Rani (wife of Rajah Churaman Rai) and overpowered the Police in the local *thana.* The next day about 500 of them proceeded to Leslieganj (situated 10 miles east of Daltonganj), from where the Police and the artillery establishment fled away on their arrival and took shelter with Shivacharan Rai, a *Jagirdar* (holder of some area of land by way of pension or remuneration) of Nowagarh. About 300 of those who had revolted in Shahabad were now marching into the Palamau district.

Under orders from Colonel Dalton, Lieutenant Graham, Junior Assistant Commissioner, had marched from Ranchi with 60 men of the Ramghur infantry and reached Chainpur on the 7th November. At the request of Lieutenant Graham, J. S. Davies, Senior Assistant Commissioner, proceeded to

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***[x] Letter from L\ T. Dalton to A. B. Young*, 21st June, 1858. The narrative about the Movement in Palamau till June, 1858, is based on this letter, a copy of which was found in the Record Office of the Commissioner cf Ranchi.**

Leslieganj on the 9th November with the Ramghur Cavalry and Sikh volunteers[1]. J. S. Davies went with the force under Captain Nation to Chhechhari (in the extreme south of the Palamau district) on the 20th November, 1858, and placed Bhaiya Kumar Saheb under restraint by attaching his property. His uncle Bhaiya Seel Saheb was also temporarily placed under arrest as he was supplying certain things to the insurgents[2].

But this could not dishearten the allies. On the 26th November, Joodhur Singh with about 900 men reached Untari (in the north-west of the Palamau district). In fact, "by the end of November, the whole country (Palamau area) appeared to be up in arms, and Lieutenant Graham, with his small party, was shut up and besieged in the house of Raghubar Dayal (at Chainpur)"[3]. On the 27th November a large number of Bhogtas attacked the station of the Coal Company at Rajhara (10 miles north of Daltonganj) and two of its employees, Messrs Grundy and Malzar, somehow managed to escape. On the 2nd December they attacked the *thanas* of Manka and Chhattapur.

Major Cotter, already stationed at Sasaram, came to the relief of Lieutenant Graham and reached Shahpur on the 8th December. One of the leaders of the movement in that area, Debi Bux Roy, was now captured. Major Cotter went back to Sasaram, via Sherghatty, to clear the *ghats* in that direction. But the movement could not be still checked by the Company's troops. Mr. J. S. Davies informed the Commissioner of Chotanagpur on the 21st December, 1857 : "As you are aware the extent of the country occupied by the rebel comprises some 40 miles square of intractable hills and dense jungles, so dense that until the approach of the hot season when it becomes practicable to burn the grass, etc., an enemy might be within a few hundred yards of troops without being discovered. To add to the difficulties of such a country the whole of *the inhabitants without exception are, if not openly, on the side of the rebels* who receive every information of our movements, while it is with the utmost difficulty we are able to trace them***".

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[x] Letter from J. S. Davies, to the Commissioner of Chotanagpur, **11th December, 1858.**

['] ***From same to same,*** **3rd December, 1858.**

[»] Minute of Sir F. Halliday on the Mutinies, **etc., pp. 118-119.**

Mr. Davies requisitioned further reinforcements to help the Sirguja *Zamindars.*

Assisted by the Raja of Deo and also the *Sarbarakar* of Sirguja, Lieutenant Graham defeated Premanand, *ilakadar* (person responsible for payment of village rent), of Kunda and "the most influential leader of the Khairwar tribe", and reached Leslieganj on the 26th December. •On the capture of the some of the prominent local leaders of the movement, the Commissioner thought the "affairs appeared to have taken a favourable turn" for the Company. But Pitambar and Lilambar were still quite active. Joined by some from the side ofMirzapur hills, they carried on a sort of guerilla warfare for some months from January, 1858.

On the 22nd January, 1858, Captain Dalton, assisted by Lieutenant Graham, captured the Palamau fort from the insurgents. Here he discovered some letters written to Lilambar, Pitambar and also correspondence from Amar Singh with promise of assistance. The leaders of the movement in Shahabad remlined in "constant communication" with their fellow workers of Palamau during the succeeding months of 1858 and even early in the next year. The Palamau fighters assembled in the old Palamau fort about the nth of September, 1858, and remained active beyond that date causing much anxiety to all the British officers there including Commissioner Dalton. The Commissioner asked Captain Davies to "send all information direct to Government via Sherghatty and to communicate with Brigadier Douglas and the Commissioner of Patna on all matters connected with the movements of the mutineers".

In the month of November, 1858, a party of Bhogtas under two leaders, named Bhoja and Bharat, drove away the local guard and armed police from the *thana* of Bangarh into Sirguja. "The two leaders were mounted and got off." By the 30th November, 1858, more than one thousand insurgents actually entered Palamau under Seedha Singh, and another leader, probably Ram Bahadur Singh of Saneya near Chhechhari.

The Commissioner of Chotanagpur repeatedly requested his authorities to send additional reinforcements as soon as possible. Thus he wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal

on the 3rd December, 1858, pointing out the "expediency of adding to the troops at Ranchi a couple of companies of Europeans so that in the event of the rebels pushing on towards Chotanagpur there may be a sufficient force to meet them or to move to the support of Captain Davies if necessary". "I beg again to press", he observed in his letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on 8th December, "the expediency of troops being sent not only into Palamau, for that I am certain will have been done, but to Chotanagpur. I recommend that the two companies of H. M. 29th Foot expected at Hazaribagh was at once on to Ranchi and another or two sent to Hazaribagh to replace them". The Bhogtas were not overpowered till 1859.

Shortly after the outbreak of the movement, for some reason or other, Mr. W. Tayler had lost the confidence of his higher authorities. His withdrawal order and the Gaya episode had been followed by his removal from the post of the Commissioner of Patna. On the 5th August, 1857, the British Government in Calcutta had appointed in his place Mr. E. A. Samuells, a Muhammadan pleader named Ameer Ali being asked to accompany him as his assistant. On the same day General Outram, who had come to Calcutta on the 1st August, was appointed to the joint command of Dinapur and Kanpur on the removal of Lloyd and Havelock from the respective stations]. Before the arrival of Mr. Samuells at Patna, Mr. R. N. Farquharson, Judge of Patna, officiated as Commissioner till the 17th August. According to instructions from his authorities the latter immediately announced a reward of ten thousand rupees for the capture of Kunwar Singh and asked his subordinate officers to give it good publicity[2]. Again on the 1zth August, 1857, he asked Mr. Skipwith Tayler, Assistant Magistrate of Gaya, to proceed with a force to Gaya and "to perform all the duties of both Magistrate and Collector during the absence of Mr. Money until further orders". He also wrote to Mr. MacDonell, Magistrate of Chapra, on the 14th August, informing him that he had on that day ordered Mr. H. E. J. Hannay of the Indian Navy to proceed with his

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p] *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army,* p. 191.

[a] Letter from R. N. Farquharson, Commissioner of Patna, to the Judge of Arrah, 12th August, 1857.

gun-boat and crew to Revilgunge (six miles from Chapra) and to place himself under his orders "to watch the mouth of Ganges for prevention, if possible, of any communication between Fyzabad and Arrah". He noted in the concluding lines of his letter : "However this may be, the moral effect of this boat, its gun and European crew will, I am sure, be beneficial to the Chuprah district generally and in default of a steamer do good service in keeping in check the turbulent people of the west bank".

Mr. R. N. Farquharson seems to have acted with caution and tact. Thus, on the representation of the citizens of Patna against Mr. Tayler's orders forbidding persons to come out of their houses after 9 p. m., he changed the time to 12 O' clock midnight. He also passed orders against the forcible use of *ekkas* (hackney carriages) by the soldiers or some others so that the *ekkawalas* (drivers of hackney carriages) might work normally. He asked the Commanding Officer of the Bihar Station Guards, Patna, on the 16th August, to restore the *Nhjeebs,* under his command, their arms and to express to them on his behalf confidence in them for their useful services at Chapra and Muzaffarpur.

Just after receiving charge of the office of Commissioner, on the 18th August, 1857, Mr. E. A. Samuells issued an order to the Magistrate of Arrah permitting the use of Buxar as a civil station till the buildings at Arrah, then in a "ruined state," were repaired. He further asked that Magistrate "to make the Zemindars everywhere strictly responsible for the peace of their own estates and for the capture of any fugitive Sepoy who may attempt to pass through their territories". Besides being assured of supply of additional force in each *thana** if he felt need for any, the said Magistrate was asked by Mr. Samuells "to organize a good intelligence department" so that he might "get early information of everything that was passing in the different portions of his district", and to inform the Sikhs, who had helped the English at Arrah, that he would "recommend them for the orders of merits if this has not been already done".

On the 20th August, 1857, Mr. Samuells asked the officiating Magistrate of Gaya to adopt the following measures for sup pression of the movement in his jurisdiction : "I shall authorise

the Zemindars in your district on whom I can rely and whose estates have been exposed to plunder to entertain a limited number of men armed with swords and spears for the protection of their Zemindaries and in all such cases shall hold the Zemindars strictly responsible for the preservation of peace in their own neighbourhood. If applications of this nature arc made to you, you are authorised to sanction them, where there is no reason to doubt the loyalty of the applicant and when the state of the country in the vicinity of the appli cant's state appears to render such a measure necessary, reporting in every instance you have done so to me. You will use your best endeavours to apprehend the heirs of Namdar Khanf [1]] who have lately been creating disturbances in the Amruthoo (Amarthu) and Rogger (Rajgir) Purgannahs and also Maya Singh of Amama in the Behar *thana* who is described by Mr. Vincent as the chief rebel in that part of the country". The Magistrate of Saran was also advised to utilise the services of the local *zemindars* in the manner noted above.

The Magistrate of Shahabad was asked by the Commissioner on the 21st August, 1857, to confiscate under Act XXV of 1857 tbe property of Kunwar Singh and of others of that district who had joined the movement. That Magistrate was further instructed "to lose no time in ascertaining what parties have been taking advantage of the late disturbances to plunder and commit them to the Sessions Judge, proceeding against all who may have been in open rebellion under the provisions of Act XXV of 1857".

Again on the 27th August, 1857, Mr. Samuells asked the Magistrate of Shahabad to "take immediate steps to discover and punish the villagers who fired on Captain Dunbar's party when retreating to Brookegunj and*** also the persons who tied up the rudders of the boats to prevent the returning troops from using them". He suggested that Mr. Garstin, Deputy Magistrate of Buxar, who was soon proceeding to Buxar, might help him "in indicating the villagers which behaved worst on that occasion". The Commissioner, however, did not approve of the proposal of the Magistrate of Shahabad for burning the villages, the inhabitants of which showed their

[i] One eighteenth- century Muslim *zamindar* of Narhat-Samai, vide* K. K. Datta, *Alivardi and Hitt Times*, p. 123.

hostility to the English Government and instructed him to adopt other "retributive measures" against those villagers who "had actually aided the rebels during the late disturbances".

Regarding the procedure to be followed by a Magistrate in committing cases for trial by martial law, the Commissioner issued the following instructions to the six Magistrates of the Division on the 24th August, 1857 "*** the ordinary law of procedure is entirely superseded by the proclamation of martial law, that it is unnecessary for the Magistrate to make any formal record of the evidence on which he commits. A short memorandum in his own handwriting of the charges and the person who makes it together with a note of the evidence and of the prisoner's statement is quite sufficient. An order of commitment with a short statement of reasons of committal will then follow and these memoranda may be sent at once to the Judge with a request that he will state on what day he proposes to proceed with the case ; a multi plicity of evidence ought to be avoided to simplify the proceedings as much as possible. A single sheet ought always to suffice".

The English were in a menacing situation from August, 1857, also in some other areas, such as Nawadah, Jahanabad, Rajgir, Amarthu, etc. Hyder Ali Khan, Ahmad Ali Khan, Mehdi Ali Khan, Hussain Baksh Khan, Ghulam Ali Khan, Hukoo Singh, Nunkoo Singh and Fateh Singh had risen against them in arms in those parts. Their ranks were gradually reinforced, and assembling at Antipore (close to Nawadah) they even proclaimed that "the Company's rule has ceased in the Rajgeer (Rajgir) Pargunnah". Nana Singh of Umoano, whose territory lay chiefly in the Nawadah jurisdic tion and who had also revolted against the English, had been wounded by the middle of August, 1857. But Mr. Vincent, Deputy Magistrate of Barh, could not with his best efforts capture him till thenf[1]]. About 2,000 persons besieged the Tehta Sub-Deputy Opium Agency. It was relieved by Mr. Colvin Lindsay, who was deputed there with 50 *Najeebs.* Major Nation was ordered by the Commissioner to proceed to Hilsa and Nawada with 50 *Najeebs.* The Commissioner of Patna

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PJ ***Letter from the Commissioner of Patna, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,*** **10th August, 1857.**

asked Captain Rattray, commanding the Sikh corps at Gaya, to march at once to Nawadah to suppress these risings and he ordered the Magistrate of Gaya to help Captain Rattray in every wayf[1]]. The Commissioner further requested Colonel Guy, Commanding at Dinapur, on the 31st August, 1857, to supply Captain Rattray, for his action, fifteen elephants or as many as he could spare. On the failure of Colonel Guy to comply with this, the Magistrate of Gaya was requested "to indent on the Zamindars in the neighbourhood of Gaya" for any number he might require. Captain Rattray was authorised to declare on his arrival at Nawadah "rewards of Rs. 500 for each of the rebel chiefs and smaller sums for any of their followers who have been making themselves conspicuous"[[2]]. The Commissioner assured Captain Rattray that he would recommend to the Government to invest him with the power of a Commissioner under Act XIV of 1857 so fhat he might "not have the trouble of sending in rebels to be tried by the Judge"[[3]]. Hyder Ali Khan and one or two of his followers were captured within a few days[[4]], and the former was hanged. At Wazirganj men of about 14 villages combined to rise under Khoseal Singh. Many of them were captured and transported, but Khoseal Singh could not be captured at least till the middle of March, 1858. Many persons were convicted in all the districts of the Patna Division. About the beginning of November, 1857, the Government sanctioned a body of European mounted police for the Bihar district and a Commandant with 26 men was maintained for this. In the third week of December an extra police force of 250 men was sanctioned by them for the Nawadah subdivision. Thus, after considerable exertion, the English officers were able to bring these areas under their control.

Meanwhile the eastern districts had been in a state of disturbance after the revolt of the two companies of the 32nd N. I. at Bhagalpur on the 9th October, 1857. This was also a matter of anxiety for the Company's Government. Appre hending that they would behave like those of the 5th Irregulars,

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[*] Letter from the Commissioner of Patna, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, **27th and 31st August, 1857.**

[[a]] Letter from the Commissioner of Patna, to the Magistrate of Bihar, **14th September, 1857.**

[»] Ibid.

[•] Ibid.

some. Government officers took various precautions at Gaya and the neighbouring places. But the two companies marched through the districts of Bihar and Patna without going to Gaya and crossed the Son at Rwal Ghat on the 24th October, 1857. In the meantime a second detachment of two companies of the same Regiment, while marching from Barhait, in the Rajmahal subdivision of the district of Santal Parganas, to the. Headquarters of the Regiment at Suri (in the Birbhum district), had revolted on the way at Rampurhat (in the Birbhum district). They entered into Bihar and had furious fightings with Captain English at Nawadah on the 2nd November and with Captain Rattray at Dhanchua on the 6th November. They fought bravely and frustrated the efforts of the English troops to chase them. The first detachment had already crossed the Grand Trunk Road, about 36 miles in advance of Dehri.

The Chapra frontier had also then become a sort of danger zone for the English because of the rising of Muhammad Hussain Khan, who had some guns in his possession and about 500 of whose men had been provided with fire-arms. The Magistrate of Saran wrote to the Commissioner of Patna on the 26th August, 1857 : "I have the honour to inform you that I have heard of no fresh disturbance having taken place in the district, but the people in the Sewan subdivision ate in a great state of alarm and are very anxious that troops should be sent to Sewan. From intelligence received to-day, not from one but from several quarters, it appears that Muhammad Hussen (Hussain) has actually raised the standard of rebellion in Gorruckpore itself, that he has issued orders in the name of the King of Oude and that his force is gradually increasing. I forward you a short note from the Maharajah of Majawlee or one of the *punchayat* (council of village elders) appointed by the Gorruckpore officials. I hear that the Nepalese troops have arrived at Mooteeharry (Motihari) and if one hundred of these could be sent to Sewan it would do much towards restoring the confidence of the people. Some measures must be adopted speedily or else there is great fear of the whole of our western frontier being in a state of disorganisation".

Early in September, 1857, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in consultation with James Outram, ordered the officer commanding the Detachment of 17th Madras N. I. to proceed at once

to that frontier to guard it against the incursions of the insurgents from Gorakhpur into Chapra. The Commissioner of Patna also sent necessary instructions to that officer ®n the 6th September, 1857, pointing out to him the advisability of his stationing himself at Aliganj Siwan, ten or twelve miles from the Gorakhpur frontier, and the seat of a Deputy Magistrate as well as of a Sub-Deputy Opium Agency. There, in the opinion of Commissioner, he could have the advantage of consulting two English officers, Mr. MacDonelipj and Mr. Lynch, Deputy Magistrate at Siwan, and of getting the assistance of 75 Sikhs of Captain Rattray's battalion. He was advised also to enlist the support, if necessary, of the two Gurkha Regiments of the Nepal Raj, who were then guarding the *ghats* on the upper Gandak in the Champaran district. For this he was to write to the Joint-Magistrate of Champaran at Motihari, who had been authorised by the Resident of Nepal to regulate the movements of these Regiments. One Regiment together with Captain Southeby's naval brigade, was stationed at Siwan, another at Motihari and subsequently at Bettiah. The Magistrate of Saran informed the Commissioner of Patna on the 8th October, 1857 : "I have the honour to inform you that nothing new has occurred in this district, but I have just received the enclosed Hindi note from the Hutwah Rajah's Moktear who states that troops should be at once sent to the frontier of the district to protect his estate from Mohammad Hussen, whose force, he says, is increasing daily. It appears that he has received a *khilat* (robe of honour) from Oude and that he has bestowed *khilat* upon several of his officers. The Sutasee Rajah appears to have come to pay him a visit and has brought a number of men with him. The other Rajahas according to this letter seem also expected there. This *khilat* being sent to him after our successes at Lucknow looks as if some of the Oude people were inclined to join him. Unless a force is very speedily sent to Gorruckpore, I fear we shall experience much greater trouble in driving him out. I do not think there is much chance of his crossing the Gorruckpore boundary but still I can quite

[>] Th3f© wjra, than, two MaoDonells in Saran, one the District Magistrate, Mr. W. F. MacDonell and the other Mr. E. MacDonell, the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent at Sowan. Here the reference is probably to the latter. A Magistrate had been stationed at Motihari from 1837, the Bettiah subdivision was established in 1852 and in 1866 Champaran was formed into a separate district.

understand the Hutwa Rajah being anxious and I have promised to send this information to you".

The Europeans of Muzaffarpur also were in a state of panic and the Government officers, there, adopted "strongest measures" for the apprehension of the "mutineers", enforced strict censor-* ship on the Press, prohibited "any subject of a foreign state (evidently meaning Nepal) from penetrating into the interior, and arranged for the fortification of the last but one house at the western end of the Muzaffarpur town with provisions stored there for the Europeans and the Sikhs, so that the Europeans could resort there in case of a sudden attackf[1]].

In the months of November and December, 1857, there was apprehension among the Englishmen in north Bihar that those who had mutinecd at Dacca might advance there by thePurnea side. The Magistrate of Muzaffarpur then asked Government to sanction the opening of new lines of express *dawk* from some places in Purnea to Muzaffarpur[[2]]. Thinking that the insurgents would enter into the Muzaffarpur district at the north-eastern extremity and would skirt the Nepal frontier; on the 13th December, the Magistrate of Muzaffarpur ordered all the Europeans residing in the northern and eastern parts of that district "to make arrangements without delay which will enable them to come into the station for safety and remove their valuables at a moment's notice". But the Magistrate soon realised that there was no danger for Muzaffarpur and so requested Major Richardson, who commanded the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry (then at Gaya), consisting of 300 troopers with their horses and a large retinue of about 800 persons, to proceed at once to Darbhanga[[3]], as it was considered to be still in danger. The English in north Bihar received assistance in these disturbed days from the Nepal Government. Besides leading troops Maharajah Jung Bahadur issued a *parwanab* (order) to the officers in the *Taraz* to "give every facility and assistance" to the troops of the English Company who "may cross into the Nepal territory in pursuit of the mutineers".

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p] *Letter from the Magistrate of Muzaffarpur, to the Commissioner of Patna,* 28th September, 1857.

***[2] Letter from the Magistrate of Muzaffarpur, to the Commissioner of Patna,* 7th December, 1857.**

***[3] Letter from the Magistrate of Muzaffarpur, to the Assistant Magistrate and Collector,* 3rd December, 1857.**

In the third week of December, 1857, Maharajah Jung Bahadur came to Bettiah with the main body of his troops.

But the combined efforts of the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry and the Nepal troops could not at once check the march of the "mutineers". About the middle of January, 1858, it was reported that they had "taken the Chatra Mahant's />// (made of brick and plaster) two-storied house capable of holding 1,000 men and containing large stores of grain where they intend to make a stand". In fact within a few days they frustrated, there, the joint attempts to capture them, on the part of Major Richardson and Mr. Yule, Commissioner of Bhagalpur, who after fighting against the 'mutineers' at Purnea had also come there, and of Ratan Man Singh, the Nepalese General. By the 27th January, 1858, they marched through Janakpur, whereupon Major Richardson planned to go westward to inter cept them if they sought to cross the Gandak and to enter into the Company's jurisdiction. On the 8th February, 1858, Mr. W. R. Davies, Deputy Collector on duty at Bettiah, repor ted to the Magistrate of Muzaffarpur : "The Mutineers have not up to this date crossed the Gundak but they are now marching up to Trebenee *Ghat* through the *Terrai (Taraz)* along which they appeared to have moved unmolested—visiting every Nepal *Cutcherry* on their road and amply supplied with *russed* (provisions)".

Babu Singh on horse back

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE

Brief history of the origin of the Parwar Rajputs and their advent into Shahabad—foundation of Jagdishpur, Udwant Singh, the founder of Jagdishpur family—his immediate successors—Gajraj Singh, Shivraj Singh and Bhupnarayan—disputed successions in the family—Saheb ada Singh and his litigations with Ishree Prasad—Kunwar Singh, Early life and training, fondness for hunting, riding and archery, etc,—marriage and family life.

The origin of the Parmar Rajputs and their advent into Bihar in the early 14th century are inextricably mixed up with legends and mythological accounts and the absence of authentic contemporary accounts renders a scientific study of the subject extremely difficult. There arc, however, a few original sources of information regarding their ancestors, pj The earliest and comparatively trustworthy and valuable source is a Hindi document, probably fragmentary, prepared originally in 1719 V.S. (1662 A. D.) by one Bodh Raj of Pugal, Bikaner, who visited Jagdishpur and collected the local accounts of the various principalities of the Parmars including Bhojpur, Dumraon, and Jagdishpur, which last place he visited during Shahjahan's reign. But this account ends with Gajapati Singh and Dalpat Singh (16th century). Another and a later source is the Udwant Prakash [2], an 18th century work in verse by one MauliKavipJ of village Bajrangpur, district Fatehpur. It contains an account of the Jagdishpur family and was prepared at the instance and under the patronage of its virtual founder, Udawant Singh.

pi Discussed in Prof. 8. H. Askari's article, entitled "Ujjainia Ancestors of Kunwar Singh", *J. B. R. S.*, Vol. XII, Pt. I, 1955.

p] The manuscript copy, dated 1746, was kindly made available to me by Shri Sachchidanand Singh of village Dalippur (Shahabad), a descendant of Dyal Singh, brother of Kunwar Singh.

p] Mauli was the author of two other works, entitled *Uduant Binod* and the *Ban Singh.* He was granted a few villages in *Jagir* by his patron, for preparing the *Udwant Prakash.*

The account, however, has the inherent defects of a work made to order, and is more in the nature of a genealogical list interspersed with poetical hyperboles and exaggeration, than a piece of sober history. Yet another source is the printed official history of the Dumraon Raj, entitled *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia.* It was published in 1898, in four volumes, by Munshi Vinayak Prasad at the instance of Maharaja Radha Prasad of Dumraon. It is primarily concerned with the history of the Dumraon Raj, but has a separate chapter on the Jagdishpur family. Although the author had a vast and varied collection of original records for preparing this history, he did not make a very critical use of them with the result that legends and gossips have been mixed up with historical facts. Moreover, preparing it after the Move ment of 1857-59, t ie author is at pains to establish that the Maharaja of Dumraon had nothing to do with this Movement and glorifies the services rendered by the Maharaja to the English. With all these defects, volume three of the *'Vaivarikh-i-Ujjainia* is one of the very few printed works dealing with the early life and career of Kunwar Singh. A mid-nineteenth century document [*[1]], bearing on the family history of the Jagdishpur Babus, is a letter, dated 10th April, 1858, from Mr. H. G. Madock, officiating Collector, Shahabad, to Mr. E. A. Samuclls, the Commissioner of Patna. It gives a very brief account about the advent of the Parmars into Bihar. But the sources of its information are not indicated. Many of its statements are un corroborated and some definitely wrong. The Collector himself noted : "It is not strictly accurate though sufficient for all prac tical purposes."

The major difficulty in reconstructing the early history of the Parmars out of a comparative study of these above mentioned sources is that there are divergences in the different accounts. Important personages mentioned in one are either not mentioned in the other or put in different periods and under different names.

It is not essential for the purposes of the present book to go into the details of these controversies and to try to reconcile

p] This document was discovered in the Shahabad Collectorato by two Research Fellows of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, Shri J. 8. Jha and Shri Q. Ahmad in the course of their search for materials relating to Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh, and is now preserved in the State Central Archives, Bihar, Patna.

the various contradictory genealogical tables. An attempt is made here to present a brief account of the early history of the Parmars up to the time of Udwant Singh as a sort of background for the history of the subsequent periods. Some of the leading personalities of the dynasty, like Gajpati Singh, Dalpat Singh, Pratap Rudra, and Kunwar Dhir, played significant roles in the history of Bihar, right from the days of Akbar to the time of Muhammad Shah, and are mentioned in the contemporary Persian histories [A] and other documents.

The Parmars trace their descent [*] from the famous and legendary Raja Bhoj of Dhar (Malwa), who was the tenth in descent f3J from the equally famous Raja Vikramaditya of the same dynasty. There are some literary evidences tracing theii descent from Raja Udayaditya, a collateral of Raja Bhoj, who was seventeenth [4] in succession from Raja Vikramaditya. He is said to have revived the ebbing fortunes of the family and to have given a new lease of glory and prosperity to the family centre of Dhar, which he recovered. He had two wives f5], who gave birth to two sons, named Jagdeo and Randhir or Randhi-vola, at about the same time 16J. The former established a sepa rate principality at Baglana in Gujrat, while the descendants of the latter continued to rule over Dhar until they were over thrown by the Khaljis in the beginning of the 14th century. Bhojraj, the younger brother of Mulukdco, the last Parmar ruler of Dhar, emigrated to the Kekat country (modern districts of Gaya and Shahabad), a Cheru principality, and took shelter with the local Cheru Raja, Mukund. This period witnessed the beginning of the long and bitter struggle between the estab lished Cheru principalities in Shahabad, and its neighbouring area, and the Rajputs moving east under pressure of the advancing Muslim forces. The Cherus were an aboriginal tribe of semi-Dravidian origin, who were settled over the greater part of the Shahabad area. After a long and fluctuating struggle,

p] Abul Fazal's *Akbar-namah, Jahangir's Memoirs, Inayelullah's Alumgir-Ramah, Maasir-ul-Umara,* and *Ghulam Hussain's SiyarubMutakherin-*

[2] Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia, **Vol. I, pp. 66-68.**

['] ***Ibid,*** **p. 74.**

[*] ***Ibid,*** **p. 79.**

[*] ***Ibid,*** **p. 80.**

[•] ***Ibid,***

which continued till much later times, the Cherus were finally ousted from the District by the Rajputs, who were often aided in their object by the Muslims. The eastward emigration of Bhojraj into this area and the subsequent conflicts with the Cherus was but a link in the long chain of the migrations and conflicts of this period. Bhojraj was killed by Sahasbal, son and successor of Mulukdeo, who in his turn was killed (1333 A.D.) t[1] by Devraj, son of Bhojraj. The victorious Devraj occupied the Cheru principality and was acclaimed by his compatriots as their head under the title of Santan Singh.

The conquered domain was renamed Bhojpur in honour of the pioneer founder Bhojraj. Santan Singh became the progenitor of the various branches of Parmar Rajputs in Bihar at Bhojpur, Dumraon and Jagdishpur. After they had settled in Bihar, these branches, originally hailing from Dhar and Ujjainia, were designated as Ujjainia Rajputs.

Devraj (Santan Singh) was succeeded in 1343 by Somraj, who died in 1388. Somraj was succeeded by his three sons named Hariraj, Gajraj and Jagdeo, one after another. They were the contemporaries [2] of Khawja Sarwar, entitled Malik-us-Sharq, who had been deputed by Firuz Tughluq in 1393 to rule over the eastern regions from Kanauj to Bihar, and they had sporadic skirmishes with the Muslim forces [3J. Their earliest stronghold was Karwar, [4] which they had to abandon on account of Ibrahim Husain Sharqi's advance, and to withdraw from Bhojpur. They retreated into the neighbouring jungles but carried on a relentless struggle under their new chief Sangramdeva and finally reoccupied Bhojpur after the death of Ibrahim Husain Sharqi. Sangram moved his capital to Dawaf[6]. He died in 1510 V. S. (1453 A. D.) and was succeeded by his son Ishwari Singh.

The cycle of events repeated itself once again. TheUjjainias had to evacuate their new capital at Dawa on the advance of

['] ***Bodhraj's Account.***

['] **For details see Prof. Askari's article in J. B. R. S., Vol. XII, Pt. I, 1955, pp. 106-32.**

[®] ***Bodhraj's Account.***

[*] A village in *Paragana* Danwar, Shahabad District.

['] **A village in *Paragana* Behea, Shahabad District.**

the Sharqi forces. But they reoccupied it later under Onkardeva, who, however, shifted the seat of authority to Bihta. Onkardeva was succeeded by Durlabhdeva in 1545 V.S. (1489 A.D.), who was a contemporary of Jamal Khan Sharangkhani, the Afghan governor of Jaunpur. His death in 1575 ¥.8.(1519 A.D.) was followed by the division of the Ujjainias into a number of mutually hostile and warring groups, represented by his sons, Badal , Sheoram and Mahipal, born of different wives. Badal occupied the *gaddi* (prince's or chief's seat) of Jagdishpur and the other two established themselves at Bihta and Mathila respectively. Out of the tripartite fratricidal struggle Sheoram came out successful for the time being. Badal's wife escaped into the jungles with her two sons Gajpati and Bairisal. The former on coming of age met f[1]] Sher Khan (Shah) with whose advice and help he fought and defeated Sheoram Singh and ascended the *gaddi* in 1590 V.S. (1534 A.D.). Gajpati Singh had soon an occasion to reciprocate the services of Sher Khan. He rendered substantial help [[2]J to Sher Shah in the crucial battle of Suraj-garh (1534). Gajpati was an influential *%amindar* of his period, and has been mentioned [[3]] by Abul Fazal. Nothing definite is known about the causes of his revolt, [[4]] which took place in Akbar's time. He rebelled (1576) while Muzaffar Khan Turhi, the famous and valient governor of Bihar, was away in Bengal, to fight the battle of Akmahal (Rajmahal), which resulted in the death of Daud Khan and the end of Afghan supremacy in Bihar. He was, however, opposed and checked by another imperial general Shahbaz Khan. Aided and guided by a local chieftain in the jungle-clad difficult terrain, Shahbaz proceeded to Dawa and Jagdishpur, the stronghold of Gajpati, and seized both the places. Towards the end of Akbar's reign the Ujjainias again sought to defy the imperial authority. Prince Danyal, governor of Allahabad, advanced into Bihar and reduced to submission Dalpat Sahi, son of Mahipal and cousin of Gajpati.

Raja Narayan Mull (1605-22) was another important personality of the period. A detailed but incomplete account of his

f[1]] *Bodhraj's account.*

[«] Ibid.

['] ***Akbar-Namah,*** **Vol. Ill, pp. 30, 135, 139, 239-41, 260-65, 280.**

[<] For a detailed discussion of the topic see Prof Askari's article *"Bihar in Akbar's time" in Bengal (Past and Present),* Vol. LXIV.

career is given in a Persian manuscript entitled *Raq i-Narawi [*].* It is a versified account of the military exploits of Narayan Mull, his suppression of the Cherus and his conflicts with the local Mughal officials. Pratap Rudra was another important personage in Bihar during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan. He rendered valuable services to Shahjahan during his rebellion, but later on rebelled against his authority as a ruler, during the governorship of Abdullah Firuz Jung [2] (1632-39). A double pronged expedition, jointly by the Governors of Allahabad and Bihar, was undertaken against him. The Raja put up a spirited defence, but was ultimately defeated and captured. He was brought to Patna and executed at the Western gate of the city. The rising of the famous Kunwar Dhir Ujjainia of Baraon is an important event in the history of Bihar during the reign of Aurangzeb and has been frequently referred to in the contemporary *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla,* and the official history of Inaetullah. Notwithstanding the restraining influence of his father, who was a loyal though a defaulting *amindar,* Kunwar Dhir caused repeated disturbances, killed the local officials of *paragana* (an administrative subdivision of the country) Peero and attacked the neighbouring *amindars* of Saran, Champaran and Gaya. *Hhe Akhbarats* (News-letters) of different dates contain various references to the activities of Kunwar Dhir against Mughal authority in Bihar. [2J Inayetullah refers to the suppression and death of Kunwar Dhir during the governorship of Azim-us-Shan. The authors of *Ibrat-Nawah* and *Hadiqat-ul-Aqaleem*$_y$ who belonged to the eighteenth century, have wrongly attributed a longer period of life to Kunwar Dhir. Evidently they confuse the later activities of Sudisht Narayan of Muhammad Shah's time, with those of his father Kunwar Dhir.[3J

Udawant Singh was the real founder of the Jagdishpur branch of the Ujjainias. He was the great grandson of the

PJ It was written by one Qazi Reza, a descendant of the famous Qazi family of Chausa of the Mughal period. The family had intimate connection with the Dumraon Raj. The manuscript dated 7th June, 1902. contains several paintings by the author himself. It has been recently microfilmed with the consent of its owner, Qazi Sayeed Azmi of Dumraon, through the efforts of Prof. Askari and Sri Q. Ahmad.

p] *Ṁaasir *ul-Umara Vol. HI, p, 786.**

[®]S. H. Askari's article entitled "Bihar in the times of Aurangzeb", *Journal of Bihar Research Society,* Vol. XXXII, Part II, p. 179.

famous Raja Narayan Mull of Jahangir's time. On the death of Narayan Mull there followed a dispute for succession. His son Parbal Sahi went to Delhi to get his claim acknowledged. He was converted to Islam and given a *Firman* (imperial order or deed of grant) acknowledging his succession. On his return his claim was contested by his nephew, Raja Rudra Pratap. In the battle at Bhojpur (near Dumraon) he was defeated and killed and Rudra Pratap ascended the *gaddi.* Subsequently, on Rudra Pratap's death, the two sons of Parbal, Mandhata and Soojan, came over to Buxar. The former occupied *the gaddi.* The younger, Soojan, who had been earlier granted some 800 villages in *paraganas* Arrah, Behea, Panwar, etc., by his father, moved over to Jagdishpur in 1702 pj and developed it as a separate centre. He died in 1708 [2J at the hands of the soldiers of the *fa/ijdar* (a local officer of the Police Department) of Shahabad. He had three sons, named Udwant Singh, Subh Singh and Budh Singh, the first of whom succeeded himpj.

Udwant Singh was an important historical personage of Bihar in the 18th century, and his activities in connection with the bewildering political upheavals of his time have been frequently mentioned in the contemporary history of the famous Bihar historian Ghulam Husain. He came into conflict with Nawab Fakhruddaulah, the last Mughal Governor of Bihar, whose tenure was characterised by oppression and harassment of many prominent local chiefs. The Bihar Governor, assisted and accompanied by some of the *qamindars* of the province, like Tribhuvan Singh of Tikari, Pahalwan Singh ofNokhaand Horil Singh of Mathila, led an expedition against Udwant Singh, and captured the strongholds of Dawa and Jagdishpur, which were destroyed. Udwant Singh retreated westward and sought shelter with Nawab Abdullah of Ghazipur, who was his old friend and patron. In response to his request the Nawab deputed a contingent of 500 *sawars* (horsemen) for his help. Udwant Singh soon recovered his territories and captured and beheaded the Nazim's deputies. Later on, he presented himself before the Governor at Patna [3] and was pardoned.

[*] TawartM-i-Cjjatnta, Vol. HI, p. 65.
***[*] Ibid,* p. 66.**
***[']* Ibid, p. 141.**

Bihar was at this time passing through one of those political revolutions which appeared in India with a sickenning mono tony throughout the 18th century. Following the battle of Gheria (1740) and the defeat and death of Sarfaraz-ul-daula, Alivardi, Deputy Governor of Bihar, became the virtual master of Bengal and appointed his nephew and son-in-law, Nawab Zainuddin Haibat Jung, his deputy in Bihar (1740-48). Haibat Jung gave general satisfaction by good management of the state affairs. Sunder Singh of Tikari, the Mayi chiefs Kamgar Khan, Namdar Khan of Hasua , and several other provincial magnates became reconciled to him. But Horil Singh of Dumraon and Udwant Singh of Jagdishpur did not prove amenable to his authority. On their refusal to pay the arrears of revenues, Haibat Jung led an expedition to chastise them. Both were eventually subdued. But it was during this time that Haibat Jung stained his hands with the blood of Roshan Khan Tarhi, a valiant Pathan general and *xhenfa/ydar* of Sahahbad, on the suspicion of his being in league with the disaffected Ujjainias. The Afghans were alienated by this act and bided their time sullenly. This period was also disturbed by several Mahatha raids into Bihar, and the rebellions of the Afghans of Darbhanga. Mustafa Khan, the rebellious Afghan general of Alivardi, was joined by Udwant Singh of Jagdishpur and he also sought the aid of the Marathas. Haibat Jung, however, boldly faced the allied rebel forces and Mustafa Khan was killed near Jagdishpur. The victorious forces of Haibat Jung assaulted and reduced the *garb* (fort) of Jagdishpur.

Notwithstanding all this, the period of Udwant Singh's chief tainship was characterised by internal prosperity within his jurisdiction and development of the Jagdishpur town. He was the sole and undisputed proprietor of the family estate and refused to partition it among his brothers. He, however, set apart the proceeds of certain villages for the maintenance of his younger brothers, Subh Singh and Budh Singh and also looked after their education and upbringing after the death of his father. He had a small but efficient army at his disposal. It was at his instance and under his patronage that Mauli Kavi prepared the versified genealogical history of the family, entitled *Udwant Prakash.*

Udwant Sinigh had four sons, namely Gajraj Singh, Omrao Singh, Ran Singh and Deega Singh. The line of succession

continued from the family of the eldest son for three generations. On Bhoopnarayan, the grandson of Gajraj Singh, dying issueless the succession reverted after considerable litigation to the descendants of the second son, Omrao Singh, who was the grandfather of Kunwar Singh. The third son, Ran Singh, succeeded in the lifetime of his father to the property of Jai Kunwar, the sister of Udawant Singh and withdrew his claim to the family property. The fourth son, Deega Singh, died issueless. Udwant Singh was succeeded by his eldest son Gajraj Singh in 1765. But fraternal disputes for succession to, and partition of, the family property soon broke out among the brothers. Umrao Singh, on the refusal of his elder brother to allot him a separate share, left Jadgishpur and went over to Nawab Abdullah of Ghazipur, the old benefactor of the family. It was during Omrao Singh's stay at Ghazipur that his wife gave birth to a son, who was named Sahebzada Singh. [1]

The ralations between Gajraj Singh and Omrao Singh regarding the succession to the property were somewhat complex. During the lifetime of Gajraj Singh, Omrao Singh made several unsuccessful attempts for a separate share in the estate and he renewed his efforts on the death of his elder brother. In a petition, dated July, 1786, addressed to the Board of Revenue, Omrao Singh set forth his claims. He submitted in it "Baboo Guzrauz Singh, Baboo Run Singh, Diggaw Singh and I are the sons of Udwant Singh. Diggaw Singh died without heirs and Run Singh resigned his property to us ; the manage ment of our concern devolved upon Baboo Guzrauz Singh and me. In the year 1179 F. (1771-72 A.D.) the whole of our *zamin-dary* consisting of Peero, Nonore and Punwarrah, etc., in Shahabad, except the *Y akhraj* (rent-free) *Mou ahs,* Jagadeespore and Dalippur was rendered *Khas.* These *Mou ahs* are divided between us, Gujraj Singh taking the former and I the latter. Our *Malikanab* (an allowance paid to the owner of the land as distinct from the *amindar* to whom only the revenues of that land are farmed) was stopped to pay up our balances. In the year 1184 F. (1776-77 A. D.) our balances being paid up the Council of Patna ordered that for the present our allowances should be made good to us till an account should be made out and the balance in our favour ascertained. Upon which we

[i] Ibid, p. 183.

wrote an *Aryee* to the Patna Council through Rajah Khyallyram requesting that our accounts might be settled and our balances paid immediately. To ascertain which the Patna Council accordingly wrote to Zahoorullah Beg, *Darogab* at >the *Amanat Dajtar* (Registry Office) J[1]. Having examined the accounts they sent our *Ar ee* to Calcutta and the Committee in the year 1187 F. (1779-80 A.D.) ordered them to pay us our *malikanah* at the rate of 10 per cent. Accordingly the Patna Council having summoned us demanded a receipt for the balance of *malikanah* to the. end of 1184 F. which amounted to Rs. 39,037-8-9. I accordingly signed and sealed and delivered to the *Mutsudees* a receipt for my half, amounting to Rs. 19,518-12-4! for which I obtained a draft upon the Treasurer of Patna and the same included in Mr. Maxwell's (the Revenue Chief of Patna) *Jumma Kharcha* (account of income and expenditure) which he transmitted to Calcutta. The Treasurer put off from day to day the payments of the draft and being taken ill I went to my place of residence, at the same time Baboo Lail Sah (who upon his father's death which happened previous to this transaction, has succeeded his property), died also, his son Bhoop Naraiu who was very young, at the instigation of several persons wrote an *Ar ee* to the Council of Patna and with Baboo Ran Singh (who had formerly relinquished his property) went there and by their misrepresentation and in spite of everything my *Vakeel* (Agent, Pleader) could say obtained a decree, ordering the whole of the *malikanah* to be paid to Bhoopnarain who could distribute to each the share of it, that was due to him. By this decree my share is not disallowed to me but they have unjustly made him the principal. Since the year 1184 F. (1776-77 A. D.) Rs. 50,000 are due which added to the original Rs. 39,037-8-9, making in all Rs. 93,130-1-9, due on account of *malikanalg vt* my share of which, amounting to Rs. 46,566-9-3, I have not received any part. I have therefore to request that my share of the *malikanah* to the end of 1182 F. (1774-75 A.D.) may be paid to me and the same may also be paid to me every year."

[1] The *Amanat Daftar* (Registry Office) papers are preserved *parganawisc* and they contain statistical accounts of the various villages, the number of the *mouzas* (villages) in each, their area, *jumma* and proprietorship. The papers for the year 1182-94 F. (1775-87 A. D.) show that Jagdishpur and Dalippur were held jointly by Gajraj Singh and Omrao Singh.

The Board forwarded *]*] the petition to Mr. Augustus Brooke, Revenue Chief of Patna, and called for a report. The latter informed [2] the Board that "on examining the proceedings of the Patna Council I find that they decided the rights of inheritance in Baboo Bhoopnarayan agreeable to the custom of the country and that of the family*** Bhoopnarayan has strictly attended to his obligation of providing for Omrao Singh and the family agreeable to their Reah (sic). Omrao Singh is incapable of attending business on account of his advanced age and infirmities." This much is certain that after the death of Udwant Singh, Gajraj Singh succeeded to the *gaddi* and Omrao Singh had certain villages set apart for his maintenance. But the quarrel between them served as a precedent for future family disputes for succession in the family.

After some initial conflicts the brothers Gajraj Singh and Omrao Singh were reconciled. Gajraj Singh died in 1773 and was succeeded by his son Shivraj Singh, better known as Lail Singh, who also died after a brief period (1779).

Bhoopnarayan succeeded his father in 1779. He a a we ll organised establishment [3] for the administration' of his estate and collection of revenue. There were four centres of rent col lection at Jagdishpur, Anatih, Suhvara and Sakardih. *Zanrindari kutcheries were* located at Pcero and Patna, while the settlement officers had their offices in the villages. It w'as in Bhoopnarayan's time that Mr. Brooke, the Revenue Chief at Patna, settled the *paraganas* of Peero and Nonore with him. The two *mou as* (villages) of jagdishpur and Dalippur, which were so long held, as *nankar{* rent free) were also settled on rent with him.

Not much is known about the actual foundation and settlement of Jagdishpur. It is, however, referred to as early as the middle of the 16th century as one of the strongholds of Raja Gajapati, who rebelled in Akbar's time. It continued to be a stronghold of the Ujjainias since then. Raja Narayan Mull (1608-22 A.D.) developed it further as a separate family centre. Soojan Singh, the grandson of Narayan Mull, on the accession of

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P] *Letter from Secretary , Board of Revenue, to Augustus Brooke, Revenue Chief of Patna, \$th July.* 1786.

[a J *Report from Augustus Brooke, Revenue Chief of Patna, to the Board of Reve nue, 30th September,* 1786.

[•] Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia, Vol. Ill, p. 78.

his elder brother, Mandhata Singh, shifted to Jagdishpur and fixed up his residence there. The town developed and prospered under his successors, specially Udwant Singh and Kunwar Singh, who beautified it with several magnificent buildings, and improved it by constructing broad roads, digging wells and establishing markets, fairs, etc. A Persian court proceeding f[1], dated 29th April, 1841, of Mr. Robert Fergusson, Special Deputy Collector, gives us a brief history of the settlement of the two *mou as*$_y$ Jagdishpur and Dalippur. The proceeding is in connection with the resumption of these two *mou as* under Regulation III[[2]J of 1828. The respondent was Kunwar Singh, who won the case as it was clearly established with reference to old records [[3]J that these two *mou as* were originally held in his family rent-free, as *nankar,* but were later on settled with Bhoop Narayan in 1197 F. (1789-90 A.D.) on a *jumma* of Rs. 850. So there was no question of their being revenue free and the resumption proceedings were accordingly quashed.

On the death of Umrao Singh, Bhoop Narayan confiscated [[4]] the village of Dalippur and its dependencies together with the income from the Jagdishpur Jungles, which had been decreed to Omrao Singh. Discontended at this, Sahebzada Singh, son of Umrao Singh, left Jagdishpur, leaving his two elder sons, Kunwar Singh and Dyal Singh, with one Umrao Sahu, a money-lender of Dalippur, and vowed never to return to Jagdishpur in the lifetime of Bhoop Narayan.

Bhoop Narayan died issueless on 10th February 1794* Just a day prior to his death, Bhoop Narayan had adopted, in a rather hurried manner, Ishree Prasad, grandson of Run Singh, the third son of Udwant Singh, as his son and heir. Sahebzada Singh, however, returned to Jagdishpur on hearing of the

[[x]] Found in Persian Revenue papers in the Shahabad Collectorate, Arrah.

[*] It was one of the Regulations passed to verify the authenticity of the title of lands claimed to be held revenue-free. Similar Regulations, XXXVII of 1793 and II of 1810 had been passed earlier to cope with the problem of the excessively large number of rent-free land tenures.

[[3]J *Register of Nawab Honhiyar Jung and Daftar Amanat papers.* The records of this case, along with the Nazir's report, which gives a brief history of the settlements of the villages, as deduced from *Amanal* papers and Registers of rent-free lands from 1774-89, are highly important.

***[<] Letter from A. Tufton, Collector, to* IF. *Cowper, President and Member, Board of Revenue,* 1st *October,* 1796.**

death of Bhoop Narayan and disputed the legality of the adoption of Ishree Prasad and consequently his claim for succession. This led to a prolonged and bitter litigation for succession between Bhoop Narayan and Sahebzada Singh. Mr. Welland, the ther* Collector of Shahabad, wrote several letters[[X]] to the Board of Revenue endeavouring to give "the leading circumstances in this case" and seeking the Board's order as to "whether either of the parties can be acknowledged as the heir to the *%amindari* without there being a necessity for investigation or decision in the *Dewanny Adawlut* (Civil Court)." Writing in a letter, dated 17th February, 1794, a week after Bhoop Narayan's death, the Collector observed : "During the lifetime of Bhoop Nayaran, his uncle Omrao Singh frequently endeavoured to obtain some independent share of the family possession and his claim having being submitted to the Government by the Patna Council was invalidated owing to the deposition of Run Singh, his brother, who declared on oath that the above was the rule *{primogeniture)* by which their maintenance had been transmitted and which having descended to Bhoop Narayan as the acknowledged heir it remained with him to provide for their family. I understand a day or two previous to Bhoop Narayan's death he adopted Ishree Prasad, the nephew (?) of Run Singh as his heir, being the younger branch of the family, in preference to Sahebzada Singh, the son of Omrao Singh who was the elder uncle. It remains, therefore, to determine whether Ishree Parshad, as having been adopted, has the superior right of succeeding to the inheritance or Sahebzada Singh, the son of Omrao Singh, as being a descendant of the elder branch of the family..... On my return to Arrah..... I shall endeavour to ascertain which of the parties may have the most probable claim of which I shall send the Board the necessary information." In a subsequent letter, dated the 13th March, 1794, the Collector submitted the following additional particulars of the case ; "On my return at Arrah I have endeavoured to ascertain the proper person to whom might be given possession, on the least fear of mistake or apprehension of mismanagements and embezzlement, as the difficulty of deciding between the two parties, claiming these estates, appears of a nature which requires much investigation to be determined.

t[1]] **Letters** ***from the Collector of Shahabad, to the Board of Revenue, Ylth February and*** **13th** ***March,*** **1794.**

Ishree Pershad the adopted heir is about sixteen years of age and the mode in which the ceremony was performed by the late *%awindar,* a day only previous to his death having placed his turban over his head and delivering his wife over to him, whom with his relations and dependants he enjoined the young man to provide for and protect, at the same time he declared for his heir and to whom he gave his whole inheritances and property. He then directed two *Aryes* (petitions) to be written, one to Mr. Chauvet, the Judge of the District, and the other to me in which he acquainted us of his having adopted Ishree Pershad as his successor to his inheritance and requesting our protection of him. It remains to be ascertained in deter mining in the above circumstance whether the late *%amindar* ILandlord) had the right of adopting an heir to the exclusion of the other branch of the family and if he had, whether the manner of selecting and maintaining Ishree Pershad was agree able to the established forms of Hindoo profession. These must belong to the *Adairlat* to investigate and for the several facts to be legally proved .... To explain the grounds upon which the other claimant Sahebzada Singh prefers his right, it is necessary to revert to the origin whence the several branches have taken their rise, which the Board may better comprehend from the following table.

OODWANT SINGH

Gudge Raj (Gaj-raj) Singh eldest son of Oodwant (Udwant) Singh Lail Saha, son of Gudge Raj Singh, Bhoopnarayan (Bhoop Narayan) son of Lail Saha.	Omrao Singh the second son of Ood - want Singh, Sahebz a d a Singh, son of Omrao Singh.	Run Singh the third son of Oodwant Singh, Ram-bux Singh, son of Run Ish - ree Parshad, son of Ram Bux.	Decga Singh the 4th son of Oodwant Singh died without leav-ing any child.

From the above the Board will perceive the next heir to the inheritance after Bhoop Narayan (Omrao Singh being dead) is Sahebzada Singh and in case the adoption of Ishree Pershad be found invalid he appears to be the person to whom the estate must devolve, the only objection urged against his

right, in addition, is the charge of insanity. It is said in the time of Mr. Maxwell at Patna on account of some violence committed by him, he was seized and put in confinement and was not released until Raja Bikramajeet and another person became surety for him by entering into a *jyal Zaminy* (stand ing security for). There are other circumstances represented of his unbounded passion and rage in having drawn his *Talnw* (sword) and attempted the lives of several persons which occasioned his father, for many years during his life, to keep him at a distance from the family residence and he has for a long period been separated from his wife and children, in a different village from any of the rest. Nothing, however, seems to warrant the idea that he is distracted in his intellect, and altho' of a weak mind joined to great violence of temper they can scarcely be interpreted into total incapacity and mad ness, which if the plea be thought warrantable, proof must be adduced and examined in the regular manner. I have thought it necessary to mention the circumstance as being of weight in the consideration whether or not he could be allowed posses sion until the superior right of either party may be determined. I am not informed if in this part of the country it has been usual for females to succeed to their husband's possession, no instance of the kind having occurred within my notice and from mv enquiries I cannot learn it has ever been the practice in Bihar. The custom of this family, in particular, from all the inheritance centering in a single person seems to militate against it."

Pending a decision by the Civil Court in the title suit filed by Sahebzada Singh, the government accepted the adoption and succession of Ishree Prasad as an interim arrangement. As, however, Ishree Prasad was a minor, the estate was placed under Court of Wards for about five years![1]. The Collector of Shahabad reported [2] the following arrangement to the members of the Board of Revenue for the appointment of a Manager and guardian for the care and superintendence of the person and estate of Baboo Ishree Prasad :—

"Baboo Nirkoo Singh, a natural son of Lail Saha, the father of Bhoop Narayan appears from my enquiries to be

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[i] *Tawarikh-i-Ufjainia,* Vol. Ill, p. 79.

[*] Letter from Mr. Welland, Collector of Shahabad, to Mr. W. Cowper, President and Member, Board of Revenue, I8IA *May,* 1794.

the best suited for the office of manager conformably to the Regulations. His having been born in an illegitimate state deprives him of all rights and claim to any part of inheritance and it is only by his zeal and diligence and upright conduct in doing the best in his power for the advantage of the inheritance that he can depend to recommend himself to his relation for his maintenance and patronage. The character given me of him is that he is well informed of the proper mode of conducting business of a zemindary, having been employed by the late Bhoop Narayan as the principal agent under him in settling and collecting a considerable part of his estate and that he bears a fair report for conciliating the renters and the ryots by his good faith and discernment. The person whom I propose to be appointed as guardian is Noorul Hasan Khan a considerate Talooqdar, but who having accepted of *Malkana lands* (lands given in allowance to owners of lands as distinct from zamindar to whom the revenues of the land are farmed without proprietary rights) in lieu of his large *Malgu aree* (rent, land revenue) property, he now holds the independent enjoyment of them, he has been at various times employed as the farmer of the greatest part of Shahabad and Chainpur and Sahsram and is thoroughly experienced in every part of the duty of a farmer and landholder. He has a good capacity and much experience and judgment and having formerly been engaged in the instruction of Raja Mitrajeet Singh, the Zamindar of Tickaree, in Behar, of whose abilities and acquirements the Court may be acquainted, I conceive there could be no other who could be found better suited to the office required. Both these men have consented to undertake the stations I have proposed for them and should it meet the approval of the Court on the receipt of your orders, I shall regularly invest them in their employments and require from them the acknowledgements prescribed by the Regulations for disqualified landholders."

On Ishree Prasad coming to age, the estate was released from the Court of Wards. Its affairs became very much confused due to maladministration. Ishree Prasad was an inexperienced young

man unfit to govern. His incapacity gave an opportunity to a set of selfish courtiers to enrich themselves at the cost of the interests of the estate. Even the allowance of Doolhin Talemand Kooer, widow of Bhoop Narayan, was not duly paid to her. This served to alienate her from the cause of Ishree Prasad. Sahebzada Singh exploited her discontent to his own use. He won over her sympathies by sympathetic promises of a liberal maintenance allowance in case of his winning the title suit and succeeding to the zemindari. As a matter of fact, her testimony had much influence on the ultimate decision on the case.

Sahebzada Singh contested the succession of Ishree Prasad on the ground, *inter alia** that the adoption had been done by Bhoop Narayan's wife without the permission of her husband and that Ishree Prasad being a cousin of Bhoop Narayan, the latter could riot adopt him as his heir, according to the injunctions of the Hindo *Sbastras.* Talemand Kooer (widow of Bhoop Narayan), who was won over by Sahebzada Singh, deposed that being afflicted with grief over the dying condition of her husband, she was hardly in her senses and the necessary rites of adoption were not performed. The case was decided in favour of Sahebzada Singh by the Provincial Court. But the courtiers of Ishree Prasad, in whose interest it was to prolong the litigation, induced him to appeal to Sudder Dewany Adaulut, Calcutta, which also upheld the judgment of the lower court. The hirelings of Ishree Prasad then started arrangements to move the Privy Council f[1]. But during their stay at Calcutta in connection with their case, Sahebzada Singh met[2] Ishree Prasad and convinced him that the hirelings were making hay out of their mutual litigation and that they should stop it. Ishree Prasad readily agreed on condition of Sahebzada Singh's foregoing the cost of the decree.

After returning from Calcutta, Sahebzada Singh ascended the *gaddi* (Prince's or Chief's seat)[3] in 1804. He gave village Anatih and several other villages to Ishree Prasad for his maintenance. Later on he gave him the villages of Nipan and Manch in *paragana* Panwar, in exchange [4] for village Anatih, and also

[*] Taivarikh-i-Vjjainia, **Vol. Ill, p. 81.**

['] ***Ibid,*** **p. 81.**

[»] ***Ibid.*** **p. 83.**

[*] ***J bid,*** **p. 89.**

two other villages, Ramnagar and Banjari, for *Kisht* (cultiva tion). In accordance with an understanding with Talemand Kooer, he gave her, for her maintenance, five villages with a total annual *jitmma* (amount of revenue payable to Government) of Rs. 6,000, besides about *icobigbas* (unit of land measure ment, J of an acre) of cultivable land and some plots of mango orchards. It is significant to note that Sahebzada Singh made a grant of land in 12u F. (1804 A.D.) for the upkeep of a Muslim shrine, situated in *mahalla* (a quarter or ward of a town) Nanmohia, Patna City f[1]] to Data Peer Bux, its *Sajjadah Nashin* (Head of a shrine or monastery). It appears that in the course of his litigation with Ishree Prasad, Sahebzada Singh was in financial troubles. Worried and distracted at this he once visited this shrine. The Shah Sahab consoled him and advised him to continue his efforts. On his success Sahebzada Singh, out of gratitude, made a grant of 112 *bighas* of rent-free land in village Bajauria, in *paragana* Nonore, for meeting certain expenses of the shrine.

In the course of his survey of the Shahabad district (1812-13), Buchanan collected certain information regarding the Ujjainia Rajputs and the two branches of the family, in the district, at Dumraon and at Jagdishpur. Sahebzada Singh was then aged sixty-five. He could not interview the latter personally as he was at that time hurt and confined to his home. He, however, met Kunwar Singh, whom he, strangely enough, characterised as a "mild young man". He has testified to Sahebzada Singh's keen sense of sportsmanship and his popu larity with the tenantry[2]. "Sahebzada Singh", he writes, "is a great favourite with his tenantry and those who farm his rents from neither of whom he ever exacts money by legal process or violence, and both classes are said to be deeply in arrears. Owing partly to this and partly to the expense in the law suit with his kinsmen he is very deeply involved in debt, the family seems on the eve of ruin, the four sons which he has, having already begun to dispute about the succession which will prob ably end in the total alienation of their estates..... He is

P] The original papers of this grant including a copy of the *sanad* of Saheb* zada Singh and the subsequent petition of Kunwar Singh are preserved in the custody of Shah Zafar, the present *Sajjadah Naahin* of the shrine, who kindly made 'hem available to Shri Q. Ahmad.

[»] Buchanan's Shahabad Report, pp. 367-68..

said to owe Rs. 3,00,000 for which he does not pay an interest less than Rs. 60,000 a year..... All his rents are paid, by those who farm them, in his house at Jagdishpur, where he has a *Dewan* or *Steward,* a *Kha anchi* or Treasurer, 5 clerks or *Muis/(dees,2 Tahsildars* or assistant stewards (collector of revenue) and a *sulabkas* or Councillor who are supposed to manage his affairs, but every thing is at the disposal of a *D/isad.* He has 5 *jamadars* or officers and 125 *Piyadabs* or guards for his safety, and employs one agent at Arrah, another at Patna and a third at Calcutta. His domestics amount to 350, and 100 persons are fed daily from his kitchen. The expense is regulated by 2 clerks *(M/its/tdee').* He keeps 1 elephant, 10 horses, 8 carriages drawn by oxen and a large establishment of hawks and dogs."

Sahebzada Singh was a powerful chieftain. But he was impulsive and impetuous. The Collector of Shahabad had, as far back as 1794,|.[1] J drawn the attention of the Company's Government to his ''unbounded rage and passion in haying drawn his *talwar* (sword) and attempted the lives of several people." The *Pawarikb-i-lJjjainia* contains many an anecdote of his physical strength and impulsive actions, for one of which he was remanded to jail at Patna for six months. He was, however, released, before the completion of his term, for his gallantry in killing a lion which had entered the city.

As was then usual with most of the members of the territorial aristocracy, Sahebzada Singh was extravagant in his expenses. In fact, litigation, extravagance and lack of effective management of the estate affairs encumbered him with heavy debts, the amount of which swelled during the time of Kunwar Singh. Sahebzada Singh had four sons. The first two, Kunwar Singh and Dayal Singh, were born before his Accession to the *£addi.* The other two sons, Rajpati Singh and Amar Singh, were born probably after this event.

Kunwar Singh was spirited and adventurous from his early days. His early education suffered due to the long absence of his father from Jagdishpur, and also the limited financial resources of his father prior to his accession. Kunwar Singh usually lived away from the family residence. He built a beautiful

['] ***Letter to the Board qf Revenue, 13th March,*** **1794.**

bungalow (Thatched house)!/] in the jungle of Titaura* adjacent to the *garb* (fort) of the famous Kunwar Dhir, where he used to spend his time in hunting and other outdoor excursions. He frequently roamed over the jungles around Jagdishpur, in company with some 100 *sowars*[2].

Kunwar Singh and Dayal Singh were both married with the daughters of Raja Fateh Narayan Singh of Deo-Munga estate. Sahebzada Singh was then badly in need of money to contest, in the Civil Court, the legality of the succession of Ishree Prasad. His difficulty was to some extent solved by the marriage of his two elder sons in the Deo family. The marriage was finalised on the understanding that the Deo Raja would finance, on completion of the marriages, the proposed litigation on behalf of Sahebzada Singh. These terms were negotiated through one Nagachand, a *'Cbikando* (one who works flowers on muslin or other clothes) of Patna Cityf[3]].

There are references in contemporary English and Persian records to several concubines kept by Kunwar Singh. It was a glaring social evil of those days, and Kunwar Singh was no exception to it. Amongst his concubines, there was one Dharman Bibi, who was his chief favourite. Stories and couplets relating to Kunwar Singh's excessive love for her are still current in Shahabad villages. She accompanied him to Rewah and other places outside Bihar after the fall of Jagdishpur. Two mosques constructed by her and bearing her name are still extant at Arrah and Jagdishpur respectively.

Kunwar Singh had only one son named Dalbhanjan Singh* who predeceased him. The relations between the two were not very cordial on account of a woman named Nanhi Bibi, whom Dalbhanjan Singh had taken as a concubine against the wishes of his father. Kunwar Singh performed the marriage ceremony of his grandson Birbhanjan Singh, son of Dalbhanjan Singh, with great pomp and eclatf[4]]. He was married in the Gidhaur Raj family (Monghyr district). The *Barat* procession, which included the Rajas of Tikari and Deo, who came up to Patna, was like

['] ***Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia,*** **Vol. HI, p. 98.**

[«] ***Ibid,*** **pp. 92-93.**

['] ***Ibid,*** **p. SO.**

I[4]] ***Ibid,*** **pp. 100-101.**

Close-up view of the two pillars of the 'Garh' at Jagdishpur which are said to be part of the original building.
Photograph taken from North

2 self-contained caravan having its own bazar, where everything could be purchased. Ten *Hakims* (Yunani physicians) and twenty-five *Vaids* (Ayurvedic physicians) accompanied theB ra/ (marriage procession) to look after cases of illness on the way. The journey to and from Gidhaur took io days each way and the *Barat* halted there for 5 days. Raja Jai Mangal Singh of Gidhaur, the host, entertained the *Barat* on a lavish scale. On return from Gidhaur, Kunwar Singh gave one party at Arrah and another at Patna to the English Officials. Birbhanjan Singh accompanied his aged grandfather on his march to Rewah and died later at Banda![1]].

With the accession of Kunwar Singh began a new era of peace and prosperity, splendour and magnificence in the estate. Jagdishpur town itself was expanded and beautified. New *bazars* (markets) were laid, wells and tanks dug up and soon the town became a centre of various festivals, *melas* (fairs), etc. He laid the foundation of the Mahadeo Bazar in Arrah, which is still called after him *"Baba Ba%ar"*. In the months of Phalgun and Baisakh, the Shivratri[2J festival was celebrated at Jagdish pur with much pomp and a big *wela* (fair) was held on the occasion. Kunwar Singh took steps to induce compulsory attendance at this *wela* by local merchants and forbade them to carry their goods to other *melas.*

It is interesting to know that Kunwar Singh was very much interested in afforestation. Under his orders, the Jagdishpur jungles were developed and protected on an extensive scale according to a plan, and new plants were reared up. Through out the struggles of 1857-59 this ver Y jun gle °f Jagdishpur, developed with so much care by Kunwar Singh, proved a haven of refuge to his compatriots and an insurmountable barrier to the English forces. Time and again the English generals wrote to their Government of the difficulties provided by the jungles to the pursuing English forces. There were secret but well-laid-out paths throughout the jungles, known only to a small band of KunAvar Singh's followers, through which they silently passed from one comer to another, baffling their pursuers and sometimes overwhelming them by sudden attacks from hidden resorts.

[*] Tawtrikh-i'Uijainia, **Vol. Ill, p. 231.**

[»] Ibid, **p. 104.**

These jungles were afterwards leased at favourable rates to European contractors, who cut them up with the double purpose of obliterating for ever this famous resort of the nationalists and providing sleeper for the expanding railway lines.

Kunwar Singh renovated and strengthened the *garb* at Jagdishpur in various ways. He constructed a tank to the west of the *garb* to match with another on the cast. There was a big central court in the *garb*, opposite which there was a stone *chabntra* (raised square platform) flanked on either side by a three-roomed *verandah*. Down the front of the *chabntra* there was a beautiful garden and a big *Han* (small water reservoir, basin) with fountains. To the north stood the kitchen and the arsenal. The *verandah* was double storeyed, decorated with all sorts of arms and implements, hanging from iron pegs. The walls were dotted with small holes for keeping *'Diyas*[9] (earthen lamps with wicks) on the occasions of illuminations. Kunwar Singh also started constructing a Siva Temple at Jagdishpur but it could not be completed.

Kunwar Singh often rode out in procession through the *ha%ar*. These processions were taken out with great pomp and grandeur, armed *sowars* (horsemen) marching in the front, drums playing and the criers proclaiming in pompous phrases the passing of the august procession.

Kunwar Singh was then on friendly terms with most of the English and Indian officials of the District. He was generous and lavish in his entertainment of these officers. The one very common and prevailing form of entertainment was a hunting trip and there are some references to Kunwar Singh accom panying them for *Shikar* (hunting) p].

When the financial trouble of Kunwar Singh's estate came to a head and the matter engaged the attention of the Govern- ment, practically all the District Officers wrote highly favourable letters regarding the high character and popularity of Kunwar Singh, expressing their warm friendship and admiration for him and recommending to Government to adopt some measures to alleviate his difficulties.

[1] There is a beautiful painting, in the Khuda Bukth Library, showing Kunwar Singh hunting on a horseback.

Panoramic view of the tank built b> Kunwar Singh on the western side of the 'Garh' at Jagdishpur. Photograph taken from East

Writing in December, 1856, when the financial affairs of Kunwar Singh were engaging the attention of the Government, Mr. Tayler, Commissioner of Patna, made the following observation about Kunwar Singh : "the real fact is that Kunwar Singh is a high spirited old chieftain of the old school, who in former years like a Cameron or Macdonald was somewhat too ready to resist the aggressions to which his difficulties rendered him liable and of which his passionate attachment to his ancestral acres made him tenderly sensitive, but this is not calculated to deprive him of sympathy or to lessen the desire to relieve him from difficulty. I have always openly professed esteem for the old gentleman and must candidly confess that nothing has given me greater satisfaction than the prospect now held out to him of ending his davs in peace and full possession of the land which he so dearly loves".

CHAPTER II

KUNWAR SINGH'S BROTHERS AND HIS EARLY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

Brief descriptive sketches of the brothers of Kamrar Singh— their mutual relationship—strained relationship between Kamrar Singh and his father—the Sulahnama *of* 1812, *allocating the individual shares of the brothers during the life time of Saheb ada Singh— Kunwar Singh's succession litigation with the brothers over the question of overall proprietorship of the estate—Kunwar Singh's stand finally vindicated.*

As in the case of Kunwar Singh, there is very little information about the early life and training of his brothers, Dayal Singh, Rajpati Singh and Amar Singh, except the brief references in the *Tawarikb-i-Ujfainia\'*[1] *],*

Dayal Singh was the second son of Sahebzada Singh. Like Kunwar Singh he was a skilled warrior, a good rider, a tine swordsman and a distinguished marksman. He got a pamphlet, entitled *'Book of SIarksmanship* written in Persian by one Munshi Lakshman Lal. The pamphlet was lost during the general upheaval of 1857-59. He was marf ied along with Kunwar Singh in the Deo-Munga family. He had three sons, Reetbhanjan Singh (Ripubhanjan Singh), Gumanbhanjan Singh and Aribhanjan Singh.

Unlike Kunwar Singh, Dayal Singh engaged himself from the beginning in the management and superintendence[2] of the family estate. He performed this task to the complete satisfac tion of his father, who consequently held him in great affection. He was also on very friendly terms with Raja Jayprakash Singh of Dumraon. The friendship and cordiality with the Dumraon family continued during the times of Maharaja Janki Prasad and Maheshwar Bux.

p] *Tawarikk-i-Ujjainia,* **Vol. II F.**

[*] Ibid

Close-up view of the original door frame and wooden carving of the building at Metaha. Photograph taken from North-West

On the death of Sahebzada Sin h and the litigation with his elder brother, Dayal Singh, along with his mother, Panchratan Kunwar and the younger brothers, Rajpati Singh and Amar Singh, left the ancestral residence at Jagdishpur and moved over to Dalippur. Dayal Singh died before the Movement of 1857-59. The house at Dalippur, which gave shelter to the female members of the family during the Movement and which was attacked by Eyre, is still extant and bears the marks of his vandalism in damaging and burning it.

The third son, Rajpati Singh, developed insanity. He was married probably before he became insane, and had two sons, named Bindeshwari Prasad Singh and Mahabir Prasad Singh. Both of them died issueless, and their estate devolved first on Mahabir Prasad Singh, the younger brother, and then by adop tion on Deshpati Singh, the fourth son of Gumanbhanjan Singh.

The youngest son was Amar Singh, who played a notable role in the Movement and successfully assumed the command of the Shahabad forces on the death of Kunwar Singh. He was born much later and was in fact a minor at the time of the Agreement of 1221 F. (1813-14 A.D.). He had a strong physique, fair complexion, and a mole on the right side of the nose. He too, like the other brothers, was a skilled warrior and an adept in the use of various weapons. Hunting was his chief hobby. Just as Jitaura was the favourite resort of Kunwar Singh, so the area covering the ruins of the Rohtas fortP] was the favourite spot of Amar Singh for hunting. He was specially interested and skilled in hunting big game. Elephants, lions, wolves, bears, deer and foxes were frequently hunted and bagged by him.

Fondness for hunting and games did not, however, mar the other qualities of his nature. He was of a deeply religious temperament and had the *Mahabbarat* recited to him every night. His knowledge of reading and writing was rudimentary. He, however, memorised the entire text of the *Udwant Prakash,* the family history. He travelled widely and performed pil grimages, along with his wife, to Jaggannath Puri, Ramesh-waram, Chitrakut, Kashi, Prayag and Vindhyachal. He visited, alone, the famous Pashupatinath temple of Nepal. Having at

[1] ***T.iwiTikh-i.Ujjniniet,*** **Vol. in, p. 110.**

first moved over to Dalippur with Dayal Singh he later on settled at Metaha, where the family residence still exists. He died issueless in 1859.

Relations among the brothers were not quite cordial even during the life time of their father. Buchanan, while visiting Shahabad [*] noticed signs of the impending succession dispute among the brothers. As noted earlier, Dayal Singh, although younger to Kunwar Singh, had shown greater interest in the management of the estate. He assisted his father in the day to day administrative affairs and gradually won his confidence.

Either following!/[2]] Mitrajit Singh of Tikari, who partitioned his estate, in his life time between his two sons, Hitnarain and Modenarain, or probably out of greater affection for Dayal Singh and the younger sons, Sahebzada Singh wanted to set aside, in his life time, certain villages for their maintenance. Kunwar Singh resented this and filed a suit against it in 1219 F. (1811-12 z\.D.)[3]. Saner counsels, however, prevailed. A *Siikihikima* (Deed of Agreement) was drawn up and signed in 1221 F. (1813-14) by the four brothers. Sahebzada Singh also signified his assent to the Agreement and put his seal on the Deed. The Agreement made a detailed allocation of the individual shares of the four brothers, and that of their mother. It was arranged that the entire property was to remain under the unfettered control of Sahebzada Singh during his life time, the brothers being required to abide by all his decisions, and that after his death, each of the brothers would take "possession of" and "hold" the share allocated to him, and, on paying the govern ment revenue "each shall enjoy the profits of his share (z///7-*kiaf)* (proprietorship) and his heirs after him in perpetuity"[4].

The agreement, however, did not provide a final solution of the problem. It appears from the petition of [5] Kunwar Singh, previously referred to, that Sahebzada Singh, with a view to circumventing the conditions of the above *Sulabnunia* (Deed of Agreement), attempted to execute fictitious sale deeds

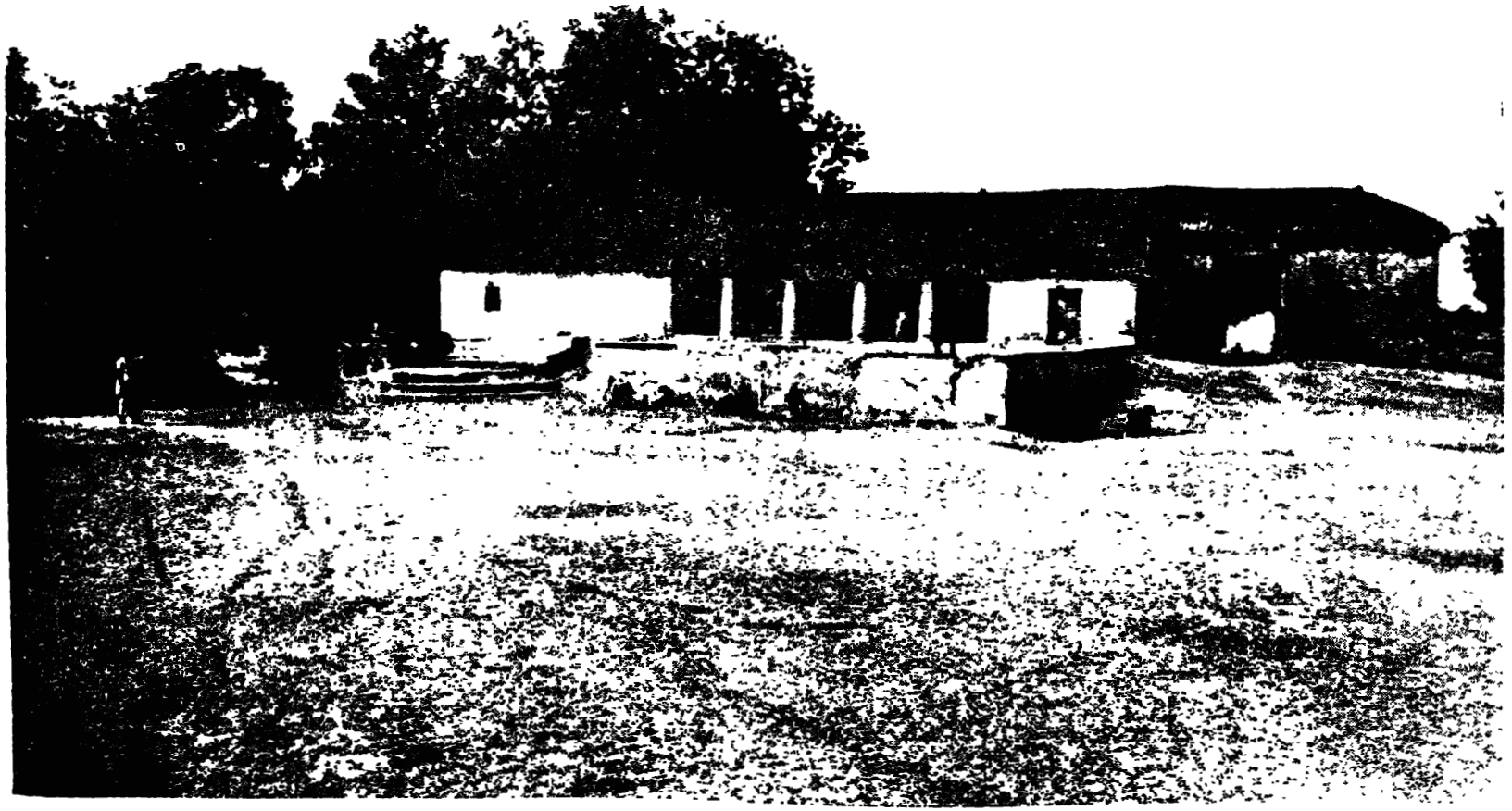
[*] Buchanan'a Shahabad Report, **p. 368.**

[*] Tawarikh-i-lJjjainia, **pp. 93-94.**

['] **Persian papers in the Commi«wioner'R offtre, Patna; Bundle No. 4. Pargana Behea, District Shahabad: Kunwar Singh's petition, dated 22nd January, 1827.**

[*] Commissioner office, Pntnn, Register No. 448.

[•] Vide ante.



General view of the residence of Amar Singh at Metaha. Photograph taken from North-West

of certain villages in favour of the other sons and to get the villages registered in their names. iVccordingly on the 21st February, 4818, Sahebzada Singh forwarded the sale deed of village Aanhar, *Pargiina* Bhojpur, to the Registrar to be-entered in the name of Dayal Singh. Kunwar Singh once again filed an objection to the proposed transfer of names and the judge ordered a stay of the execution of the sale. Eventually,, a compromise was effected, and a *Ra eena/ a* (Agreement) was filed by the brothers re-affirming, in effect, the conditions of the *Snlahnama.*

Sahebzada Singh died sometime in 1826, and Kunwar Singh after performing the obsequies was formally installed on the *gaddi.* The ceremony of *Dasturbandi* (putting on the turban, a ceremony signifying succession to a family estate) [signifying the formal accession)] was duly performed, and the other brothers acknowledged the new arrangement by presenting *na ar* (offer ings) to Kunwar Singh.

At the time of Kunwar Singh's accession the total revenue-of the estate was some 5 to 6 lakhs of rupecsf[1]] out of which Rs. 1,66,000 (Rs. 1,36,000?) was paid as Government revenue.

Following his accession, Kunwar Singh took steps to get the entire property registered in his name, and under his over all possession. He also asserted that the revenues of the younger brothers' shares of property should be paid through him and not direct to the Government. This was opposed by the other brothers, who claimed that they had complete and unrestricted proprietary right over the shares allotted to them as also the-right to pay the revenue direct to the Government.

As a compromise the Collector of Shahabad decided that "in consideration of the actual possession of the younger brothers and of the revenue of their respective shares having been paid separately by them in the Treasury for a period of six years" the name of Kunwar Singh should be registered as the general proprietor and that of the brothers as the actual proprietor of their respective shares. Kunwar Singh objected to this arrangement and the petition, referred to above, was riled before the Board by Mr. Henry Williams, Attorney of Kunwar Singh. The petition recalled the age-old family custom of

p] *Tawarikh-i-Ujjainia*, Vol. III, p. 97.

primogeniture as also the previous judgments of various courts upholding the rights of the eldest son whenever*similar disputes had occurred in the past.

The controversy led to a prolonged litigation, which involved appeals and counter-appeals from the local Court to the Sudder Dewany Addalat, Calcutta. The main issue to be decided was whether or not the younger brothers possessed full and inalienable proprietary rights over their shares and, as a corollary, whether they had the right to pay the revenue direct in the Collectoratc or not. The point was clearly brought out in the following letter to the Vice-President in Council—"We have the honour to submit to your Lordship in Council the enclosed copy of a report from the Collector of Shahabad dated the 3rd ultimo, relative to a recent case of *Dakhilkbary* (transfer of property) of names in the Register of Landed property which involves certain questions on which we deem it proper to 'solicit the instruction of the Government.

The circumstances of the case are as follows:—"Baboo Saheb-zada Singh, the proprietor of exclusive estates in the district of Shahabad, had four sons, namely, Koor Singh, Dayal Singh, Rajputtee Singh and Ummer Singh. Constant disputes occurring in the family the four brothers with a view to remove the grounds of dissensions existing between them entered into a mutual agreement in respect to the future division of their father's property, executing a deed, denominated a "*Sttlabnama*" in which was distinctly specified the portion of the estate pro perty which was to devolve upon each son upon the death of Babu Sahebzada Singh..... the Estate to be assigned for the maintenance of their mother Punchratton Koor during her life. A copy of the English translation of this deed which beats the date, 11th Poos 1221 F. (18th December, 1813) is herewith submitted."[4]

Notwithstanding this arrangement the family quarrels seem to have continued and in the year 1227 F. (1819-20 A. D.) Baboo Kuer Singh prosecuted his father in the Provincial Court for the purpose of an order restraining him, the father, from effecting a transfer of any portion of the property, with a view to evade the conditions of the *Sulahnamciy* to which

p] *Vhlt Appendi.e.*

The Naubatkhana of Amar Singh's house at Metaha

Sahcbzada Singh had signified his assent by adding his signature when the deed was executed. The result of this proceeding was an interchange of engagements between the father and the son who mutually executed a *Rji eenawa* and *Iqrarnama* (Deed of Agreement) binding themselves to abide by the terms of the *Sulabnama* of 1221F. (1813-14 A. D.). On these documents being filed in the Court the case of Kunwar Singh was dismissed, the Court merely directing that the parties should abide by their own agreements.

From this period, viz., 1227 F. (1819-20 A.D.) Babu Sahcbzada Singh resigned into the hands of his sons the entire management of the several portions of his property which at his death would fall to each under the terms of the *Sulahnawa*- and the Government revenue has since Ikcii paid separately by each party into the Treasury.

Babu Sahebzada died in the course of the last year and an application was made shortly after to the Collector on the part of the eldest son Babu Koor Singh to record his name in place of that of his father as *Malik* (proprietor) to the entire Estate and to cause the revenue of the shares held by his brothers to be paid through him as he was the head of the family. A counter application was made at the same time from the younger brothers claiming to have their names recorded as proprietors of their shares and to be permitted to pay their revenues direct to the Government Treasury.

The Collector in consideration of the actual possession of the younger brothers and of the revenue of their respective shares having been paid separately by them into the Treasury for a period of six years and with a view to protect their interest from any encroachment on the part of their cider brother, so far decided in their favour as to order that the name of Koor Singh, the eldest son be recorded in the column of proprietors as the general *Malik* of the entire property and that the names of the younger brothers should also be recorded in a second column as actual *Malik* in possession of their respective shares, for example ..... Atnar, which form the portion of D yal Singh, the second brother stands on the record thus :—

Village—Aths r, *Malik*—Koor Singh, Actual *Malik* in possession—Dayal Singh.

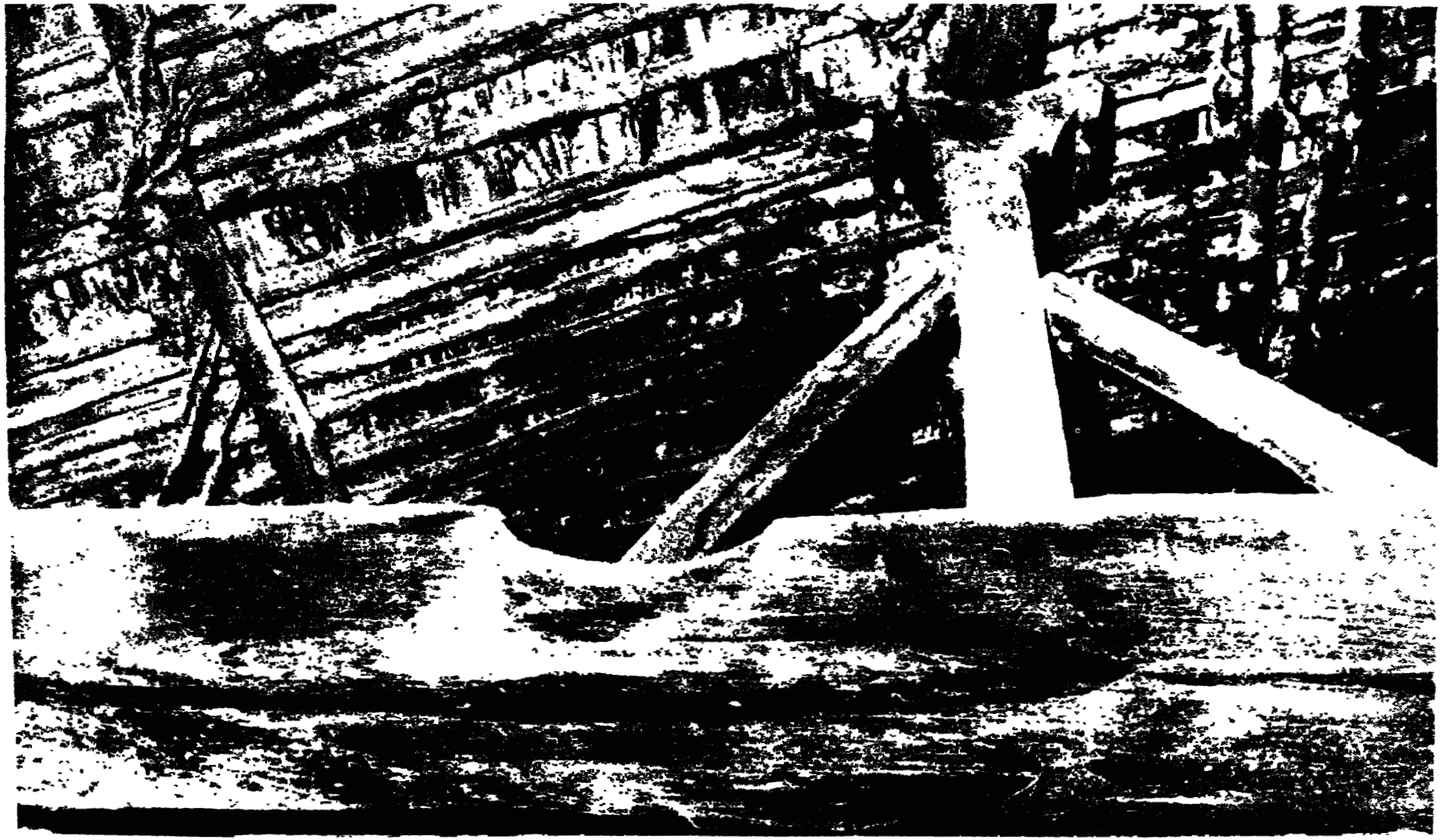
The registry of the portion *of the* other brother has been wade exactly in the same manner.

Against this arrangement Koor Singh has appealed to us alleging that the estates assigned to each of the younger brothers were simply..... for their *Kborisb wa Posbisb* (maintenance) and that agreeably to the custom of the family as well as the terms of the *Sttlabnama* and subsequent agree ments he is entitled to have his name recorded as the *Malik* of the entire property and to pay the revenue, the brothers furnishing their respective quotas through him. Your Lordship will observe there is no dispute regarding the extent of the several shares or the right of each brother to enjoy the profits of the *Mahal* (primary land unit, paying revenue to Government) allotted to him.

In disposing of the point at issue it seems proper first to consider what has been the custom of the family and the precise intention of the several engagements executed by the parties. As the *fka enama* and *Iqrarnama* of 1227 F. (1819-20 A.D.) are merely confirmation of and to the same purport as the *Sidahiiama* of 1221 F. (1813-14 A.D.) it is very necessary to con 'sider the terms of that paper and as it expressly provides that the name of Koor Singh should stand in the place of that of his father as the *Malik* of the entire property it so far bears out Koor Singh's claim as regards the registry and hitherto the custom of the family has certainly been to record the entire estate in one name.

But further than this we consider the claims of Koor Singh to be quite untenable, for though the words "*Kborisb wa Posbisb*[1]" are made use of in the head it was evidently believed that the portions of the younger brothers should be held by each without being subject to the control or interference on the part of Koor Singh, in short that each share should to all intent and purposes form the *Milkeat* (property) of the party to whom it was allotted, and that each should be entitled to pay revenue direct to Government.

Assuming then the right of uncontrolled occupancy and of paying the revenue direct to Government to be established in favour of the younger brothers we should feel disposed to uphold the decision of the Collector as fdr as regards the



Close-up view of the wooden beam inside Dayal Singhji's house at Dalippur. Showing marks of burning

admission of the claims of the younger brothers, notwithstanding the argument that the terms of the *S:!kib;iama* furnish in favour of Koor Singh's claim to have his single name recorded, but it appears to be a question whether having interfered so far the Collector should not have gone a step further and have required the property to be regularly divided, under the Regulation, for there is something anomalous in the position in which the estate is now placed. The property during the life time of Sahcbzada Singh was joint and undivided. At present there is an apparent division without any legal partition having been effected and Koor Singh is registered as the general *Malik* of estates to which he has no right of management or control. Suppose then a balance to occur in..... Athar, the portion of Dayal Singh, the Collector could not dispose of that..... or any portion of it without also disposing of the general right of Koor Singh in it who under the present arrangement is clearly not responsible for the balance and again the right which is thus secured to Koor Singh is merely nominal so that he would he no loser were his name to be left out of the records of his brothers' portions.

Under all circumstances and adverting to the opposite construction put upon the terms of the *Stilabnama* by Koor Singh (regarding?) the right to registry of names and payment of revenue, we think it ought to have been more regular, had the Collector decided to make..... alterations in the Register until the case should be decided by the Courts .... authority one or the other of the parties will eventually have recourse to.... in the event of Koor Singh prosecuting, will be made a party in the suit. But as the mutation has been effected we have deemed it proper to postpone passing any final order thereupon until favoured with the opinion of your Lordship in Council as to the course which should have been adopted under the circumstances of the case."

The antecedents of the family history as also the previous judgments on the points were in favour of Kunwar Singh, who finally won the case.

The litigation was necessarily a prolonged and costly one, which left behind it a legacy of heavy strain on the financial

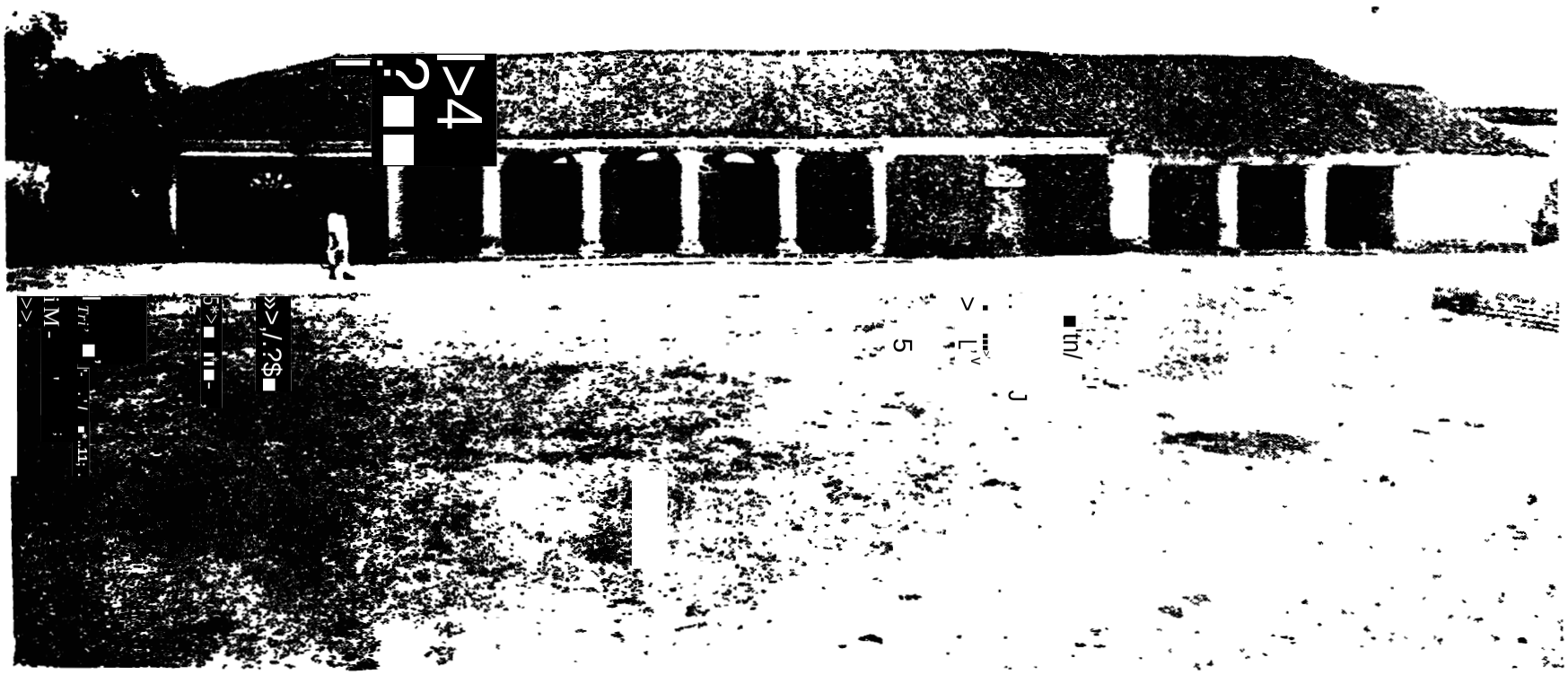
resources of both the parties. A total expense p] of Rs. £ lakhs and Rs. 5 lakhs was incurred over the case by Kunwar Singh and Dayal Singh respectively. This, along with the considerable debt accumulated during Sahebzada Singh's life time and inherited in legacy by Kunwar Singh, conditioned to a large extent his future financial embarrassments.

Feelings among the brothers were temporarily ruffled as a result of the litigation. Dayal Singh left Jagdishpur and moved over with his mother and younger brothers to Dalippur.

It has, however, to be borne in mind that, although the family feud created some heat and acrimony for the time being,, the relations among the brothers remained on the whole cordial. As it has been already mentioned, the younger brothers presented themselves before Kunwar Singh on formal occasions and when ever they met together they treated him with all regard and deference due to an elder brother and the head of the family. Amar Singh's spirited and valuable co-operation with his brother in the Movement of 1857-59 *s a nota blc example of the continuance of brotherly love and affection.

[»] Tawartkk-i'-Ujjf'inw, **Vol. Ill, p. 98.**

Close-up view of the original door frame of the building at Dalippur. Photograph taken from North-West



General view of the building (Dayal Singh's residence) at Dalippur. Photograph taken from North

CHAPTER III

KUNWAR SINGH'S REVENUE AFFAIRS

Large and extensive estates—charitable donations for schools, and other public and religious institutions—lack of efficient supervision of his estate—enormous amounts of debts, mostly negotiated on usurious rates of interest through the machinations of his own staff with the mahajans {money-lenders)—negotiations with the heirs of Peshwa for a loan—placing the estate under a Government-appointed Surbarakar *{Manager)—Government's threat to wind up the arrangement just on the eve of the rising—how far was it responsible for Kunwar Singh's participation in the Movement?*

Kunwar Singh inherited a fairly large estate and added to it further during his life-time. His was the largest landed estate, next to that of the Dumraon Raj, in the Shahabad District. He was the sole proprietor of two *parganas,* Peero (Piro) and Nanaur and of several *Palooqas* in *parganas* Behea, Bhojpur, Panwara, Sasaram and Rohtas. The annual *jumma* of his ancestral estate, excluding the portion allotted to his brothers according to the *Sulahnama* (Deed of Agreement) of 1221 F. (1813-14 A.D.), as enrolled in Government register, was Rs. 1,48,000 and, in addition, he paid a *jumma* of Rs. 1,18,624 for his personal estate. The exact figures[1]] of his income and expenditure in 1262-63 F. (1854-56 A.D.) submitted by the Deputy Collector, Syed Azimuddin Hussain Khan, who was in charge of the estates during the period when these were placed under a Government

***[x] Enclosure to a letter, dated 23rd July,* 1856, *from the Deputy Collector, to Mr. A. A. Swinton, Collector of Shahabad,* reporting on the affairs of Kunwar Singh's estates.**

appointed *Surbarakar* (Manager) were as follows :—

CASH ACCOUNT FROM ASSIN TO BHADON 1262 F. (1854-55 A. D.).

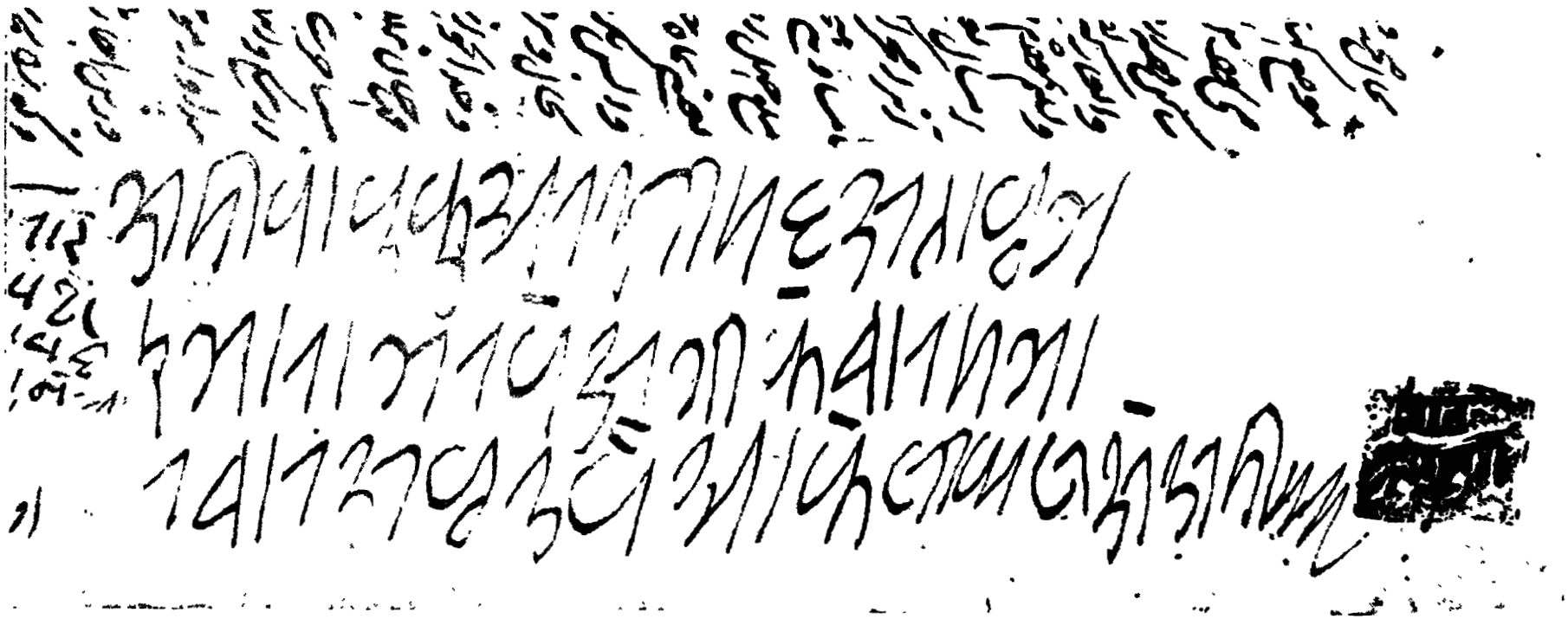
	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
By rollerbion from estates in the possession of the Baboo.	2.08.027	14	9	To be paid on account of public revenues.	1,07,473	8	9
Ditto on account of arrears of last year.	6,921	13	0	Ditto the Baboo's expenses.	54,198	4	3
Cash in hand being the balance of list year's collection.	6,183	0	0	Ditto expenses of law suits.	4,787	7	0
				Ditto Establishment ..	4,578	2	9
Ditto miscellaneous items.	7,051	15	9	Ditto other expenses ..	5,179	11	9
				Ditto liquidation of debts	51,117	8	0
Total ..	2,28,187	1!	6	Total ..	2,27,314	10	6
Cash in hand on account of estates in the hands of Baboo's creditors.	1,54,937	1	3	*Add*—Sums realised by Baboo's creditors in liquidation of their respective debts from estates in their possession.	1,54,937	0	6
					3,82,251	11	0
				Balance in hand to bo accounted for in the account of 1263 F.	873	1	9
TOTAL ..	3,83,124	12	9	TOTAL ..	3,83,124	12	9

CASH ACCOUNT FROM ASSIN TO ASAWRH 1263 F. (1855-56 A. D.).

	Rs.	a.	p.		its.	a.	p<
By balance of last year brought forward.	183	1	0	To be paid Government revenue.	97,627	7	0
Collections from estates in the Baboo's possession from Assin to Asawrh 1263 F. from villages under the management of *Surbarakar.*	1,10,982	2	9	Ditto to creditors ..	1,87,266	8	0
				Ditto expenses of Burhca	8,207	11	0
				Ditto law suits ..	13,169	12	0
				Ditto charity ..	400	0	0
From villages under the collection of the Baboo.	1,23,088	6	9	Ditto stumps purchased for writing of fresh bonds.	953	4	0
				Ditto purchase of a village	225	0	0
Total ..	2,34,070	8	6	Ditto establishment for 10 months.	10,124	14	9
Collection on account of Bukya balance.	4,863	3	0	Ditto miscellaneous ..	6,000	0	0
Ditto *Salamee* and *Meeaan.*	986	8	0	Ditto purchase of articles for the marriage of the Baboo's grand-daughter.	10,360	9	6
Ditto interest of small sums temporarily placed in the Itffrl of Mahajans and tW discount of bank notes.	752	3	3	Ditto funeral obsequies of the wife of Baboo's grandson.	511	15	3
				Ditto Baboo's allowance	28,390	0	0
Ditto amount of decree — cash realised.	1,228	9	6				
					3,63,236	15	9
Ditto price of land received from the Railway Commissioner.	2,729	3	8				
				Cash in hand ..	36,132	5	3
Ditto *peahgee* paid in by the farmers.	7,366	0	0				
Ditto fresh loans taken from Narain Doss, etc., to pay the most pressing demands.	1,46,500	0	0				
TOTAL ..	,3,99,369	5	0	TOTAL ..	3,99,369	5	0

These figures show that the estates of Kunwar Singh, if properly managed, were big enough to provide him with a comfortable income. But due to certain factors, he became deeply involved in debts and mortgages. Referring to these financial liabilities of Kunwar Singh, Mr. Tayler wrote in a letter, dated 19th December, 1856, addressed to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, "He is the scion of an ancient and noble family, the proprietor of a large and valuable estate in Shahabad, a generous and popular overlord, much beloved by his tenantry and respected throughout the District both by the Europeans and natives. But like most of the Rajput nobility he was altogether illiterate and he has thus been an easy prey to the designing, and a puppet in the hands of interested agents, while a liberal disposition and hereditary habits of extrava gance involved him in profuse expenditure which was sustained only by borrowed funds. As time progressed the affairs of the Baboo appear to have become more and more complicated, the necessity of meeting with punctually(sic) the claims of Govern ment with an empty purse placed him at the mercy of money lenders, who exacted the most exorbitant terms for every advance ; and every sale, advertised in execution of ecrees, against him, was the signal for further and more merciless exactions ....." There is no doubt that Kunwar Singh's liberal generosity beyond means, extravagance in the observance of certain social customs, huntings and pastimes and the wilful machinations of some self-interested courtiers, officers and friends were responsible for plunging his estates into ruinous debts.

Being a man of generous and liberal disposition he made extensive grants for charitable purposes to different individual and institutions. A very large number of *sanads* (Deed of grant) by Kunwar Singh and his ancestors are available among the Persian Revenue papers of the Shahabad Collectorate. Most of their texts are in Hindi and they bear the signature of Kunwar Singh. Their phraseology is more or less the same, only the names of the individuals and the villages differ in respective cases. We find that in 1228 F. (1820-21 A.D.) a grant of 25 *bighas* of rent-free land was made by Kunwar Singh in village Jagdishpur, in *pargana* Behea to one Manoraih Singh, in 1233 F. (1825-26 A.D.), a grant of 30 *bighas* of land was made in



Loan deed, dated the 21st February. 1828, executed by Kunwar Singh

Signature in Hindi

Seal (Square) in Urdu

Kaqbah (an area of land) Jagdishpur to Salloo Missir, on the occasion of the illness of Babu Sahebzada Singh, in 1249 F. (1841-42 A.D.) Kunwar Singh granted 8 *Kathas* of land to Jawahar Raout, his servant, for construction of a house, in 1263-F. (1855-56 A. D.) he made a grant of 3 *bigbas* 17 *katbas* (Unit of land measurement) of rent-free land in village Jagdishpur, in *pargana* Behea, to Manorath Ram Sahu ; and in 1261 F. (1853-54 A. D.) a grant, as *Khairat* (given as charity), of 12 *bigbas* of land was made to Mannu Lal. Such grants were made out of benevolent disposition. They, however, entailed considerable financial strain on the resources of the estates. No efforts were made by any one to effect much needed economy in expenses of various kinds. Even as late as 1263 F. (1855-56 A.D.), when Kunwar Singh was under a heavy debt and his estates had been placed under a Government appointed *Swbarakar*, a total expense of Rs. 19,080-2-0 was incurred under the following heads :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Expenses of *Rurbea*..	2,*zo-j*	n	3
Purchase of articles for the marriage of Baboo's grand-daughter.	10,360	7	6
Funeral obsequies of -the wife of Baboo's grandson.	511	15	3
Total . .	19,080	2	o

Kunwar Singh's hunting excursions and pastimes, in which he was accompanied by a close circle of friends, were very expensive. Ready cash money was required on such occasions, and due to shortage of funds in the estate exchequer such money had to be arranged on loan. As was usually the case with most of the aristocratic chiefs of those days, some persons, though not engaged in any useful activities, remained like hangers-on, dependent on him, and their ways of living added to the estate's financial liabilities. To serve their own interest such parasites arranged loans with greedy creditors, at usurious rates of interest.

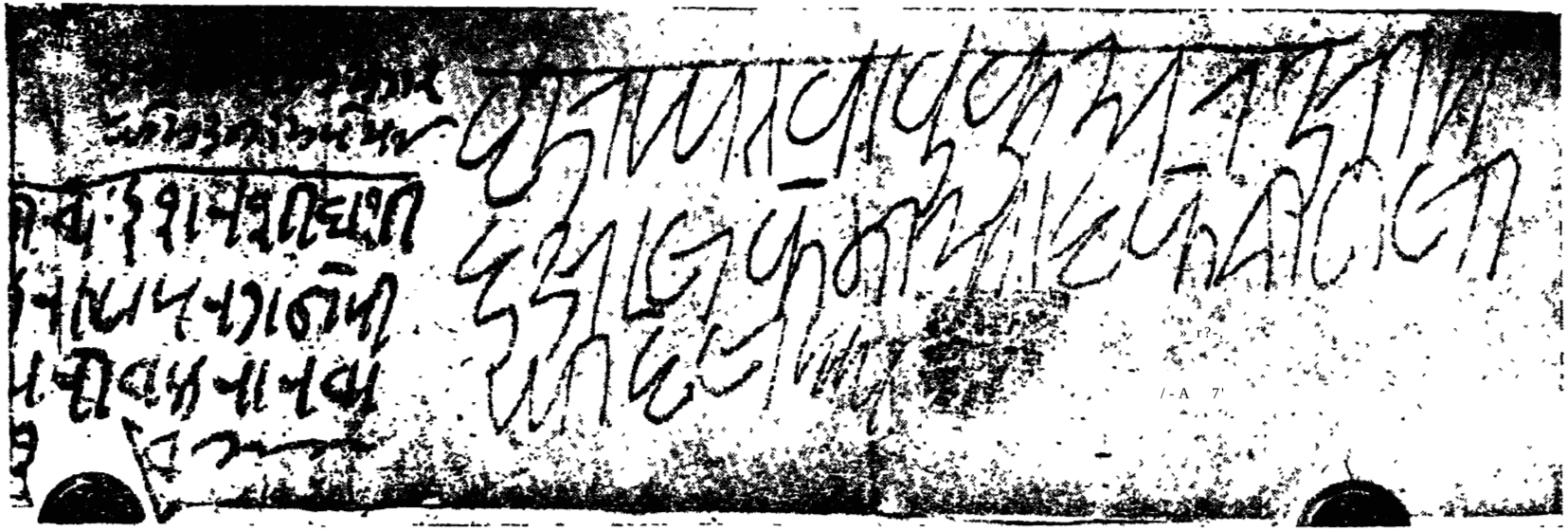
The Persian Revenue papers in the Shahabad Collectorate are full of details about Kunwar Singh's loans and mortgages.

There are a large number of mortgage bonds f[1]], executed by Kunwar Singh. The usual procedure was that certain villages were leased out in *ijara* (contract) for a specified number of years, varying in different cases, to the creditors who were to realise their amount, principal and interest, out of their income and to pay the surplus, if any, to Kunwar Singh. The contract remained in force until the full amount was repaid. This was the arrangement during the earlier times when Kunwar Singh was in possession of his own estates. Later on, when the estates were placed under Government appointed *Surbarakar*, the arrangement was modified to the extent that the creditors were to be paid by the *Surbarakar* out of the proceeds of Kunwar Singh's estates.

The transactions for these loans were carried on by Kunwat Singh's *Amlahs* (subordinate agents, staff), majority of whom made personal gains out of these by fraudulent practices in collaboration with the creditors. The most common practice for them was to under estimate the income of villages leased out in mortgage. In this way the creditors realised much more than their due out of the income of the mortgaged villages. When later on Kunwar Singh came to know of these glaring abuses, he started series of civil suits against such creditors, suing

f[1]] Translated text of one such bond, executed by Kunwar Singh and duly registered, is given below as a specimen :

"I, Kcoer Singh, *Malik* of *parganas* Peer© and Nonore, acknowledge Lav•ng borrowed Company's Rs. 50,000 from Roy Narain Das, son of Roy Srikishun, son of Raja Patnee Mai of Banures at the rate of 1 percent per month to discharge my previous debts. Whereas under orders of Govern ment dated 12th April, 1855, the management of my landed property having been undertaken by Government, a *Surbarakar* has been appointed, I, therefore, write and acknowledge that I shall repay the Government officials every month the interest amounting to Rs. 500 and the principal in two instalments of Rs. 25,000 one in 1268 F. (1860-61 A. D.) and the other Rs. 25,000 in 1269 F. (1861-62 A.D.) from the collection of my estate which will be made by the *Surbarakar ;* and as security for this loan 1 pledge *Talooqa* Rchea, *Talooqa* Narainpore, *Mauza* Perpra of *pargana* I'eero of which I enjoy the *Milkiat* and possession until the said debt is paid up. That I shall not alienate the property specified above openly or clandestinely, if I do so it shall not be considered valid or legal. If for any cause the said loan bo not paid through the *Surbarakar* to Roy within the specified period it shall be optional with Roy to realize the same from this or other property of mine. If I do not pay the interest every month or if I alienate tho property pledged he after waiting for 3 months is authorised immediately to realise the principal and interest in one lump sum. In this I or my successors will have no objection. For this purpose the *Tamasuk* (mortgage) has been written. Dated 9th August 1856."



Letter in Hindi of Kunwar Singh, dated the 5th Karnck, 1259 F.. regarding ' *Patta ZarpevhgP* of villages Nirva Dehri and Kiratpur, Paragana Behea. Shahabad

Signature in Hindi

Seal (Square) in Urdu

them for reimbursement of the extra amounts realised by them. In an application addressed to the Deputy Collector, Azimuddin Hussain Khan, Kunwar Singh pointed out these notorious practices in unmistakable terms. He noted that "with reference to the requisition that I should mention the names of all my creditors, separating those with whom I may have effected a settlement, I beg to state that my creditors have already appro priated large sums of money from the usufruct of my estate, much more than was due to them. Out of these six have to refund me surpluses appropriated by them after recovering their principal with interest and those *Mahals* which I had mortgaged to them I have obtained possession and against several parties I have instituted suits in the Civil Court for the refund of profits appropriated by them and against others I will bring a suit as soon as the civil courts open", f[1]]

The glaring frauds and injustice, committed upon Kunwar Singh by his greedy and unscrupulous creditors, attracted the attention of some of the Judges before whom the matter went up and were commented upon by other English officials as well.

Mr. Dent, Judge of Shahabad, was the first to recommend to the *Sadar Diwaw Adalat* the adoption of some suitable measures for the proper management of Kunwar Singh's estates with a view to relieving his pecuniary distress. He wrote in this connection the following letter to the *Sadar Dwani Adalat* on the 15th October, 1838: "1 have the honour to transmit a copy and English translation of a petition presented to this Court by Baboo Kour (Kunwar) Singh on the 21st August last, together with copy of my proceedings, dated 14th September, for consideration and orders of the superior Court.

The substance of the petition is as follows:—

Baboo Kour (Kunwar) Singh the petitioner is a descendant from a long line of noble ancestors holding by right of inheritance large landed possessions in the District, has through his own neglect and the mismanagement and roguery of his dependants become so much involved that he sees no prospect of retriev ing his affairs unless Government will interpose its aid and he

f[1]] There are a large number of such case papers in the contemporary English and Persian iecords.

accordingly requests that the whole of his land may be held in sequestration by Government until the claims of his credi tors are satisfied, a suitable allowance being in the form of adjustable subsidy made to him for his support. He further adds that the estates being an undivided hereditary ancestral property he does not possess the power of permanently aliena ting any portion of it by sale or otherwise.

The Court will observe from the accompanying copy of a decree, dated 13th August, 1835, in a suit between BabuKour (Kunwar) Singh and his brothers, which was affirmed by the *Sudder Dewani* in appeal, that it was held that the family demesne under notice is of the description of *Mahals alluded* to in Reg. 10 of 1800 as descending entire to a heir, and in this respect resembling very much the large entailed properties of Great Britain in which the hereditary occupant possesses only a life interest without the power of permanently alienating any portion of it by gift, sale or otherwise. It is therefore very questionable whether the estates under notice are liable to be sold by orders of the Court of Justice for the personal debts of the occupant for the time being. The Baboo, however, does not wish to avail himself of this privilege further than to prevent the estates from permanently passing out of his family; he is willing to give up the entire profits, for the benefit of his creditors, rescuing only a small allowance for his own support. I have made enquiries into the assets of his estates, which include two entire *parganas* and several smaller divisions, they pay an annual revenue to Government of Rs. 90,000 and yield profit of about two lacs of rupees, and with proper management I believe that all the debts amounting to about (17) seventeen lacs of rupees might be liquidated in about 15 years.

The petitioner notices one case (the Raja of Vizianagram, now residing at Benares), in which the Madras Government have interposed to save a-noble family from ruin and the claims of that person could scarcely be stronger than those of the petitioner's family who have always been steady supporters and adherents of the British Government and I feel convinced that in case of need the petitioner himself can be fully relied upon for powerful assistance.

The modes of extending relief to the petitioner occur to me, viz.:—

First by sequestration of the petitioner's estate under orders of the Court and applying the proceeds in the same way.

Secondly, by Government placing the estates under Court of Wards and applying the proceeds in the same way.

And thirdly, by Government authorising the Collector to effect an arrangement with the petitioner's creditors who if they can sec any certainty of ultimate payment would agree to anything that is reasonable and any advance of funds which the Government might be called upon to make might be recovered from the estates which would of course remain under the Collector's management until all debtors are paid. The petitioner is the representative of one of the remain ing old influential families in the District (the Raja of Bhojpur is the other) who have hitherto with stood the operation of our Revenue and Judicial systems, but unless the Government interpose the estates must inevitably pass into other hands and thus another noble and influential family will be added to the list of malcontents.

The importance of the subject render any apology unnecessary for what may at first sight appear an irregular application."

It is evident from this letter that Kunwar Singh himself mooted out the idea, as far back as 1838, of the Government standing security, in some way or other, for the repayment of the loans. The application of Kunwar Singh, dated 21st August, 1838, which formed an enclosure to the above quoted letter, envisaged the eventual shape of things to come. For, when later on in May, 1855, a *Surbarakar* was appointed tomanage the estates of Kunwar Singh, the Government did in fact undertake an arrangement more or less similar to the one proposed by Kunwar Singh himself in 1838. It has also to be noted that whereas the total amount of Kunwar Singh's loan stood at about 17 lacs in 1838, it rose up to more than 20 lacs by 1857. Things may have taken a different shape had the

petition of Kunwar Singh been accepted in 1838 and had his financial liabilities been cleared in about fifteen years according to the estimate of Mr. Dent. The Judges of the *S#dar Diirani Adalat* replied that they "had no jurisdiction in the case." Mr. Dent then entered into private negotiations with the principal creditors and a temporary settlement of affairs was effected, but not on such a footing as to afford permanent relief or to secure the redemption of the estates, the great majority of which were mortgaged for the loans obtained.

Mr. A. A. Swinton, Collector of Shahabad, wrote in a letter, dated 21st November, 1854, that "the financial embarrassments have reduced him (Kunwar Singh) to such a state of extreme indigence that it is with the greatest difficulty that he can pay the Government revenue as it falls due and is compelled to submit to whatsoever terms are dictated to him by the money lenders, who withhold their assistance to the last moment, that they may make conditions advantageous to them and ruinous to him". In the concluding portion of this letter he remarked that "every respectable and well-disposed person in the District (of Shahabad) will rejoice that he (Kunwar Singh) was delivered of distress and ruin and none but a few grasping merchants who are profiting by his misfortunes will raise a voice against it."

Mr. Tayler, who professed friendship with Kunwar Singh and high regard for his character, wrote in a letter, dated 10th December, 1855, addressed to the Secretary, Board of Revenue: "I am happy to say that such interest and sympathy has been exhibited by every public officer in the district, high or low, except Mr. Cunliffe and I may further repeat what I have already stated to that officer, that the benevolent aid afforded by Government to this old and high family has done more than any single action that can be named to conciliate the loyalty and goodwill of all the high classes in the Division." Writing again to the Board on the 19th December, 1856, Mr. Tayler observed : "I have always openly professed esteem for the old gentleman and must candidly confess that nothing has given me greater satisfaction than the prospect now held out to him of ending his days in peace and full possession of the land which he so dearly loves."

In his eagerness to get rid of the incubus of the outstanding debts by their repayment, Kunwar Singh made frantic efforts to get an advance of a lump sum from new creditors on cer tain conditions. For this he opened negotiations with Narayan Rao and Madhav Rao, sons of Vinayak Rao f[1]].

The origin of the loan negotiations is known to us from a petition of Kunwar Singh, himself, of the month of November, 1854. He wrote therein; "The Peshwa originally received from Government 7 lacs of rupees annually for maintenance and support, after his death this maintenance was stopped and there being plenty of money in his Treasury, the heirs resolved on lending them out on interest so that the principal should not be touched, and with this intention offered a loan of Rs. 50 lacs to any creditable and trustworthy person, who felt inclined to take such a loan, but finding that no one was interested in borrowing such a large sum of loan they invested Rs. 25 lacs in Government Promissory notes and offered to lend me Rs. 13 lacs, and are negotiating for a loan of Rs. 7 lacs with the Raja of Darbhanga."

In the case of Kunwar Singh the negotiating creditors demanded that Government should undertake the management of his estate, to ensure a proper security for the repayment of the loan. Kunwar Singh accordingly moved the Government in November, 1854 to undertake the management of his estate as desired by the Peshwa's heirs so that he could obtain the necessary loan. The Collector of Shahabad, Mr. A. A. Swinton, endorsed this plan and recommended it favourably to the Commissioner of the Patna Division for submission to the

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PJ *Letter no.* 553, *dated IQtk December,* 1856, *from Mr. Tayler, ConimiMioiter of Patna, to the Board of Revenue.*

Righoba had adopted a boy Amrit Rao. before the birth of Baji Rao IT, as he had given up all hopes of having a son of his own. Amrit Rao was oh Lad terms with his brother Peshwa Baji Rao II and at one time his son Vinayak Rao was sat up as a claimant to the Peshwasbip. Amrit Rao retired to Benar.*.* on a pension of 7 lakhs per annum. After his death Vinayak Rao settled at Karvi near Chitrakut. It was with his sons, Narayan Rao and Madhav Rao, that negotiations were opened on behalf of Kunwar Singh for a loan of 13 lakhs. They at first agreed to advance the sum. Both the brothers were suspected of Mutiny and their residence was looted. A dispute arose about the prize money and it is one of the famous prize cases of the times. The two brothers wen* later pensioned off. Probably their lines still survive.

Bjth Amrit Rao and Vinayak Rao used the surname of Peshwa because they balonged to the Peshwa family.

Government, f[1]] Mr. Swinton observed: "I now beg to add that a highly respectable party is willing to advance at once a sufficient sum to pay off all *bona fide* claims, *at moderate rate of interest and thus relieve the unfortunate petitioner from all his difficulties solely on the condition that Government will appoint a *Sarbarakar* to manage the estates (which the petitioner will mortgage as security for the loan).

This condition is by no means unreasonable, the party offering the advance is a resident of another district and cannot undertake the management of the estates himself and naturally wills for good and unquestionable security in such an important transaction involving the advance of 13 or 14 lacs of rupees.

The object to be affected is so extremely desirable in all points of view and the means are so extremely simple that I trust you will support the prayer of the petitioner by your powerful advocacy.

Numerous petitions (32 up to date) have been presented within the last few days on the part of Babu's creditors expressing their regret at the discontinuance of the negotiations which were in progress and supporting the prayer of the petitioner, to these I solicit your notice and request that they may also be forwarded to Government, along with this letter."

A draft Agreement [2] to be executed by Kunwar Singh, laying down the terms and conditions of the proposed loan from the heirs of the Peshwa, was prepared. It contained a complicated arrangement for ensuring the repayment of the loan, and the rates of interest, sought to be imposed on Kunwar Singh by his prospective creditors, were exorbitant.

The draft is an undated and very long document containing 19 clauses. Its relevant and operative clauses were:—

> "I, Kunwar Singh Bahadur, am the proprietor of parganas Peero and Nanour and sundry *Lalooqas* (minor Subdivision of land) in parganas Behea, Panwara, Rohtas and Sasaram.

***[*] Letter from the Collector of Shuhabad to the Commissioner of the Patna Division, dated 21«1 November* 1851.**

[>] Original in Persian has been translated into English.

Whereas the total annual *jumma* of my ancestral permanent Zemindari estate, including the villages recently purchased by me, and excluding the villages belonging to my own bro thers Dyal Singh and others, with their heirs, according to the *Soolahnama* dated 1221-F. (1813-14 A.D.) and the judgment of the Civil Court, dated 1835, concerning the execution of the clause of that *Soolahnama,* is Rs. 1,48,000 as recorded in the Government register.

Whereas I am also the sole proprietor of other parganas and villages paying a *jumma* of Rs. 1,18,624, as registered in Arrah Collectorate records.

Whereas the accumulation of a large number of loans incurred by way of mortgaging villages and in satisfaction of court decrees threaten the forfeiture and alienation of part of my ancestral estate.

I, therefore, with a view to paying off all my previous debts and releasing the mortgaged property and thus saving the ancestral estate (from forfeiture) agree to take a consolidated loan of Rs. 13 lacs for the above purpose, from Madhav Rao and Narayan Rao, minor adopted sons of the late Maharaja Vinayak Rao Bahadur through Babus Raghubans Prasad and Mukund Rao, the guardians of the said minors. For the reali sation of the said amount I agree to hand over the manage ment and collection of my estates to a *Sarbarakar* appointed by Government in accordance with the Report of the Board of Revenue No. 151, dated 26th April, 1856, and the letter of the Secretary to Government of Bengal, No. 346, dated 3rd May, 1856, addressed to the Board in reply to the above report. Having come to an agreement with the *Sbrimats* (Madhav Rao and Narayan Rao) through these guardians I agree to the execu tion of the above arrangement under the follwing clauses:—

(1) That the amount of Rs. 13 lacs which I am taking as loan from the *Sbrimats* shall be paid in old *Farrukhabadi* [*] coins in which the Peshwa was paid, and that I will repay

[*] jFarruA;W>ad» Rupee.

One of the many varieties of coins, current in the Company's territory prior to 1885. It weighed 180 grains containing 165.215 of pure silver. The Company Rupee of 1835 was based on this Farrukhabadi rupee. The *Sicca Rupee* bore to the *Farrukhabadi Rupee* a proportion of 16:15, roughly.

the full amount principal and interest in *Sicca rupees*[1] without making any discount and that I will bear the loss incurred in this exchange.

(2) That I agree to pay a Commission of 4 per cent on the amount -of loan and therefore the *Shrimats* shall deduct, as agreed by me, a commission of 4 per cent on all amounts they will pay, on my request, into the Allahabad Treasury for trans mission into Arrah Treasury. The amount of loan will, how ever, remain the same. It will not be affected by the deduction (of 4 per cent).

(3) That the interest of the loan at the rate of 10 annas per cent per month amounting to Rs. 7-8-0 per annum and Rs. 150 per month as salary of the agent *ot Shrimats* will be payable by me from the date of the transmission of the money from their Treasury and the arrangement will remain in opera tion till the complete liquidation of the loan.

(4) That the transport, security, and all other incidental arrangements connected with the transmission of money from the personal treasury of *Shrimats* situated in Amritnagar, par-gana Narnawan, *Zillah* (District) Banda, to the Treasury, Arrah, *via* Treasury, Allahabad, will be my responsibility and at my cost, and that I will make the necessary arrangements as and when the amounts are to be transmitted.

(5) That the amount of the loan will remain deposited in the Arrah Treasury, and as and when I draw upon it, through the Collector, for repayment of my previous debts, I will hand over the receipt of the repayment of these previous debts to the Agent of the *Shrimats* through the Collector; that a

[*] A variety of coin.

***Sicca Rupee.*—Literal meaning, coined money. Up to 1835, there was a great variety of coins, current in the different parts of the Company's territories. The term *Sicca* money applied to newly coined money which were at a *Batla* or pre mium to money worn out in use, or the *Sanaut* rupee. With a view to terminating the prevailing confusion the Bengal Government ordered in 1793 that all rupees coined in future shall boar the impress of 19th year of Shah Alam's reign, and this Rupee the 19 *San Sicca* rupee was to be the legal tender in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This Sicca Rupee weighed 192 grains: 176 fine grain (pure silver) 16 alloy grain.**

The Company's rupee which introduced uniformity of coinage throughout Bengal in 1835 weighed 115 grains silver. The *Sicca rupee* was allowed by the Act VII of 1833 to continue as an exceptional coin in Bengal but was abolished in 1836.

deed pledging (to *Shrimats)* the property, thus released from previous debts, upto the extent of the amount repaid out of these 13 lacs, will be executed by me on a stamped paper duly registered and attested by witnesses and signed by the Regis trar and handed over to the Agent of *Shrimats* through the Collector; that the supervision and collection of these released property, to be mortgaged again to *Shrimats,* will be entrusted to a *Sarbarakar* apppointed by Government; and in this way having drawn upon the entire amount of Rs. 13 lacs, and having released the entire property from previous debts and handing them over to the Collection and management of a Government appointed *Sarbarakar,* I will draw up the final document (mortgaging the entire property, thus released, to *Shrimats),* and hand it over to their Agent.

(6) That pending the repayment of the entire amount, principal and interest, due to the *Shrimats* the entire property will remain under the collection and management of a Government appoint ed *Sarbarakar,* and this arrangement will in no way be dis turbed.

(7) That out of the amount collected, through the *Sarbarakar,* from the estate, deductions will be made, for, the payment of Government revenue of those estates, miscellaneous expenses connected with collection and litigation, and my (Kunwar Singh's) own personal expenses amounting to Rs. 60,000 as recorded in the proceedings of the Collector, Arrah, dated 29th May, 1855, and out of the remainder repayment of the principal and interest and remuneration of the Agent will be made, the procedure for which shall be as follows : first the amount of interest and the monthly remuneration of the Agent will be paid, through Government Treasury, in two six monthly instalments and whatever is left, after making these payments, will be paid at the end of each year in one lump sum towards the liquidation of the principal amount. That all these above-mentioned amounts will be paid to *Shrimats* at Amritnagar, through a .draft, to the Treasury at Banda to be sent annually and in accordance with the above conditions, that the *Shrimats* will have nothing to bother for the transmission of the draft, that I will make all arrangements for it, and bear all expenses incurred, and the receipt of the draft by *Shrimats* will be con sidered enough by way of proof and record.

(8) That the grains which will be in my possession will likewise be treated as mortgaged for the loan of 13 lacs and that I or my heirs will have no right of transfer except for (personal) expenses, over the amount of income collected.

(9) That not a pie shall be used, out of the amount of loan deposited in the Treasury, for purposes other than the release of mortgaged property and liquidation of previous debts because *(see* clause 5) the release of the mortgaged property, from out of the amounts drawn from time to time on my request, out of the deposited amount of 13 lacs of rupees, is incumbent; that although I will continue paying interest on the amount, deposited and set apart in the Treasury for the payment of certain dues under dispute and pending settlement that amount will be treated as a trust of the *Shrimats*\ and that the amount lying deposited in Treasury, out of the collection of my estate under a *Sarbarakar's* supervision shall likewise be treated as belonging to *Shrimats* and no one else can be paid out of this amount, in satisfaction of his dues or execution of court decrees, for the money does not belong to me (Kunwar Singh).

(10) That if there is any dispute or difference over interpretation regarding this arrangement, necessitating any legal action or explanation by the *Shrimats*, I will pay, without any objection, all expenses incurred by the *Shrimats*, on this count.

Whereas my debts and commitments are diverse and fairly large, whereas it is not possible to mortgage my estates to *Shrimats* without first releasing them from previous mortgages, and whereas it is essential, both, to take a loan *(from Shrimats)* for the repayment of previous debts and to ensure the proper satisfaction of *Shrimats.*

It is therefore laid down according to this *Satta* (contractual agreement) that whatever proprietary rights I possess, now or may do hereafter, shall be considered mortgaged for this loan from the date on which the *Shrimats* deposit the money in the Treasury in accordance with my request, that pending the writing of mortgage deed by me, later on, as laid down above *(see* clause 5) this *Satta* will have the value of a mortgage deed so far as those estates are concerned which are (according to clause 5) to be pledged to *Shrimats* after

release from previous mortgage, out of *Shrimats* loan. This *Satta* (mortgage) will have priority over other claims of debts.

Provided, however, that if, after the finalization of this *Satta)* the *Shrimats* fail to supply the money, through the authorities, as requested by me, within a month of the date of my request then in that case I have the option, in the first instance, either to treat this agreement as cancelled or to continue it and secondly to observe the above conditions in regard to whatever amount of money has been taken as loan up till that date and to refuse accepting the remaining amount (out of the proposed loan of 13 lacs)."

Actual completion of this loan transaction was, however, thwarted by the intrigues of the local creditors of Kunwar Singh. In utter selfishness and inordinate greed they sought to prevent liquidation of his old debts so that each of them might continue like a Shylock to exact interest on them for an indefinite period. Kunwar Singh himself wrote in a peti tion: "The reason for his (heir of Peswa) proposing certain conditions in some of his letters is this that a loan at the rate of 10 annas per cent per month having been agreed upon by me, subsequently the *Mahajtms* (money lenders) of this place, to annoy and perplex me, informed the heirs of Peshwas that it is the practice of the *Mahajuns,* here, to take 5 per cent as commission and one year's interest in advance from Kunwar Singh before granting him loans. At this calculation 3 lacs would be required to be given in order to obtain a loan of 13 lacs which I consider rather exorbitant and I therefore informed the heirs of Peshwas, through their Agent who were negotiating the loan what I thought proper." The actual com pletion of the negotiations, characterised throughout by delay and procrastination, was in this way held up from time to time and finally retarded altogether due to the intrigues of the go-betweens and the malice of the local *Mahajuns.*

While there was procrastination delaying finalisation of the abovementioned loan negotiations, Kunwar Singh arranged for a loan of several lakhs of rupees from some bankers of Banaras, jointly, to pay off his previous debts. He wrote to the Government in this connection : "Irrespective of this loan (with the Peshwa's heirs) I am, with the view of protecting

my interest, negotiating with *6* other individuals . . . after they are satisfied that their loans will be liquidated through a *Sarbarakar** then they will of their own accord come forward to lend me as. much money as I require." In fact he got the following loans at an interest of 12 percent from the Banaras bankers :—

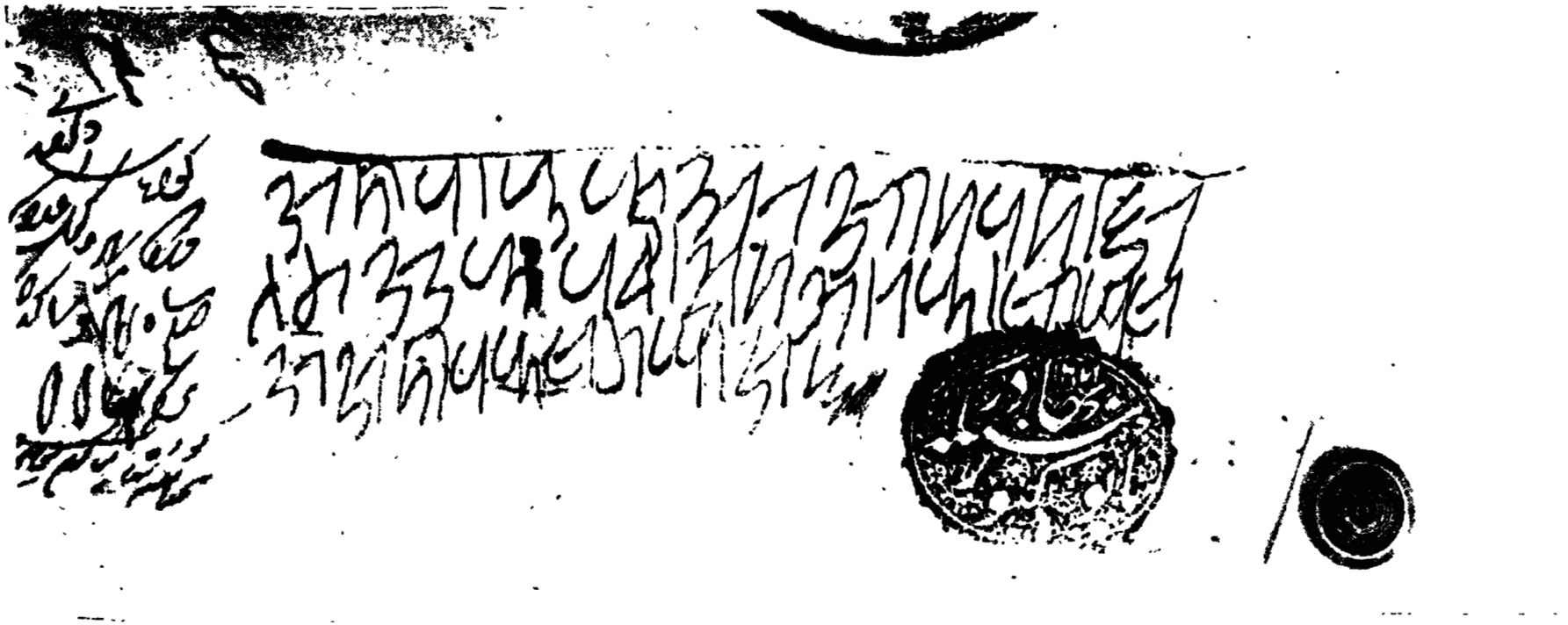
	Rs.
Narain Das-5 bonds	1,20,500
Manohar Das	20,000
Purshottam Das	20,000
Benar Parsad	10,000
Rao Beneeram	10,000
Ramkishun Das	60,000
Kishore Das and Maunee Lail ..	10,000
Total	2,50,500

The sums noted against each name were paid into the hands of the Collector of Shahabad at different times, and security bonds, endorsed by the Collector, were executed by Kunwar Singh, pledging certain villages as security for the loans. These loans were taken in view of the long delay in the completion of the loan from the Peshwa's heirs and were utilised for repaying some of the more pressing of his previous debts.

In the meantime, anticipating the finalisation of the negotiations for the loan from the Maratha chief, steps had been taken by the Government for the appointment of a *Sarbarakar* to manage Kunwar Singh's estate. The Collector of Shahabad [X] appointed, with the consent of Kunwar Singh, one Kashee Prasad as the *Sarbarakar,* and Kunwar Singh executed the following agreement *(Jqrarnama)* accepting the arrangement :

"My affairs being in a disturbed state owing to my being deeply involved in debt and the impossibility of retrieving them by the Agency of my own servants, I presented a petition to the Collector, praying for the appointment of a *Sarbarakar* to manage my estates and provide means

(?] Proceedings, dated 29/A *May,* 1855.



Deed of **Tamaswk* dated the 17th November, 1856, executed by Kunwar Singh in favour of Ram Kishen Das Sahu of Benares for a loan of Rs. 50,000

Signature in Hindi

Seal (Round) in Urdu

for the liquidation of my debts. The Collector out of sentiments of sympathy and benevolence reported the case, with the sanction of Commissioner, to Government, and was enjoined to adopt measures in consultation with the Collector (Commissioner ?) in accordance with his original report dated aand November, 1854, and that of the Collector of aist idem for the appointment of a *Sarbarakar*. The Collector held *Bubkari* (Court Proceedings) on 29th May, 1854, and with my consent appointed Kashee Prasad, a *Sarbarakar,* in order that from 1263-F. my estate be placed under him, with the Collector's superintendence, the collections being annually deposited in the Treasury from which after payment of Govern ment revenue and expenses of *Tuhseel* (collection of reve nue) Rs. 1,50,000 to be paid towards the liquidation of the principal and interest of the fresh loan (from Banaras bankers) to be obtained for the repayment of my old debts, that with reference to Rs. 60,000 which is fixed for my personal expenses I have retained under my own collection estates yielding an annual *jumma* of Rs. 32,000 and the remaining Rs. 28,000 I shall receive in cash from the *Sarbarakar,* to be deposited in the Treasury, and appropria ted with my consent, to a further liquidation of my debts or to any other necessary expenses. Whereas this arrange ment has been sanctioned for the sole purpose of protec ting my property without any responsibility being incurred by the Government, which might make it liable for any claim, therefore, for the satisfaction and security of Government from all manners of loss and liability I bind myself, by this acknowledgement, that from 1263-F. (1855-56 A.D.) till the time the whole of the loan which might be obtained from one or more *Mabajuns* on bonds executed by me I have made over to the charge of Government all estates *Asli* (chief village originally settled) and *Dakhlee* (additional villages subsequently acquired) in my name or *Benamee* of which I am *Malik* and which is now under my occupancy or may hereafter come under my posses sion I or my successors shall not interfere in the manage ment thereof, openly or clandestinely. That whatever sums might be forwarded upon bonds executed by me for the liquidation of my former debts the same be

made over with the sanction of the Revenue Officer to the lending *Mahajan,* as long as the whole of the said debt principal and interest be not fully paid up through Government, my property be not exempted from liability. I or my successor will, however, have no right or claim to take possession of or interfere with property. Per chance shall I or my successors deviate from the conditions or arrangements above set forth it will not be considered legal in any way.

It is also a condition that until the liquidation of the principal and interest of the new loan which will be obtained under the above conditions, all my property according to the terms of the *Iqrarnama* and bonds given to *Mahajans* shall remain pledged and mortgaged and that I shall not, of my own authority, transfer them by sale mortgage or conditional sale nor shall my successor; should such however take place, it will be null and void or if within the period of the repayment of the fresh loans a change in the appointment of the *Sarbarakar* be considered necessary, although within the power of Government Officer, it must be effected with my consent. It will be the duty of the *Sarbarakar* to present *Potthas* (a deed of purchase or transfer) of the villages which shall be leased to the Government officer, after (for?) my perusal and signature and the accounts of the annual income and outlay shall also be signed and checked by me. As soon as the said loans obtained by the sanction of Government officers and the Bonds executed by me shall have been paid in full, *Sarbarakaree* management shall cease and the estate shall revert to my possession and management without delay."

It is thus evident that the estates of Kunwar Singh were not placed under a regular Court of wards arrangement and that the above arrangement regarding it was a semi-private one. Mr. Tayler emphasised this point repeatedly in his letters to the Board of Revenue. In a letter, dated 29th June, 1855, he pointed out: "All the parties concerned are folly aware that the Government in sanctioning the arrangement now in contemplation, merely engaged that so long as the estates are left under the management of a *Sarbarakar* appointed at the instance and request of the proprietor so long the surplus proceeds shall be devoted to the payment' of the Baboo's

creditors and that no further responsibility whatever attaches to the Government or its officers." In a subsequent letter, dated 10th December, 1855, he reiterated: "These proceed ings (the appointment of *Sarbarakaf)* not sanctioned by any law though certainly not prohibited, they are to be considered to some extent as private arrangement between the Baboo and the Government and that neither Government nor its officers were to involve themselves in any responsibility or to become to any extent a party to any transaction. The above is I believe a correct exposition of the case and in accordance with the character of the transaction the greatest possible care should be taken that neither Government nor its officers should incur the slightest responsibility." As Mr. Tayler wrote again to his Government on the 19th December, 1856, this arrangement was sanctioned " on the express condition that nothing was to be done which might directly or indirectly involve the Government or its officers in any responsibility. It was clearly to be understood that the money was borrowed by Kunwar Singh and the estates pledged by him, that the appointment of the *Sarbarakar* for the collection of rents was undertaken by Government as a trust at the request and soli citation of the proprietor and for the benefit of himself and the creditors and all that Government engaged to do was to make the payments specified in the bond from the proceeds in their hands." Kunwar Singh himself admitted the above interpretation when he wrote in his petition, dated 25th June, 1857, that "his application (for the appointment of a *Sarbarakar)* was therefore accepted with the express stipulation that the Government or its servants will bear no responsibility what ever for the arrangement."

Although Kunwar Singh could not procure the promised loan of 13 lacs from the Peshwa's heirs, he had in the mean time taken other measures to alleviate the burden of his loan and had succeeded to a considerable extent in his efforts. The Deputy Collector had also reported favourably on the state of his affairs and had recommended to the Government to give him a loan of 6 to 8 lacs of rupees to clear off the remaining debts. There was thus some improvement in the affairs of Kunwar Singh's estates. But he was soon informed by the Government that they would withdraw the arrangement

regarding his estates unless he procured, within one month, the promised loan of Rs. 13 lacs from Banda. Kunwar Singh was very much disturbed and distressed at this adverse turn of events, and he submitted to Government a long petition, dated 25th June, 1857. After summing up the actual position up to date and emphasising the beneficial effects of the existing Government supervised management of his estates, he expressed the hope of being able to liquidate the loans by other alternative arrangements, even if the promised loan of 13 lacs was not receivea. In fact, he asserted that his affairs had improved to such an extent that he was no more in need of that money. He finally requested the Government not to leave him in the lurch at such a time.

The petition, written exactly one month before the Dinapur outbreak of 1857, is a significant document. After recount ing the course of negotiations with the Government for appoint ment of a *Sarbarakar* to manage his estates, Kunwar Singh submitted in it : "As I was at that time negotiating with the heirs of Maharaja Benaik Rao Bahadur Peshwa for a loan of Rs. 13 lacs on an interest of 7 per cent the Commissioner recommended that if they (the heirs of Peshwa) agree to for ward a loan, principal and interest, may be repaid out of the collection of my estates. Your Honour is well aware that the heirs of Shri Benaik Rao Bahadur repeatedly promised through letters and through their Agent Lala Raghubans Sahay to advance the loan and on their promise a *Sarbarakar* was appointed and negotiations with my creditors for the repayment of their loan was taken up. As a matter of fact, a considera ble portion of my debt was paid out of the collection of my estates, and several repayments in instalments, without interest were agreed upon by some creditors. Although the promised amount of Rs. 13 lacs was not received from *Shrimats* but a considerable portion of my debts was paid off out of fresh loans. Another loan had, however, to be taken at the rate of 12 per cent (from Banaras bankers)".

After giving a detailed statement of his loans up to date, and the course of their adjustment and liquidation, Kunwar Singh further wrote: "I now beg to state that I have been informed by the Deputy Collector of the content of the recent orders of the Board of Revenue saying that on failure of

Petition of Kunwar Singh, dated the 22nd May, 1857. appealing to Government for some loan to tide over his financial difficulties

Petition in Urdu

Signature m Hindi

receiving the promised loan of Rs. 13 lacs within a period of one month recommendation will be made to the Lieutenant-Governor to withdraw the existing arrangement. Your Honour, I beg to submit that I am deeply obliged to Government for under taking the management of my estates and the authorities are well aware that I have spared no effort to obtain a loan and although I have not yet received the amount expected from the Peshwa I have taken a loan of Rs. 3,45,829 from different *Mabajuns* on the strength of the present arrangement (of a Government apppointed *Sarbarakar* supervising my estates) for paying off the more pressing of my standing dues. Your Honour by the grace of the exalted Government my financial conditions are now improved and I do not think there is any necessity now of taking the huge loan of Rs. 13 lacs. In spite of the failure of Peshwa to act up to his promise I did manage to procure several lacs of rupees by recent arrange ments, detailed above. I beg to claim, without any boasting, that part at least, if not the entire, of the conditions laid down by the Commissioner in his letter of 14th April, 1854, have been observed, and I am convinced that if the present arrange ment is continued for some time more all my affairs (loans) will be gradually and favourably settled without the necessity of taking any further loans. I therefore humbly submit that the stoppage of the present arrangement would render my affairs worse than what they were and as the Government bears no responsibility in this matter, they should have no objection in the continuance of the present arrangement. I have never asked as yet for any help from any officer. Un doubtedly however if I could procure a loan of 4 to 5 lacs of rupees from somewhere the loan which I have recently taken at 12 per cent interest could be repaid and if the Government by way of aiding and protecting my interest could give me on suitable terms a loan of the said amount I will be freed of my worries. The petitioner considers himself the well-wisher and servant of the Government and will pray for its prosperity."

While this petition of Kunwar Singh was still pending consideration, the Dinapur soldiers revolted on the 25th July,. 1857, and thus began a new phase in the history of the revolution of 1857-59 in Bihar. The sudden threat of the

Company's Government to remove the *Sarbarakaree* arrangement and their dilatoriness in taking any decision on the petition of Kunwar Singh could not but cause discontent in nis mind. This might have been one of the contributory causes for his assuming the leadership of the movement of 57"59 in Bihar. Tayler holds the procrastination of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Board of Revenue in this respect to be solely responsible for goading Kunwar Singh to join the movement. Explaining his viewpoint Mr. Tayler wrote: "Suddenly about a month before the Dinapur Mutiny the Suddcr Board of Revenue sent through me, as Commissioner, a peremptory message to Kunwar Singh that unless he obtained the entire loan within a month (which was impossible) they would recommend to the Government to withdraw from all interference with his affairs and abandon the management of his estates. Anything more ill-advised or ill-timed can scarcely be conceived. The effect of such a measure would' have been to throw him bound, hand and foot, into the power of his creditors and make him altogether desperate and this just at the moment when all knew he was being anxiously sought for as a leader by the Dinapur Sepoys. The message was necessarily communicated but I lost no time in writing to the Lieutenant-Governor pointing out the imprudence of such a step at such a critical time and begging him to authorise me to assure the old Baboo from himself that he should not be thrown over. In reply to this after some time a doubtful answer of the stereotyped character came to say that enquires would be made from the Board and the Lieutenant-Governor would see what could be done, or words to that effect.

This is a matter of the utmost urgency and at a most critical time notwithstanding that I, as Commissioner of the Division, had pointed out the danger if the same routine course of dilatory procedure was to be pursued (sic) as when there was neither danger nor crisis at all.

Ten days afterwards Kunwar Singh was at the head of 10,000 rebels."

Mr. Tayler was dismissed from his post, during the course of the rising, on the charges of inability to handle the situation effectively and insubordination to the Lieutenant-Governor. The

episode caused a long and bitter controversy between Mr. Tayler on the one hand and the Government, as represented by Mr. Samuells, his successor as Commissioner of Patna, on the other. Ever since his removal, Mr. Tayler engaged himself in writing a series of memoranda and pamphlets defending his acts and policies. The Government, in its turn, drew the attention of Mr. Samuells to these and asked for his views on them. In a long letter, dated 4th December, 1858, addressed to the Secretary to Government of Bengal, Mr. Samuells refuted the allegations of Mr. Tayler point by point and held Mr. Tayler's own acts of high-handedness and terrorism to be responsible for the rising of Kunwar Singh.

In a Memo., dated 18th August, 1857, Tayler wrote:—

"My successor may wish to have my ideas regarding Kooer Singh. A few days before the Mutiny at Dinapur I received a letter from him (Kunwar Singh) with his own signature promising to come after a certain date (a date I have since heard fixed by Brahmins). It may appear strange but I am strongly impressed with the belief that he intended to come, what prevented him from coming will probably form a matter of enquiry. He has since openly rebelled and opposed the State and so of his fate there can be no doubt but in my own mind I look upon him as a victim of circumstances and a rebel by compulsion. I can give much information on the subject which I do not care to write. I sent Azimuddin Hussain, Dy. Collector of Arrah, to his house leaving by night and without warning and no appearance of preparation could be discerned. His report (in original I think) was forwarded to Government. If anything could have saved Kooer Singh and prevented these disasters it would have been the inducing him to come to Patna."

On the contrary, Mr. Samuells asserted with great force and justification that it was precisely due to Mr. Tayler's own terrorising acts that Kunwar Singh decided not to come to Patna. Mr. Samuells wrote in his letter referred to above : [Q]The general opinion and belief is that Kooer Singh's decision was forced on him by, 1st, Mr. Tayler's improper treatment of the Wahabees in Patna, 2nd, by the indiscreet language used by Mr. Tayler. Could Kooer Singh have relied on

Mr. Tayler's justice and impartiality he would have appeared at once notwithstanding the derogatory threat; but seeing the whole system of hanging going out at Patna at the tigie, and the breach of all honorable engagements indulged in by the head of the district, Kunwar Singh in a moment of exasperation and in despair of being more honorably treated than others threw off his allegiance to the British Government. Another letter, which has been mislaid, in giving an account of the share which the different members of Kunwar Singh's family took in the rebellion, mentions specifically that, while others coun selled Kooer Singh to obey the Commissioner's summons, Hari Krishna Singh, who had from the first advocated rebellion argued the arrest of Wahabees and the executions at Patna as to why he should not trust himself there. The opinion that Kooer Singh did not obey Mr. Tayler's summons for fear of being seized on arrival, so far from being my supposition is very widely spread and certainly has probability on its side". It may be added here that the *'Tawarikh-i-Vfjainia* also supports the above interpretation of Mr. Samuells.

The rising cannot be attributed to any one of these factors only. There were complex factors, deeply rooted in the con ditions of the times, which caused it. The circumstances like those mentioned above might have precipitated it. In fact, the faggots had already accumulated, the flame was ignited by these events occurring just on the eve of the outbreak.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TRANSLATION OF A "SOOLEHNAMAH" DATED iith POOSE, 1221 F. (i8th DECEMBER, 1813)

"We, 3aboo Koor Sing, Baboo Dayal Sing, Baboo Rajputtec Sing and Baboo Ummur Sing, sons of Baboo Sahebzada Sing, *Maliks* of *pergunnahs* Pecroo and Nunnour and of sundry *talooqas* in Bhojpur, Behea, Punwarah, etc.

Whereas owing to diverse causes dissensions and quarrels have existed amongst us the consequence of which have been most injurious to our interests and therefore, with a view to settle all disputes, we have unanimously and each of his own free-will and accord have come to the following agreement, namely, according to the custom of the family, after the death of Baboo Sahebzada Singh, *Malik* of the *pergunnahs* and *talooqas* above recited, the whole of the heritable property of the abovesaid Baboo, our father, shall be recorded in the name of Baboo Koor Singh, in the Government Book of Settlement of the entire property as comprised of the *pergunnahs* and *talooqas* before specified.

1st.—The whole of the estate in *pergunnah* Peeroo, Nunnaur, *talooqas* Ameth, *pergunnah* Arrah and *talooqa* Balgaon, *pergunnah* Behea, with exception to the estate in *pergunnah* Behea to be included in the portions of Baboos Dayal Singh, Rajputtee Sing, and Ummur Sing and with exception to *manias* Khungaon, Bukrce, Keshopoor, Ekounah, Deeareea, *Asli* and *Dakhli, pergunnah* Arrah ; already registered in the Collector's Register in the names of Dayal Sing, Rajputtee Sing and Ummar Singh shall form the portion of Baboo Koor Sing.

2f*Z.—The whole of the estates in *talooqa* Athur together with Puttee Bhudaur *Asli* and *Dakhlee, pergunnah* Bhojpur, the whole of the *talooqa* Kaitha *Asli* and *Dakhli, pergunnah* Dunwar ; the entire Puttee Shahpur, Puttee Simurreeah, Puttee Suswah, Puttee Bhysaha, Puttee Dumurreeah *Asli* and *Dakhli,* the entire *mou as* Dulleeppoor, *mou%a* Koondhooa , *mou%a* Bhoutolee, Bureear Puttee, *mou ah* Hurna-tund, *Wirani* (uncultivated), included in *mou a* Dulleeppoor *Asli* and *Dakhli, mou a* Jodoopur, *Asli* and *Dakhli, mouya* Koosaha *Dakhlee* of *mouya* Jagdishpoor, together with all *Dhees* (high bank of a river or mounds) and gardens and *Muthurfa* (duty levied on trades and occupations) possessed by the widow of Omrao Sing and the produce of the jungle of Jugdeespore shall form the portion of Dayal Singh, for his maintenance *(Khorish* and *Poshish).*

yd. —The entire *talooqa* Bilawur *Asli* and *Dakhlee* niou a* Rampoor Gossaen *Asli* and *Dakhliee* pergunnah* Powarah, the entire *mou%a* Osaeen, with Hardeepoor, and Daputpoor, *Dehat Weranee Asli* and *Dakhli, niou a* Jogeebheen, Kurkheya, Kenor Dheree Munoo Dherrah, the entire *mou a* Kukyla, *mou a* Kootaha, and Rampur Kaith, *Weranee* included in *mou ah* Kukyla, *mou a* Rissaunah *Asli* and *Dakhli* and *mou ab* Balwyee Bakhlee of *mou%a* Jugdeeshporc together with all the *Dhees* and gardens and *Maturfa* possessed by Mosstt. Panch Ruttun, our mother, shall form the portion of Rajputtee Sing and Ummar Singh for their maintenance *(Khorisb* wa *Poshisti).*

4th.—Mouras Arrab, Phurroundah, Sohtee *Asli* and *Dakhli* pergunnah* Pecroo, *tnou a* Ahillah *Asli* and *Dakhli* pergunnah* Nunnaur, Puttee *moii'ity* Bahovanepore Dodhooppur, Morar Pattee *Asli* and *Dakhlee. pergunnah* Beheea, together with the lands in *mou ah* Jagdish pore and elsewhere cultivated by the aforesaid Mosstt. shall as here after be enjoyed by Mosstt. Punch Rattan, our mother, for her maintenance *(Khorisb* wa *Poskish')* for the term of her life. To the above division of property we assent unanimously. Therefore, it is hereupon agreed between us that Baboo Sahebzada Sing shall during his life exercise sole control over the property so specified and we will rest satisfied with whatever he may think proper to assign for our maintenance. After the death of the aforesaid Baboo, we four brothers and our mother aforementioned shall take possession of and hold the several *talooqas* and *pergunnahs* above specified. If any balance of the Government revenue should. . . .and any estate owing to the whole being in one Roll and recorded in the name of Koor Singh agree ably to the custom of the family should thereby be brought to sale we hereby agree so to arrange between ourselves that the loss shall be sustained by the proper party. Be it known that after the death of the said Baboo, we four brothers agree to take possession of the property in the proportion specified in the deed and after paying the Government revenue each shall enjoy the profits of his share *(Milkeaf)* and his heirs after him in perpetuity, no one interfering with another, and further altho' *mou as* Bukree, Kashopoor, Ekouna, and Dowreea *Asli* and *Dakhli, pergunnah* Arrah, have not been recorded in the collector's Book in the names of Rajputtee Sing and Ummar Singh, because of their being minors, to avoid future disputes we hereby declare that the entire *mou ah* Khungawan *Asli* and *Dakhli* pergunnah* Arrah, shall devolve to Rajputtee Sing and Ummar Singh and *niou as* Bukree, Keshoppur, Ekouna, and Dameerreah to Dayal Sing. This settlement shall be considered final now and hereafter. We, therefore, execute the *eqrarnamab and soolahnamah* that it may serve as a document when required."

APPENDIX II

SANSKRIT PRASASTI OF KUNWAR SINGH

Description of Jagdishpur and Dalippur and the family of Kunwar Singh written by Pt. Bhikhiya Datta Jha of Mangarauni (Darbhanga District) who was the family *Guru* of Kunwar Singh. Shri Bhikhiya Datta Jha wrote several works between 1844 a.d. and 1891 a.d. He died in T891PJ.

The language of this *prasasti* (eulogy) is not quite correct, but we are reproducing it here as it has a value of its own.

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P] This piece of work was collected for me by Ft. Vishnu Lal Sastri, a Research Assistant of mine in the Patna University, in the year 1955.

in

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APPENDIX III

LETTERS ABOUT THE PLOT OF 1845

No. 1—Letter from Koonwar Sing to Meer Abdoolah, Khajah Hossain Ali Khan, Mulik Kudim Ali, Burkut Oolla and Rampershad Sing, dated the 18th Aghan 1253 F. (1st December, 1845) requesting them to send the 4 lacs of rupees they promised in order that the men who have been engaged as sepoys may be paid their salaries for three months in advance and be off to Lahore.

No. 2—From do to do, dated the 5th Asin 1253 F. (20th September, 1845).

Telling them that agreeably to their advice and consultation he has represented to the Rajah of Nepaul the acts of oppression committed by the Europeans, that he has visited the Rajah himself who has promised to (the rest illegible).

No. 3—From do to do, dated the nth Kathick 1253 F. (26th October, 1845).

Stating that in his presence at Nepaul the Maharaja had received the gunpowder, etc. which were sent through Roop Chand Sahoo, Budree, Sheoprasad, Hanooman, Goodhur, Kooshee, that agreeably to their request he has prepared himself and will come down and erase the names and marks of the Europeans from Hindoostan, that the native bankers are ready to contribute to the expenses.

No. 4—From do to do, dated the 1st Poss 1253 F. (14th December, 1845).

Acknowledges the receipt of their letter informing him that four lacs of rupees are ready. Remonstrates against the delay which has occurred in sending it for the men who have been engaged to fight a battle with the Europeans. States that without money he cannot go to Lahore.

APPENDIX IV

TRIAL PROCEEDINGS OF HAREKRISHNA SINGH

From R. *J. Richardson, Esqr., Officiating Judge and Special Commissioner of Shahabad,to E. II. Lushington, Esqr., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. izz, dated the i-jth December,*1859).

Sir,

I have the honor to forward herewith the original proceedings connected with the trial of the rebel Hurkishen Sing, and to request the favor of your laying the same before His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, for his perusal and orders. .

Shahabad Special Commissioner's Court. Trial held by R. J. Richardson, Esqr., Officiating Judge of Shahabad and Special Commissioner under Act XIV of 1857 on the 29th and 30th November, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd and 16th December, 1859.

Government, Plaintiff

versus

Hurkishen Sing, son of Aydal Singh, Defendant, Prisoner committed for trial by William J. Herschel, Esqr., Magistrate of Shahabad on the 23rd November, 1859, corresponding with 13th Agrahun, 1267 F.S. on the following charges :—

Charge I.—Treason.—In having on the 27th July, 1857, and after that date on various occasions till the dispersion of his forces, acted as instigator of rebellion and leader of rebel troops in arms against the British Government.

1st—In having led the Dinapore Mutineers into Arrah, and instigated them to break open the jail on the 27th of July, 1857, and having taken a leading part under Kooer Sing, during the siege of the Arrah House.

2nd.—In having assumed command of the rebel army on the death of Koocr Sing, at Jugdeespore, on the 21st of April, 1858, and having acted as head of the Government, set up there, by the rebels under Ummer Sing.

3rd.—In having, on the night of the 24th November, 1858, while at the head of a rebel army, seized the person of Mrs. Samuells, in the village of Ayr, and carried her off, a prisoner, with intent to use her in securing terms for himself.

Charge IL — Murder.—In having, on the 21st April, 1858, at Jugdeespur, seized and murdered Jankee Sing, Dina Doss, Harryer Pare and Bhugwan Dass, and severely wounded Sobhee Doss, unarmed British subjects, peaceably engaged in collecting rents in Jugdeespore.

Charge III. — Murder.—In having, on the 23rd of April, 1858. cruelly killed Jowahir Raout, a peaceable resident of Jugdeespur, by cutting off his arms and nose, and throwing him into a ditch to bleed to death.

Charge IV. — Mutilation of Mahadoo Lail, a Government Police *Hurkundau e,* by cutting off* his right hand and nose. Prisoner was apprehended at *mou ah* Dineah, *pergunnah* Budhowl, *Zillah* Bcnaras, by the *Naib Cutwal* (Deputy incharge of Town Police) of Dussah Samdah on the 29th of August, 1858, corresponding with 16th Bhadoon, 1266 F. S. He pleaded not guilty to each and all of the charges noted in the indictment. The first charge, treason, is clearly and fully established against the prisoner, not only by oral evidence taken in this Court, but also by the evidence of witnesses taken at the time of the disturbances in 1857 as well as by documentary evidence adduced by certain papers found in the house which the prisoner occupied as his *cutcherry* in Jugdeespore.

The first count of chargel.—In having led the Dinapore Mutineers into Arrah and instigated them to break open the jail on the 27th July, 1857, and having taken a leading part under Kooer Sing during the siege of the Arrah House, is established by the evidence of the following witnesses: —

Bijoo Ram, a respectable banker of Arrah, who saw the prisoner Hurkishen Sing go out to meet the rebel sepoys, on their approach to Arrah from Dinapore, on the 27th July, 1857, and also witnessed his return mounted on a horse and armed, leading the said rebel sepoysi, into Arrah. This

witness likewise states, that during the seven or eight days' sojourn of the rebels in Arrah, the town was placed under the authority of Kooer Sing and Hurkishen Sing (the prisoner) by whose orders supplies were collected for the rebel army.

Ruggoobuns Lal, a *Mooktear,* who during the stay of the rebels in Arrah, saw Hurkishen Sing, the prisoner twice, once on the 28th July, 1857, when the prisoner, mounted on ahorse, armed, and attended by *Sowars* and sepoys, was engaged in plundering certain shops and houses in Arrah, and secondly whilst prisoner was occupied in superintending the distri bution of supplies amongst the rebels. On both occasions witness considered that the prisoner, whom he has known for five or six years, was *Sardar* both from his appearance as also the circumstance that the collection of *Riussud* was made by his order.

Sookhanund, a *Mabajun* of influence who was in his garden house, close to the road leading to the Arrah jail on the 27th July, 1857, when the prisoner, mounted on a horse and armed, came past towards the jail accompanied by a great number of sepoys, *budmashes,* and rabble. Prisoner was in the midst of this band and gave the order for the jail to be broken open, the convicts to be released, and all parties to make for the *"Dhoos"* (Arrah house, containing the garrison). Prisoner himself went to the Jail, and shortly after witness saw the released convicts, with the rebels, pass by *eu route* to the *"Dboos".* Witness is confident that prisoner was a leader for his men, from the fact that he sent for the *Mahajuns* of town (witness among the number) and demanded money for the payment of the rebel force, from the circumstance that no food, gunpowder, or stores were distributed without prisoner's order, his *"Hukoomut"* (authority) being acknowledged by all. Witness has known the prisoner from his birth.

Bhoopa Lal, *Naib Darogah* (Deputy to the Officer incharge) of the Arrah Jail, was at the jail on the 27th July, 1857, when the prisoner (with whom he has been acquainted for six years) mounted on a horse and leading a large body of rebels, approached the jail, on which the witness through fear ran away.

Shewchurn Lail, *Burkundau e* of the Arrah Jail, deposes as above, but states that the *Nujeeb* guard had not absconded from the jail when he fled after the *Naib Darogah* had done so.

The second count of the first charge,—"In having command of the rebel army, on the death of Kooer Sing at Jugdeespore on the 21st April, 1858, and having acted as head of the Government set up there by the rebels under Ummer Sing," is established by the evidence of the following witnesses :—

Ramyad Woja, a pardoned sepoy of the late 60th Regiment, Native Infantry, who joined Kooer Sing's force at Azimghur, in March or April, 1858. Prisoner was then with the rebel army and held the title "*Salar-jungf* (Commander of the forces) conferred on him by Kooer Sing. When Kooer Sing and Hurkishen Sing (the prisoner) left Azimghur on the approach of the British troops and got across the Ganges, witness reached Jugdeespore two or three days after them, on his arrival at that place he found the prisoner exercising the supreme power, Kooer Sing having died. From that day to the time when the rebels were out of Jugdeespore a period of four months, prisoner was the supreme authority, Ummer Sing being a mere cypher.

Hussein Bux Khan, late *Darogah* in the employ of Government who met Kooer Sing and his rebel army at Azimutghur *(Zillah* Azimghur) when they were fleeing from the British troops. Prisoner was then in command of the rebel army. Witness got to Jugdeespore a few days after the prisoner who made him *Kotwal,* under Moolier (Moulvie ?) Kyfyut Hossain, the Honorary Magistrate. After the death of Kooer Sing prisoner was the supreme authority superintending the making of trenches, hearing all reports, sending out general orders, in fact controlling everything and everybody, whilst Ummer Sing though called "*Maharaf* was a mere nobody and altogether in prisoner's hands. Witness recognizes certain papers found at Jugdeespore bearing the signature, handwriting, and hieroglyphic of prisoner, and sealed with the impression of a half moon, which kind of seal the prisoner invariably made use of whilst carrying on the functions of Controller-General of the Government set up at Jugdeespore.

Sooruj Bux Singh ..)
Jugdum Doss .. .. |
Ajaib Sing .. .. |
Dhoma Doss .. .. S- Certify to the fact of
Gopal Sahoo .. .. | having seen prisoner at
Gondowne Nonia the head of a band of
Tupsee Koomree rebels at Jugdeespur
Tadarath Pandey .. J in Boyshak, 1265 F. S.

APPENDIX IV

Margaret Frances Samuells who was caught in the village of Ayr (where she was residing) by the prisoner, accompanied by a large number of rebel sepoys. These latter would have killed her, but for the interference of the prisoner, from which witness naturally infers that he was a leader, and exercised considerable power over them.

The documentary evidence in support of this count (the 2nd of the ist charge) consists of certain papers marked i to 6 and A to N. These papers were found with others, by Mr. J. W. Garstin, Deputy Magistrate of Buxar (vide his evidence) mostly in a house which was said to be the *cutcherry of* the prisoner. The papers were put into boxes by Mr. Garstin (who recognised the general appearance of those in Court), nailed up, and sent in under a guard to the then Magistrate of Arrah, from whose charge they passed into the keeping of Mr. W. J. Herschel (vide his evidence) who, on the apprehension df the prisoner, selected the papers i to 6 and A to N as documen tary proofs, to substantiate, in part, the charge of treason against the prisoner.

The following is a list of the documents, with a brief description of each :—

ist.—*Ur%ee* from Mahomed Azimoodeen, *Jemadar* of *thanah* Arrah, appointed by Kooer Sing, setting forth his own service, demanding his salary, exposing the conduct of the *Mahajuns* of Arrah and containing other matters. This *Ur%ee* is addressed "to the presence, the incarnation of justice, of the venerable the Magistrate Bahadoor and Babu Hurkishan Singh Bahadoor". On the back of the *Ur%ee* are two orders passed in the presence and court of Babu Hurkishen Sing.

2nd.—*Rubicari* of the Sudder Court, in the presence of Baboo Hurkishen Sing, dated Wednesday the 5th Bhadoon, 1265 F.S. propagating a *dustur-ul-umul* (code of regulations for revenue officers) by beat of drum.

3rd.—*Rubicari* of the Sudder Court, in the presence of Babu Hurkishen Sing Bahadoor, dated Saturday, the 18th Bhadoon, 1265 F.S. threatening death to any *Zamindar* or others supplying food to or aiding the infidels.

4th.—*Rubicari* of the Court of Baboo Hurkishen Sing, dated Monday, the 22nd Sawun, 1265 F. S. sending out a pro clamation to those wishing *to* take the settlement of lands to come forward and also calling for the names of those parties who, having been in possession of horses, taken them to the English for sale.

(The hieroglyphic at the foot of this *Rubicari* is sworn to, by Hussein Bux Khan, as being that of the prisoner.)

5th.—*Rubicari* of the Sudder Court, in the presence of Babu Hurkishen Sing Bahadoor, dated 18th Bhadoon, 1265 F.S. Saturday, warning the *Zamindars,* etc., not to supply the ill-fated English with food, under pain of death.

6th.—*Rubicari* of the Sudder Court at Jugdeespore, dated 21st Asin, 1265 F. S. Saturday, in the presence of Babu Hurkishen Sing Bahadoor calling upon all true men to assist in every way, as on all sides battle was raging with the infidels.

(The *Rubicaris* nos. 5 and 6 are sworn by Hussein Bux Khan to be in the handwriting of Inderjeet Lail, *Sheristadar* of Hurkishen Sing.)

Document A.—Petition from Isree Pershad to Shri Baboo Sahib Rajkomar Baboo Hurkishen Sing Bahadoor, requesting the settlement of certain villages with him. The order on the back of this document is sealed with the half-moon seal alluded to by Hussein Bux Khan.

Document B.—*Rubicari* of the Sadder Court, in the presence of Baboo Hurkishen Sing Sahib Bahadoor, 22nd Bhadoon, 1265 F.S., calling for supplies of lead from the *Tuhseeldars* and *Eoujdary Court.* On this document are the words **Naib Hakim Allah'* (Deputy to the Supreme Officer) written by prisoner himself as sworn to by Hussein Bux Khan.

Document C.—Petition from Gowree Shunker, applying for the settlement of Sarungpore Nowadah. On this document are the words *"Durkhast—Mun oor"* (Petition accepted) written by prisoner himself, as deposed to by Hussein Bux Khan.

Document D.—Petition from Uzra Lail, applying for the settlement of Mouzah Bunyer. The order of this document is *"Bundobast Boojaleb Putoarrysy,"* (Settlement to be made by the Patwari or land steward) written in the prisoner's own handwriting, deposed to as above.

Document E.—*Rubicari* of the court of Hurkishen Singh, ordering an investigation into the case of Sumpel Rai, appellant.

Document H.—*Hukumnamah* (Order) to the *Tehseelee.* This document bears the impression of the half-moon seal before alluded to.

Document I.—*Rubicari* of the Court of Babu Hurkishen Sing, anent balances due to *Omlah* and superior officers, signed *Dustakhut* (Signature) Hurkishen Sing, in the prisioner's own handwriting deposed to by Hussein Bux Khan.

APPENDIX IV

Document J.—Petition from Goweree Shunker, applying for the settlement of Sarungpore in opposition to Byndebuksh Sing. Under the order on the back of this document, emanating from the *Ijlay* (office, court) of Baboo Hurkishen Sing Sahib Bahadoor, is the hieroglyphic of prisoner, deposed to by Hussein Bux Khan.

Document K.—Petition from Bundebuksh Singh anent the above settlement under the order emanating from the *Ijlay* of Babu Hurkishen Sing Sahib Bahadoor, is the prisoner's hireoglyphic, deposed to as above.

Document L.—*Rubicari* of the court of Babu Hurkishen Sing Sahib directing the *Hakim* (officer) of the three subordinate courts to provide a situation for Jugdum Dahai, with reply from Kyfyut Hossein (Honorary Magistrate), giving reason why he cannot do so, and Hurkishen Sing's reply.

Document M.—Note from Kyfyut Hossein, Magistrate to the Baboo Sahib sending fourteen *0 medwars.* This document, as well as document L, is signed in•full by Kyfyut Hossein.

Document N.—Note from Kyfyut Hossein, Magistrate to Baboo Hurkishen Sing, informing him of the despatch of some lead, with Hurkishen Sing's orders on the same.

The 3rd count of the 1st charge, "In having, on the night of the 24th of November, 1858, while at the head of a rebel army, seized the person of Mrs. Samuells in the *village of* Ayr, and carried her off a prisoner, with intent to use her in securing terms for himself, " is proved by the evidence of Mrs. Samuells (taken in this court), who states that prisoner, previous to her departure for Major Fowler's camp, asked her to intercede for pardon for himself and brother officers, and kept her servant as a hostage until an answer should arrive.

The 2nd charge, Murder, "In having, on the 21st April, 1858, at Jugdeeshpore, seized and murdered Jankee Sing, Dina Doss, Hurehur Pare and Bhugwan Doss, and serverely wounded Lothi Doss, unarmed British subjects, peaceably engaged in collecting rents in Jugdeesh pore," is proved both by the records referring to the murder, as compiled at the time, as also by the deposition of the undernoted witnesses whose evidence has been taken in this court. Soorujbux Sing, who saw Jankee Sing struck down by prisoner.

Gondowar Sing same as Soorujbux Sing.

Jugdum Doss same as Gondowar Sing, and was present when Dina Doss, etc., were cut down by prisoner's orders. Dhoma Doss

was present when Jankee Sing, etc., were taken away by the prisoner to the *Chouk* at Jugdeespore. The next day Lobhee Doss grievously wounded, came to witness's house, related all that had taken place, and died from the effects of his wounds 22 days afterwards. Gopal Sahoo witnessed Jankee Sing, etc., sitting under the *Chabootra* at Jugdeespore (guarded by armed men) after they had been brought from the *Tehseel Cutcherry* by the prisoner. Witness heard the same night that Jankee, etc., had been killed.

Ajaib Sing saw four or five dead and dying men lying under the *Chabootra* at Jugdeespore, on which *Chabootra* the prisoner was standing at the time.

A reference to the old records connected with this charge shows, that throughout, though the evidence was not directed to the convic tion of the prisoner, Hurkishen Sing, but to that of the village enemies of the plaintiff (Soorujbux Sing) and his witnesses, the prisoner now under trial was named as the principal. The Darogah's report on the enquiry, which he held at the time, convicts the prisoner, Hurkishen Sing, as the principal mover in the murder of Jankee Singh, etc., and as having consented to the deed. The charge being at that time directed against certain residents of Hetumpore and Jugdeespore, still to be found at their homes, was misused by the plaintiffs, and would not be acted on as against them, and the case was accordingly struck off the file, the remarks of the presiding officer being as follows :—

"It would be utterly impossible, after so great a lapse of time, and in the face of such evidence as that given in this case, to convict. The witnesses brought by the plaintiffs' *Mooktears* swear to 107 men, with hardly a variation either in order or total. They also do not mention present defendant (Narain Doss) and say he was not present. Narain Doss is released. No further proceedings are necessary with regard to any of the defendants."

In addition to the direct evidence against the prisoner, is the evidence of (noted before) his having been in command as working ruler of the rebels. With such power as prisoner is proved to have possessed at that time, the murder of the deceased in his presence, on the ground of their having taken Kooer Sing's estates in lease could not have been committed without his distinct orders and approbation. That the prisoner himself set the example by striking down Jankee Singh with his own hand is, considering the well-known cruel and remorseless character of the man, nothing to be wondered at.

The third charge, Murder, "In having on the 23rd April, 1858, cruelly killed Jowahir Raout, a peaceable resident o£ Jugdeespore by cutting off his arms and nose, and throwing him into a ditch to bleed to death", is established against the prisoner on unimpeachable evidence. The deed was one of revenge against the deceased for having pointed out to Mr. Assistant Colvin some arms belonging to Kooer Sing which had been deposited in a place of safety. It was prompted by the near approach of the Europeans to Jugdeespore with whom deceased was supposed to be in communication. The murder was a deliberate act of slow cruelty as the evidence of the following witnesses shews :—

Tupsee Koonnee saw Jowahir Raout being brought by some sepoys to the prisoner, who was standing on the *Chabootra* in the *Chouk.* at Jugdeespore, prisoner gave orders for Jowahir Rout's nose and arms to be cut off, which was then and there done.

Kishen Rout, son of deceased, was present when the prisoner ordered the nose and arms of the deceased to be severed, which was done (and the body was afterwards thrown into a hole).

Padarath Pare saw as above, and that Jowahar Raout fell down under the *Chabootra* alive.

Sheik Ramzan, having heard that Jowahir Raout had been killed, went to look and found him, with his nose and arms cut off, barely alive.

The fourth charge, "Mutilation of Mahadeo Lail, a Government Police *Burkundaue* by cutting off his right hand and nose", is established by the deposition of that individual, his maimed appearance and his recognition of the prisoner as the person who ordered mutilation in question. That the prisoner was on the spot at the time, in command of the rebel force, is a matter well known.

The defence set up by the prisoner is a rambling alibi, unsupported by dates. He pleads that he is not and has not been rebel, that there is enmity between himself and the inhabitants of Arrah, etc., owing to his having taken the *Baky-a-ticca* (Arrear lease) from Koer Sing, in whose employ however, he never was, that he saved the lives of two British subjects, w ., Mrs. Samuells and Jiwun Lail, a Seikh Sepoy, and that he has, since the commencement of the Mutiny, paid in his Revenue to Government and provided supplies for the Government troops.

The alibi set up by the prisoner is not substantiated by his witnesses, only one of whom (Daroga Singh) saw him in Bhadra 1265 F. S. dressed as a *'Fakir* (beggar, mendicant) at Ninee, a village in the Sarun district, about eighteen miles from Arrah. •

Sohun Lail Doorgah Dutt Sump Rai Bisheshar Dayal	Know nothing of the prisoner.
Sobun Lal Sain	Cannot be found.

The plea of general enmity on the part of the inhabitants ot Arrah, etc., is not substantiated by the evidence of the witnesses cited by the prisoner (Messrs. James Combe, Henry, C. Richardson, Syud Azimooden Khan and Moolvee Imdad Ali).

The evidence tendered by Mrs. Samuells is more damning to the prisoner than in his favor. He seized this Eurasian woman at dead of night, solely for the purpose of securing the credit of saving her life and making use of her as a medium for endeavouring to make terms for himself. Mrs. Samuell's evidence, moreover, is an addition to the already overwhelmimg proof which has been adduced that the prisoner was a leader amongst the rebels, who obeyed his orders even to the preservation of her life.

The story told by prisoner anent Major Fowler's having sent to him a letter in acknowledgment of his good services in saving Mrs. Samuell's life, is a falsehood, and proved to be so by an Extract from letter no. 177, dated the 28th November, 1858, from the Magistrate of Shahabad to the Commissioner of Patna as follows :—

> "The rebels under the command of Hurkishen Sing on the 24th (November 1858) moved to Ayr, where they seized an Eurasian woman, Mrs. Samuell, wife of former clerk in the Shahabad Collectorate. This woman they sent in from Bogra, seven miles due west of Jugdeespore to Major Fowler, commanding at the latter place, and through her Major Fowler sent them a copy of the 'proclamation', and desired them if they wished to surrender to come into Jugdeespore next morning and deliver up their arms."

The evidence given up by Gungakishen Tewary as to the letter' made over to him by the prisoner in Agrahun last year proves nothing reliable.

The deposition of Jiwan Lail, Seikh Sepoy, who was rescued, protected for four days, and then released by the prisoner the night

before the European troops arrived at Arrah from Buxar, goes far to show the power which the prisoner exercised over the rebels. Moreover, it is not apparent what motive the prisoner had in saving the life of this Seikh Sepoy except for the purpose of taking advantage of the circumstance as a set-off against, or exculpation of, his evil deeds when the fit time should arrive.

The plea raised by the prisoner of having paid in his revenue to Government, since the commencement of Mutiny, as also having provided *'Rjtssud £qt* the Government may be partially true, inasmuch as his shareholders might have done so for him ; but this does not throw one bit of weight into the balance as regards the prisoner's innocence of the charge brought against him. The policy which prompted him to pay his revenue and supply *Russud* was the same as that exercised by him in saving Mrs. Samuell's life, rz ., the intent to secure favorable terms for himself when his evil days should come to pass ; I have thus, at considerable length, in detail enumerated the proofs upon which I consider the charges, all and each of them, contained in the indictment, to be proved and established against the prisoner, Hurkishen Sing. It is now incumbent upon me to make a few general remarks on the conduct of the trial.

The prisoner has been all through undefended by counsel. At the commencement of each day's proceedings he was solicited by me to provide his own counsel, and I even offered to be the direct means of aiding him in this matter, but he invariably refused to appoint any *Vakeel* or *Moktear* to assist in his defence, stating that he would question the witnesses himself, and this he has done with considerable acuteness, as may be gathered from the proceedings. With reference to the oral evidence tendered in his case, I must observe that nearly every witness who has appeared before this court has given his deposition in the most straightforward and truthful manner. Some have undergone an unusually severe cross-examination, extending in a few instances to upwards of three hours' duration. There did not appear, on the part of the principal witnesses, any unseemly show of enmity against the prisoner, but withal a stern desire to bring him to the crimes with which he stood charged.

Generally speaking, I think I have seldom, during fourteen years' experience, come across native witnesses who have so boldly and yet so fairly given evidence as those whose testimony has been adduced in this case.

It now only remains for -me to state my conviction, that the charges noted in the indictment have been fully, clearly, and unimpeachably proved and established against the prisoner, Hurkishen Sing, and I convict him on all and each of them.

The fact of the prisoner having neglected or refused to avail himself of the General Amnesty, though it is certain he must have known of the terms offered in Her Majesty's Proclamation, at once relieves me of the necessity of pleading in his behalf («even if I had the slightest inclination to do so) on the score of that he saved, to serve his own interests, the lives of two British subjects.

The prisoner's name has been a byeword and a terror to every loyal subject since the first commencement of the disturbances in Shahabad in July, 1857. It is a matter of history that he was the miscreant who, amidst all the scenes of bloodshed and terror which occurred in this District, stood pre-eminently distinguished amongst his brother rebels in the perpetration of inhuman and barbarous acts. His word was law, and his acts were in accordance with his well-known ruthless character.

Finding, finally, nothing whatever in extenuation to induce me to recommend that any mercy should be shown to the prisoner, Hurkishen Sing, I recommend that he be taken from the Arrah Jail where he is at present in confinement, to the *Chouk* at Jugdeespore, the scene of his vainglory and his cruelty and that he be, there, hanged by the neck until he be dead.

The property of the prisoner having already been confiscated to Government, no further order in this matter is requisite.

In compliance with the instructions contained in letter no. 4569, dated the 20th November, 1858, from the Secretary to the Govern ment of Bengal, to the Judge of Shahabad, the original proceedings of this trial are submitted for the orders of Government.

R. J. RICHARDSON

Arrah, *the 17th December* 1859

O#g. *Session Judge and Special Commissioner of Shahabad.Under Act XIV of* 1857

APPENDIX V

STATEMENT OF THE REBEL NISHAN SINGH, SON OF RAGHUBIR SARAN (?), CASTE CHAWHAN RAJPUT, AGE ABOVE 60 YEARS, PROFESSION ZAMINDARY.

Question.—What have you to say ? Give a detailed statement.

Answer.—I had four cases pending in the Civil Court, Arrah, regarding *Mau as* Chinari, Kurtha and Sugaon and another case was instituted on the 4th August, 1840. My son Bisheshwar Singh was present at Arrah to look after these cases. On being informed of his illness I myself went to Arrah and sent back my son, Bishesh war Singh, to my place. While my son was ill at Arrah he was attended upon by Bisheshwar Dyal, the Gomashtah of the Arrah Kothi. I stayed at Arrah during the months of Jeth, Ashadh and Savan of the last year. Meanwhile the rebellious sepoys of Dinapore reached Arrah and looted the town. And they threatened the servants of Kunwar Singh to bring him there or they would loot Jagdishpur. This threat was not made in my presence and I state it according to what I have heard. Accordingly Kunwar Singh came from Jagdishpur to Arrah on the very day the sepoys had arrived at Arrah, i.e., 18th Savan. After two or three days the Government forces arrived and an engagement took place between them and the rebellious sepoys of Dinapore. Kunwar Singh was helping the rebels. I was also staying at my place at Arrah and went to pay my respects to Kunwar Singh whenever I was called for. My acquaintance with Kunwar Singh was an old one. I did not possess any arms. After few days, on the arrival of the forces from Gajipore (Ghazipur) or Banaras, Kunwar Singh along with the Jagdishpur rebels and I myself on foot (as I did not have any conveyance) fled from Arrah and reached *Moussa* Bagua. I returned to my home on horse which I took from Chaudhry Shib Sahay Singh, *Malik* of the village Bagua. After eight days I heard that some of my opponents had got me listed as a rebel and that a warrant had been issued in the name of the *Thanadar* for my arrest. And after eight days Kunwar Singh arrived at a place called Deohra (?) on the hills near Sasseram. Apprehending danger to my life because I expected my arrest by the Government, I took a horse and two servants and fled barefooted from my village, and proceeded along with Kunwar Singh to Banda. We marched from Banda after a few days' halt. I was ill and proceeded

(on a *palkij* to Kalpi. We stayed at Kalpi because the Gwalior forces had written to Kunwar Singh not to cross the Jamuna as they themselves were coming to meet him. After that 9 the Gwalior Company arrived and Kunwar Singh proceeded with them for the battle of Kundhapur (Kanpur). I also accompanied the forces of Kunwar Singh, but I had neither sword nor fire-arms. Nana Rao(?) and the rebel sepoys were defeated in the battle of Kandhapur (Kanpur) due to the superiority of the Government forces, and then Kunwar Singh fled to Lucknow and he was presented a robe of honour by the *Shah* of Oudh. He was also given a *Farman* and directed to proceed to his own country and to occupy it. The *Shah* of Oudh also gave a *Farman* for the district of Azamgurh, as well as twelve thousand rupees in cash for expenses. A cheque of rupees sixteen thousand was also given to be realised from Raja Man Singh.

After that myself and Kunwar Singh proceeded from Lucknow, reached Ayodhya, left for Azamgarh and reached there accordingly. The Government forces met Kunwar Singh at a place called Soanra (?), twenty miles west of Azamgurh. The Government forces being defeated took shelter in the fort of Azamgurh, and the rebel forces besieged it. The siege continued for twenty days and often some persons were killed from this side and *vice versa,* For two days they met in the open. One day a relief column carrying supplies and arms for the reinforcement of Government forces was proceeding from Gajipur and Jaunpore. The rebel sepoys inter cepted them and I have heard that five to seven hundred persons were killed from either side, and io (ten) elephants laden with tents, eleven camels and 92 (ninety-two) oxen were captured by the rebel. Myself and Kunwar Singh did not participate in this battle, but we saw the things which were brought. A few horses were also brought. After that the besieged Government forces pressed and the rebels fled from Azamgurh, and the Government forces pursued them upto Sheopur, a place on the bank of the river Ganges. Kunwar Singh along with some forces crossed on an elephant while the forces took to boats. I do not know the person who supplied the boats. I remained on the other side, and parted company with the two servants I had. I proceeded along the bank of the river for two to four miles west from Sheopur. There also the rebel forces were crossing the river and I also crossed along with them and came to Jagdishpur. On arriving there I heard that Shah Kubeeroodeen Ahmad, out of spite, as there were long-standing boundary disputes between us, had got my house and property attached and my children declared absconders. I, therefore, stayed on at Jagdishpur out of fear. I am running in fever ever since I left Lucknow, and I am too weak even to sit or walk. On Wednesday, eleven days back,

the rebel forces were at a place called Baraon which is to the north of Peeroo. Amar Singh also was there and it rained very hard that day, and Amar Singh left with his forces. I was left alone and I thought that I was too weak and that my survival was impossible. Then I called four *Ahirs* from Baraon and giving them rupees four which I had with me asked them to carry me on a cot to my place. They accordingly carried me to my place. I do not know the names of *Ahirs,* Bhunjun Singh, my *pattidar* (a sharer in a co-parcenary estate or tenure), gave me a bath and said, "You have been looted yourself, will get me looted also." In short, he did not allow me to remain in the house. Then I went to the jungle thinking either to flee to some other place or to surrender myself, on feeling little better. I was sleeping in the jungle with these two views when the Government *Sowars* came and arrested me.

Question,—Is Kunwar Singh dead or alive ?

Answer,—He died at his house. I did not meet him.

Question.—Did he receive a bullet injury ?

Answer.—He was not hit by a bullet but by a cannon ball and his right wrist was amputated. I gave this statement from what I heard.

Question.—Did any Raja or Zamindar fight Kunwar Singh while they were on their way to Kalpi and Banda ?

Answer.—None else opposed him except a certain Kamdar Maharaj in the Rewa territory with whom there was probability of a clash. The reason was this that the Kamdar had told Kunwar Singh that his army had done much damage to his territory and he wanted him to pay damages. But it did not come to actual fighting.

APPENDIX VI

STATEMENT OF A SEPOY NAMED RANJEET RAM

Statement of Ranjeet Ram 'Baghee', formerly a Pay-havildar No. i Company 40th N. I., afterwards a rebel general, and reduced to the rank of Subadar by Harkissen Singh, for being merciful to people inclined towards the British. He was captured in arms but having been promised his life by a Sikh Sowar, he was sentenced to transportation for life.

"My name is Ranjeet Ram, by caste a Gwalla. I was a Pay-havildar in 1st Company 40th N. I. . . . . My father's name is Purshan Ram. I come from Shahpore, in the *pergannah* of Beheea, *%illa* Shahabad. My age is 56, and I have been in the army from my youth. I mutinied on the 25th of July, 1857, in the Cantonment at Dinapore. On the morning of the 25th July, there was a parade, and the officers went to the magazine and took away all percussion caps ; at two p. m. that afternoon the sepoys got the order to give up all the percussion caps in their possession, when Seeta Ram, Subadar, advised them not to obey the order till the other two regiments in the station did ; then the sepoys were greatly perplexed, and did not know whether to obey their officers or not, but whilst they were hesitating a steamer arrived, and two guns came round by the "Bagh-ka-Surruk" to the parade ground. Presently firing was heard in the direction of the hospital, and all the sepoys assembled near the bells-of-arms, but when they found that the Kote-havildar did not open the bells-of-arms, they made a rush towards them. Just then the Major and adjutant arrived and gave the order to unlock the bells-of-arms, telling the sepoys to take all their things and to go to the barracks, some obeyed the order, but most of them mutinied, and went westward. Our first march was to Koilwar ghat, and our next to Arrah. I remained at the latter place two hours and then asked Seeta Ram, Subadar, for leave to go to my village, Shahpore ; he allowed to go, and I remained at home six days and then went to the Jagdeeshpore jungles. The day after I arrived, we went to meet the British force at Dullepore ; we were defeated, and ran to Jetwara bungalow in the jungles, some of the sepoys remaining there, others going to Baraun, and the rest making for Peeroo. Next morning we collected together, and with Koer Singh and Umar Singh at our head, marched to Nokha ; from this place we first went to Sasaram, then on to Teloutoo in the hills, and then through Akbarpore

to the fortress of Rohtasgarh. Continuing our march, we took the hill road *via* Raputgange and Daramudgange towards Rewah, but were not allowed to stay in that district, or even to pass through it, so we went on to Banda, and stayed there for a month and a half. Whilst at Banda, we were joined by other mutineers, among which were the sepoys who had gone along the Grand Trunk Road by Fattehpore. One Company of 52nd N.I. and 400 or 500 cavalry belonging to different regiments. The Banda Nawab and a retainer of his named Ood, quarrelled and fought, but Bawanee Subadar Bahadoor and Ramdeen Singh, Subadar, assisted the Nawab with our force, took Ood prisoner after four days' hard fighting, and handed him over to the Nawab. We then marched to Calpee, remained there one month (during which time we were joined by the Gwalior contingent with forty guns) and then marched to Cawnpore. The Gwalior force reached Cawnpore first and commenced fighting with the British ; we came a few days later and assisted them. After our defeat here we went to Lucknow through Shurazpore, and at Lucknow, we remained for a month and a half, holding the Martiniere College. The Begum was so pleased with us that she sent Koer Singh a very handsome 'Killut', consisting of two guns, elephants, gorgeous cloths and the sum of Rs. 1,000. From Lucknow we went to Fyzabad first, then to Soorujkund and then to Atrowlia, in the Azimghur district, at which latter place we fought and conquered the British force, following them up to Azimgurh, and then keeping them there till another British army came and drove us away. We ran to Munhear in the *%illah* Ghazeepore, fought again there, and lost from twenty-five to thirty of our men ; when finding it was no use fighting, made for Sheopore ghat on the Ganges, and got across the river the best we could, Koer Singh, Purshan Singh, Hurkissen Singh and those who joined us at Fayzabad being with us. We then went to the Jagdishpore jungles and remained there for sometime, till at length a British force attacked us and compelled us to retire. We did not, however, leave the jungles at once, but continued there fighting for a month or so, and then went to Gahmer, where we remained till we heard the *Feringhees* (Christians) had left the jungles, and then returned to it ourselves. Whilst at Jagdeeshpore, we were joined by sepoys of different regiments and our strength in *puccz.* sepoys alone could not have been less than 2,500. I myself was sick all this time, but know that for two or three months there was continued fighting with the British troops in different parts of the districts. In the month of October, when the British force surrounded the jungle we fled, and knew our case was hopeless. The greatest blow inflicted on us was when our stronghold at Berhampore was taken ; Hurrkissen Singh was the leading man among us ; he had charge of all the treasure, etc., when we left the jungles this last time,

we went through a place called Bullagaon to Kooath Khas, where we fought and were beaten. We tried to escape across a *jheel*, but were hotly pursued by the British cavalry, and went to Jukhnee, where there is a temple. From this we went up the Ijills, the east of Chunaree. I had an ulcer on leg, and could not always keep up with the sepoys but used to see them occasionally. I was taken prisoner in the hills about a fortnight ago. I am extremely sorry I have mutinied, for since I did so, my life has been one of misery and wretchedness."

(*Allens' s Indian Mail*, 7*th February*, 1859.)

APPENDIX VU

STATEMENT OF A SEPOY NAMED UCHRAJ SINGH

Deposition of Uchraj Singh, sepoy yh Company yd &egt,, taken in the presence of IF. F. *Macdonell, Esquire, Magistrate of Saran under special deputation with the Yield force at Arrah vested with powers of a special Commissioner on the i<)th May,* 1858, *corresponding with Jet,* 1265.

"My name is Uchraj Sing, my father's name Hargobind Sing, Havildar, caste Rajpoot, aged 35 years, inhabitant of Sheopore, pergannah Powar, zillah Shahabad, occupation servitude.

My Regt, was at Phillour in the Punjab, mutinied at that place and came to Delhi. 1 left the Regt, at Jhind with Sheo Sahay, Gollah, Muttoorah Chowbey and Ram Suran Chowbey, sepoys and went to Muttra and from Muttra came to Ajoodheeah, remained there for 8 or 9 months and thence I came to this place with Kooer Sing. I joined Kooer Sing at Soorooj Koond 3 cose from Ujoodheeah and remained with him till his arrival at the Ghat at Azimghur and on his crossing the river I remained concealed in a house for 10 days in the Deearah opposite Mauzah Gubrar, after the expiration of the 10 days I crossed over with 8 other sepoys (who were also concealed in the house) on a mahajun's boat laden with rice, opposite Mouzah Kurna and Ghurrees after daybreak and remained at Mouzah Peeroo, pergannah Peeroo in my connexion's house for one day and thence came to Jagdecspore.

In the fight at Metha which took place on or about the 20th May I was wounded in the right leg by a ball and kept myself concealed in the jungle till the day before yesterday when Ublack Sing, Sepoy whose residence I am not aware of but belongs to the 5th Company of the 3rd Regt, and another sepoy whose name and residence I do not know brought me to my house, that is, they threw me down under a tamarind tree west of my village and joined the rebel force again.

I know nothing of Kunwar Sing whether he is dead or alive. I have not seen Kooer Sing since I left Nagrah.

To my knowledge Deokee Doobey is the leader of the Rebel force, he belonged to *Doorea Macdown ka Pultan.*

I am not aware of his former rank but he is at present termed Brigade Major, his residence is not known to me.

Besides these persons Umer Sing, Nishan Singf Sheopershun Sing and Hurkissen Sing are leaders also. Hurkissen Sing and Sheopersun Sing joined Kooer Sing at Ajoodheea and Nishan Sing at Azumghur. I did not see Umer Sing across the river nor was he there. Ten days after my crossing the river I met Umer Sing, Jeodhar Sing is also with the rebels but I do not know whence he comes.

There is another man named Sudee Singh, resident of mauzah Bhreeah, pergunnah Bulha in Ghazeepore.

Uchybur Sing, brother of Sudeeh Singh, is also there. A person by name Antu Misser is a Subedar, of what Regiment, I do not know. Ramdeen Tewary, Subedar of 40th Regt., separated at Azimghur. Some sepoys of Crawford Burdawan and 40th Regt, joined him. I am not aware where they arc gone, they mentioned that they will not go towards Bhojepore.

Ramdeen Tewary was the General of a Gosein who was formerly with Nawab Jung Bahadoor, was captured by the rebels, has agreed to take command of the rebel force. His size is like that of the hill tribes but his nose differs, he is engaged in making cannons and is still with him, when I arrived I saw cloth wrapper round Nishan Sing's hand. I am not aware whether he is wounded or has a sore.

I was not present in the first fight at Jugdeespore but heard that 3 or 4 Sepoys were wounded. I was neither present in the second fight in which I heard 2 or 3 sepoys killed and wounded. The day I was wounded 8 men were killed, how many were killed at Jethawara 1 do not know, about 100 men must have been killed and 150 wounded, altogether these are stated by guess, the correct number is not known to me.

None of the leaders mentioned have been wounded. The person mounted on a white horse who was killed 4 days ago was named Chutterdarry Ojha, he belongs to the 3rd *Resallah* (a troop of horse) and came from Meerut.

The whole of the *Sowars* number about 100. There are only 2 or 3 regular *Sowars,* others are only mounted on horses. Of the regular *Sowars* one was killed in the first day's fight at Jugdeespore before my arrival, his name is unknown.

The person who mounts a chestnut horse with red dress is a sepoy, resident of Huldee, *purgaunah* Balliah, *tyllah* Ghazeepore. Salig Sing,

a sepoy of the *Kaina Ke Pultan* which was at Agra also wears red dress and mounts a chestnut horse. 2,000 or 2,500 men were with Kooer Sing when he left Ajoodheea to which he added more 2,000 to 2,500 with 2 horse Artillery Guns at Azimghur headed ' by Deokee Doobey, styled Brigade Major.

On the day Kooer Sing crossed the Ganges I heard he had only 4 or 500 men, the others followed him gradually.

Ten days after my arrival I heard that entrenchments were ready at Dalour, Dowah, and Dhunneeram Ka Pokhrah but I never saw them.

In the first fight at Dalour where soldiers were killed Kooer Sing had about 400 or 500 sepoys after which a large number joined.

In the fight at Jagdeespore there were about 2 or 2,500 men afterwards 250 or 300 sepoys ran away to the Hills but returned a few days after by small numbers.

A Zemindar whose name and residence I do not know I hear mentioned that if he got 1,000 sepoys he would go towards Buxar but to my knowledge he could not get the sepoys and did not go to Buxar.

The rebel sepoys of Shahabad do not belong to one Regiment, 100 are from one, 10 from another and so on, gathered together they consist of more than two Regiments.

Two Regimentshave been raised by Hurkishoon Sing —one named "*Hurjimg** and the other "*Fatteh-Jung** recruited from Shahabad, Sarun Tirhoot, Ghazeepore and Behar none belonging to the Upper Provinces. Five arms of different kinds are given to them and a few Rifles, they use the cartridge by tearing them with their fingers and not with their teeth.

The poor class of Brahmin and Chuttree, etc., of Dulespore carry provisions for sale in the camp of the rebels. I am not aware from where the Baboos get their supplies, we purchased our wants and got our provisions regularly without inconvenience.

The rebels are not short of ammunition, a few are only supplied who brought their pouches with them.

The ammunition which was plundered from the soldiers killed before my arrival was divided among the rebels ; the caps in their possession were brought by sepoys from Delhi and purchased by Hurkissun Sing at 2 Rs. per hundred and distributed to rebels.

I have not heard of any person making caps.

If Government proclaimed that the sepoys would not be hanged *if they* returned, they would all go home.

2,750 to 3,000 men were at Jugdeespore when I left the place they wander about somewhere one day and are together in another.

Ever since my arrival I have not heard of the capturing of the guns.

There was a rumour one day of the jungles being cut down and that 3 trees had been cut down but the rebels think that the jungles cannot be cut down.

There are no Seikhs among the rebels. The men that came with Kooer Sing received 4 Rs. each by 2 instalments. I received only 2 Rs., the last instalment because I joined him afterwards. A third instalment of one rupee was distributed in the jungle, when I was told that the men who carried wood sticks, would not be paid and so I was one of them and will receive nothing, this instalment was distributed by Hurkissun Sing himself and written down by a Kaith.

The intention of the rebels is to remain in the jungle and fight till dead because if they go home singly they will be caught and hanged.

To my knowledge these sepoys have murdered no women and children, the Butchers of Meerut only did, some also the Sowars I am not aware what happened elsewhere.

About 30 sepoys of my Regiment are with the rebels.

The undermentioned Sepoys are with the rebels :—

Jymungle Sing Havildar of Co. No. 1.
Ramsurn Chowbey Havildar of Co. No. 8.
Ram Kissun Sing Sepoys of light Co.
Hurkissen Goar and Dherbarry Sing Sepoy Co. No. 1.
Ram Khellawan Pandey Sepoy Co. No. 3.
Bully Ram Sepoy No. 4.
Ublak Sing and Chait Ojha Sepoy No. 5.
Sheobalak Singh No. 7.
Bakuo Sing, Jugroop Sing, Ramdaur Singh Sepoys No. 8."

APPENDIX VIII

STATEMENT OF SEPOY HURGOVIND SINGH

"Our entrenchment was at Dalour to the East, viz., on this side of the *nullah.*

Also one at *'Dhanee Raw ke Talau'* on the Durkoul Road (wrong, ought to have said south) north of Jugdeespore one kos on (west and four on south) sides of tank.

We all came yesterday from Dalour. We marched about 12 (noon). Sowars came from Jugdeespore and said the "Gora Logue" had come down to the place by the western road, so we started at once. Two guns on the entrenchment of Dalour left guns there for fear of their being taken (?). 500 or 400 sepoys were, we left 150 or 200, the rest came here.

Says, they all intended to bolt through the jungles towards Rhotas. 300 men at *Danee Raw Ke Talao* and that the Burdwan, Crawford and 40th Regt, were in the garden to the south of Jugdees pore. First we heard the army would come from Dalour, 2 guns were pointed in an eastern direction at Dalour. Of the Dinapore Regt, only a few came here.

General Ramdeen Subadar of 40th of Rawani in *filial)* Sarun dressed in black.

Salik Pandey Sepoy of the 28th (Strafford) on 29th Kalingar.

Now a sowar dressed in red on chestnut horse of the 5th Irregu- lars about- 25 or 30 men (afterwards denies this).

Chutadharee Ojha, resident of Bulleea of *Strafford Pultan,* leads them, on cream coloured horse.

Hurkissen Sing commands at the Dalour *worcha* (battle front) on chestnut coloured horse.

Nishan Sing not known to him.

Saw Kooer Sing on the road on the other side of the river, not since Umur Sing resides in the workshops (Foundry), Kooer Sing's right hand was cut off (he is) not dead. He was wounded by the bursting of a shell when crossing the river. Hurkishun Sing came by Burkagaon—rest came by Beyreah.

8 or 9 boats were on that side of the river. Sheopore Baboo gave no assistance, boats laden with sugar coming up from the East were seized by them in which they crossed.

Gowri Tewaree Subadar formerly *naick* (military rank corresponding to corporal) commands the whole force consisting of 1,000 or 1,500 men of whom only 600 or 900 are sepoys.

Says the *Istaford Ka Pultun* was at *Danee Ram ka Talao,* does not know who commanded them.

Umur Sing came from the Hills with 18 or 20 men. Umur Sing rides a white horse.

Each sepoy received 2 Rs. at Jugdeespore. All 35th were killed. No prisoners taken, bodies left where they were.

My name is Hurgovind Sing, resident of Pukree in Goldengunj, *%illah* Chuprah. Had a brother in the light Company 53rd, he was killed. I went up and enlisted in 53rd. Got 2 annas a day from Nana Sahib afterwards enlisted in the Crawford Regt. 4 days ago. Afterwards said he had enlisted in the *Idurjung ka Pultan.*

May, 10th

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE.

P.S.—Added that one Dulgurojun Sing of the 53rd commanded the 1st and 53rd and 56th Regt, at Belwar Ghat in Gorruckpoor.

Says a *Faqueer* from Gorruckpore joined the rebels and makes wooden guns for them.

Says that Sewder Sing and Qucha Sing with the rebels.

APPENDIX IX

STATEMENT OF MAHADEO LAL, BURKUNDAUZ OF THANAH DOOMRAON, DATED THE jist MAY, 1858

"Said that I got a letter from you (the *Darogah* of Arrah) to take to Sasaram on Saturday, the 29th instant. As soon as I reached Dhunganee another *Burkundau* Kureem Bux brought a letter from Sasaram and told me to return with his to the camp. He took mine and went back. I came by the Peroo road and on my arrival at *Mau ah* Rajapoor this morning, I saw a sepoy sitting with the zamindars and people of the same village. When they saw me they threatened me well and after tying my hands with my sheet took on in the jungle where the sepoys were. When I reached there, a *Sirdar* (Chief), whom I think was Hurkishoon Sing, for they were talking to convey me to him, ordered the sepoys who were round him to cut off my both hands and nose, tor my being a *burkundau*. They took my badge, letter and what I had, and one of them getting the said order cut my right hand and nose with his sword. I fell down but in a few minutes got up, fearing they might kill me and came from that place, but I could neither run nor succeed in getting road to come to Jugdeespore. I went towards the jungle, but a sepoy who had a little mercy in him told me that if I go towards the north west, I will get a road. I did so and came out of the wood near Mitha and thus came to Jugdeespore. I reported my distressed condition to the Seikhs and European soldiers and they gave me a *Dolee* (palanquin) to come to the camp. Yesterday at 12 a. m. I left Dhungaeen and remained in the night at Peroo *Chowkee*. This morning at 8 a.m. they brought me. There were four *mehtars* (scavengers) also in guard there. I cannot say whose servants they are, but they seem to be camp followers, I saw nearly 200 men sitting near Hurkishoon Sing."

APPENDIX X.

" ABSTRACT OF SUMMARY SETTLEMENT OF KOOER SING AND UMMER SING'S ESTATES CONFISCATED ON ACCOUNT OF THE REBELLION OF PROPRIETORS.

Pergunnah.	Mahal.	Survey Area.	Sudder Jumma,	Juinma under farming arrangement.	Present Juinma.	Remarks.
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C* or ..	0	R X CO H CO	50 H	1 0	0 0	
Sasaram ..	0	..	RH41 1	of 44X 0 0	1,454 0 0	y shores ates.
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TOTAL ..	528	..	1,2 .086	267 1 0	3, 0	
Farmed to Europeans *	5	of this Ummer Sing has 40 Estates. Sudder Jumma. R a. a. ,07 0	Rs. d d 8,7 4 0			Actual decrease of revenue to Government. R. d d 8 0 1-1-
to Mit t Sa l ervic to Bush t Ally ervic.	4					

(Sd.) H.R. MADOCK,
Officiating Collector, '*

APPENDIX XI

LEASE OF JAGDISHPUR FORESTS

"I have the honor to submit herewith a draft of the lease of the Jugdespore jungle estate drawn up by the Collector of Shahabad and similar one prepared by myself both in accordance with the views expressed in your letter no. 1052 of the 4th May, last.

2. My object has been to render the term of the lease as simple and clear as possible so that there may be no room for dispute. I have made the entire rent payable on the last revenue pay day for the fiscal year because a simple payment will be preferred by the English capitalists and because the scale of rent payable by the lessees, already more complicated than I should have liked, will become still more so if divided in *kists* (instalments).

3. I have thought it fair, as the lease is so short, that the Government should bear half the expense of boundary pillars.

4. Security is unnecessary as I have made the lease voidable on violation of any of the terms and it will always sell, it may be hoped, for one year's rent.

5. I have made the rent commence on the 1st May, 1863 and terminate on 1st May, 1883, in order to simplify the account as much as possible.

6. I have introduced conditions to ensure speedy clearance of the jungle.

7. I beg that I may be informed if the proposal had met with the approval of Lieut. Governor I shall be obliged by a speedy answer as it is of importance that the estate should be leased out without delay. At present the Government has to pay for any clearances of the jungle ordered by the military authorities."

(From the Commissioner, Patna, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, dated 7th *July,* 1858.)

Notice is hereby given that in accordance with the instructions of Bengal Government the lease of the Estate called Jagdispore jungle estate, situated in *pergunnahs* Peeroo and Behea, *Zillah*

Shahabad and estimated to contain 9,920 acres will be put up to the highest bidder at a public auction to be held at the Collector's office, Buxar on the conditions of the said lease and shall be as follows :—

1st. That the purchaser shall enjoy the lease of the* Jugdeespore jungle estate for the period between the date of his purchase and 1st May, 1883.

2nd. That he shall pay rent for the said estate into the Treasury of the Collector, Zillah Shahabad according to the following scale :—

	Annual rent on } of lands after deducting 1/5 of the area for roads and tanks, etc.	Annual rent on f of lands after deducting 1/5 of the area for roads and tanks, etc.	Annual rent on | of lands after deducting 1/5 of the area for roads and tanks, etc.	Annual rent on { of lands after deducting 1/5 of the area for roads and tanks, etc.
1	2	3	4	5
From date of purchase to May, 1863.	Free	Free	Free	Free
From 1st May, 1863 to 1st May, 1868.	As. 14 per acre	99	»»	»>
From 1st May, 1868 to 1st May, 1873.	R.A. 1.10 „	As. 14	„	•»
From 1st May, 1873 to 1st May, 1878.	2. 8 „	1.10	As. 14	„
From 1st May, 1878 to 1st May, 1883.	2. 14 „	2.8	1-10	As. 14

3rd. That he shall pay the rent for each fiscal year in full on or before the 28th day of March each year, ex. the rent due for the year ending on the 30th April, 1864 must be paid in full before sunset of the 28th March, 1864.

4th. That the Jugdeespur jungles estate shall be surveyed as soon as conveniently practicable with a view of obtaining its exact acreage, that half the expenses of the survey shall be borne by the lessee, half by the Government and that the lessee shall pay the share of his expenses within 3 months of the date of demand.

5th. That a ditch 2 feet deep and 3 ft. wide shall be dug by the lessor as a boundary line at his own expense on the exterior edge of the entire jungle but within its boundaries on the alignments pointed out by an officer, the Government may depute for the purpose, the earth to be thrown up on the jungle side and that such ditch and bank shall be maintained in good order by the lessee during the lease.

6th. That masonry pillars not less that 5 feet in height from ground and 18 inches in diameter shall be erected at the angles of the ditch or at such points as may be deemed necessary by any officer deputed by the collector, that the lessee shall thereafter keep these pillars in repair, that half of the expenses of the erection of these pillars shall be borne by the Government, half by the lessee and the lessee shall pay his portion of expense within 3 months of the date of demand.

7th. That the area comprised within the ditch and the boundary marks abovementioned shall be deemed the Jagdeespore jungle estate.

8th. That the whole of the jungle on the estate shall be cut down within one year of the date of the lease ; that J of the entire area shall be cleared of roots and rendered fit for cultivation within the first 5 years of the lease and a similar quantity in each succeeding period of 5 years so that the whole estate may be cleared and brought under cultivation within 20 years.

9th. The standard of measurement shall be on the English acre, the Government shall be at liberty to measure at any time the estate or any portion of it with a view to ascertain that the condition in clause 8 respecting the clearance of the portion of lands therein specified have been fulfilled.

10th. During the currency of the lease the lessee shall in respect to the Jagdishpur jungle estate fulfil all the duties and be subject to all the liabilities which the law attaches to the proprietors of land in the Bengal Presidency.

11th. He shall maintain one *chowkeedar* (watchman) for every 50 houses on the estate and shall either allow the said *chowkidar* 5 acres of good clear land rent free or pay him

a monthly salary of Rs. 2-8-0. For every 5 *chowkidars* he shall maintain one Gorait for the purpose of conveying information of occurrences to the *Thanah* and shall allow the said Gorait (watchman,* messenger) 3 acres of good cleared land as a remuneration of his services or pay him a salary of Rs. 2 per mensem.

12th. The lessee shall further pay to the Collector of Zillah Shahabad on the 28th March of each year a road cess of one P. C. on the rent due by him for that year.

13th. If the lessee shall wilfully violate any of the abovementioned conditions or fail to act up to them the Government of Bengal shall be at any time at liberty to cancel the lease and deal with the estate as it may think fit."

(From the Commissioner, Patna, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, 7th July, 1858.)

APPENDIX XII

LIST OF ARMSi;[1]] SEIZED IN SHAHABAD

Sassaram (Sasaram)	19841
Nousaugar	306
Mohunea (Mohania)	1,210
Jahanabad	299
Nasrecgunge (Nasriganj)	153
Jugdeesporc (Jagdishpur)	293
Bikramgunj (Bikramganj)	435
Jectowarah (Jitaurah)	124
Bugwanpore (Bhagwanpur)	84
Ramghur (Ramgarh)	49
Dawath	1
Buxar	1,093
Domraon (Dumraon)	1,654
Chowsah (Chausa)	202
Ramgarh	361
Roopsagur (Rupsagar)	369
Shahpore (Shahpur)	313
Dehree	1,124
Belowtee (Belauti)	490
Bihta	100
Nokha	599
Arrah	1,538
Kochus	448

I 3»°7I

(Sd.) A. MONEY
Magistrate.

[’] Arms include firearms, swords, gandasaa. etc.

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