FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN UTTAR PRADESH

SOURCE-MATERIAL

VOLUME III
Bundelkhand and Adjoining Territories 1857-59

PUBLICATIONS BUREAU
INFORMATION DEPARTMENT, UTTAR PRADESH

January 26, 1959

U. P. Advisory Board for the History of Freedom Movement Series

EDITED BY
S. A. A. RIZVI, M.A., PH. D., P.E.S.
M. L. BHARGAVA, M.A., D.PHIL.

RUPEES TEN

PRINTED AT THE SAMMELAN MUDRANALAYA, PRAYAG AND PUBLISHED BY PUBLICATIONS BUREAU, INFORMATION DEPARTMENT, UTTAR PRADESH

To all those who suffered in the Cause of Freedom

FOREWORD

The Advisory Board for the History of Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh published the First Volume comprising the Source-Material on the Origin and Nature of the Struggle of 1857-59, *on* 15*th August* 1957.

The material that subsequent researches brought forth to light after the publication of the aforesaid Volume, indicated that 4 *separate volumes on Freedom Struggle in 'Awadh', 'Bundelkhand', 'Eastern U. P.' and 'Western U. P.' could also be brought out. In accordance with this revised plan, the Second Volume on "Freedom Struggle in Awadh" was published on* 15*th August* 1958. *The Volume on 'Bundelkhand' is being published now. The remaining two volumes are intended to be published during the coming financial year.*

The present volume contains the documents dealing with the Freedom Movement in Bundelkhand and the adjoining territories. It unfolds many important aspects of the struggle, bringing to surface the popular nature of the movement, the role of many heroes who have hitherto been consigned to oblivion and in some cases not judiciously depicted. The organisational aspect of the movement is also reflected therein.

I hope this volume like its preceding ones, will be received with enthusiasm and will be found to be of much help and guidance to future researchers, in evaluating the true nature of the movement.

January 20, 1959. *Kamalapati Tripathi*

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

CHAIRMAN

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

MEMBERS

Sri MOHAN LAL GAUTAM, Minister for Co-operation, Uttar Pradesh.
Sri MUZAFFAR HASAN, M.L.A.
Sri A. N. JHA, I.C.S., Vice-Chancellor, Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya, Varanasi.
Sri GOVIND NARAIN, I.C.S., Chief Secretary.
Sri V. C. SHARMA, I.A.S., Additional Secretary, Revenue.
Sri KEHAR SINGH, I.A.S., Secretary, Education.
Dr. R. P. TRIPATHI, Chairman, Hindi Samiti.
Sri B. S. SINGH, Director of Information.
Dr. B. P. SAKSENA, Head of the Department of History, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
Prof. MOHD. HABIB, Prof. of Political Science, Aligarh University, Aligarh.
Dr. RAMA SHANKAR TRIPATHI, Principal, Central Hindu College, Varanasi.
Sri KANHAIYA LAL MISRA 'PRABHAKAR', Saharanpur.
Dr. S. A. A. RIZVI, M.A., PH.D., P.E.S. *Member-Secretary*

RESEARCH STAFF

Dr. MOTI LAL BHARGAVA, M.A., D.PHIL.	*Research Officer*
SRI RAJENDRA BAHADUR M.A., LL.B.	*Research Assistant*
Sri PRATAP NARAIN MEHROTRA, M.A., LL.B.	,,
Dr. RAM SAGAR RASTOGI, M.A., PH.D.	,,
Sri. SHRAWAN KUMAR SRIVASTAVA, M.A. (HIST., ENG.)	,,
Dr. MOHD. TAQI AHMAD, M.A , PH.D.	,,
Sri RAJ KUMAR, M.A.	,,
Sri GIRISH CHANDRA JOSHI, M.A.	,,

CONTENTS

Introductory		I–O
Jhansi and Bundelkhand		i-viii
Chapter		
ONE	The Outbreak	1–123
TWO	Concerted Action	125–205
THREE	The Peshwa in Action	207–280
FOUR	Defence of Jhansi	281–341
FIVE	Battle of Kalpi	343–405
SIX	Capture and Fall of Gwalior	407–468
SEVEN	Tatya Tope in Action	469–554
EIGHT	Tatya Tope Court-Martialled	555–596
NINE	Protracted Struggle	597–650
TEN	Road To Wilderness	651–694
Appendices	Genealogical Tables and Charts	695–700
Bibliography		701–710
Glossary		711–715
Important Dates		717–728
Index		729–767

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Pictures

	Facing Page
Rani of Jhansi (on horse-back)	i
'Karhak Bijli' Gun of Rani of Jhansi	28
Rani Lakshmi Bai's Palace	44
Bhanderi Gate—Jhansi	70
City Gate at the Mandsor Fort	148
Rani of Jhansi	224
Fort of Jhansi	324
Kati Ghati at Chanderi	420
Tatya Tope	496
Fortress Gate at Isagarh	688

Maps

Jhansi and Adjoining Territories	4
Fort of Chanderi	274
Defence of Jhansi	298
Battle of Kunch	372
Battle of Kalpi	380
Battle of Gwalior	440
Tatya Tope in Action	474

INTRODUCTORY

The history of the Freedom Struggle of 1857-59 in Jhansi, Bundelkhand and the adjoining territories develops to a great extent around the adventurous exploits and heroic deeds of Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi and other patriots of that region. As the fountain-head of superb courage and unfailing resolution, the Maharani inspired the people of the whole Bundelkhand with its adjacent territories to action and infused life in them to rise against the British rulers. Her furious and emphatic retort "*Mera Jhansi Nahin Dengee*" to Lang John,[1] when he visited her in 1854, appears to have become a watch-word for her followers and to have urged them on to defy tooth and nail the supremacy of the Britishers.

The flame kindled by the Maharani could not be extinguished even after her death. It, rather, reached the hearts of the general public. Tatya Tope, Firoz Shah, Rao Saheb and Martand Rao Tatya who played an important role in the struggle in this region also received a warm support to the cause of independence from the people in general. The protracted struggle and the successful guerilla warfare could not have been fought with astounding success, unless reinforced by popular support.

An analysis of their activities on the scientific lines is not possible unless all the important contemporary documents are scientifically arranged and made available to those who are interested in the objective study of the strug-

[1] Lang John : *Wanderings in India* (London 1859), Pp. 84-96.
"We then returned to the point—her case. I informed her that the Governor General had no power to restore the country, and recognize the claim of the adopted son, without a reference to England, and that the most prudent course for her to adopt would be to petition the throne, and meanwhile draw the pension of 6000£. a year, under protest that it was not to prejudice the right of the adopted son. At first she refused to do this, and rather energetically exclaimed '*Mera Jhansi Nahin Dengee*' (I will not give up my Jhansi). I then pointed out to her, as delicately as possible, how futile would be any opposition; and told her, what was the truth, that a wing of native regiment and some artillery were within three marches of the palace; and I further impressed upon her that the slightest opposition to its advance would destroy her every hope, and, in, short, jeopardize her liberty. I did this because she gave me to understand—and so did her attorney and my impression is that they spoke the truth—that the people of Jhansi did not wish to be handed over to the East India Company's rule."

gle. An attempt has been made in this volume to present some important documents which focus our attention on the true nature of the movement as well as the achievements of some of its important leaders and the people. The documents published herein have been classified subject and topic-wise and have been arranged, to the best, in chronological order. The following sources have, in the main, been drawn upon.

District Records of Uttar Pradesh

District Court records pertaining to the struggle of 1857, titled as 'Mutiny *Bastas*', were lying in a somewhat neglected condition in almost all the districts of Uttar Pradesh. These *Bastas* contain the proceedings on the trials of the local participants of the great struggle. Many of these trial proceedings, drawn upon for this volume, have yielded valuable new information on this subject and deserve further close scrutiny for a detailed study of the various aspects of the movement. While studying these proceedings, this fact should not be lost sight of that the people, who were known to have taken part in the struggle, were after their surrender summarily tried for treason, for siding with the Rani or any other revolutionary leader, or for the murder of one or the other British subjects. In the context of the circumstances leading to such trials, justice could not have been expected to side with the accused persons. Naturally, the defences put up by them proceeded along very formal lines and they all generally pleaded not guilty. Prosecution witnesses were in most cases tutored. Obviously, no historical conclusions based on truth can be arrived at, merely on the defence of the accused or the prosecution witnesses alone. But a close examination of the scores of evidence, cross-examinations and judgments against a background of the circumstances in which the defence was presented can go a long way in unfolding the historical truth. A careful analysis of the proceedings on different trials shows that almost no class of the Indian people remained unrepresented and the people from all walks of life, caste and creed, stubbornly resisted the foreign government and carried on a guerilla warfare against it. The Defence of Jhansi and the Battle of Kalpi testify to the above contention. These proceedings point to one glaring fact that different leaders maintained a regular chain of correspondence between them, in respect of the struggle. Such documents and papers as reflected their revolutionary activities were in most cases either carefully destroyed by the leaders themselves or by their relations for fear of being exposed to capital punishments, on the restoration of the British authority, if the possession of those papers with them was ever detected (though presumably many papers would still be in concealment with the descendents of those leaders). Some letters, however, escaped that fate and fell into the hands of the conquerors and were

presented by the prosecution as a proof of the 'rebellious' activities of their authors. A few of them are still on the file of the different trial proceedings. These letters are a mine of information for the study of the nature of the struggle, and throw considerable new light on the organisation of the movement and the mutual relations of the leaders who were fighting in different sectors not only in Bundelkhand but throughout a greater part of Northern India. A study of these letters lays bare the fact that the struggle was not entirely devoid of planning. Different leaders started their work in close harmony with each other. They were supported by the people and had full faith in the success of their aspirations. But if they lost, it was less on account of their failings or the so-called selfish designs, but more owing to the superior artillery, and military strategy combined with better resources, of the enemies.

One great hurdle that stands in the way of a thorough study of these proceedings is their 'undecipherable' or 'not easily decipherable' character. They were unfortunately written by semi-literate Urdu or Persian knowing *Munshis* with apparently no intuition or prediction of their scribblings being ever preserved and put to any use, after the judgments were pronounced. Their '*Shikast*' is horribly careless and hence undecipherable; and the omissions and mistakes of spellings of names and places have made the documents at places unintelligible and vague. The judgments and cross-examinations etc. recorded in English are also in most cases not free from this defect.

Correspondence of the leaders of the movement passed through either in Persian, Urdu or Marhathi. These documents abound in Oriental expressions that appear at places very peculiar and so worded that the spirit underlying these expressions cannot be fully conveyed in English translations. It is well nigh impossible to translate the true spirit of the diplomatic Persian expressions. Students of Medieval Indian History who are conversant with the English translations of the original Persian and Arabic texts know fully well how often the real meanings were misunderstood by eminent translators as Elliot and Dowson and Beveridge. '*Muarrikhan*' (historians) has been translated as 'Moor Khan'. An effort has, however, been made to decipher and translate into English all the relevant and important Urdu or Persian documents and every care has been taken to retain the true spirit and sense of the original.

Records In National Archives

Foreign Political and Secret Consultations preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, are also a very important source of information and some of the relevant documents, having a bearing on the subject, are

being reproduced in the present volume. The Foreign Political Proceedings of 30th December 1859, though enormous, yield very valuable information on the various phases of the struggle and recommend themselves to a searching examination. Home and Military Consultations too are historically very valuable e.g. Military Department Consultations, 2nd September, 1859 on the court-martial proceedings of Tatya Tope. His statement with his alleged signatures forms a part of these proceedings and has been a subject of great historical interest to the scholars for the last hundred years, posing before them some controversial questions.

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

U. P. Government Secretariat Records

The Secretariat Records Room Lucknow contains a *basta* of original telegrams and bulletins dealing with the day-to-day activities of the revolutionaries in Awadh and Bundelkhand. Many of such telegrams have been incorporated in this volume with a view to track the revolutionary activities of the leaders, Tatya Tope in particular. Due to the faulty receipt of some messages, names of places have in many cases not been correctly indicated and this has rendered the task of identifying those places more difficult. Abstract Proceedings running into several volumes are also a very important source of information for the students of contemporary history.

Newspapers

Some of the activities of the revolutionaries were reported in contemporary English and Urdu newspapers also and though the press was gagged,

yet their comments in a few cases are very revealing. National Library Calcutta has got a good collection of these newspapers and cuttings.

Parliamentary Papers

Further Papers relating to the Mutinies in the East Indies, presented to both Houses of Parliament by the command of Her Majesty, published State Papers, (Military), and Intelligence Records, form a useful and a very valuable original source of information. Since the reports and letters were generally despatched by the Officers to their higher authorities immediately after the occurrence of an incident or in some cases within a week or two, the events could not much be glossed over and the authors could not belittle or colour the activities of the revolutionaries much.

Other Sources

Parliamentary Debates and collections of secret letters also yield valuable information on this subject. Records on the 'struggle' as available in the Central Records Office Allahabad are also very useful. Diaries, memoirs and narratives of events by contemporary Civil and Military Officers and their relations and friends were generally written from a partisan's point of view and they attempted to glorify the activities of the British officers and soldiers. Minutest details of the sufferings of British officers have been given most enthusiastically while the chivalrous activities and organising capabilities of the Indians who were nick-named as *'Shohdas'*, *'Badmashes'* and *'Pandees'* etc., were generally suppressed. Published contemporary works in Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Marhathi, Bengali, Hindi and English are also very essential for a study of the account of the events of the Great Struggle.

Editing of the Excerpts

The editing of the excerpts, from the writings of different people, in a coherent form is very difficult. Proceedings were written and documents copied often in a most illegible hand by those, many of whom were half-baked in the rules of grammar and punctuation. Naturally some of them abound in mistakes of grammar and spelling of common words. The apparent fondness of the Europeans, be it prompted by their adherence to their own rules of phonetics, to present every Indian name in a spelling in a peculiar way has rendered the task of editing a bit more complicated. Same name has been spelt differently at different places in the same page in the majority of documents. Printed contemporary works are also, in some cases, not wanting in the above deficiencies. It may be pointed out here that the Europeans had their own way of pronouncing Indian names of persons and

places, which to the modern Indian reader may sound somewhat odd and ridiculous e.g. Bundelkhand was spelt as Boondelcund, Kalpi as Calpee, Culpee; Orai as Oraee or Ooraee; Rohilkhand as Rohilcund; Hamirpur as Hummeerpoor or Humeerpore; Datia as Dutteeah or Duttia; Charkhari as Chirkari or Churkharee; Chanderi as Chundeyree, Chundairee; Chitrakut as Chutturcote or Chutterkote; Kalinjar as Calinger; Garh Kota as Gudda Kotta; Mainpuri as Mynpooree or Minniepoori; Bakhshish Ali as Buxis Alli; Udai Pathak as Oodee Patuck; Karim Ullah Khan as Kurreamoolla Khan; Lalchand Nath Karan as Lalchund Not Kurrun; Gauri Shankar Awasthi as Gowree Sunker Abastee; Baiza Bai as Bauyza Byee; Ayodhya Prasad as Ajoodia Pershaud; Mohammad Ishaq as Mohomed Esak; Tatya Tope as Tantia Topee or Tanteea Topie; Raghunath Singh as Roognath Singh; *Welaitis* as *Wulaiytee, Vilayutees; Harkara* as *Hurkurrah* or *Hurkura; Ilaqadar* as *Ellakadar* or *Elakadar; Qasid* as *Cossid* or *Cossud; Nadi* as *Nuddee; Parwana* as *Perwunah* or *Purwunnah* etc. While presenting this volume an attempt has been made to maintain with some uniformity as far as possible, within a particular document, the spellings of proper names, places and terms as available in the original one. Where they have appeared to be too far-fetched or twisted so as to hinder easy comprehension, their correct and current Indian form has been given within brackets for the convenience of the reader. The edited headings invariably contain correct forms of Indian names of places and persons. Where a particular heading, or a particular name as available in the original document has been retained, care has been taken to give within brackets the prevalent form of the names. Where footnotes, as given in the original document, have been given the fact has been indicated by the words "Marginal note in the Original" or such like. At places only glaring mistakes of the copyists and slips of pen have been corrected but not at the cost of the spirit of the statement. Punctuation marks have been inserted where they were deemed absolutely essential to bring out the full sense. Where a particular word or sentence appears wrong, '*sic*' within brackets has been placed against it and at places the correct word has either been indicated within brackets against it or explained under footnote. References of the excerpts to other works on the subject which could not be included in the present volume due to the paucity of space, though some of them were very important, are given in the footnotes. Familiar and unfamiliar geographical names have in most cases been explained in the footnotes on the basis of the '*Gazetteers*'. Since the '*Gazetteers*' consulted were prepared in the early decades of the present century, their present adjustments owing to the merger of states and redistribution of provinces could not be given. Some of the genealogical tables have been reproduced herein after being checked by Sri S. B. Hardikar of Kanpur and Sri Narain Rao Tope of Bithoor.

In spite of the aforesaid difficulties the task of editing these historical documents could be made very easy owing to the valuable suggestions from the eminent historians on the Advisory Board for the History of Freedom Movement, particularly from Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saxena of Allahabad University who went through the entire manuscript very minutely for over a week at a stretch.

—S. A. A. Rizvi



Rani of Jhansi
(Painting on Glass in M.G. Hindi Sangrahalaya, Hindi Bhavan Kalpi)

JHANSI AND BUNDELKHAND

BUNDELKHAND

Bundelkhand is a great plain diversified by a series of mountains and hills, with numerous streams flowing into Jumna, among which the principal are the Pahuj, Betwa, Dhasan, Barma, Ken, and Paisuni. A great number of lakes has also been formed by damming the valleys. In the hills the country is generally wild, rugged, and overgrown with jungle, but the plains, though arid during the hot weather, are well cultivated. The most powerful people of Bundelkhand are the Bundelas, a tribe of Rajputs who established themselves on the right bank of the Jumna in the 14th century.

The British acquired a considerable portion of Bundelkhand from Baji Rao Peshwa, under the terms of the treaty of Bassein in 1802, and, on the extinction of the Peshwa's independence, in the Mahratta War of 1817, that potentate's sovereign rights passed into British hands.* The principal Bundelkhand States in 1857 were Jalaun, Jhansi, Jaitpur[1], Banda, Shahgarh[2], Banpur[3],

*(Note in the original).—"Baji Rao was given a pension and estate at Bithur, near Cawnpore, where he died in 1854; his adopted son Nana Sahib perpetrated the Cawnpore massacres in 1857".

[1] *Jaitpur*, Pargana *Panwari-Jaitpur*, Tahsil *Kulpahar*, District *Hamirpur*—This town, which gives its name to a pargana in conjunction with Panwari, lies in 25° 15′ N. and 79° 35′ E. at the junction of the roads leading from Rath and Kulpahar to Nowgong, seven miles distant from Kulpahar and 65 miles from Hamirpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, p. 177).

[2] *Shahgarh*, Tahsil *Bijawar*, *Bijawar State*—Situated in 24° 29′ N. and 79° 39′ E. This place and its surrounding country was made over to the Bijawar Chief after the Mutiny, the Raja of Shahgarh having rebelled. (*Eastern States*—Bundelkhand—*Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, 1907, Pp. 305-6).

[3] *Banpur*, Pargana *Banpur*, Tahsil *Mahroni*, District *Jhansi*—The chief town in the pargana of the same name lies in 24° 43′ N. and 78° 47′ E. It is situated about 2½ miles from the Jamni river and is connected by a good unmetalled road with Lalitpur, distant 22 miles, and Tikamgarh, distant 6 miles, the river being crossed by a causeway, and by other unmetalled roads with Mahroni, 9 miles, and Bansi via Bar 23 miles. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 235).

Orchha[1], Samthar[2], Charkhari[3], and many minor chiefships. Some of these were confiscated owing to the part taken by their rulers in the rebellion of 1857, as will be seen from the ensuing narrative.

[1] *Orchha* State was the most important in the Bundelkhand Political Charge of the Central India Agency. It was known both as *Orchha* and *Tikamgarh*, the latter name being that of the chief town. The State was situated between 24° 26′ and 25° 40′ north latitude, and 78° 26′ and 79° 26′ east longitude. It was bounded on the north and west by the Jhansi District of the United Provinces, on the south by the Saugor District of the Central Provinces and the States of Bijawar and Panna, and on the east by the States of Charkhari and Bijawar and the Garrauli Jagir.

The old capital town of the State was situated on the Betwa river in 25° 21′ N. and 78° 42′ E., eight miles by road from Jhansi.

In 1857 while the State was still under the Rani's charge, (her adopted son Hamir Singh being a minor) the Mutiny broke out. The Rani remained a staunch ally of the British Government. On the outbreak of Mutiny among the men of the 6th Infantry, Gwalior Contingent, at Lalitpur, on 12th June 1857, the European fugitives from that station made their way first to the Raja of Banpur and afterwards to Tikamgarh where they met with every kindness, being entertained by Pandit Prem Narayan, the young Chief's tutor. Captain Gordon, Deputy Collector of Chanderi, wrote, on July 2nd, to the Darbar thanking them for their kindness. After the massacre at Jhansi on June 5th, the Orchha forces overran the parganas of Mau-Ranipur, Pandwaha and Garha-Kota lying between the Betwa and Dhasan rivers, and also took Barwa Sagar. On 3rd September they invested Jhansi itself, Nathhe Khan, the minister, commanding in person; the siege was abandoned on 22nd October. In 1862 an adoption sanad was granted to Hamir Singh. (*Eastern States*—Bundelkhand—*Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, 1907, Pp. 1, 36, 81).

[2] The *Samthar* State was one of the three treaty States of the Bundelkhand Political Charge in the Central India Agency, lying between latitude 25° 38′ and 26° 2′ N., and longitude 78° 48′ and 79° 11′ E.

Samthar or *Shamshergarh*, Tahsil *Shamshergarh*—The chief town is situated in 25° 50′ N., and 78° 58′ E. It is 8 miles by metalled road from Moth station on the Cawnpore Section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The place was founded before the 16th century, but was made a place of importance by Chhatar Singh who rebuilt the fort.

Ranjit Singh died in 1827 and was followed by his son, Hindupat. In 1858 he became of unsound mind and was deprived of his powers, the administration being entrusted to his Rani. (*Eastern States*—Bundelkhand—*Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, 1907, Pp. 135, 137, 152).

[3] The State of *Charkhari* was one of the sanad states under the Bundelkhand Agency in Central India.

The State was a good deal broken up, but its various portions were situated between 24° 40′ and 25° 54′ N. and 79° 22′ and 80° 30′ E.

The chief town was situated at 25° 24′ N., and 79° 48′ E. In 1857 Ratan Singh the chief of the State assisted the British to the best of his power

Jhansi forms a portion of the hill-country of Bundelkhand sloping from the Vindhya mountains to the Jumna on the north. The rocky crests of the hills are bare and exposed, as elsewhere in this region, but their sides are clad with bush, and thick forests cluster round their bases. The northern portion of the district has a surface of black cotton soil, which becomes almost impassable after heavy rain, but in the summer is baked hard by the heat of the sun, and cracks into innumerable fissures. This soil is characteristic of the whole of the plain country from the Jumna to the south of the Tapti river.

JHANSI

Jhansi, the capital of a province, lay 142 miles south of Agra. In 1854, in the absence of an heir to the deceased Raja Gangadhar Rao, Jhansi was declared by Lord Dalhousie to have lapsed to the British Government, and together with the Jalaun and Chanderi Districts, was formed into the Jhansi Superintendency under Captain Skene.

THE RANI OF JHANSI

The widow of the deceased Raja protested in vain, but ultimately agreed to receive a pension of Rs. 5000/- a month, out of which she was

at the request of Mr. Carne, Collector of Mahoba. The Chief deputed officials to take charge of the Rath, Jaitpur and Panwari parganas collecting the revenues and retaining them on behalf of Government. He also sent 100 men and a gun to assist Mr. Lloyd at Hamirpur. When the ex-Rani of Jaitpur who was living at Jatara in Orchha temporarily seized Jaitpur, assisted by Diwan Deshpat, Ratan Singh at once sent a force and turned them out but not without a severe struggle.

In January 1858, Tantia Topi appeared before Charkhari and in March finally forced the Chief to take refuge in the fort. In the fort were several refugees including Mr Carne.

The Chief was ultimately obliged to come to terms and consented to pay 3 lakhs and send his son Kunwar Jai Singh to visit Tantia Topi, but refused absolutely to give up any of the refugees. Tantia Topi did not, however, leave after Kunwar Jai Singh's arrival, intending to insist on the surrender of Mr. Carne. The news of the siege of Jhansi, however, made him leave suddenly for that place. Meanwhile, the Chief managed to send Mr. Carne, disguised as a Bundela Thakur to Panna. The Chief was rewarded for his loyalty with a land grant in perpetuity of the value of Rs. 20,000 a year, a khilat, a hereditary salute of 11 guns and the privilege of adoption. (*Eastern States*—Bundelkhand– *Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, 1907, Pp. 207, 210, 238).

obliged to pay her late husband's debts. She considered herself seriously aggrieved in not being allowed to adopt a son to succeed Gangadhar Rao as Raja, appealed against the arrangements made for her support, and sent an agent to England to plead her cause, but without effect. Other grievances combined to render her hostile to British rule. Prior to November 1854, the slaughter of cattle was not permitted in Jhansi. On the country coming under British rule this restriction was of course removed, upon which the Rani and inhabitants petitioned against the practice. The matter was referred to Government, and the slaughter of cattle was authoritatively allowed.[1]

The temple of Lachmi, situated outside the walls to the east of Jhansi, had long been supported by the native rulers of the country, and an ancestor of Gangadhar Rao had made over the revenue of two villages for its support. When he died, Captain F. Gordon, Deputy Commissioner, recommended that this arrangement should continue, but it was ordered that the villages should be resumed. This was strongly objected by the Rani, and the case again referred to Government with the same result.[2] But before the resumption order could be carried out, the outbreak at Jhansi took place.

The Rani was thus ready to take any opportunity of gratifying her revenge, and being, like many other Mahratta women of rank, possessed of a masculine spirit, she was well-fitted to carry out her designs, and was ripe for rebellion when the outbreak occurred in 1857.

The garrison of Jhansi was composed entirely of native troops, consisting of a detachment of Artillery, a wing of the 12th Bengal Infantry, and a wing of the 14th Irregular Cavalry.

DISAFFECTION

In May 1857, a report was spread in Jhansi, as in many other places in India, that Government had caused ground bones to be mixed in the flour sold in the *bazars*, that cow's and pig's fat had been used in making the cartridges served out to the troops, and that two regiments of sepoys had been blown away from guns in Calcutta.

About this time Captain F. Gordon was informed that an adherent

[1] *cf.* Rani Jhansi's proclamation regarding cow-sacrifice.
The permission by the British Government appears to have been accorded to gain the favour of Muslims against the Rani.

[2] *cf.* "*Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*", Vol. I, Pp. 46-65.

of the Rani named Bolanath (Bhola Nath) used to hold long private conferences with the native officers of the Jhansi troops, who frequently visited the Rani's palace, and that some treachery was intended. No reliance, however, seems to have been placed on this information, and, shortly afterwards, the troops having used the "greased" cartridges without demur, confidence in the sepoys appears to have been restored for a time among the civil and military officers.

However, Mr. Scott, head-writer in the Deputy Commissioner's office, who lived near the lines and mixed much with natives, had much better information of what was going on, and placed his property in the keeping of a loyal native in the town of Jhansi. He persisted in avowing that he had good reason to know that a mutiny was intended, and *that the Rani and the troops were one*. His assertions appear to have had some weight, as great endeavours were made by the civil and military officers to ascertain the true feelings of the sepoys, who of course made great professions of loyalty, notwithstanding which a feeling of uneasiness arose, and three clerks of the civil establishment fled towards Saugor, but were ordered back and returned to Jhansi. At the same time the Rani obtained permission to entertain a number of armed men, as she said for her protection.

Whilst this was the state of affairs at Jhansi, the Chanderi District was fast getting into disorder.

THE CHANDERI DISTRICT

About 250 years ago the Bundelas appear to have succeeded in overthrowing the Musalman authority in that part of the country. The first Raja was Ramsahai. In the time of the 9th Raja, Ramchand, in 1764, the Peshwa wrested from the Chanderi[1] State the district of Surahi,

[1] *Chanderi*, Pargana *Pichhor*, Zila *Narwar* (*Gwalior State*)—Town and old fort in Narwar Zila standing 1,300 feet above sea level in 24° 43′ N. and 78° 11′ E. Population in 1894 was 5,073; 1901, 4,093: males 2,095, females 1,998. The town and fort are most picturesquely situated in a great bay of sandstone hills, entered by narrow passes, which in former days made the place one of considerable strategic importance. The whole expanse of plain enclosed by the hills is highly fertile, and contains five large lakes and numerous smaller sheets of water, the surrounding hill sides being thickly covered with tree jungle. The old town occupies a considerable area beyond the present city walls and is full of picturesque mosques, dwelling houses, and other buildings, most of which are, however, in a ruinous state.

Dukrani, and Balabahat, and in 1802 Raja Ramchand, being incapacitated by age and ill-health, went on a pilgrimage and made over the country to his eldest son, Pirji Pal[1], who was murdered the following year and succeeded by his brother Raja Mor Pahlad[2]. This prince was a debauched sot, and the Bundela *Thakurs* did what they liked and possessed themselves of the greater portion of the kingdom. Continued acts of aggression on the neighbouring State of Gwalior, for which no redress could be obtained, at last stirred up Daulat Rao Sindhia to hostilities, and his army under Jean Baptiste Filose took the fort of Talbahat. Raja Mor Pahlad who was hated and despised, fled to Jhansi in 1812, and a negotiation was opened with Gwalior, and at first Mor Pahlad was allowed Rupees 25,000 a year, but subsequently, in 1831, Jean Baptiste Filose, with the approval of the British Resident at Gwalior, gave two shares of the former Chanderi State to Sindhia and one to Mor Pahlad, who was henceforth styled the Raja of Banpur, from a town in his share. Mor Pahlad then proceeded to take possession of all independent *jagirs* in his share, which so exasperated

The old fort stands 230 feet above the town. It is entered through the *Khuni-durwaza*, or gate of blood, so called from the fact that criminals, executed by being hurled from the battlements above, were dashed to pieces at its foot. The only building of interest in the fort is a palace, but the ramparts are still standing, more or less complete. The fort is badly supplied with water, the principal source being the Kirat Sagar, a tank at the foot of the hill, reached from above by a covered way, but which at the same time formed the weak point in its defences, and materially assisted Babar in his assault upon it. South-west of the fort a curious gateway, the Kati-ghati, has been made through the hill side. The cutting is 192 feet long by 39 broad and 80 high, and in the middle a portion of rock has been left, which is hewn into the form of a gate, with a pointed arch flanked by sloping towers.

Chanderi was taken by Sir Hugh Rose on St. Patrick's day 1858. The fort was defended with great determination. The spot chosen for the attack was the ridge in which the Kati-ghati gate stands, and on which the roadway made for Baptiste's guns is still visible. The first attack failed, but a breach was at length effected. A reconnaissance was then determined on, which was carried out by Captain Keatinge, who went at night alone, barefooted, along the ridge and decided that the breach was practicable. On 17th March at 3 a.m. the Royal County Downs prepared to assault the breached bastion and after a hand-to-hand fight in which Captain Keatinge was severely wounded, entered and cleared the fort, which was then dismantled. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, Pp. 209, 210, 211-12).

[1] The correct name appears to be 'Pirthi Pal'.

[2] The correct name appears to be 'Raja Mor Prahlad'.

the *Thakurs* of Pali[1], Jakhlaun[2], Nanakpur and others, that they rose in a body, devastated the country, and then preferred their complaint to Sindhia, who decided that Mor Pahlad's one share should be divided into three, two of which were to be given to Mor Pahlad, and one to the *Thakurs*. In 1843 the worthless Raja died, leaving the remnant of his kingdom to his son Mardan Singh.

In 1844 Sindhia's portion of the Chanderi State was ceded to the British as part security for the payment of the Gwalior Contingent, and a Deputy Superintendent was appointed who also had criminal jurisdiction in the Banpur State. About April, 1857, Thakur Jhujar Singh of Nanakpur died, and his tenure was resumed by Government, and a settlement made with his heirs, instead of the third part being given to the Raja of Banpur, as appears to have been the custom according to the original agreement.

THE RAJA OF BANPUR

Upon this Raja Mardan Singh of Banpur sent for his heir, Jowahir Singh, invested him with a *pagri*, and advised him to collect his relations and retainers and rebel, as the surest way to induce Government to restore his tenure, on the same terms as his father held it. It also appears that the Raja was irritated by being refused certain honours to which he considered himself entitled. It will thus be seen that, like the Rani Jhansi, the Raja of Banpur had injuries to be redressed, and no doubt he had also the hope of regaining, on the expected overthrow of the British, the entire kingdom of Chanderi, the ancient possession of his ancestors.

During April and part of May 1857, the Chanderi District was in temporary charge of Zainulabdin Khan, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, a man of lazy and feeble character and unfit for any post of responsibility. Early in May 1857, Ganeshji, son of Jowahir Singh, *Thakur* of Nanakpur, presented a petition to Zainulabdin Khan, stating that his father was about

[1] *Pali*, Pargana *Balabchat*, Tahsil *Lalitpur*, District *Jhansi*—A considerable village in 24° 29′ N. and 78° 26′ E. lying at the foot of the Vindhyan hills. It is 14 miles south of Lalitpur, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road leaving the Saugor road at Ghatwar; and is similarly connected with Jakhlon railway station, 7 miles, and Betna, 6 miles. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 313).

[2] *Jakhlon*, Pargana and Tahsil *Lalitpur*, District *Jhansi*—A village lying in 24° 23′ N. and 78° 19′ E., 12 miles south-west of Lalitpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 267).

to rebel, but the Deputy Magistrate, with inconceivable folly, refused to receive the petition because it was not written on stamped paper. Ganeshji remained two or three days about Zainulabdin's court, endeavouring to get a hearing, but in vain. A few days after, Jowahir Singh and other *Thakurs* rebelled and commenced plundering. Lieutenant Hamilton took charge of the District on the 24th May 1857, and Captain A. C. Gordon, who relieved him on the 7th June, found the country in great disorder.[1]

[1] "*The Revolt in Central India*"; 1857-59, Compiled in the Intelligence Branch Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Head-quarters, India (Simla 1908), Pp. 15-21.

CHAPTER ONE

THE OUTBREAK

OUTBREAK AT JHANSI

Letter No. 292 *from Superintendent of Jhansie* (*Jhansi*), *dated* 3*rd June* 1857.

THAKURS OF KARHERA REBELLIOUS

Reports information having been received of an intended attack upon the town of Kurhera[1], by certain Pawar *Thakoors*, and the measures adopted for the protection of the town of Kurhera, and the prevention of occupation of the Fort at that place.[2]

ARTILLERY AND INFANTRY ENTER STAR FORT

4TH JUNE 1857

The European testimony on record regarding the mutiny, is a brief and scarcely legible note from Captain Dunlop. Concerning the massacre which ensued, there is none; for no European witness survived to tell the tale. The note runs thus :—

"To the Officer Commanding at Nowgong.

"Jhansi, June 4, 1857; 4 P. M.

"Sir,—The Artillery and Infantry have broken into mutiny, and have entered the Star Fort. No one has been hurt as yet. Look out for stragglers.

"Yours, &c.,

"J. DUNLOP."

[1] Apparently *Karera*, Pargana *Karera*, Zila *Narwar* (*Gwalior State*)—The headquarters of the pargana of the same name lying in 25° 28′ N. and 78° 11′ E., 12 miles west of Sipri town, on the Jhansi-Sipri road. The town lies at the foot of a hill on which the old fort stands commanding a fine view over the surrounding country. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer* Vol. I, 1908, Pp. 251-52).

[2] N. W. P. Proceedings—Political, 1857, Foreign Department, Nos. 94-96; Proceedings of 8th June 1857. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

This communication reached Major Kirke, by express, at eleven o'clock on the following day.[1]

OUTBREAK AT JHANSI ON 4TH JUNE AND AT NOWGONG ON 10TH JUNE

Deposition of Sewak Singh Kshattriya Kanburya, aged 30 years, resident Bamhinpur, Pargana Nilohi, District Salon, Profession—Service, Sipahi of Paltan Hewett, Regiment 12.

Ques : Which *Paltan* and company do you belong to ? Where and when did you come here from ?

Ans : I am a *Sipahi* of *Paltan* Hewett Regiment 12 Company I Right Wing stationed at Naugaon in Bundelkhand. I was recruited in 1842 at Lucknow and have been continuing in service since then. *When the whole country was in rebellion and Regiment No.* 52, *the Left Wing of our Paltan, stationed at Jhansi broke out on June* 4, 1857 and this news reached our *Paltan* Major Kirke, the Commander of the *Paltan* and Captain Scott consoled the officers and the soldiers thereof. We all took a solemn oath by the flag and assured the Major and the Captain. After this on June 10, 1857 when I was posted as an orderly at the Bungalow of the Major, there was a row in the *Paltan* in the evening to the effect that a Sikh named Basawa Singh who was a *sipahi* of the Ist Company took hold of the cannon at the time he was on picket duty. But Havaldar Major Ahmen Singh asked him to desist from that. Upon this, Mehtab Singh Sikh shot him dead and thereafter the *Paltan* broke into rebellion. The rebel soldiers then, taking possession of the Artillery entered the Mess court where all the European officers had assembled for meals. The officers rode their horses and marched to Chhatarpur at a distance of 4 *koss* from the camp; quite a good number of *sipahis* including my own brother Hanuman Singh who is present here, and myself accompanied them. Then all of us reached Mahoba and the European officers stayed there for two days. All of us started for Allahabad by the Kalinjar route.....[2]

[1] R. Montgomery Martin : "*The Indian History*", Vol. II, 'History of the Mutiny of the Sepoy Troops', p. 304, and Charles Ball : "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*", Vol. I, p. 271.

[2] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

COMMUNICATION INTERRUPTED

Letter from Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun, dated 9th June.

Reports his intention of proceeding, with 200 men of the Ist Regiment Light Cavalry, under Captain Cosserat, to the relief of Jhansee (Jhansi) the news from thence being very distressing; and that he has raised 100 men for duty at Oorai[1] (Orai). Intimates that the communication between Oorai (Orai) and Cawnpoore is utterly closed, and that the Customs Department at Duboh[2], are showing symptoms of insubordination.[3]

UPRISING AT JHANSI

Despatch of Offg. Magistrate, Etawah, dated 9th June.

.....Intimates the receipt of news of serious mutinies having taken place at Cawnpore and Jhansee, and of the recall of Lieutenant Cosserat and his Detachment from Jhansee.

In Reply to above the following message was sent :

Stating that the Lieutenant Governor has telegraphed to Gwalior for the recall of Lieutenant Cosserat and his Detachment of Etawah.....[4]

[1] *Orai*, Tahsil *Orai*, District *Jalaun*—The headquarters of the tahsil of the same name and of the district of Jalaun lies in 25° 5′ N. and 79° 28′ E. It is situated on the Jhansi-Cawnpore trunk road at a distance of 68 miles from Cawnpore and 71 miles from Jhansi. Metalled roads lead to Kunch and Jalaun, and unmetalled roads to Mohana, Hamirpur, Kotra and Damras. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 183).

[2] Apparently *Daboh*, Pargana *Lahar*, Zila *Bhind* (*Gwalior State*)—A large village situated in 26° 0′ N. and 78° 55′ E., the former headquarters of the pargana of the same name about 60 miles south-east of Gwalior. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 213).

[3] N. W. P. Proceedings—Political, 1857, Foreign Department, No. 133; Proceedings of 11th June 1857. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] N. W. P. Proceedings—Political, 1857, Foreign Department, Nos. 149 & 150; Proceedings dated 12th June 1857. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

DETAILS OF THE OUTBREAK AT JHANSI

Letter (No. A 317) from Major R. R. W. Ellis, Political Assistant for Bundelkhand and Rewa, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Nagode June 26, via Mirzapur, June 29, Monday, 8-25 P.M.

Accounts of the Jhansi Massacre from the evidence of a Sowar Mahomedan and of two *Khalassies* Bugwandass, Native Surveying Establishment and of one *Khalassie* of Mahomad Ismail, Native Surveying Establishment who were all four shut up in a fort with the Gentlemen and who on their release thence on 10th instant came to me at Mahoba[1] and related the occurrence.[2] I sent the men to Mr. Carne, the Collector, who also examined them. For some time since the Gentlemen had been in the habit of passing the night in the Fort, and spending the days at their Bungalows, Captain Burgess and his Establishment had their tents pitched within the Fort and everything was being put in readiness to retreat into the Fort, as soon as there should be occasion to do so which occurred on the evening of the 4th. Some few effected their escape from the place altogether. One Gentleman name unknown reached Burva Saugor (Barwa Sagar)[3], where meeting with a Native Surveyor of the Canal Establishment, Sahit Raee[4] he gave his watch and horse, and procuring a Hindoostanee dress escaped in fort; he was scarcely out of sight when two sowars who were hotly pursuing

[1] *Mahoba*, Tahsil *Mahoba*, District *Hamirpur*—This town which, from an historical point of view, is the most important in the district, is the headquarters of the Mahoba subdivision and lies in 25° 18′ north latitude and 79° 53′ east longitude, on the Fatehpur-Banda-Saugor road. This road is joined at the village of Kabrai, 11 miles to the east, by the Cawnpore-Hamirpur section of the Saugor road, and other roads diverge to Charkhari, to Lauri and to Kulpahar. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, Pp. 195-96).

[2] This sentence is not clear. Something appears to have been omitted in the original text.

[3] *Barwa Sagar*, Pargana *Jhansi*, Tahsil *Jhansi*, District *Jhansi*—A town in 25° 24′ N. and 78° 48′ E. on the road from Jhansi to Mau, at a distance of twelve miles from the former. Unmetalled roads run north to Dhamna on the Baragaon-Garautha road and south-east to Ranipur distant 22 miles. There is a large military encamping-ground on the road, half a mile west of the village. The great lake, which is the most striking feature of the landscape, lies a quarter of a mile east of the site. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 241).

[4] Apparently 'Sehat Rai' or 'Sahib Rai'.

him arrived there and recognised the horse; both Sahit Raee and the *Thannadar's* prisoners bound back to Jhansi, where they were still when last heard of. Lieutenant Turnbull was not so fortunate as, not having been able to join the Fort, he climbed a large tree; he had however been seen and was shot on the tree. From the evening of the 4th until the morning of the 8th the Gentlemen in the Fort kept good their position, the Ladies assisting them in cooking for them, sending them refreshments, casting bullets. There were 55 in number altogether, inclusive of the ladies and children, and they began to get very straitened from want of provision etc. Behind all the gates they had piled high heaps of stones to strengthen them and kept up defending that, one of the cannons which had been brought too near the gates was abandoned and it was only by fixing ropes to it in the night time that the mutineers were able to regain possession of it. Lieutt. Power was the first person killed in the Fort. The way he met his death was this:—

Two men, brothers, in Captain Burgess' employ, one (of whom) was his *Jemadar*, declared, that they would go out; they were told, they would be shot down if they attempted it but they said that they might as well be shot as stay there to be starved and accordingly commenced undoing the fastenings. One was shot immediately, the other turned on Lieutenant Power who happened to be near him and cut him down with his *Talwar*; this one also was directly shot by Captain Burgess. The only other person killed inside the Fort was Captain Burgess himself, who received a bullet in the head after having, I am told, killed no less than 25; all the natives spoke of his great skill as a marksman. *The mutineers at last having forced the Ranee to assist them with Guns and Elephants succeeded in effecting an entrance at two of the gates.* They promised the Gentlemen that if they laid down their arms and gave themselves up quietly that (*sic*,) their lives should be saved. The Gentlemen unfortunately trusted to their word and came out. They were tied to a long line between some trees, and after a short consultation had their heads struck off. Such ladies as had children had to see them cut in halves before their eyes. The Sowars, it appears, bore the principal part in all these atrocities. This took place in the afternoon of the 8th.[1]

* * *

[1] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 31st July 1857, Part I, Cons. No. 179. Pp. 2234-2237. National Archives, New Delhi.

Letter from S. Thornton, Deputy Collector, to Major W. C. Erskine, Commissioner, dated Samthar, 21st August 1857.

5TH JUNE 1857

You must I believe have, ere this, heard of the sad mutiny and massacre at Jhansie, but from my peculiar situation, where I am obliged to remain just like a Jail bird, I have been unable to write to you as I wished; besides there was a rumour abroad that the troops at Saugor and Jubbulpore had likewise mutinied and nothing was known about the fate of the officers in that quarter. I have only just heard that you are coming to Jhansie with some Madras Troops, so I hasten to tell of what has happened at Jhansie and of my own perilous situation here. During the first outbreak of the rebellion at Meerut, Delhi and other parts all remained tolerably quiet in our District, and every one believed that the 12th N. I. and 14th Cavalry at Jhansie and Nowgong would remain true and staunch.

It was not till the afternoon of the 5th June that they kicked up a disturbance at Jhansie and took possession of the treasury. On this Skene, Gordon, the Andrews and others with their ladies and children got into the Fort. Captain Dunlop who commanded at Jhansie was under the impression that only 40 of his men were disaffected, and that he would soon bring them round but he was unfortunately mistaken, and was shot by his men the next day while haranguing them. Lieutenant Campbell who commanded the Irr. Cavy. (Irregular Cavalry) was wounded and the other Cavalry officer, whose name I do not know, was killed, as well as Serjeant Ryley, Overseer of Public Works. Gordon and Powys were killed inside of the Fort after shooting several of the men who attempted to force an entry into the Fort. Mr. Scott and the two Purcells, writers, who were sent from the Fort to get assistance from the Ranee, were seized and sent by her to the mutineers, who had them killed on the roads. Tom Andrews who had also gone out on the same errand was killed by some men near the Fort. The other officers held out bravely for 2 days but as they had no gun or ammunition, or food, they gave themselves up after the mutineers had sworn most solemnly to allow them to go away unmolested yet they were pinioned and allowed to be killed by the Ranee's people in their presence in a most cruel and brutal manner, having no regard to sex or age. Skene,

I hear, was cut down by Bukshish Ullie (Bakhshish Ali) our own Jail *Darogha* and Saleh Mahomed, the Dispensary Native Doctor, is also said to have taken an active part against us. I send you a list of those killed at Jhansie. Mr. Crawford, one of the Jhansie clerks, was the only person who escaped from Jhansie, and is now here. It is the general impression that the mutineers after killing some of their own officers and plundering the town, were going off, and *it was only at the instigation of the Jhansie Ranee with the object of her* obtaining possession of Jhansie state that they attacked the Fort the next day together with other armed men furnished by her. The town people are said to have also joined. For this act the mutineers (are) said to have received Rs. 35,000 in cash, 2 elephants and 5 horses from the Ranee. She has now raised a body of about 14,000 men and taken out 2 guns which were formerly buried within the Fort and of which nothing was known to our officers. I am not certain whether she intends to make any resistance when our troops come to Jhansie, but this far I do know that her new undisciplined rabble will not hold out long against us.

OUTBREAK WIDESPREAD

During the outbreak I was at Mow[1] (in Jhansie) and did not hear of it till the 7th June. I immediately exerted myself to make every possible arrangement for the protection of my own district and was greatly assisted by C. Andrews who had come over only a few days before from his brother at Jhansie, but it was impossible at once to raise a body of men on whom any reliance could be placed and our Police were not much better; besides a Detachment of the 14th Irregular Cavalry had that day come from Nowgong and encamped 8 miles from Mow. I then resolved

[1] *Mau*, Tahsil *Mau*, District *Jhansi*—The headquarters of the tahsil is situated in 25° 15′ N. and 79° 9′ E. at a distance of 39 miles from Jhansi, on the Jhansi-Nowgong road. Metalled roads run northwards to Gursarai and southwards to Tikamgarh, while unmetalled roads connect it with Garautha via Markuan, and with Ghat Lahchura. The town is usually known as Mau-Ranipur from the town of Ranipur situated about 4 miles to the west, and lies close to the confluence of the Suprar and Sukhnai nadis. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 300).

on going over to Goorserai[1] (Gur Sarai) for assistance but on our arrival there, were disappointed in our expectations. The Chief made several excuses and did not even send the gun and men for which Gordon had written to him. He was also afraid of affording us any shelter in his Fort, and I am sure had we remained there he would have given us up to the troops, which subsequently passed thro' (through) Goorserai. On the 10th we left Goorserai and went over to Gurrotha[2] (Garautha) where we did our utmost to raise up a body of Boondelah (Bundela) *Thakoors*, but could not muster a sufficient number and our own Police and *Tuhseelee Chuprassees* (*Tahsil Chaprasis*) were not inclined to assist us. They even refused to give out any money from the treasury without the orders of the Delhie king from whom they said they had received a *Shooka*. Seeing how affairs were in the District and that all our own officers were killed at Jhansie, and that sowars had also been sent out to kill us, there appeared no use of our remaining any longer there. We consequently came over to Sumpter (Samthar) where we were received in a friendly manner. The Raja himself is said to be half-mad and has been kept under restriction in the Fort at Umrah for the last 6 months. Since then his Ranee had been conducting the affairs of the state but a few days ago she was put aside and her eldest son, a boy of 14 years of age, has been made to assume the nominal control. This has created internal dissensions in the state and we do not feel ourselves safe at all here. Had the Raja been here we should have been well off in every respect. We are put to great straits and can obtain no assistance. A small building within the Fort is all that has been given us

[1] *Gursarai*, Tahsil *Garautha*, District *Jhansi*—A town lying in 25° 37′ N. and 79° 12′ E. on the road from Mau to Punchh at a distance of 40 miles from Jhansi. A metalled road connects it with Garautha, a distance of 8 miles, and unmetalled roads with Moth, Chirgaon and Saividnagar. The place lies on a level watershed between the Betwa and the Dhasan. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 263).

[2] *Garautha*, Tahsil *Garautha*, District *Jhansi*—This village, which gives its name to the tahsil, whose headquarters it is, lies in 25° 35′ N. and 79° 19′ E. on the banks of the Lakheri Nala, about seven miles from the Dhasan river. It is connected with Jhansi by a partially metalled road, which leaves the trunk road from Cawnpore to Jhansi at Baragaon and continues across the district in an easterly direction as far as Garautha. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 256).

without any eating or drinking, and we are obliged to live in disguise in Native habit. The little money that we brought with us has been expended. Both my houses at Mow and Gurrotha have been burnt down and plundered. I might have saved a portion of my property, but I preferred sacrificing it to conveying it away elsewhere, beforehand, so as to create prematurely any alarm of leaving my post till the last moment. Situated as we are we should feel obliged if you could address a *Khureeta* (*Kharita*) to the Sumpter (Samthar) Ranee to afford us every assistance and make some arrangement for sending us quickly over to Saugor or else wherever you might be. Mr. Scott, a younger brother of Mr. A. Scott, who was a *Patrol* in the Chundeyree (Chanderi) District made his escape here in the disguise of a *Fakeer*, and his wife and sister-in-law with 2 children have since been sent over by the Banpore Chief, who had taken them under his protection.

RAJA BANPUR REVOLTS

It is most strange that this very Banpore man who did such eminent service in cutting up the Contingent which had mutinied at Lullutpore[1] (Lalitpur) has since turned against us. At least so I hear—how far it is correct I cannot say. The Goorserai Chief has taken possession of Jaloun and we can hold him personally responsible for it.

ORAI REVOLTS

The troops at Ooraie (Orai) had likewise mutinied soon after, and I am not sure about the fate of all the officers there, but I hear that Brown has made his escape to Agra, and Lamb, Passanah and Griffiths with some others are still at Jaloun. I have not however been able to hold any communication with any of them. The Goorserai Chief

[1] *Lalitpur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Lalitpur*, District *Jhansi*—The chief town and administrative headquarters of the sub-division of the same name lie in 24° 42′ N. and 78° 28′ E., on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. It is the largest and in fact the only important town between Jhansi and Saugor, with which it is connected by a provincial road, and from which it is distant 57 and 64 miles respectively. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 287).

wrote to me some time ago that he had raised 17,000 men. Though outwardly well-disposed towards us, yet he told me plainly that none of them wished for the British rule. Even when I asked him for assistance and reminded him that you were still at Jubulpore and would hold him responsible he said derisively 'Where's the Sahib Commissioner now ? He too has been killed or run away elsewhere and there is no longer any *Sirkaree Umuldaree* (*Sarkari Amaldari*)'[1]. So from this alone you can perceive what reliance can be placed in any of them.

CLEVERNESS OF JHANSI REVOLUTIONARIES

I am sure had the least precautionary measures been taken at Jhansie and even the local Corps for which the Lieutenant Governor had given his sanction been raised the catastrophe at Jhansie might have been averted. But Skene and Gordon and the other officers firmly believed that the men at Jhansie would remain true, and were not disposed to adopt any measures which might create any unnecessary alarm, so Gordon wrote and told me; but from information which I had received from other sources I warned Gordon against placing any implicit reliance in any of them. It was a notorious fact that the 14th Irregular Cavalry and 12th Native Infantry both at Jhansie and Nowgong had their noctturnal meetings, concocting this mutiny, the sowars were most of them Skinners bigoted Mussalmans of Delhi and were considered the ring leaders. Several bungalows had also first been burnt down at both places but still our officers would not believe that it was the work of the sepoys and the sowars, which in reality it was. Now Jhansie is a mass of ruins. All the remaining houses with (the) exception of the large Agency *Kothee* have been burnt and the prisoners who were released the very next day after the mutiny completed the destruction of public and private property. Some of them even amused themselves by driving about in *Buggies*, Carriages all over the Cantonment. The office records were taken out and made a bonfire of in the open *maidan.* The Detachment at Nowgong mutinied about the same time. Captain Barlow of the 12th

[1] British rule.

I saw only 3 days before. I don't know what has become of them all, but Moulvee Sudurooddeen (Maulvi Sadr-Uddin) of this place showed me a certificate from which it would appear that he assisted Lieutenant Jackson, the Adjutant Major Kirke's son and a Mr. Kerchiff in making their escape thro' (through) Adjygurh (Ajaigarh)[1] to Nagode. The Nowgong portion of the troops passed thro' (through) Gurrotha and Goorserai en route to Cawnpore. Erich[2] was plundered by them. Some of the Saugor sowars passed through Mote[3] some days ago; they were in a sad state. Some say that their Native officers remained true and would not join them. Such indeed was the exaggerated and gloomy state of affairs every where some time back that all the Natives firmly believed that the British rule was gone for ever. When I heard of the arrival of British troops at Cawnpore I managed with some difficulty to send a letter to the commanding officer there. I enclose you

[1] The *Ajaigarh* State was composed of two tracts, one surrounding the chief town, the other lying to the south of it near Maihar. The former tract, which had an area of about 258 square miles, was situated between 24° 45′ and 25° 2′ N., and 80° 4′ and 80° 32′ E., the southern tract with an area of 513 between 24° 4′ and 24° 45′ N., and 79° 56′ and 80° 38′ E., giving a total area of 771 square miles.

Chief town of the State situated at the foot of the old fort in 24° 54′ N., and 80° 18′ E.

In 1853 Bijai Singh ascended the throne of the state but died two years later. There being no direct heirs, the State was held to have escheated to the British Government. While the matter was under reference to the Court of Directors, the Mutiny broke out. During the Mutiny the Rani sent two guns, 200 matchlock men and some cavalry to assist Mr. Chester, Collector of Banda. The Ajaigarh troops made themselves very useful in feeding the police chaukis of the town, and their presence (especially of the guns) served to keep our Native Infantry detachment in awe and did good service in restoring confidence to the town people. (*Eastern States*—Bundelkhand—*Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, 1907, Pp. 245, 249, 262).

[2] *Erachh*, (*Erichh* or *Irrich*), Tahsil *Moth*, District *Jhansi*—A town lying in 25° 47′ N. and 79° 7′ E. situated on the right bank of the Betwa, which is here crossed by a good ferry at a distance of 42 miles from Jhansi on the metalled road from Gursarai to Punchh. Other roads run south to Baghaira and Bangra with branches leading to Chirgaon and north to Dhikoli. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 254).

[3] *Moth*, Tahsil *Moth*, District *Jhansi*—The headquarters of the tahsil of the same name lies in 25° 45′ N. and 78′ 78′ E., at a distance of 32 miles from Jhansi on the Cawnpore Trunk road. Other roads connect it with Gursarai, Bhander and Punchh. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 307).

copy of his reply. Of course if there's (there is) any likelihood of your coming soon to Jhansie and affording us relief we shall wait here pending your orders or join you at once if any arrangement can be made. But we are really in a very unsafe and uncomfortable state here, and would beg of your losing no time in writing to the Sumpter (Samthar) people to ensure our safety.

Will you kindly give us all the news of Saugor etc. and when we may expect you in this quarter. Our *daks* were stopped since the 5th June last and it is at great risk that a messenger can be sent anywhere. Fearful depredation committed all over the country, no security to life or property; whoever dreamt of such things ? God grant that order and quiet may soon be restored.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 171 *from Robert Hamilton, Agent, Governor General for Central India, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Indore Residency, Camp Jhansi, 24th April* 1858.

Having availed myself of every opportunity to make enquiries into the events which occurred at Jhansi in the early part of June last year, I have now the honor to submit the following report, to be laid before the Right Hon'ble the Governor General.

The first authentic record is a letter from the late Captain F. D. Gordon, Deputy Superintendent of Jhansi bearing date Jhansi 6th June to the address of Majors Erskine and Western, which for facility of reference I will transcribe.

"At Skene's request I sent you a few lines to tell you that the Wing of the 12th or rather a portion of it have broken out into open Mutiny, seized the Star Fort which contains the Magazine and all the Treasure amounting to about 4½ lacs of Rupees. They have been joined by the Artillery and the only two Guns we have here. The following was the way in which they did it : At about 3 P. M. yesterday a lot of the Sepoys having raised a clamour that the Magazine was attacked by Dacoits, made a rush for the place. A number of men not implicated directly got in with the Mutineers, and at once loaded the Guns and put them in position. The good or rather

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th October 1857, Nos. 602-603. National Archives, New Delhi.

the lukewarm men got out again in the evening, but the Magazine is still held by about 50 men and the two Guns. We are in this fix, that none of the men of the Wing nor I believe the Cavalry can be trusted. I would dislodge the Mutineers in the Fort with *Thakoors* but the first shot would throw all the rest into open mutiny. The news from Nowgong[1] (Naugaon), is bad. We hear that the Wing there has mutinied, and that they are on their way over here. The surrounding *Thakoors* and Chiefs have been profuse in their offers, and we are entertaining a good number. They may fight behind stone walls, but will do no more. The whole of the Europeans are safe at present, and we are all in the Fort, which we shall endeavour to defend. Expresses have been sent to Gwalior and Cawnpore to ask for assistance, we hardly expect any however and must, I fear, rely on our own resources. You shall hear more tomorrow, the heat is frightful, but the ladies are bearing up gallantly. I have applied to Sumpthur (Samthar), and Oorcha (Orchha) for assistance. None can be expected from Duttiah (Datia)[2] where the Rajah has just died and a state of anarchy prevails. Excuse this scrawl which I fear will give you but an imperfect idea of the state of affairs".

[1] *Nowgong* Town (*Naugaon*). Combined civil station and cantonment in the *Chhatarpur State*, *Central India*, being the head-quarters of the Political Agent in Bundelkhand, and a station for British and native troops. It is also the head-quarters of a division of the Central India Public Works Department. It is situated in 25° 4′ N. and 79° 27′ E., 19 miles by road from the Harpalpur station of the Jhansi-Manikpur section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, and is connected by a good metalled road with Satna via Chhatarpur and Panna, also, by a road crossing this at Chhatarpur, with Mahoba and Banda, and with Saugor. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIX, p. 230).

[2] *Datia* was one of the three treaty States of the *Bundelkhand* Agency in *Central India*. The State, which was situated between 25° 34′ and 26° 18′ north latitude, and 78° 13′ and 78° 53′ east longitude, had an area of about 911 square miles.

The chief town of the State was situated 980 feet above sea-level in latitude 25° 41′ north, and longitude 78° 30′ east.

Bijai Bahadur was followed by Bhawani Singh, adopted from the Bhasnai family. The Bhasnai family are descended from Har Singh Dev, a brother of Raja Bir Singh Dev of Orchha. During the Mutiny the regent Rani did all she could to assist the British. She died in 1858, and the second Rani Pran Kunwar was made regent. (*Eastern States*—Bundelkhand—*Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, 1907, Pp. 93, 104, 127).

In Captain Gordon's letter the following facts are prominent :

I. That about 5 P. M. on the afternoon of the 5th a cry was made that the Magazine had been attacked by Dacoits.

II. That the sepoys rushed to the Star Fort (in which were the Magazine and Treasure) and that the Mutiny from that moment became open and violent.

III. That the surrounding *Thakoors* and Chiefs had been profuse in offers of aid and many had been entertained.

IV. That the whole of the Europeans were then safe and in the Fort.

V. That no allusion is made in any way to the Ranee or her party.

There is no subsequent or other communication from any of those who were in the fort, all of whom, with the exception of Mrs. Mutlow & her child, and Mr Crawford, were slaughtered at the Jhokun Bagh on the afternoon of the 8th.

Mrs. Mutlow in her narrative written by herself confirms Captain Gordon's statement that the outbreak occurred about 3 o'clock, that a great noise was made by the Sepoys rushing to the Magazine, on which she fled from her bungalow. Captain Skene sent for her and she went to the Fort about 6 in the evening where she joined her husband, a clerk in Captain Skene's office and remained the night of the 5th.

THE RANI'S MEN JOINED THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Mrs. Mutlow states that the next day Captain Gordon and Captain Skene sent to the Ranee and got some arms, that she, the Ranee sent about 50 of her own sepoys, that during the day (6th) Mr. Taylor belonging to the Cavalry galloped to the Fort wounded; soon after the Ranee withdrew her men after which they joined the mutineers. The Europeans remained in the Fort until Monday struggling against their assailants; on that morning Captain Gordon was killed by a shot which struck him in the head; overtures were then made, and under a solemn promise of safety, the oaths of the *Soobedars*, Hindoo and Moosulman, and the signature of the Ranee they left the Fort and were taken, surrounded by Sepoys and Police *Burkundazes*, to the Jhokun Bagh about 400 yards beyond the Oorcha gate of the city. Mrs. Mutlow left the Fort with them, her *Ayah* & child with her. Her passing unnoticed when outside

the city gate arose from her having put on her *Ayah's* native dress which enabled her to escape into one of the many old *Chuttrees* (tombs) at Jhokun Bagh; she however saw no more of the unfortunate party and can give no further information regarding them.

The next evidence is that of Captain Skene's servant Shahaboodeen (Shahab-uddin). He corroborates the alarm of Dacoits. Major Skene was in office, he went over to his house, put his wife and children and Miss Brown into Captain Burgess' carriage who happened to be there and sent them with him to the Fort. Major Skene then got his own conveyance and drove to the Jhokun Bagh; he there met Captain Gordon and both went to the Fort, where dinner was taken to them from the bungalow and breakfast next day. Ahmud Hoosain (Ahmad Husain) *Tuhseeldar* (*Tahsildar*) of Jhansi visited Captain Skene in the Fort and was ordered to send supplies. This witness confirms the Adjutant's galloping into the City, pursued by two Sowars; he further states that the Sowars and Sepoys went to the jail, set free the prisoners and began to burn and pillage the bungalows. Buxish Ali (Bakhshish Ali) the Jail *Darogah*, he saw, and adds, that, two boxes of Captain Skene's were carried to his, Buxish Ali's, house by his order. The deponent was placed in confinement and effected his escape; on the morning of the 7th, he went near the fort carrying some milk and bread, when being perceived by Captain Gordon, he went under the wall and Captain Skene letting down a rope drew up the bottles of milk and desired him to try and keep them supplied with articles in the same way; returning from the Fort he was arrested by Chonee (Chunni), a retainer in the Ranee's service and taken to the Mama Sahib, the Ranee's father, by whom he was sent to Lall Bahadoor *Soobadar* (*Subedar*) and the *Rissaldar** (*Risaldar*) to be put to death. They ordered him to be shot, but the order was suspended; subsequently in the bustle he again effected his escape into the Town. About 5 P. M. it was rumoured that the officers were coming down from the Fort; he went to the gate and saluted his master and mistress who came down with the others. The servants were all separated from them and sent to the "*Pultun*"

Notes in the margin of the Original :—
*"Fyz Ali, 4th Irregular".

lines, and the officers and ladies were taken by the Sepoys and Ranee's people to the Jhokun Bagh and there were murdered, after which Buxish Ali and his accomplices came to the *Rissaldar* before whom Buxish Ali publicly boasted that he had killed the "*Burra* (*Bara*) *Sahib*" (Captain Skene) with one cut. The *Subedar*, *Rissaldar* and others then ordered the prisoners (servants) to be set free.

Deponent adds the bodies remained on the road for three days, that he went and wrapped his mistress in a cloth, and that all were buried in pits close by but by whom he did not know.+

DELHI REVOLUTIONARIES INCITE JHANSI MEN TO RISE

By the statement of a sepoy of the 12th N. I., who was made prisoner after the capture of Jhansi, it appears that a letter was received from Delhi, stating that the whole of the Bengal Army had mutinied and that as the Regiment at Jhansi had not, the men of it were outcaste and had lost their faith. Immediately four sepoys named in the Margin* (given in footnote) who are stated to have been the principal instigators, became active inciters of Mutiny, and it was arranged that an alarm should be raised that Dacoits had attacked the Star Fort in which were the Magazine and Treasury and that as the whole Wing would turn out all might be so compromised as not to be able to draw back.

The Sepoy to whose statement I refer was under sentence of death, when he made it before me, he was very reserved in any matter, which referred to his own Regiment and averse to give more than a bare answer, still his assertions are corroborated by, and corroborate those made by others, and as far as they go, I should say entitled to credit; he was perfectly calm and composed throughout.

The alarm of Dacoits is corroborated by Captain Gordon, Mrs. Mutlow & Major Skene's servant's statements as the first outburst of the Mutiny.

+"The bodies were found in the pits as described by the witness".
*Notes in the margin of the original :—
"1 Daibee Singh of Banoda in Lucknow.
2 Noorung Singh (Naurang Singh) of Baiswara.
3 Jey Singh of Bhojpoor.
4 Jey Deen Singh of Mongair."

It does not appear that Major Dunlop and Lieutenant Taylor were shot on this occasion but that both were killed is beyond doubt, the Major being shot (he was followed) as he left the parade and pursued into a compound and murdered close to a wall, the spot has been pointed out by different people. The Sepoy's statement that the body was interred by the Sepoys is likely to be true. The grave has not been discovered and he could not point it out.

Lieutenant Taylor was shot at the door of the Quarter Guard as he was going in, and the 2 *Havildars* and a Sepoy who were also shot, fell dead at the rear of the Quarter Guard. The first intimation I received of the murder of the *Havildars* and Sepoy was from a milkman. The Sepoy of himself made no allusion to these murders; when asked about them he admitted them and said distinctly they were killed because they were with the English. He gives an account of the attack on the Fort, that Captain Gordon was killed by a matchlock ball and that his body was sent on a *Charpoy* by order of the Ranee to be interred* with the other bodies at the Jhokun Bagh. This Sepoy further states that the two post guns were taken to Delhi and from thence to Malagurh (Malagarh) where they were captured by the British Force.

NO INDIGNITY TO THE EUROPEANS BEFORE 'MURDER'

There are other evidences (*sic*,) annexed, but the foregoing contain the main facts. It nowhere is stated that before death any sort of indignity was offered to any single one of the unfortunate sufferers and not only is there no evidence, but on the contrary it may be safely asserted that not one of the bodies was afterwards mutilated, or ill-treated; unquestionably they were left on the spot where they fell exposed, their clothes were doubtless stolen and carried away and the corpses of some (not of all) stripped, but nothing more. The exaggerated statements that have appeared in the public prints may confidently be contradicted; what actually occurred was most painful to the relations and friends of the deceased and to humanity without their feelings being harrowed by monstrous

*"This is corroborated by other statements."—(Marginal note in the original).

details as contrary to fact as their invention is repugnant to every Christian feeling.

RANI'S FATHER EXECUTED

In conclusion I may add that of two of those whose names figure prominently in the recitals, one Moro Bulwunt or the Mama Sahib, father of the Rance was arrested, tried before me, sentenced to suffer death, and executed on a tree in the Jhokun Bagh, the scene of the atrocities, and Janoo-koowar (Janu Kunwar)[1], another was killed in the assault. Ahmud Hoosain, the *Tuhseeldar* is in confinement at Agra and should be sent to Jhansi to take his trial.[2]

* * *

(ANNEXURES TO HAMILTON'S LETTER)

(1)

Abstract translation of the statement of Sahibood-deen (apparently Shahabuddin) Khansamah of Major Skene, dated 23rd March 1858.

I have been in Major Skene's service for the last three years. On the 5th of June, about 3 P. M., muskets were fired near the magazine, and a loud cry was raised that the dacoits had attacked the station. Major Skene came to his house from his *cutcherry*, and placing his wife and children and Miss Brown in the carriage of Captain Burgess, who had come to see him, sent them all to the Fort with Captain Burgess. In the mean-time he ordered his carriage, which being brought to him, he drove to the Jokhun Bagh, where Mr. Gordon met him. He was also taken into the carriage. Both these gentlemen went to the fort. I remained at the bungalow. I had sent the *mussalchee* (*mashalchi*) and *khitmutgar* (*khidmatgar*) to the fort. At 7 P. M. having dressed dinner, I and the cook went to the fort. All the officers that were present dined together. During the night I remained in the fort. Ahmud Hossein, *tahsildar* of Jhansie, the next morning came to see Major Skene

[1] This name has been given as 'Jharru Kunwar' in other documents.
[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Cons. Nos. 280-88, Pp. 447-51. National Archives, New Delhi.

in the fort. I told him to send us coals, wood, fowls, and eggs. He did so. He also sent some men, seven or eight in number, with sweetmeats; breakfast was then served. *Memsahib* and Mr. Gordon asked for tiffin without delay. There was no *khitmutgar* present, all had gone to the bungalow. I, Dildar *chaprassi*, and Captain Brown's *khitmutgar* assisted in serving the tiffin, which being done, the Superintendent ordered me to remove all the silver from the fort to Akheychund (Akhaichand) treasurer, but to keep as much as was required. I obeyed his orders and packed up all the things in two boxes, which I, in company with the Mungul Khan and Khodabux, *chaprassis*, took to the house of the treasurer. While I was leaving the fort, Mr. Gordon called me back, and impressed upon me the necessity of making some arrangement that they might be put to no trouble for their meals. I went to the treasurer, gave him the two boxes, told him to examine the contents, which he refused to do, stating that there was no need for that. I locked up the boxes, keeping the keys in my possession. I went towards the bungalow, taking with me some rice, potatoes, two sheep, and four geese. Gholam Mahomed *chaprassi* was with me. On reaching Ahsan Allee *sheristadar's* house we heard a loud noise and firing of guns. It was about 2 o'clock. Near the city gateway, we saw that the Adjutant was galloping hard and two sowars were following him. The Adjutant dismounted and went into the city through the wicket. The sowars took his horse and pelting and kicking us told us that we were going to feed the officers. We were arrested and taken to the *kotee* (*kothi*). Our houses were plundered. The sowars and the sepoys went to the jail and liberated the prisoners, who set fire to the bungalow of Andrews. A few sowars, prisoners, jail *burkundauzes*, and men from the town, both Hindoos and Mahomedans, commenced plundering the house of the Superintendent. I and Bissram Sirdar taking advantage of this opportunity ran to the garden. Buxis Allee (Bakhshish Ali), jail *daroga*, made his *burkundauzes* carry two boxes from the Superintendent's bungalow to his house. The same day some other boxes were carried off by Moroo Bulwant (Moro Balwant) alias Mama Sahib, Ranee's father; Goolzar Khan, jail *burkundauze*, took three bullocks and one cow. This man with his followers came to the garden, asked the gardener where we lay concealed. He pointed out our hiding place. Goolzar Khan caught me; his two

men drew swords and pointed their muskets towards us asking where was Major Skene's treasure. I told him that money was always kept in the treasury, which was plundered. They then took all I had on my body. The Sirdar was then plundered of all his wife's ornaments that he had with him at the time. I was then set free; I remained in the same garden. On the morning of the 7th of June I went towards the fort with two bottles of milk and four loaves of bread. I remained outside the fort near a hayrick. Mr. Gordon, who was walking on the fort wall, saw me. Major Skene also came to the same spot; they dropped a rope to which I tied the loaves and the bottles of milk. I at the same time informed him that the house was plundered. I was told that I could not get access to the fort, but that I should try if I could furnish them with provision in the same way. While returning from the fort I was arrested by Choonee (Chunni), a relative of Jharoo Koar, and some other men from the town whom I can recognize, but whose names I do not know, and was taken to Mama Sahib, because I had supplied the officers with food. Mama Sahib ordered his men to take me to *jemadar* Lall Bahadoor and the *ressaldar* to be murdered or to be blown from a gun. The *jemadar* and the *ressaldar* first ordered me to be shot then they recalled their order and kept me confined. The next morning it was reported that some force was advancing upon Jhansie. All got under arms. I escaped to the town and saw that the 'Karukbijlee' (Karhak Bijli) gun had been put in order by the Ranee's order to be used against the officers and that the town people, mutinous sepoys, and Ranee's servants were firing. *Thakoors* were also passing up and down. About 4 or 5 P. M. it was reported that the officers were coming down from the fort. I also went to the gateway. When my master with *Memsahib* and other officers came down, I saluted him and could not help weeping. The sowars and sepoys pelted us with stones and obliged us to separate. All the officers went to one side and their servants joined me. The mutinous sepoys and Ranee's men took the officers to the Jokhun Bagh, and all the servants including myself, were sent to the *pultun*. The ladies and officers were murdered near the garden. All the people of the town were with the sepoys. After perpetrating this inhuman deed, Buxis Allee (Bakhshish Ali), the jail *daroga*, sowars, sepoys, and the Ranee went to the *pultun* to the *ressaldar*. Buxis Allee observed that he had killed the *Burra*

Sahib with one stroke. Then the *subadar*, the *ressaldar*, and the Ranee's men came to the parade ground, and ordered that the prisoners should be set free. We were in consequence liberated. The next morning I went to the garden of Jokhun Bagh, and saw that the bodies of the officers, ladies, and children were lying unburied, without clothes. The third day I was told that the bodies were buried in a pit, but by whom is not exactly known; when I had gone to see the dead bodies, I wrapped *Memsahib* in a piece of cloth which was tied to my head. One day before the murder of the officers it was proclaimed in the town by the beat of drum that "*the country belonged to the king, the Ranee held the rule and that the officers will be killed to-morrow*". After the murder no proclamation was issued.

(Dated) *March* 25.—The Ranee opened her own mint. Mahomed Sanah[1], doctor, told me that the officers were not willing to come down from the fort, but when they were assured by him that they would not be killed, they came down.

Nazim Hossein, revenue *tahsildar*, and Ahmud Hossein, *tahsildar* of Jhansie, were also put in confinement by the *ressaldar*. On seeing me they began weeping. When the mutineers left Jhansie, I went to the treasurer and asked him where he had kept the silver and jewelry. He said that all was taken by the rebels, on my observing that how could they know that such things were kept in such a place, that although maltreated, I had not given them any clue, how had he given them these things without asking me? The treasurer did not speak to me upon this point before I had asked him. I know nothing regarding the promissory notes possessed by Major Skene, but Madarbux, *khitmutgar*, stated to me that Major Skene had told him that Akheychund had his money, which was to be laid out in supporting his wife and children, whom he wished to place under the charge of the said *khitmutgar* and myself. I had heard that Madarbux (Madar Bakhsh) had gone to Saugor, but I am not sure where he is at present. I saw Akhey Mull (Akhai Mal) going to the *cutcherry* of the

[1] This name appears as 'Saleh Mahomed' elsewhere.

Ranee, and heard that he took service with her and became her treasurer.[1]

* * *

(2)

Abstract Translation of the statement of Aman Khan, son of Kureem (Karim) Khan, aged 35, *resident of Admaidpoor (Etmadpur), near Agra, a sepoy of the 8th Company 12th Regt. Bengal N. I., dated 14th April* 1858.

Five Companies from my Regiment were on duty at Jhansee. I was also here, being wounded. I could not personally ascertain all the particulars of the Jhansee mutiny, but what I heard is as follows. The *Pultunwalas* suspecting that the cartridges newly received were covered over with dog's or cow's skin, and that their religion would be encroached upon, 50 sepoys broke out into open rebellion. These 50 sepoys with 12 gunners whose names I do not recollect went in a body to the Magazine, loaded their guns and placed them in front of the Magazine. They then commenced firing their muskets. *Major Dunlop was fired at on the parade ground and pursued to his Bungalow where he was killed and buried by sepoys.* Captain Taylor was killed at the quarter guard by the sepoys. Havildars Goorbux Missur (Gur Bakhsh Misra) and Shewdeen (Shivdin) and one private by name Budree Bajpey (Badri Bajpai) were also killed along with the Captain, being suspected of being in league with the Europeans, but being weak in number, they could not offer any resistance. One full Company was stationed at Karaira. 50 sepoys were on leave and some were sick. I do not know the names of the gunners, but they all left Jhansee; some of them were killed at Delhi, others at Bareilly and Malagurh. The mutinous sepoys placing their guns in position threatened all the rest with immediate death if they refused to join them. The sowars and sepoys were then prevailed upon. They all went to the Palace of the Ranee with loaded guns and demanded assistance and supplies. *She was obliged to yield, and to furnish guns, ammunition and supplies.* They next went to the fort which being surrounded

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 282. National Archives, New Delhi.

firing commenced and continued for one day, and one night. The next day the Officers that had taken refuge within the fort came out and were brought to the Jhokun Bagh and killed. The mutineers then plundered the Treasury and taking the property and horses of the Officers went to Delhi. Buxish Alli (Bakhshish Ali), the Jail *Darogah*, was the principal leader; he was concerned in the murder of the Officers and was the person who took the mutineers to Delhi. The Officers and the Jail sepoys were firing from the fort, and I was wounded in the city near the gun-shed; by whom I cannot tell. I had gone to the city with the other men. The Cantonment Bungalows were, I am told, burnt, by the people of the town and not by the mutinous sepoys. Captain Gordon was shot within the fort. His body was brought down and buried by the order of the Ranee.

After the mutineers left the station, I entered the service of the Ranee on 4 Rupees a month. None of the mutineers remained here. All the muskets left by the mutineers and their uniforms that they had given to the poor people of the station were collected and given by the Ranee to those who entered her service. In this manner 100 men all from the people of the town were raised by the Ranee. Besides about 80 men from the Scindiah's Contingent, that were disarmed and disbanded at Asseer[1], came in here and were employed by the Ranee. In addition to these 200 men, there were about 300 *Wilaiytees*, 500 mutinous sowars and about 500 Boondaila sowars. Each *Zamindar* of the Jhansee district furnished his quota of men. The total number of these men both within the town and on outpost duties amounted to about 30,000 men. The five hundred mutinous sowars had come from different quarters; some were dressed in red, others in black and some in yellow. There were about 5 or 6 *Rissaldars*

[1] Apparently *Asirgarh*—Hill fort in the *Burhanpur* Tahsil of *Nimar* District, *Central Provinces*, situated in 21° 28′ N. and 76° 18′ E. 29 miles from Khandwa, and 7 miles from Chandni station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. It is situated on an outlying spur of the Satpura range, 850 feet high from the base and 2283 above sea-level, and formerly commanded the main road from Hindustan to the Deccan. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI, p. 12).

(*Risaldars*), but I do not know their names. I do not know the name of the *Rissaldar* by whose order the dead bodies of the Officers were buried. But he was a Mahomedan. 3 troops from the 5th Regiment were stationed here and there were 3 *Rissaldars;* but I do not know their names. The *Rissaldar*, who caused the bodies of the Europeans to be interred led the insurgents to Delhi. My Regiment came here direct from Mooltan (Multan) 5 years ago; only one Company (80 men) came here from Lullutpoor under a *Subadar* who was a barber, but I do not know his name. These men were disarmed and dismissed at Asseer and had certificates with them. The Lullutpoor mutiny broke out after that of Jhansee and the mutineers from the former station passed through Jhansee, but they did not remain here. The Chief of Banpoor defeated the Lullutpoor rebels and took their standard. Those that escaped went to Cawnpoor under a *Subadar*. The Asseer mutineers took service with the Ranee and were present to the day of assault. Captain Gordon's body was buried in the Jhokun Bagh. There was no *Subadar* Major present at Jhansee; all the *Subadars* and *Jemadars* were absent; some on leave, others had gone to form a Committee. There was only one *Jemadar* present, Lall Bahadoor (Lal Bahadur) by name. He begged hard but no one would listen to him.

LEADING REVOLUTIONARIES

The principal men among the sepoys who excited mutiny were :—

1. Daibee Siñgh (Debi Singh) of Banoda in Lucknow
2. Nooring (Naurəng) Singh of Baiswara
3. Jey (Jai) Singh of Bhojpoor (Bhojpur), and
4. Jeydeen Singh of Moongair (Mongher)

DELHI REVOLUTIONARIES EXCITE JHANSI MEN

One man whose name is not known to me, a servant or relation of some men in my Regiment, brought a chit from Delhi station that the whole army of the Bengal Presidency had mutinied and as the Regiment stationed at Jhansee had not done so, men composing it were outcasts or had lost their faith. On the receipt of this letter, the four ring leaders above alluded

to prevailed upon their countrymen to revolt and to carry out their resolution; it was given out that the station was going to be visited by Dacoits. On this the whole force getting under arms went to the Magazine, but finding that such was not the case, all those that were not disaffected went back to their lines and the disaffected resolved to kill the Officers. They did so, and taking the two guns that were here, they went to Delhi. These two guns were lost by them at Malagurh. *The insurgents previous to the mutiny did not consult the Ranee.* I do not know who wounded me; I was wounded one day at 4 P. M. and the next day the Officers were murdered. There were three Native Doctors at Jhansee, one in our Regiment Sheikh Raheem Bux (Rahim Bakhsh), the other in the city hospital whose name was Saleh Mahomed Khan, the 3rd was in the jail by name Mirza Baker Beg (Baqar Beg). None of these were (*sic*,) concerned in the mutiny. Baker Beg left the station, Saleh Mahomed remained in the city and Raheem Bux (Rahim Bakhsh) was forced to accompany the mutineers to Delhi. No one went into the fort to persuade the officers to come out. They came out of their own will having nothing left in the fort to live upon. Jharoo Koour did not accompany the mutineers in their going to attack the fort. He was at that time engaged in supplying food *Pooree* (*Puri*) to the insurgents. But Kashee Nath Bhaeea (Kashi Nath Bhaiya) with 1,000 followers went with them and was present in the action. No answer was returned to the letter received from Delhi nor was ever correspondence kept open with the Cawnpore, or other quarters. Saleh Mahomed left Jhansee 4 months ago with other office people. I was paid by Rampersad *Subadar* (Ram Prasad *Subadar*) an old servant of the Ranee. When the city was taken by assault, I with other men of the town escaped to the garden, and then came to the British Camp where I served in the capacity of a *Bhistee* (*Bhishti*) and being pointed out by a *Fakeer* was arrested.[1]

* * *

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 283, Pp. 455-8. National Archives, New Delhi.

(3)

Translation of the Statement of Bhugwan (Bhagwan) Brahmin, son of Bukhta (Bakhta) aged 29, Resident of Cawnpore District.

In the month of *Asadh* the Regt. stationed at Jhansee mutinied. All the Officers took refuge in the Fort. The mutineers attacked the city and the Fort but the city gates being closed they could not get into the city. After 3 days, the sepoys in the service of the Ranee got a black-smith who broke open the lock; but on the Syur Gate[1] being opened the mutineers entered the city. Jharoo Koour (Jharu Kunwar) furnished them with the "Karuk Bijlee" (Karhak Bijli) gun which was taken to the bayrick (barrack or hayrick), and kept there for three days. Captain Gordon who was within the Fort shot himself. Lall Bahadoor *Soobadar* and Buxish Alli (Bakhshish Ali) Jail *Daroga* pledging their words brought the Officers out of the Fort. I afterwards saw the dead bodies of these Officers lying in the Jokhun Baugh. Three days subsequent to this I did not see them. The bodies of all the Europeans including those of females and children amounted to about 80. I recognised the Adjutant of the Cavy. (Cavalry) and Major Skene among the dead; I did not count the bodies, all these *Sahab loags* were killed by the Sepoys at the time of the mutiny. I was in the lines, and when the Officers were killed I was engaged in grazing my cattle. I cannot tell by whose order the gate was opened. After killing the Officers the mutineers remained at Jhansee for four days. First Buxish Alli (Bakhshish Ali) went along with the mutineers, then he came back to Jhansee and removed his family, to what place I cannot tell. I had gone to Cawnpoor, returning whence I took up my abode in the city. I did not take service with the Ranee. *I did not hear that the Europeans were killed by the order of the Ranee.* The *Amla* were after the mutiny at Jhansee; subsequently they left the place.[2]

[1] The name of the gate is not clear. It may be 'Star Gate' or 'Sagar Gate'.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 284, Pp. 458-59. National Archives, New Delhi.



'Karhak Bijli' Gun of Rani of Jhansi
(Photograph by Information Department, U. P.)

(4)

Deposition of Sheikh Hingun Hookaburdar (Huqqabardar) to Captain F. D. Gordon, Deputy Commissioner of Jhansi, dt. 6th March 1858.

STAGE OF FIRST OUTBREAK

In *Asar* at 3 P. M. I was sitting at Bungalow, and Captain Gordon writing inside when an alarm was given that the Battalion had mutinied, and firing took place in the direction of the Battalion towards the Magazine; the servant turned out and looked on. Captain Gordon also came and looked and Captain Skene's empty *Buggy* was brought to his, Captain Gordon's, home by the *Sayees*. Captain Gordon enquired from him. "What was the matter ?" And *Syees* answered that "Captain Skene was doing *Kutchery* and Captain Dunlop and Lieutenant Taylor went towards Magazine and talked some thing to Sepoys when the latter fired on them, and the two gentlemen ran away and that the Sepoys afterwards fired on Captain Skene as he was having the petition read and that Captain Skene then went home and sent *Buggy*, but that as the *Buggy* was long getting ready, Captain Skene took his wife and children and walked with them to the Fort and sent the *Buggy* for you (Captain Gordon)" Captain Gordon then got into the *Buggy* and went to the Fort. I went with him. When we reached the Saier (or Syur) Gate of town, we met Captain Skene and his family who all got into the *Buggy*, and drove to the fort gate where they got out and went in, and Captain Skene sent the *Buggy* to the Ranee's *Topkhana*. It was now 4 or half past 4 P. M. I went into Fort with them. When evening came I went to Bungalow to fetch dinner, and shortly after I returned, all the other Gentlemen except Captain Dunlop and Lieutenant Taylor arrived at the Fort; the two latter remained in the cantonments. At first about hundred or hundred-fifty Sepoys mutinied and dragged the guns to the Magazine door. The Gentlemen and I saw this from the Fort. About forty or fifty Sowars came and took up positions as pickets around the Magazine and Treasury. It became dark when two Sowars from the picket came to near the Fort and halted and called out to the Officers of the Battalion to know why they had fled. The Officers said "You have mutinied

and wish to kill us; know best (*sic*,). We have therefore come to the Fort and have heard that you and the Sepoys intend attacking the Fort". Sowars said, "It was all false, no one wishes to attack the Fort nor has any one mutinied". Gentlemen said, "If no one has mutinied why were shots fired at Captains Skene and Dunlop and Lieutenant Taylor, and when Captain Skene was passing the Treasury guard why did it load and by whose orders have you planted a picket?" Sowars answered that "The Sepoys had spread a report that two Companies of *Tilungas* (*Tilangas*) had gone to Kurera (Karhera) and had an engagement with the Boondelas (Bundelas) who are coming here and as the *Tilungas* have gone to the Magazine we have planted a picket. We have not had orders". As the Gentlemen did not believe the Sowars, they went away. At 8 P. M. Captain Dunlop and Lieutenant Taylor sent from the cantonments a letter by two Sowars which Captain Gordon and the Doctor read, and returned on horse back to the parade with the two Sowars to where Captain Dunlop and Lieutenant Taylor were. I remained in Fort. At 11 P. M. Captain Gordon and Doctor returned to the Fort and said to me, "All the property in the Compound you go and take care of and tell the officer of *Nujeebs* to do so". I went and remained there all night during which two or three Sepoys came there with clubs. We called out and they went away. Early in the morning, Gentlemen came to walk about below the Fort walls and Captain Gordon returned to the Bungalow and had tea, and said that when he visited Captain Dunlop and Lieutenant Taylor on the night, the sepoys were all faithful and that he should return to his Bungalow very shortly, and that the Sepoys said the bad men would run away during the night. Captain Gordon then returned to the Fort. At 9½ A. M. I went to the fort when news came that the hundred or hundred twenty-five Sepoys who were at the Magazine had returned to the lines save seventeen or eighteen who had fired their muskets. Then Captain Gordon and the other Gentlemen sent for the Native Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers to the Fort gate and said, "You said that the bad men would go off during the night but they have not, they are still at the Magazine; we suspect there is some wickedness of loot[1]. They answered that men in the Fort would

[1] This appears to be wrongly written for 'of late'.

not allow them to approach and fired on them. Gentlemen said. "Don't go near; we will write to Captain Dunlop and Lieutenant Taylor and they will make arrangement". The Native Officers went away. Gentlemen then sent to the Ranee for four Elephants, and the *Sudder Alla* (*Sadar Ala*) went and brought away the ammunition which was at the Jail to the fort. Lieutenant Taylor and Captain Dunlop took some Sowars with them and went to the Magazine where the mutinous Sepoys were, and posted a picket at a distance and ordered that no one should communicate with or take food to the mutineers. It was now 1 P. M. A Sowar of the picket then fired at Taylor and a mutinous Sepoy also fired. Taylor then went towards another picket; we saw this from the Fort. The Sowars on picket called out 'don't let him go', and a Sowar shot Taylor on the head; and another Sowar speared him in shoulder. Taylor galloped away by a circuitous route to the Fort and was let in. The sepoys fired on Dunlop who was on foot. He ran but was shot in the head dead by the third shot. We saw all this from the Fort.

RISING BECOMES GENERAL

The whole of the Sepoys and Sowars then joined together and came to the Magazine and half the Sowars made an attack on the Jail and released the prisoners and took the *Duroga* (*Darogha*) and *Burkundazes* with them. The prisoners commenced firing and plundering the Gentlemen's Bungalows. At 3 P. M. the Sepoys and Sowars made an attack on the Fort. About thirty or forty of the retainers of the Kuttera *Thakoor* came to assist the Gentlemen and were posted at the lower wall of the Fort, and the Gentlemen posted themselves at the middle wall, and the ladies, children and we servants were at the 3rd or inner wall, when the Sowars and Sepoys arrived at the Fort. It was about 4 P. M.; they had a gun with them which they put opposite the Ranee Durwaza and commenced firing. The Kuttera men and the Gentlemen returned the fire and the mutineers retreated, went to the *Kotewallee* and seized Neeladur[1]

[1] Apparently spelt for 'Neeladhar'.

Kotewal and asked him, "Who sent supplies to *the Fort join do*[1] *(sic,)*" and they carried him off to the Ranee gate where the gun was. When the Gentlemen got news of the *Kotewal* being bound taken to Ranee as also *Jemadar* orderly Nuthoo Sing (Natthu Singh) *Jemadar* Madar Bux (Bakhsh), they were very much depressed as they did not know where to get provisions. I don't know what passed between the Sepoys and Ranee but the Sepoys and Sowars returned to Regimental lines, and Gentlemen got information that the Sepoys had asked the Ranee to plant her Sepoys around the Fort so that no Gentleman could come out; a few Sepoys also remained. The Sepoys also seized the *Kamdar* of the Kuttera *Thakoor*, whose men had come to assist the Gentlemen, and said they would kill him if he did not order his men to leave the Fort. The Gentlemen tried very much to persuade the Kuttera men not to abandon them and said if they held out with them they would be rewarded for life. The Gentlemen then proposed to disguise themselves in Native clothes and escape through a wicket. Scott who had mounted the rampart said he saw two Sowars and asked how they were to get out. It was now 1 A.M.; on this the Gentlemen did not go.

At 4 A.M. the Sowars and Sepoys made another attack and surrounded the village (Fort). The Ranee's Sepoys fired on the Gentlemen wherever they got an opportunity, the Gentlemen returned fire. This went on till about 9 A. M. or 10 A. M. When we got news that the Ranee had sent two guns (which had been buried) to the assistance of the mutineers to batter down the fort, Gentlemen became very anxious and Gordon wrote a letter, and threw it over the rampart, and called out loud and said to one of the Ranee's sepoys, "Don't fire, give this letter to the Ranee". The Gordon's *Khansaman* also called like me. Sheik Hingan asked Gordon for whom the letter was, and Gordon said he heard the Ranee had sent guns and sepoys to assist mutineers and that he had therefore written to her to say it *was her Raj, and he and other Gentlemen would go where she liked.* In the meantime a servant of the Ranee brought an answer to the letter, which was brought up by a messenger and the man told to wait. *The Ranee's letter was*

[1] Obviously it should be 'join us'.

read and its contents were to this effect, "What can I do ? Sepoys have surrounded me, and say I have concealed the Gentlemen and that I must get the Fort evacuated and assist them; to save myself I have sent guns and my followers; if you wish to save yourself, abandon the Fort no one will injure you". Gentlemen then sent a message back by the same messenger that they had no carriage and asked her to send some, and that they would then go where she liked. Ranee sent no answer. Gentlemen sent *Sudder Alla* (Mr. Andrews) in disguise of a Native to conciliate, to Ranee. He started but was recognised by Ranee's sepoys who killed him at some distance from Ranee's dwelling. When Gentlemen got news of this they were very much distressed. At 10 or 11 A. M. Sepoys and Sowars with guns came towards Sewai Durwaza and attacked. After they had fired a few shots Gordon shot down their Artillery man and they abandoned their guns for two hours.

REVOLUTIONARIES SUCCEED IN CAPTURING A WALL OF THE FORT

The wall which had been named (*sic,*) by the Kuttera *Thakoor's* men had been abandoned as the *Kamdar* to save his life had ordered them away. The mutineers took possession of this wall having broken in the gate, and advanced towards the Guneish Durwaza (Ganesh Darwaza) but Gordon shot down 17 or 18 and none of them dared to advance.

THE ENGLISH SURRENDER

Gordon looking through a window was shot in the head dead and Gentlemen lost heart, and Skene and others agreed that they should get the Sepoys to swear to spare their lives, and then that they should descend from the Fort. The mutineers, Hindoos and Moosulmans took the oath, and Gentlemen, Ladies and Children came to the Guneish (Durwaza), as did also the *Tilungas*, and seized, and bound the Gentlemen; the ladies took hold of the Gentlemen and accompanied them with their children in their arms but unbound; servants kept in fort, till Gentlemen etc. were taken to elephant sheds. We were then led about 30 paces in rear of the Europeans. When Europeans arrived at the Jhokun Baugh, all men, women and

children *were killed with swords and spears by the Nujeebs and Ranee's Sepoys by directions of the Sepoys and Sowars* who afterwards joined in the butchery themselves. Bukhsis (Bakhshish) Ali and his men first tied their hands. Bukhsis (Bakhshish) Ali himself first killed Skene with a sword; Sepoys and Sowars then asked *Rissaldar* for his orders regarding us servants (*sic*,). He said, "Let them go where they like; we have had our revenge on those from whom we wished to take it". We were then let go. Skene said to Bukhsis Ali, "You have tied my arms very tight". The *Dorogah* answered, "What is the addo ? You will soon be cut to pieces with swords". Skene said, "Kill me, my Country has plenty more". When *Tilungas* and Ranee's Sepoys seized the Doctor, his wife seized him round the waist, and commenced weeping. Then the *Tilungas* and Ranee's Sepoys beat her away and killed the Doctor; the Doctor's wife threw herself on him and was killed also. Lieutenant Brown's sister entreated the Sepoys not to kill her but they would not listen to her. I saw all this. We were then released and I made off to Saugor, some of the servants went away with the mutineers and some remained in Jhansee; Ranee pressed many of the Gentlemen's servants to leave Jhansee. I remained there (ten) days and escaped. About twenty-four hours after the massacre some sepoys of the Ranee came and caused the bodies to be thrown into a pit altogether (*sic*,) and covered with earth. The Ranee's Sepoys said that the Ranee had adopted a son—the son of the Mama—and had seated herself on the throne. The mutineers went away after three days and the Ranee then raised two Companies of Sepoys and gave the command to three mutineers who had remained behind. They also fed a wounded mutineer who remained behind, and promised him service when he got well. When the Lullutpoor (Lalitpur) mutineers on passing through Jhansee encamped at the Jhokun Baugh, the Ranee gave them feast. I saw it. All police and other business in the city was carried on in the Ranee's name. Neeladhur, who was formerly *Kotewal*, still continues so under the Ranee. A proclamation was made in the city that the Ranee was governing but the *Guddee* (*Gaddi*) belonged to the adopted child.[1]

* * *

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 286, Pp. 461-6. National Archives, New Delhi.

(5)

Translation of the Deposition of Jamadar of Orderlies, Madar Bux (Madar Bakhsh) attached to Captain Gordon of Jhansee, dated 23rd March 1858.

5th June 1857 at 3 P. M. Messrs. Scott, and 2 Purcells ran from Zillah *Cutcherry* to Captain Gordon's Bungalow, and said there was a fight in the lines. Captain Gordon looked up and sent for the gun, and went to Captain Skene; I went with him. He went to the fort, where he met Captain Skene at the city gate, and they both went into fort together. Captain Gordon sent me away on some business, and as I returned, I again met him, and he, Captain Gordon, told me that only 35 sepoys had mutinied, but that the Commanding Officer had taken proper steps regarding them. Shortly after Captain Gordon went to the fort, and I accompanied him. At evening the Adjutant came from the cantonment to fort, and again returned. Captain Gordon told me to go to the Duttiah (Datia) *Vakeel*, Soondar Lall (Sundar Lal), and write for 2 guns, and assistance from Duttiah and he, Captain Gordon, also sent Nuthoo Singh, *Jemadar* to the Oorcha *Vakeel* for help. It was now 9 P. M. I according to orders went to the Duttiah *Vakeel*, and a letter was sent. I heard that Captains Gordon, Skene and the Doctor, had gone to Cantonments and Nuthoo Singh *Jemadar* with them. I met them coming back, and returned to the fort with them; it was now 12 o' clock at night. All Gentlemen etc. remained that night in the fort except the Military Officers 4 in number. During the night many necessary articles were brought from the Gentlemen's Bungalows to the fort; in the morning many Gentlemen went out of the fort towards the lines. Captain Gordon told me to go and remain at his Bungalow, and that he would return to breakfast. I did so. At 7 A. M. Captain Gordon came to Bungalow, and afterwards returned to fort, and sent for Gopal Rao *Shirustadar* (*Sarishtedar*). I went for him, and Captain Gordon also sent for Ahmed Hoosain *Tehseeldar; Shirustadar* came, and Captain Gordon told him to write to Rugnath (Raghunath) Singh, *Thakoor* of Noonere[1] and Jawahir Singh *Thakoor* of Oodgaon

[1] Apparently *Nunher*—A village in Pargana *Gohad*, Zila *Tonwarghar* of old *Gwalior State* at 26° 35′ Latitude N. and 78-39′ Longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, Village List, 1908, p. 59).

for help and he wrote in to Munpoora[1], and Burora[2], *Thakoors* to make arrangements for Kickore (*sic*,)[3] and orders were given to Ahmed Hoosain *Tehseeldar* to enlist men and to block up Sayar and Saugor gates. It was now 11 A. M. *Tehseeldar* entertained 24 men, I took them to the *Sahib* and by his orders posted them at the gates and on the walls of fort. Robert Andrews now came and said to me that he thought all the Jail servants, *Daroga* and sepoys were going on; he then told the *Sahib*, Captain Gordon then sent me to the Jail, for the Magazine, and told me to enquire who the 14 men were that had just returned the sepoys' guard usually posted there. It was now 12 o'clock and Captain Gordon coming with me to the gate sent some cannon balls to the Magazine, as he said, for the Officers in cantonments. I told Roshun Alli (Roshan Ali) to go and enquire about the 14 men when a great noise and disturbance was heard from the Ranee's house. I told Roshun Alli to see what it was; he came back and said, "You told me to look after 14 men, but there are 1400 men going from city towards the cantonments, they are Ranee's, Goolam Khoda Bux Kour, and the Rance's retainers". I went to the ramparts to see where they were going when firing commenced in the cantonments. I went to the fort, and found the gate shut, and I returned home when at 50 paces from my house I saw 2 sowars and *Teelungas*, and Rance's sepoys entered the house where Captain Gordon's *Beebee* was concealed. I ran away to my house and shut the door. The sowars etc. then came to my house and said, "Break open the door, there are *Sahibs* inside". i said there are none. Roshun Alli opened the door. At 8 P. M. Shumsher Khan, and Kesree (Kesri), Captain Gordon's orderlies came to from the fort with a letter for the *dawk*, and said the Gentlemen wanted me. I was going to the fort when Murdan Khan the servant of Nowab Ali Bahadoor, came to me, and said, "The Nawab says I have no house, but tell the *Jemadar* to bring the Gentlemen to his house by some means or other, and he would

[1] Apparently *Manpur*, Pargana and Zila *Sheopur* (*Gwalior State*)—A village situated in 25° 52′ N. and 76° 45′ E., on the Sip river. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 267).

[2] Apparently *Barora Pahar* (25° 10′ N., 78° 53′ E.).

[3] This word is not intelligible. It may have been spelt for *Pichore*.

try and manage their escape". I went towards the fort but was stopped by Sowars, *Teelungas* and *Burkundauzes* who said that the *Daroga* calls you come. It was now 9 P. M. They seized me and took me to the *Daroga* at Sayar gate. I said, "How are the Gentlemen to escape ?" *Daroga* got up and abused me, and ordered me to be taken to Magazine where I met Ahmed Hoosein *Tehseeldar* and Nazim Hoosein *Nazir*. We remained there prisoners all night. The *Tehseeldar* commenced talking to the *Ressaldar* about extricating the Gentlemen to which the *Ressaldar* agreed, and swore he would not kill them. The *Ressaldar* then on his own name caused the *Tehseeldar* to write a letter to the Gentlemen to the effect that if they came out they should not be hurt, and he gave it into my hands and said if they wanted carriage they were to get it from the *Kotwal*. I took the letter and went towards the *Sahibs*, it was now 8 A. M. On nearing the fort I found it was surrounded by the Ranee's sepoys who abused me and said, "The Ranee's orders are that no one is to enter the fort". Hearing her order I then went to the Ranee's house and went to Luchmun Rao, Moro Bulwunt (Moro Balwant) alias Mama, Gargadeen and Lalloo Bukshie (Lalu Bakhshi), and entreated them to assist. They said, "What can we do ?" I said, "The *Ressaldar* has sent me with a letter to the *Sahibs*, but people wont let me in without your orders. Give me a *purwanah*". They then sent a *Hurkara* and Zahid Khan *Mooktar* (*Mukhtar*) with me. When I got to the fort I saw no one but a servant in the fort; he called a *Sahib* who lowered a string to which I tied the letter, and it was pulled up. Captain Gordon then came to rampart and made a sign with his hand, for me to come round to a Bastion on the other side. I went and having got 1 Re..... (Left blank in the MSS), I sent it up with the string.

THE ENGLISH APPEAL TO THE RANI FOR HELP

Captain Gordon then wrote a letter to the Ranee telling her to get them down from the fort, and send them to Duttiah, or Oorcha and told me its contents. I took it to Moro Bulwunt and gave the message. He took the letter to the Ranee who sent it to the *Ressaldar* by her *Vakeel*, and Zahid Khan also went on horse back. Sunnoo Moosulman, one of the Ranee's *Chobdars* who had been dismissed, said that Ranee had sent

Adjudia Purshad (Ayodhya Prasad) for outward show, but that Zahid Khan was the bearer of another message and that I would not succeed in what I wanted. Adjudia Purshad then returned from *Ressala* and the Ranee sent an answer by me. I gave it to the *Sahibs*, but I do not know what was in it. Captains Gordon and Skene told me to go and wait at Ranee's and that they would write to her again. I went to the Ranee's where Sunnoo Moosulman said to me, "Run away immediately or you are a dead man". On this Lalloo Bukshie and Gungadhur called me. I went and they said to *Teelungas* "This is Mudarbux". *Teelungas* seized me and beat me, and accused me of taking to the *Sahibs* letters and provisions. Nuthoo Singh (Nathu Singh) was also caught and we were both sent to the *Ressaldar* to whom the *Teelungas* said, (that) I carried on communication with the *Sahibs*, and told the different *Vakeels* of Ranee's to get help. We were confined in the Quarter Guard as also the *Vakeels* of Duttiah and Oorcha. We remained all that night, and the next day in confinement. After *Sahibs* were murdered all the sowars, *Teelungas* and Ranee's sepoys at 7 P. M. assembled on Parade and we were released; and ran away to our houses. When I was taking the letter from the *Ressaldar* to the *Sahibs* in fort, I saw Mr. Scott, and the two Purcells being led as prisoners by the Ranee's sepoys. They asked for water, and a *Bhistee* (*Bhishti*) gave them to drink. I also heard that the Ranee's sepoys afterwards took them to the Parade and killed them and I also heard that 3 of the Ranee's sepoys and Kahree (Kehri) Singh killed Mr. Andrews, *Suddur Alla* at Gunjee Khanna. I told this to Captain Gordon. The *Tehseeldar* could only raise 24 men as the Ranee was enlisting as many men as she could get. When the Ranee sent Adjudia Pershad (Ayodhya Prasad) to *Ressaldar* she told the latter to tell the former that if he had written a letter to let the *Sahibs* out, well and good, but that he was not to blame her afterwards. I heard this message given. The Ranee coined money. I have 2 of the Rupees, they[1] are in circulation in the town. After the *Sahibs* were killed, the Ranee proclaimed that, "*The world is God's, the Country is the Padshah's* and the *Raj* is Ranee Luchmee Bai's". Before this

[1] The correct word would be 'that'.

the *Teelungas* had (also) proclaimed. The sepoys and the Ranee were in communication. The sepoys asked the Ranee to give them 125,000 Rupees for the *Guddee* (*Gaddi*) which she agreed to do, and gave 15,000, but that night news came that the Gwalior Contingent was coming and the mutineers left Jhansee. I saw the Gentlemen's bodies from a distance; they remained there 2 days when *Ressaldar* ordered them to be buried, and they were buried towards the Sayar gate near the Muttia Foreea. The bodies were all quite naked.[1]

* * *

(6)

Deposition of Deokeenundun (Devki Nandan) Lohar formerly orderly classy (khalasi) of the late Lieutenant Gordon of Jhansee (Jhansi), dated 11th March 1858.

I have been an orderly *classy* (*Khalasi*) of Lieutenant Gordon for the last five years. At the end of *Baisak* the sepoys for three days set fire to the empty Bungalows of the Regimental Officers. Two or three days after this at *Cutcherry* time viz. 4 P. M. as the Cavalry sowars having got their pay from Treasury were returning to their lines they and the sepoys commenced firing, pretending to do so at each other; as no one was hurt, I suppose they were no balls. Upon this the officers, Gordon, Skene, the Ladies etc. went into the fort. At 9 P. M. the Gentlemen went to the Regimental lines, and the *Soobadars* etc. said only 32 sepoys had mutinied. Gentlemen said to *Soobadars* that they were to ask those who had mutinied that if they wished to serve Government they were to do so properly, if they did not wish to serve they might return to their homes, but that they must not commit mutiny. *Soobadars* etc. pretended to be satisfied. (I was present) and at about 11 or 12 P. M., all Gentlemen save Dunlop returned to fort; he remained in cantonments. Then Bukshis Alli *Daroga*, Mahemed Bux *Jemadar* of Jail, Bhugolo Lall the *Sheristadar*, Mama Saheb the Ranee's father, and Kashinath *Tehseeldar* of Purwar went to the lines, and again let the sepoys asking. I saw them go.

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 287, Pp. 467 to 470. National Archives, New Delhi.

I went to observe by Gordon's. At 9 or 10 A. M. *Telingas*, Ranee's sepoys, *Cutcherry Chuprasees* and Shumsher Khan, Mahomed Bux and Pearee (Piarey), orderlies of Gordon, and *Burkundauzes* and *Nujeebs* of Jail all came, and surrounded the fort, and plundered, and burnt, the Gentlemen's Bungalows. The mutineers etc. fought with Gentlemen for 3 days. Gordon was shot dead in the head. Then Skene said to the sepoys, "We will now surrender, commit no cruelty". The sepoys, Ranee's sepoys, *Burkundauzes*, and *Daroga* all swore, that they would do no harm. Gentlemen, Ladies etc. all came out and sepoys, Ranee's sepoys, sowars, *Burkundauzes* took them to the Jhokunbaugh, and put them to death. I told Gordon that the Kasheenath, *Tehseeldar* of Purwar[1] had come, but he said if *Tehseeldar* had come, he would have sent him notice. Kasheenath's brother's son has been adopted by the Ranee, he is also her relation. I was not with *Sahebs* when they were murdered, and I did not see the murder. Shumsher Khan, Mahomed Bux, and Pearee, orderlies of Gordon, and all *Cutcherry Chuprasees*, and Jail *Burkundauzes*, have become servants of the Ranee, and Skene's orderlies Munvaun[2] Dildar, and Khuda Bux etc. went away with sepoys save Boley[3] who I hear is in Duttiah. The two orderly *Jemadars* are in Duttiah. Bunseedhur *Tehseeldar* of Bhandere[4] whose brother is the Ranee's *Vakeel*, was in Jhansee when I left. Gopal Rao has been much ill-used. He had sent an *urzee* to some gentleman and got an answer which the Ranee heard of and sent her *Burkundauz* to Gopal Rao and took away his horse by force, and she ordered him away and his whole property was plundered in Moura Nulla. I remained 1½ months in Jhansee after the murder. In that time the Ranee proclaimed in the town that

[1] Apparently *Parawar*, Tahsil *Kunch*, District *Jalaun*—A small village in 26° 12′ N. and 79° 3′ E., on the banks of the Pahuj river, 19 miles west of Jalaun : it is connected by unmetalled roads with Gopalpur and Rendhar. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, Pp. 188-9).

[2] This name is not intelligible.

[3] Apparently, this may have been spelt for 'Bholey'. In the photostat copy it is so written as to be read as 'Baby' which appears to have no meaning here.

[4] *Bhander* town, Pargana *Bhander*, Zila *Bhind* (*Gwalior State*)— Town and headquarters of a pargana, in 25° 44′ N. and 78° 45′ E. Population was, in 1891, 5, 967. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 202).

her reign had commenced and that the English *Raj* was over, she erected her Flag on the fort, assembled the *Mahajuns* to present her with a *nuzzerana* and set going a mint. The day of the murder, the Ranee gave the sepoys an Elephant and some money. The sepoys got the 4 guns from the magazine, and fired on the fort. The day the sepoys left, the Ranee brought out from some concealed place, two of her own guns, one of which she mounted on the fort, and the other kept with herself. The Ranee (on) the day of the fight sent for the Parola *Pundit* who is called Rajah, and asked him to carry on the Government for her. He refused and fled by Kunara[1]. Ranee sent a force after him and seized his family but he escaped to Burniyad[2] in Duttiah. When the Sultanpur mutineers arrived at Jhansee, the Ranee gave them a feast in the Jhokun Baugh. Gentleman, that is Gordon, sent me to ask the Rance for help. I went and saw Mama and Bugoley Lal[3] *Tehseeldar*, who said angrily, that they would not. I did not get to see the Ranee. No *Tehseeldar* or *Umla* gave supplies to Gentlemen. As the fort was surrounded from 10 A. M. the second day, I did not go into the fort. The second day as Gordon came out, and returned at 10 A. M. he told me to go to the Ranee for help. I never saw him after sepoys surrounded the fort. Mr. Andrews, I heard, came out of the fort, and was killed by the Ranee's sepoys, and I saw the mutineers, taking away Mr. Scott, and the two Mr. Purcells to the lines. I afterwards heard that they had killed them. I don't know if they were taken to the Ranee's house previously. Akeymull Treasurer took service with the Ranee. I heard from Skene's servants that his silver etc. were given by him to Akeymull to take care of. The Gentlemen and Ladies that were killed were buried the second day. I saw Ladies; some had one wound, and some more; some of the bodies were naked and some not.[4]

[1] Apparently *Kanar*, Tahsil *Jalaun*, District *Jalaun*—The site of Kanar, which is now deserted, lay close to the Jumna river, about two miles north of Jagamanpur, in 26° 25′ N. and 79° 15′ E., and is still known as Kanar Khera. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 170).

[2] This name is not clearly decipherable in the photostat copy.

[3] This name has been spelt as 'Bhugolo Lall' in this document, in the earlier pages.

[4] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supp., Cons. No. 288, Pp. 471-2, National Archives, New Delhi.

DEPOSITIONS ON OUTBREAK

Written Deposition of a native of Bengal.

I am a native of Bengal and was attached to the writers' establishment of the Jhansie Customs Collector's office.

On the 5th of June last at about 3 P. M., while we were in attendance at the office, we were alarmed by the report of musketry fired in the direction of the magazine; instantly two peons and a *duffadar* of the Customs establishment, who had been sent by Mr. Carshore to pay in 1,500 rupees of the Customs collections in the Deputy Commissioner's treasury, returned to our office panic-stricken, and stated that they had been informed by certain sepoys that the revenue treasury was in imminent danger of being plundered by a gang of robbers. Our office was ordered to be closed directly, and the peons on the establishment were called in to hold themselves in readiness within the office compound for any contingency which might occur. Mr. Wilton was next seen dashing in from the military lines, and urging Mr. Carshore to fly from the place with his family, intimating at the same time that the regiments had mutinied and all was over. Accompanied by Mr. Wilton, Mr. Carshore drove with his family in a *buggy* to the dak-bungalow where they arrived in safety. Myself and other *amlahs* then quitted the office compound leaving the peons in charge of the office, and took our stand on an adjoining road to witness what was going on. Seeing nothing where we stood, we determined to cut into the town by striking across the parade ground, but we had not advanced many steps in our intended direction, before we were accosted by a sepoy from a distance to the effect that we should keep ourselves out of the way, as some men of the 12th Native Infantry had broken into open mutiny and taken possession of the Magazine. We, however, pushed on regardless of consequences, till we came up to a spot where the officers of the 14th Irregular Cavalry with a party of sowars belonging to that regiment were haranguing the men of the 12th Native Infantry who had not already mutinied, to continue true to their colours, and we then cut into the town. On our way, however, we observed a party of sepoys running towards the *cutcherries* of Messrs. Skene and Gordon intent upon mischief; but as those officers and all other Christian residents with the exception of officers attached to the regiments had

been timely escorted by a party of the 14th Irregular Cavalry into the fort, the sepoys were in this instance foiled in their attempt to massacre the Christian population of Jhansie. When all the Christian residents, with the aforesaid exception, had taken shelter in the fort, the town gates were closed by order of Captain Skene who had directed that no one should be permitted to enter the town except with the privity of the head of the police.

I heard the following morning the fifty-two men of the 12th Native Infantry had mutinied the previous day, and were in possession of the Magazine and Treasury. The remaining troops in the station passed the first day and night of the outbreak in a state of passive mutiny, regardless of the exhortations of their European officers, who commanded them to attack and take the mutineers, and endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, by kind words as well as by threats, to persuade the mutineers to return to their duty.

MEN OF 12TH N. I. RAISE THE STANDARD OF REVOLT

The fifty-two men of the 12th Native Infantry had the previous afternoon raised the standard of revolt near the Magazine, and invited all men of the '*deen*' to flock to their standard, offering to remunerate each man for his services at the rate of twelve rupees per month. They kept their post at the Magazine and round their white flag till noon of the 6th, when they were joined by the remaining troops in the station, viz., by the remainder of the 12th Native Infantry and the whole wing of the 14th Irregular Cavalry. These first fell upon their European officers, who had not for one moment forsaken their men; Lieutenant Campbell was first attacked, but though wounded, he kept his seat on his fleet charger which enabled him by overleaping a gate to escape into the fort without further injury. Lieutenants Dunlop and Taylor, however, were unable to escape, and consequently fell victims to the fury of their men. Two *havildars* and a sepoy hid the latter under a *charpoy*, but to no purpose. The mutineers next broke up into parties and proceeded to set fire to the bungalows and to liberate the convicts from jail. A party consisting of fifty sowars and 300 sepoys then approached the town with two guns and a number of Customs and Police *chaprassis*, led by the jail *daroga*, in their train—and the doors of the Orcha gate were thrown open

to them to the cry of '*deen ka Chy*[1]'. The Ranee placed guards at her gate and shut herself up in her palace. Captain Gordon sent a message to the Ranee soliciting her assistance at this crisis, but this was refused, as the mutineers threatened to put her to death and to set fire to her palace in case of her compliance with Captain Gordon's request. The Ranee's guards then joined the mutineers.

REVOLUTIONARIES TO STORM THE JHANSI FORT

The rebels next proceeded towards the fort with the intention of storming it, but were kept at a respectful distance by the gallantry of the European inmates, who shot a number of the former with their muskets. Baffled in their attempt, the besiegers retired for the day after placing guards of sowars and Mussulman *chaprassis* of the Customs and Police departments over the gates.

RANI REFUSED TO INTERVIEW THE EUROPEANS

The night passed quietly; the following morning Messrs. Andrews, Purcell, and Scott issued from the fort, disguised as Mussulmans, with the intention of seeing the Ranee and obtaining her aid, but the feint being discovered, the gentlemen were taken to the palace of the Ranee, who did not even condescend to honour them with an interview, but ordered them to be carried before the mutinous *ressaldar* for orders. Her words were to the effect : "*She had no concern with the English swine*". This was a signal of death. The three gentlemen were then dragged out of the palace; Mr. Andrew was killed before the very gates of the Ranee's residence by Jharoo Comar's son, supposed to be a personal enemy of his, and the other two were despatched beyond the walls of the town. In the afternoon a second attempt was made to surprise the fort by breaking open a gate, but the besieged succeeded in repelling the invaders who retreated after stationing guards at the gateway as they had done the preceding day.

[1] '*Deen ki Jai*' (Victory to the Religion) or '*Deen ka chor*'.



Rani Lakshmi Bai's Palace, Jhansi
(Photograph by Information Department, U. P.)

PLUNDER OF EUROPEANS AND BENGALIS

On the third day of the outbreak commenced an indiscriminate plunder of the property of Europeans, Bengalees, and other *amlahs* in the town. *The Bengalees were specially singled out for vengeance because one of them, the post office writer, had concealed one Mr. Fleming in his house, and the mutineers had succeeded in tracing him out, and murdering him in the Baboo's house. The following morning a general search was made for Bengalees, and myself and two others of the Customs establishment fell into the hands of the ruffians and were hauled up in presence of the ressaldar who ordered us to be kept in confinement until the fort should surrender.*

FORT STORMED AGAIN

After we had been secured, a fresh attempt was made upon the fort, and the Ranee was threatened with instant assassination, if[1] she refused to side with the rebels. She accordingly consented and supplied them with a reinforcement of 1,000 men and two heavy guns which she had ordered to be dug out of the earth. They had been buried three years ago. Thus strengthened they commenced a brisk cannonade upon the fort, but failed to make any impression upon it, as not a single brick of the fort was injured by the balls which struck against the battlements. The fire of musketry from the fort, however, did a good deal of execution, and the besieged might have been able to hold out much longer, had they not been betrayed by certain native servants who had been received into the fort for the performance of menial offices. Captain Gordon received this day a gun-shot wound of which he immediately expired. Then a *kherkie* or secret door was treacherously thrown open by the natives within. Captain Powys shot and killed one of the traitors, but was shot dead in return by the brother of the man he had slain. The handful of Europeans in the fort were now for a moment paralysed; they knew not how to overcome such odds from within and without. They, however, mustered courage, and when they observed that a rush was made from outside through the passage, they all ascended the terrace of a high building in the fort, and thence kept firing upon the enemy

[1] In Forrest's volume, the word 'provided' is printed in place of 'if'.

below. The latter then proposed a parley, promising to allow the Europeans to quit the fort unmolested provided they surrendered themselves and their arms to them. This the Europeans consented to, but no sooner did they leave the fort unarmed than they were seized by the rabble and conveyed to Jokhun Bagh, where they were separated into three lines, one comprising all adult males, another all adult females, and a third all the children. Then commenced the horrid massacre, the *daroga* of the jail first raising his sword and killing Captain Skene. Then all hands were raised and an indiscriminate slaughter took place, the males were despatched first, the females next, and the murder of children closed the brutal scene.

MURDER OF CAPTAIN SKENE

Poor Captain Skene before he received the finishing stroke exclaimed to a sepoy who was standing beside him, "that it was idle for the mutineers to hope that England would be denuded of all her bold sons by the destruction of the handful of men that were now at their mercy", and poor Mr. Carshore's eldest son before he was murdered begged in Hindee that his life might be spared as he hoped that the vengeance of the mutineers had been satisfied by the blood of his father and mother.

When the above cruel business had been gone through myself and the other Bengalee prisoners were set free under a promise of not keeping up any correspondence with Europeans.[1]

* * *

Deposition of Peer Zuhoor Ali (Pir Zahur Ali) of the 14th Bengal Irregular Cavalry taken on the 4th March 1859.

Question—State how and where you joined the rebels and relate your subsequent career and all you know about the rebellion up to the date of your surrender.

Answer—I was at Jhansee with my Regiment when the rebellion broke out; one Friday at 3 P. M., date I don't re-

[1] W. H. Carey : "*The Mahomedan Rebellion*" (Roorkee 1857); Pp. 173-5; G. W. Forrest: "*Selections from the State Papers*", Volume IV, Appendix A Pp. V-VIII. (Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing, India 1912); "*Annals of the Indian Rebellion*" (Calcutta 1859), Pp. 515-9.

member, an alarm was heard suddenly. Our Adjutant instantly came to our lines and ordered the whole regiment to get ready as the Native Artillery had taken possession of all the Treasure, Magazine, guns etc., and had gone into the Magazine. Further that, most of the men of the "Bhote" *pultun* (N. I.) had joined them and were standing under arms. The Adjutant formed up our Cavalry and took us towards the Magazine where we found one of the guns had been mounted on the rampart another placed in position in front of the Magazine gate, and the mutineers ready to fight. On approaching the gate a musket shot was fired at us on which the Cavalry was stopped and the Adjutant took us back to our lines. He then ordered us to take charge of all the Officers and escort them into the Jhansee fort. This was accordingly done. All the Officers of the Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery had remained standing all the night before on the Cavalry Parade ground.

RANI OF JHANSI PARTICIPATES IN THE OUTBREAK

The same night the Jhansee Rance assisted the mutineers with provisions etc. The following morning our officers formed up the Cavalry and took us towards the Magazine and placed pickets around it. At 9 o'clock the adjutant recalled the pickets and placed the Cavalry on the road near the Infantry lines. The Infantry Officers remained with their regiment. At about 12 o'clock heavy musketry was heard in the Infantry lines; one Officer and 2 *Keranees* (clerks) were killed. All the other Officers took to flight. Hearing this the Cavalry also broke out and the Adjutant was wounded by a musket ball in the right hand and fled into the fort. In the meantime the Boondellas (Bundelas) from the surrounding villages gathered around the city, broke open the jail, liberated the prisoners and set fire to all the Bungalows. *Next day the Ranee of Jhansee with the mutineers took guns before the fort and commenced cannonading;* the officers in the fort also commenced firing the small arms. This lasted till dusk when the Ranee and mutineers left the fort for their respective dwellings. The following morning the Ranee brought a large cannon and the mutineers also took one of their guns and went towards the fort. They fired many shots, but could not make a breach in the wall.

BRITISHERS AT JHANSI SURRENDER

They then burst open 3 gates of the fort and rushed in and when about to burst open the fourth gate the Officers told them not to do so but that they would come out. The officers and ladies came out. The men of the Infantry and of the Ranee took them as prisoners. On the road the Infantry Sepoys and Boondellas commenced murdering the Officers, seeing which the Sowars warned them not to kill the Officers. Upon this the Sepoys and Boondellas said that all the Sowars, warning them, should also be killed, as they appeared to be on the side of the Officers. Having killed all the Officers the Ranee returned to the fort and the mutineers to their camp. Remaining in the camp for six or seven days the troops marched for Delhie with all the Treasure, Magazine. On reaching Delhie the king sent an order that the Jhansee force should go to the fort of Malagurh.....[1]

* * *

Deposition of Lalu Bakhshi on 6th April 1858.

Question—As usual.

Answer—My name is Lalu Bakhshi, my father's name is Ram Rao[2], Brahman by caste. My age is 53 years old, resident of..(Illegible), near.....(Illegible) now residing in Jhansi.

Question—What have you to say ?

Answer—So long as the *Sirkar's* administration was intact we were living happily in..(Illegible) and had no troubles. Two or three days before the outbreak there were certain indications. The Rani Saheba called me and said, "Disturbances are likely to take place. Come to our place and make arrangements for the recruitment of soldiers". I refused and said, "I have had nothing to do with your *Sirkar* for a long time, and this is now the duty of your own servants". But she replied that because I had been her old servant, that was consequently my duty. I told her that she had no army and asked her, "How can arrangements be made without army?" The

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Part two, Cons. No. 313. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Lalu Bakhshi's father's name has been given as Ram Chand elsewhere.

Rani ordered me to recruit the army. But I told her that I would not do that by her orders and suggested to her to ask Ayodhya Prasad *Vokil* to submit before the *Saheb* for the same and that we would recruit the soldiers on *Saheb's* orders. Thereupon she asked the *Vakil* to get orders from the *Saheb*. The *Vakil* submitted, "It has been ordered that there is no necessity of recruiting the soldiers for the time being". The order was from *Bara Saheb* and Mr. Gordon; not sure, if that was Mr. Gordon's order as well. The recruitment was however not made. Three days after that, the disturbances took place. Then *Bara Saheb* and Mr. Gordon sent Natthu Singh *Jamadar* to call me and Ayodhya Prasad *Vakil* to the fort. When we went to the fort there were four persons namely Mr. Gordon, *Bara Saheb* and two others. They ordered us to recruit 1000 men. We told the *Sahebs* that we were ready to obey their orders but that would take four or five days to get good men. The *Saheb* said, "This would cause delay". I answered, "If 200 men about whom I had once proposed had been employed they would have been serviceable at this hour". The *Saheb* answered, "Call them at once. I am sending the *Purwana* in your name. Natthu Singh *Jamadar* will bring them. You go home". I enquired about the rate of pay. He said, "Five Rupees *Kaldar*[1]". I said, "All right, Sir. I shall call them". Then I reached my home and the disturbances began four *gharis* after. The bungalows were set on fire. At about midnight some of the foot soldiers and horsemen of the army went to Rani Saheb's palace and sent word to her, "Give us Lalu Bakhshi and Jharru Kunwar". The Rani conceded, and they brought and put us into the prison. Ahmad Ali *Tahsildar* and Lila Dhar *Kotwal* were also with us in the prison. We were kept in the prison for the whole night and were repeatedly told that the Rani would give us all sort of help. We said, "We shall submit for it and shall act according to their[2] orders". Thereupon they said, "Do this, otherwise you will be punished". We said, "What has the Rani with her to help us ? Still we shall put the case before them". They kept us in the prison till the next morning when they found out that some companies of soldiers were advancing to their side. They made an attack.

[1] The rupee of East India Company's mint
[2] 'Sahebs'.

We were still there. When they returned they asked us to go to the Rani and to tell her; and we did that in the afternoon. In the afternoon they themselves went to the *Haveli* of the Rani with guns, foot soldiers and horsemen and threatened to blow her away with the guns if she did not provide them with troops and victuals. After that, they surrounded the fort and discharged the guns. The battle raged and they said and did whatever they liked. Mr. Carne was shot dead. Those in the fort were put to much trouble. The Englishmen came out (of the fort) and they were taken outside the town and killed by the rebels near Jhokan Bagh. They took possession of all the articles they found in the fort. In the town itself they created disturbance at a large number of places while in the *Tahsils* too they repeated the same wherever there was money. One half of the Artillery buildings was in the Rani's possession where there were two cannons one called *Karhak Bijli* and another *Ghan Garaj* which everybody had seen. The people of the army raided, made the cannon named *Karhak Bijli* serviceable and carried it up on the fort. After that the rebels took the *Karhak Bijli* gun and two elephants from the Bai Saheba[1] and fled. But they left behind the guns.

RANI ASSUMES ROYAL POWERS

After the rebels had left, the Rani propsed to take the administration in her own hands. She sent *Kharitas* (letters) to Jabalpur giving the details of the state of affairs at Jhansi. She asked me to keep some persons in order to carry on the admininistration, but I refused to meddle with such affairs and said that that was the duty of her old servants and that I had nothing to do with that affair. The news of the Bai Saheba's intention to recruit men became widespread.

RELATIONS WITH ORCHHA AND DATIA

Since the death of the Raja, all correspondence with Datia and Orchha had ceased. She renewed it and wrote to them that such an incident had occurred that all should make a combined effort to check the disturbances. Baldeo *Purohit*

[1] The Rani of Jhansi.

came from Datia, and Behari Lal from Orchha was already at Jhansi with the *Saheb*[1]. She said to both of them that till arrangements were made from Jabalpur such measures should be taken at Jhansi that no disturbances would occur. A few days after that the Rani put me in prison in the fort. The reason for so doing was that Sadashiv Rao had taken possession of the fort of Karehra and the Rani had ordered me to take the army there. I refused and said that I would not meddle with any of those affairs. For 2½ months I remained in prison. When Mhow and Barwa Sagar were taken by the Orchha troops and the armies of Raja of Orchha had reached upto Jhansi, I was released. The fighting began and the Datia troops captured Nal Gaon Deoha and certain other places. Then the Orchha people brought the Banpur men and they intervened. Negotiations continued and *morchas* (entrenchments) were removed. Babina[2], Beri Gaon and Thakurpura were given up by the Orchha people. But they did not give up Mhow and Sagar[3] and other places. In the meantime the *Zamindars* rose up and captured several places namely Karotha[4] and others. Then some troops marched from Jhansi upon Mhow, and fought the Orchha people. Then Mama Saheb, Kashi Nath Bhaiya and Ganga Dhar Bhaiya led an army to Sagar and got it evacuated. When I was in prison, the Maharaja of Datia wrote to the Rani to send me to him but the Rani's men did not send me. Letters from Gwalior also were received to send me but the Rani's men paid no heed to them. I heard all that in prison. When they let me get down from the fort they asked the gate-keepers not to allow me to go outside. After that I heard of the coming of the *Sarkar's* army and of the *Saheb* from Indore. Gopal Rao Pandit was despatched with letters but he could not proceed further than Isa Garh[5]. I had given him

[1] Apparently Mr. Gordon.

[2] *Babina*, Tahsil *Jhansi*, District *Jhansi*—A large village in the south of the pargana, lying in latitude 25° 14′ N. and longitude 78° 30′ E. on the main road from Jhansi to Lalitpur, at a distance of 17 miles from the former. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 232.)

[3] Stands for *Barwa Sagar*.

[4] Apparently *Garautha*.

[5] *Isagarh*, Pargana and Zila *Isagarh*, (*Gwalior State*)—A large village lying in 24° 50′ N. and 77° 55′ E., 1,515 feet above sea-level. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 243).

several letters some of which were answered, others not. The letters sent to you (*the Sarkar*) were not answered. Then we conferred together. We got no help from Jabalpur nor did we get reply from the Lieutenant-Governor. It was also heard that the Orchha people had said many undesirable things and that was why no reply to the letters was received. That created great difficulty as to what course was to be adopted. It was being commonly said that the *Sarkar* was much displeased and that would not be in my interest. Then all my advisers conferred together and at times asked me what to do. I repeatedly told them that my family had a long record of faithfulness and therefore it was not proper for me to think of anything else than loyalty, no matter if the *Sarkar* did not hold a good opinion (about me). But the Rani's father and Ganga Dhar Bhaiya said that because no reply[1] had been received, they had no option but to fight and die.

DEFENCE OF JHANSI

The army came and the fight began. *Thakurs* of Puwari, Kerowa (or Khairwa), Datia and Doharkand .....[2] were present in the army. Three *Risalas* and hundred and fifty or hundred and seventy-five *Tilangas* were there. Jawahar Singh Katiawala (word not decipherable) and Raghunath Singh of Nunair, who had been on leave, but his men and Ganesh Jeo and Daula Jeo of Khairwa, were all there. Ghulam Ghaus Khan, the veteran gunner, was killed. There were other gunners too. It is said that no renowned officer except Jharru Kunwar was killed. I stayed at my own house during the days when the fight was going on and only went out to inspect the entrenchments when ordered. The gun-shots fired by the *Sarkar's* men destroyed many houses and men in the city and in the fort.

Question—Where was Paroliwala ? In the prison or outside ?

Answer—He was imprisoned in the Bola fort and was removed to the *Haveli* when shells poured. But his wife was in the fort. The day the *Sarkar's* army occupied the city, I

[1] Reply, probably from Jabalpur.
[2] Not clearly decipherable in Urdu text.

was called to the fort and detained there. When there was a heavy shower of bullets and she felt herself pressed tightly it was decided that we should leave the place as there was no safety. Once before when no reply was received from the *Sarkar*, Kashi Nath Bhaiya had also advised that we should leave the place, go outside and then begin negotiations. But nobody liked that idea. When the same proposal was made once again it was 6 hours past in the day. They asked me if I would accompany them and I agreed to go. Then I sought permission to go home for bringing in my horse and for other preparations and promised to come back when ordered. I was permitted to do that and I reached my home never to return back. I do not know when, how and by which route they left. But I heard that Lachhman Rao and Kashi Nath Bhaiya, Mama Saheb went together. About Ganga Dhar Bhaiya I do not know where he went to. He has not been traceable since the *Sarkar's* army entered.

Question—How long back did the Bai Saheba employ the rebel horsemen ?

Answer—She employed them when she was fighting the Orchha people and then she engaged the *Paltan Walas* after that fight.

FIROZ SHAH IN JHANSI

Question—Did Prince Firoz Shah come here ?

Answer—It is said that he came here, and he must have been treated hospitably by the Rani. I am not certain. The Nawab of Rahat Garh[1] also came here and stayed for four or five days and his . . (not legible)[2] remained here . . (not legible).

[1] *Rahatgarh*—A large village in the *Saugor* Tahsil 25 miles west of *Saugor* on the Bhopal road and situated on the Bina river. In 1857 the descendants of the old rulers, the Nawabs of Garhi-Amapani came and took possession of the fort with a band of insurgents. They held it until 1858 when the fort was invested and captured by Sir Hugh Rose and the rebels subsequently defeated at Barodia Naonagar with great slaughter, one of the Nawabs being taken and hanged. The fort is situated on a lofty eminence to the south-west of the town. (*Central Provinces District Gazetteers*, Saugor District, 1907, Pp. 244-245.)

[2] Apparently 'retinue'.

Bai Saheba kept two servants and treated hospitably the Nawab. Banpur Wala's sons had also come and stayed here.

RANI REQUISITIONS HELP FROM KALPI

Question— Did the Rani call for help from Kalpi ?

Answer— Yes, she wrote for help. Ganpat Rao Pandit and Gopal Rao had been sent for this. Ganpat Rao had been sent there four months back and Gopal Rao afterwards and the reply that help would shortly be given was received.

Question— Did Jharru Kunwar go with the rebels for killing the Englishmen and did the Bai Saheba give pieces of artillery to the rebels ?

Answer— The rebels committed great atrocities and had perforce taken Jharru Kunwar as well as a gun with them and forced the Bai Saheba to have the wheel of one of guns prepared for them.

RANI ESTABLISHES MINT

Question— Did the Rani establish her own mint ?

Answer— Yes. She did when she was hard of money.

Question— Did the Rani make any announcements in the town ?

Answer—When the rebels had left the town, the Rani made an announcement that she was carrying on the administration for the *Sarkar*.

Question—Did the Rani give money to the rebels ?

Answer—I do not know.

Question— Do you know where did the Rani go ?

Answer— I do not know. For ten years I had nothing to do with the Rani's affairs and since Mama Saheb's death I have never been to the *Haveli*, i.e., *Bara* ?

Question— Where is (Damodar) Rao Saheb, i.e., the son ?

Answer— So long as I was in the fort he was with the Rani there. He was then eight years old. The Rani had perhaps got the horse ready.

Question—By which way did you come out of the fort ?

Answer— Through the window. The *Parwangiwala* man was also with me.

Question—Nattho Khan is the Rani's servant and he is an officer of the army. He must have accompanied[1].

Question—Where were you on the day when the Europeans were massacred ?

Answer—I was in the town. The army people did it, and Bakhshish Ali was with them. None of the *Amlah* helped them.

Question—Who among the *Amlah* people took up service with the Rani ?

Answer—None but Trambak Rao. Gopal Rao and Hakim Ji used to come for administrative work for fifteen or twenty days and used to see papers. But they lived in the town and were called by the Rani. Some of them went out during the Orchha fight and some disappeared afterwards.

Question—Did Bakshish Ali also come ?

Answer—No. He had gone out with the army and came many days after. He then resided inside the town.

Question—Where did Adil Muhammad Khan live ?

Answer—He lived outside the town, his wife lived in the city.

Question—Where did the retinue of Banpur Chief encamp ?

Answer—Inside the town, in the *Haveli* in the garden. I was turned out for about seven days. I can't say where they went to.

Question—Where did Narwar Wala chief stay ?

Answer—Firstly he was informed not to come and that if he were to come, a fight would ensue. He came several times and stayed at a distance of one *Kos* from Sagar Gate and then returned.

Question—Who was in charge of the gates of the town ?

Answer—The gates were under the charge of Ganga Dhar Bhaiya and Mama Saheb.

Question—Who were posted at the gates ?

Answer—The *Thakurs* were with their men. There were Jawahir Singh's men, *Kotwali* people and *Gosains* at different spots.

Question—Who were there in the fort at the time you were there ?

[1] This part of the Statement appears to be the answer to some question. The wordings of the question are not given in the original text of the statement in Urdu.

Answer—Ganesh Jeo Khairwa Wala, Jawahir Singh, Mama Saheb, Natthu Khan and others, stayed there. None of the Officers was killed. Only 100 soldiers were killed. The prison had 40 or 50 prisoners only.

Question—Who was in charge of the *Bara* when the Rani went to the fort ?

Answer—Moro Balwant alias Mama Saheb, the Rani's father, lived there. When the *Sarkar's* army reached the fort, he was pierced with a bullet. He went to the fort after being shot with it. I saw him when wounded.

Question—Who was the Makrani *Resaldar* ?

Answer—I do not know. There was an officer. He had come from Gwalior. He was in the prime of manhood and was 40 years of age. First he lived in the fort and then near the *Paigah* of Ram Bhao.

Question—To what caste did Jharru Kunwar belong ?

Answer—He was a Gujar. He had a wife. Mansa Ram is his son-in-law and one of his grandsons was Jai Kunwar. Jharru Kunwar's daughter was married to Khub Chand, brother of Mansa Ram. He comes from Baroni.

Question—Where was Kashi Nath posted as *Tahsildar* ?

Answer—Kashi Nath Bhaiya was *Tahsildar* at Pandwaya[1] on behalf of the British Government. Then he entered as counsellor into the Rani's service.

Question—Was there any gun-powder in the fort ?

Answer—No. It was prepared there. Some of it exploded.

Question—The Rani's treasure was in the *Haveli*. How much was it nobody knows. Guman was the treasurer. Lachhman Rao's brother Nana (Rao) was in charge of *Tosha khana*.[2]

Question—Where did the expenses of the army come from ?

Answer—Some money was given from the Rani's palace and some was borrowed from the *Mahajans* to whom a written undertaking of return was given. Some was realised as revenue. She sold part of her ornaments.

Question—Where did the Rani in your knowledge go to ?

[1] Name of the place not clearly decipherable.

[2] Obviously, this is the 'answer' to some 'question' the wordings of which are not given in the original text in Urdu. It may be worded as "Where was Rani's treasure ?"

Answer— Perhaps to ..... (Illegible) side. There can be no other place.[1]

* * *

Madar Bakhsh Jamadar's deposition in the court of Francis, Superintendent, dated April 12, 1858.

Question— As usual.

Answer—My name is Madar Bakhsh, my father's name is Sheikh Kallu, Musalman, resident of Damoh. Profession service. My age is about 38 years.

Question—Do you know anything about Lalu Bakhshi ? Give a detailed account of what you know.

Answer—Before the outbreak at Jhansi, Chhotey Jeo, the *Mukhtar* of the Thakur of Samru[2] came to me and said that he had something to say to Mr. Gordon. I took him to the *Saheb* to whom he said everything he had to say. When the *Mukhtar* returned from the *Saheb Bahadur's* place, he accompanied me to the city. He then said to me, "Lalu Bakhshi called our *Lala* and asked him to write a letter calling his *Thakurs*. We asked what for?[3] Lalu Bakhshi replied that the Thakurs of Panwar, Derabra[4] and Bundelas of Jhansi state were told at the time they were called for the *Janeu* ceremony of the adopted son that a disturbance must be created in the Jhansi territory. Only one, *Thakur* of Samru, had not come; he should now be called". (The *Mukhtar* then said to me), "I had told the *Saheb Bahadur* about this affair, and he advised me to take the letter from Lalu Bakhshi so that a suit be filed against him". Then I asked the *Mukhtar* as to who took part in that *Panchayat*. He said that there were Lachhman Rao, Lalu Bakshi, Bhola Nath *Mutsarrif* and one more person, perhaps named Lalai Jeo, on the other side was Hardeo Singh, the *Mukhtar* of the *Thakurani* of Kathura[5]. There were these

[1] Trial Proceedings in the case "*Government vs. Lalu Bakhshi*". Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

[2] Name not clearly decipherable.

[3] The wordings of this sentence in Urdu text are somewhat confusing. The portion has been translated with the presumption, that Lalu Bakhshi was addressing the 'Mukhtar' and the 'Lala' both.

[4] The names of these places are not clearly decipherable in the statement in Urdu.

[5] Name not clear in the original.

four persons in conference and one more, a *Jamadar* of some *Paltan*. One day there was *Sat Narain Ki Katha* at the place of the *Jamadar*. Bhola Nath *Mutsarrif* was also there and he gave an offering of Rs. 2. There was some talk about these affairs at his place. Then the *Mukhtar* went to his own house and I went to mine. After taking meals when I went to the *Saheb*, he said to me. "Did you hear the *Mukhtar's* nonsensical talk ?" I said, "Yes : I did." The *Saheb* retorted, "Was it not nonsensical ?" I said, "It might be so, if you please. But the rumour is that they will do what they talk and a disturbance will occur". Then the *Saheb* said, "Tell the *Mukhtar* of Rao Satya Pat *Jagirdar* Kathehra[1] Wala to write to his *Thakur* to come to this place. If a disturbance takes place it will begin from Kathehra". Thereupon I called Kamta Prasad, the *Mukhtar* of Kathehra Wala and told him all this. The *Mukhtar* said, "I will write a letter and call the *Thakur*. But some *Sawars* who have been coming from that side say that the *Thakurs* here do not raise their heads otherwise we would fully cooperate with them". I took the *Mukhtar* to the *Saheb* and he stated all this before him. The *Saheb* enquired if any of them was a chief or all of them were common soldiers. The *Mukhtar* said that perhaps one of them was a horseman and the others were foot-soldiers. The *Saheb* said, "They might be riffraffs. They may be punished if an evidence against them is procured". The *Mukhtar* said, "It is difficult to get it".

PLOT TO TRAP LALU BAKHSHI AND LACHHMAN RAO

The *Saheb* then asked the *Mukhtar* to call his Thakur and he departed. When the *Saheb* went for an outing in the evening I followed him and said, "If you consider it proper I may call Lalu Bakhshi and Lachhman Rao in the presence of the *Tahsildar* and tell him that a certain person was going to the *Saheb* to complain against him but we did not let him do that and that they should keep back from their evil intentions. The *Saheb* allowed me to do so. Accordingly the next morn-

[1] Apparently *Katera*, Tahsil *Mau*, District *Jhansi*—A small town in 25° 15′ N. and 78° 56′ E., lying in the south-west of the tahsil, at a distance of 15 miles from Mau and 30 miles from Jhansi. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 282).

ing I went to the *Tahsildar*, called Lalu Bakhshi and Lachhman Rao and admonished them. Both of them pretended ignorance. I said, "Remember that the British rule is so widely extended that none dare raise his head. How can you do this, then ? If any disturbance occurs, you will be ruined. The people in the city are frightened and believe that the town will be plundered". Then the *Tahsildar* and the revenue *Sarishtadar* requested the *Saheb* to recruit 200 or 300 men for the defence of the ryot. The *Saheb* said, "You worry me for nothing". The Superintendent did not give order for recruitment and even after I had pressed for it several times, he ordered for the recruitment of 50 men only. Accordingly the District Magistrate ordered the Kathehra Wala to recruit 50 men and to send them to the *Tahsildar* and the *Thakurs* accordingly recruited 50 men and sent them to the *Tahsildar*. A few days after that, the occurrence took place. The day we were caught by the *Tilangas* on June 6, 1857, we went to the *paltan* quarters at 9 P. M. Both Lalu Bakhshi and Jhandu Kunwar[1] were present there. They were conferring with Bakhshish Ali *Darogha*. He said, "The estate is to be returned through your kindness. Bai Saheba had two sons and she will pass it over to one she likes and one who serves her". Then Lalu Bakhshi, Chhedu Kunwar[2], myself and others went to the *Risaldar*. Shortly after a *harkara* from the city reached and said, "Why does the *Saheb* fear and want a Bungalow" ? The *Risaldar* said, "Go away. I do not know". Then Lalu Bakhshi said to the *harkara*, "You do not make any arrangements. Set up the guards". The city remained unguarded. Continuously the *harkaras* came to the *Risala* and conveyed the news, upto the time it was 3 *pahars* left in the night. At this time the *Risaldar* sent Lalu Bakhshi for making arrangements. Lalu Bakhshi and Jharru Kunwar had then left the *Risala* and the *Tahsildar* of Jhansi, Revenue *Nazir* and myself kept talking with the *Risaldar*. The *Risaldar* made the *Tahsildar* write a note to the *Saheb* saying that they could leave the place without interference. When I reached the fort with that note, I found Rani's guards posted at the gate and was refused admission

[1] In some other documents this name has been spelt as 'Jhanoo Kunwar' or 'Jharroo Kunwar'.

[2] Apparently this has been spelt for 'Jharru Kunwar.'

unless I brought a *Parwana* from Rani Saheba. I then went to Rani Saheba's place for a *Parwana* where I found Lalu Bakshi recruiting soldiers. Then I was taken captive at 5 P. M. at the instance of Lalu Bakhshi and Ganga Dhar Bhaiya, during the course of the exchange of replies to the note. I do not know what Lalu Bakhshi did that night and the next forenoon.

Question—How long did you stay at Jhansi after the massacre of the Englishmen ? What did Lalu Bakhshi, who was a servant of the Rani, do ?

Answer—For 4 months after the massacre I stayed at Jhansi. Lalu Bakhsi was then in the Rani's service. He was a *Bakhshi*. When Sada Shive Rao had gone to Karehra an army was sent from Jhansi. I heard that Lalu Bakhshi had written a latter to him which was intercepted. The Rani, therefore, put him into prison. But when the Orchha army came to Jhansi, the Rani reinstated Lalu Bakhshi and gave him the robes of Bakhshi.[1]

ROLE OF RANI OF JHANSI

ASSUMES SOVEREIGNTY

Letter No. 197 *from Lieutenant J. H. Lamb, Offg. Extra Assistant Commissioner, Jalaun, dated* 12*th June.*

.....States that the Rani of Jhansi has assumed the title of sovereign and has issued orders to *Tahsildars* and others to join her with their followers.[2]

RANI IN OPEN REVOLT AND THE LIQUIDATION OF HER DEBTS

Letter No. 2762 *to Secretary to Government of India, dated* 30*th June.*

In reply to letter No. 3689, dated 20th ultimo, communicates the orders of the Governor General in Council on the subject of the unliquidated debts of the Jhansie state.

[1] Trial Proceedings in the case "*Govt. vs. Lalu Bakhshi*", Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*. "Deposition of Madar Bakhsh."

[2] N. W. P. Proceedings—Political, 1857, Foreign Department, No. 197; Proceedings of 17th June 1857. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Observing that a communication has not been made to the Ranee of Jhansie on the subject of her letter, in consequence of her having gone into open revolt, as reported in paras 2 to 4 of the Lieutenant Governor's Despatch of the 18th June.[1]

RANI OF JHANSI RAISES AN ARMY

Extract of message from Thornton, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, to the Superintendent of Police, Cawnpore (Kanpur), dated Sumpther (Samthar), August 18, 1857.

For the information of the General, I beg to inclose a list of those who were killed at Jhansie. The mutiny commenced on the 5th June; on the 6th, four officers were killed on the parade; the others, who escaped into the fort were massacred on the 8th. It is the general impression (that) the mutineers, after killing their own officers and plundering the Treasury, were going off, and it was only at the *instigation of the Jhansie Ranee, with the view of her obtaining possession of the district that they attacked the fort, together with other armed men, furnished by the Ranee.* For two days our officers held out bravely, shooting several who attempted to force an entry into the fort, but as they had no guns or ammunition, or food, *they gave themselves up after the mutineers had sworn most solemnly to allow them to go unmolested.* Yet they allowed them to be massacred by the Ranee's people in their presence, in a most cruel and brutal manner, having no regard to sex or age. For this act, the mutineers are said to have received 35,000 rupees in cash, two elephants, and five horses, from her. *The Ranee has now raised a body of about* 14,000 *men, and has twenty guns, which had been kept concealed by the former Jhansie Chief by being buried within the fort, and of which nothing was known to our officers.* I am not certain whether she intends to make any resistance in case our troops come to this quarter, but none of the other native chiefs in Bundelcund have as yet turned against our Government.

[1] N. W. P. Proceedings—Political, 1857, Foreign Department, Nos. 9 to 10; Proceedings of 1st August 1857. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

CHIEF OF JALAUN MOBILISES HIS FORCES

The Jalowan[1] Chief has raised a body of about 12,000 men, but I do not think he would fight against us. At Saugor, too, a portion of our troops have mutinied, but no particulars are known, and, from my peculiar position here, I have been unable to communicate with him.....

OCCUPATION OF JALAUN

I might as well mention, for the information of the General, that the man who is now in possession of Jalowan, was the *Jageerdar* of Gourserai (Gur Sarai), within my jurisdiction, which comprised the *pergunnahs* of Mhow, Pandwah, Gurrotah (Garautha), and Gourserai (Gur Sarai). I held my own office at Mow Raneepoor, in the Jhansie district.[2]

LEADERS AT JHANSI

Letter No. 2 from Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun, dated 19th September 1857.

Bring to notice, for future punishment, the names of the Rani of Jhansee, the *Tehsildar* of the same place, and Kallee Khan[3] *Risaldar* of the 14th Irregular Cavalry, as the instigators and ring leaders of the cruel massacre at Jhansee.[4]

REWARDS FOR THE ARREST OF RANI'S OFFICERS

Extracts from Proceedings of N. W. P. Foreign Department on Jhansi Division.

Para 84—As recommended by the Commissioner of Jhansi, the Governor General was pleased to authorise the offers of rewards to the extent proposed for the apprehension of the rebels, noted in the margin (given below).

[1] Spelt for *Jalaun*.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 78 in No. 3, p. 169.

[3] Correct name may be 'Kaley Khan' or 'Kallu Khan'.

[4] N. W. P. Proceedings—Political, 1857, Foreign Department, No. 270, Proceedings of 23rd September 1857. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

1. Bakshish Ali
2. Oomra Singh[1]
3. Moro Bulwant alias Mama

} Rs. 2,000/- each.

1. Mohammad Solah (Saleh)
2. Mahomad Buksh (Bakhsh)
3. Gungadhur (Gangadhar)
4. Lachman Rao
5. Lalloo Bukshee (Bakhshi)
6. Kashi Nauth (Kashi Nath)

} Rs. 1,000/- each.

Para 85—"With reference to orders dated 7th April, 1858 regarding certain statements in the *Bombay Times* communicated in a letter dated 22nd March 1858 purporting to be written from Jhansi, as a true account of circumstances attending the murder of the Europeans and Anglo-Indian residents at that station, the Superintendent of Jhansi, submitted the following report as an accurate representation of the worst features of that tragedy viz. that Captain F. D. Gordon was shot dead over the gateway of the fort, that the other officials and residents who were inside being in want of provisions, agreed to surrender, on condition that their lives, and those of their wives and children should be spared, that the mutineers and rebels having sworn to do this, the Europeans allowed them to enter, that the mutineers, police and the Ranee's armed followers immediately bound the men and took them, their wives and children to the Jokunbagh, outside the fort and town and there separating the men from the women, first murdered the males; Bakshish Ali, the Jail *Darogah*, commenced the slaughter by cutting down Captain Skene, with his own hand and that the women and children were then killed with swords and spears. *Captain Pinkney further stated that the females were not brought before the Ranee, stripped and with their faces blackened, nor were any of them dishonoured, but that after the murder the bodies were stripped and left in the Jokunbagh till the third day when they were buried in a gravel pit near the garden.* The Commissioner added that previously to the receipt of orders above quoted, he had written to the *Poona Observer* publicly contradicting the statement in the *Bombay Times*.

[1] Appears to have been spelt for 'Amar Singh', or 'Umrao Singh'.

The publication of the above report in the Govt. Gazette was directed by the Governor General.[1]

RANI AS A DIPLOMAT

ALLEGED KHARITAS

Letter (No. A of 1857) *from Major W. C. Erskine, Commissioner, Saugor (Sagar) Division, to C. Beadon, Secretary to the Govt. of India, Home Department, Fort William, Jubbulpore (Jabalpur), dated 2nd July* 1857.

Last night two *Hurkarahs* brought me letters from the Ranee of Jhansee concealed in their walking sticks.

2*nd*—I enclose free translations of the papers noted in the margin (given below) sent by the Ranee and of my reply to her.

Ranee's letter dt. 12th June	A
Ranee's letter dt. 14th June	B
Narrative of events	C
Reports from outposts	D

3*rd*—From these it will be seen that by the Ranee's own account she in no way lent assistance to the mutineers and rebels; on the contrary that she herself was plundered and forced to take charge of the District and this agrees with what I hear from other sources.

4*th*—*The Ranee expresses her inability from want of funds and troops to maintain any order and begs for assistance.*

5*th*—Having no means whatever of sending civil officers and troops to restore order at present, and to put down the sad state of anarchy which exists I have told the Ranee to collect the Revenue, to raise Police and to do everything in her power to restore order and that accounts will be settled with her when officers reach Jhansee, when she will be liberally dealt with, and I have also sent her proclamation to issue (a translation of which I enclose) calling on all inhabitants of the Districts to obey the Ranee agreeably to the custom of the British Govt. who will for a time make proper arrangements.

6*th*—I am distressed to find from the paper marked D that the Ranee has heard there has also been massacre and

[1] Agra Narrative, Foreign Department, 1853-60. No. 2 of 1858; North Western Provinces, Foreign Department, Narrative of the Proceedings of Right Hon'ble the Governor General during the 2nd Quarter of 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

plunder at the station of Orai in the Jalaun district but no particulars are given.

7*th*—When the Govt. have troops to spare, the Jalaun and Jhansee districts should be reoccupied from Cawnpore, and European troops must be sent here and to Saugor via Mirzapore.

8*th*—Regarding matters in Jalaun I shall probably be able to report in a few days.

9*th*—The *Hurkarahs*, who brought the Ranee's letters, came at the risk of their lives, through a wild part of the country between Jhansee and Saugor, which they describe to be in a state of anarchy, every man's hand against that of his neighbour. They were robbed of their clothes and little property, and I have given them a present of 30 Rupees each, the greater part of it in a *Hoondee* (*Hundi*) in Jhansee and promised them 20 Rs. more if they safely deliver my letter to Ranee.

10*th*—At Nagode on the afternoon of the 28th ultimo a party of about 60 prisoners rushed out of the jail, ran towards the officers' bungalows and attempted to set fire to them, calculating, it is supposed, on the *Sipahees* of the 50th assisting them, but in this they were mistaken; the *Sipahees* and Police turned out and shot down 14 of the prisoners and seized nearly all the others; only 8 escaped and of these only one was a prisoner of consequence. Enquiry is being made as to how the prisoners got out of jail.

11*th*—I have ordered rewards amounting in the aggregate to 500 Rs. to be paid to the most deserving of those who captured or shot the convicts.

12*th*—I have no further intelligence about the Lullutpoor (Lalitpur) officers.[1]

A

Translation of Khureetah (Kharita) of the Ranee of Jhansee (Rani of Jhansi) to the address of the (Commissioner), and Agent Lieutenant Governor, Saugor (Sagar) Division, dated 12th June 1857.

After compliments—States that the Govt. forces, stationed at Jhansee, through their faithlessness, cruelty and violence, killed all the Europeans, Civil and Military Officers, the clerks

[1] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 31st July 1857, Part II, Cons. No. 353, Pp. 440-2. National Archives, New Delhi.

and all their families and the Ranee, not being able to assist them for want of guns, and soldiers as she had only 100 or 50 people engaged in guarding her house, she[1] could render them no aid, which she very much regrets. That they the mutineers, afterwards behaved with much violence against herself and servants, and extorted a great deal of the money from her, and said that as the Ranee was entitled to succeed to the *Reasut*, she should undertake the management since the sepoys were proceeding to Delhi to the King.

That her dependence was entirely on the British authorities who met with such a misfortune; the sepoys knowing her to be quite helpless sent her messages through the *Tehseeldar* of Jhansee, the Revenue and Judicial *Serishtadars* of the Deputy Commissioner's and Superintendent's Courts to the effect that if she at all hesitated to comply with their requests, they would blow up her palace with guns. Taking into consideration her position, she was obliged to consent to all the requests made and put up with a great deal of annoyance, and had to pay large sums in property, as well as in cash to save her life and honour.

Knowing that no British officers had been spared in the whole district, she was, in consideration of the welfare and protection of the people, and the district, induced to address *Perwannahs* to all the Govt. subordinate agency in the shape of Police etc. to remain at their posts and perform their duties as usual. She is in continual dread of her own life and that of the inhabitants.

It was proper that the report of all this should have been made immediately, but the disaffected allowed her no opportunity for so doing. As they have this day proceeded towards Delhi, she loses no time in writing.[2]

B

Translation of Khureeta (Kharita) from the Ranee of Jhansee (Rani of Jhansi) to the address of the Commissioner and Agent Lieutenant Governor, Saugor (Sagar) Division, dated the 14th June 1857.

After compliments—States that on the 12th June, she

[1] 'She' appears superfluous here.

[2] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 31st July 1857, Part II, Cons. No. 354, Pp. 442-3. National Archives, New Delhi.

addressed the Commissioner on the subject of the awful events which have transpired in Jhansee and sent the *Khut* (*Khat*—letter) by Gungadhur (Gangadhar) Dangee and Bhowanee (Bhawani) *Hurkara*. That she still continues to regret the fate of the Europeans of Jhansee and is convinced that greater cruelties could not have been enacted in any other place. A detailed narrative of them is annexed to the *Khureeta*.

The further news since is, that in all the *Elaquas* subordinate to Jhansee, the Chiefs have taken possession of the *Gurhees* (*Garhis*), while others are plundering the country. That it is quite beyond her power to make any arrangement for the safety of the district as the measures would require funds, which she does not possess, nor will the *Mahajuns* in times like these lend her money. Up to the present time, after selling her own personal property, and suffering much inconvenience, she has managed to save the town from being plundered and has kept up the form of the late Govt. She has entertained many people for the protection of the Town and *Mofussil* outposts but without a competent Govt. Force, and funds, she sees the impossibility of holding on any further; she has therefore written out some remarks on the state of the district which is also sent herewith and trusts she may early be favoured with orders which she will see carried out.[1]

C

Translation of Kharita detailing Narrative of Events which transpired in Jhansee (Jhansi) on the 5th June 1857 *about* 1 *P.M.*

All of (a) sudden about 50 or 60 Sepoys rose and took possession of the Magazine and Govt. Treasure and commenced firing their muskets towards Captain Skene's Bungalow. On finding this to be the case, Captain Skene, his wife and children, in company with Captain Gordon proceeded to the town and made arrangements for guarding it and then proceeded to the Fort. A short time after this, other Gentlemen also went to the Fort which they guarded with small force and the Ranee sent a few of her own Guards to the Fort for their aid.

[1] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 31st July 1857, Part II, Cons. No. 354, Pp. 443-4. National Archives, New Delhi.

On the 6th June everything remained as on the previous day up to noon viz., only such of the sepoys as had become disaffected remained so, the rest and sowars continuing quiet. After 12 o' clock all became disaffected and joined together and killed all their officers, and burnt their Bungalows as well as all the Public Offices with their Records which were all destroyed and plundered. They then proceeded to the Jail and released all the prisoners. The Jail *Darogah* joined the mutineers and they then proceeded towards the town and surrounded the Fort, but since the Gentlemen had closed the gates of the Fort and were firing with great bravery from the Fort walls, the mutineers could not manage to open the gates.

On the 7th June the mutineers commenced firing guns against the Fort walls and this very much frightened the town's people, specially when 4 or 5 balls came and fell in the town, but everything remained quiet.

On the 8th June the mutineers planned an assault on the Fort and compelled 150 men of the Ranee's to join them, who then all continued the attack till 3 o' clock P. M. During all this time the Gentlemen, who were so few, continued with their usual vigour to defend the Fort and managed to kill and wound many of the mutineers with their guns. After this Captain Gordon received a musket shot which killed him. Then Captain Skene, with his wife and children and other Gentlemen came down from the Fort and intended to escape out of the town, but the cruel mutineers did not allow them to effect their purpose. After murdering them all in such a cruel manner that the Almighty is sure to punish them for it, they plundered some people in the town and otherwise did as they pleased. *The Ranee with the utmost difficulty managed to save her life, but her money and property were plundered.* She was not able to report this before to the Commissioner or Agent since the disaffected had stopped all *Dawk* communication and had guarded all the roads round Jhansee which prevented every one from going out.

On the night of the 11th June they left the place and it is hoped will go to hell for their deeds.[1]

[1] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 31st July 1857, Part II, Cons. No. 354, Pp. 444-5. National Archives, New Delhi.

D

Translation of Khureeta (Kharita) from the Commissioner Saugor (Sagar) Division to the Ranee of Jhansee (Rani of Jhansi), dated 2nd July 1857.

After compliments— I have received your letters of the 12th and 14th June sent by your *Hurkaras* Bhuwanee (Bhawani) and Gungadhur (Gangadhar), and have understood the contents.

I hope very soon to be able to send Officers and Troops to restore order in Jhansee, and European Troops are being rapidly sent up the country to the disturbed districts but until a new Superintendent arrives at Jhansee, I beg you will manage the district, for the British Government collecting the Revenue, raising such Police as may be necessary and making other proper arrangements such as you know the Government will approve and when the Superintendent takes charge from you, he will not only give no trouble, but will repay you for all your losses and expenses, and deal liberally with you.

I send you a Proclamation with my seal and signature both in Persian and Hindee, announcing that you will until further orders rule the district in the name of the British Government and calling on all to pay you the Revenue and obey your orders.

You may depend on my word that order in all parts of India will soon be restored, now that the mutineers and rebels, who collected at Delhi, have nearly all been killed in battle, or plundered and murdered by villagers or hung by the Government officers in different places.

I enclose you a copy of the Proclamation I issued on hearing of the taking of Delhi.

The Kings and other great men who caused these disturbances did so in the hope of benefiting themselves and not to benefit you or the people of the country but they are now in confinement and the wicked who are permitted to live a short time longer bitterly repent their foolish and wicked conduct.

I also send you a copy of letter I wrote to you on the 23rd ultimo, which you may not have received.

I have rewarded your *Hurkarahs* and if they deliver this

letter safely to you I beg you will give them each 20 Rupees more and I will repay it.[1]

PROCLAMATION FOR JHANSEE (JHANSI)

Be it known to all people belonging to, or residing in the Government District of Jhansee, that owing to the bad conduct of the soldiers some valuable lives have been lost, and property destroyed, but the strong and powerful British Government is sending thousands of European soldiers to places which have been disturbed, and early arrangements will be made to restore order in Jhansee.

Until Officers and Troops reach Jhansee, the Ranee will rule in the name of the British Government and I hereby call on all, great and small, to obey the Ranee, and to pay the Government Revenue, to her for which they will receive credit.

The British Army has retaken the city of Delhi and has killed thousands of the rebels, and will hang or shoot all the rebels wherever they may be found.[2]

RANI'S ALLEGED ACCOUNT NOT TRUSTED

Letter (No. 3032 of 1857) from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, to Major W. C. Erskine, Commissioner, Saugor (Sagar) and Nerbudda (Narmada) Territories, dated Fort William, the 23rd July 1857.

In reply to your letter dated the 2nd instant No. A, forwarding translations of two letters from the Ranee of Jhansee, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General in Council approves and sanctions the rewards amounting to Rs. 500, which you have authorized to be paid, to the most deserving of those who captured or shot the convicts who attempted to escape from the Nagode Jail.

In respect to the Ranee I am to state that though His Lordship in Council does not blame you for accepting, in the circumstances in which

[1] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 31st July 1857, Part II, Cons. No. 354, Pp. 447-8. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 31st July 1857, Part II, Cons. No. 354, Pp. 448-9. National Archives, New Delhi.



Bhanderi Gate—Jhansi
(Photograph by Information Department, U. P.)

you were placed, her account of her own proceedings, and sentiments, and entrusting to her the management of the Jhansee Territory on behalf of the British Government, yet this circumstance will not protect her if her account should turn out to be false. From the account supplied to Government by Major Ellis, it appears, that the Ranee did lend assistance to the mutineers and rebels, and that she gave guns and men.[1]

12TH NATIVE INFANTRY IN REVOLT

Letter No. C from Major Erskine, Commissioner and Agent to the Lieutenant Governor, Sagar and Narmada Territories to George Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with Foreign Department, Dated Jabalpur, 14th June 1857.

All communication between this and the N. W. P. being entirely cut off for many days, I consider it my duty to report as follows for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of India in Council :

2*nd*—On the 9th Inst. I received a Demi-Official letter from Captain F. Gordon, Deputy Commissioner of Jhansee dated the 6th Inst. in which he stated that on the afternoon of the 5th Inst. a portion of the wing of the 12th N. I. stationed there mutinied, seizing the Treasure(4½ lacs)and the Magazine. The mutineers were shortly joined by the Native detail of Artillery and the wing of the 14th Irregular Cavalry the rest of the 12th N. I. remaining passive.

EUROPEANS ESCAPE INTO FORTS

3*rd*—The whole of the Europeans with their families escaped into the Forts, which overhang the city, and Captain Skene, the Superintendent, and Captain Gordon, the Deputy Commissioner had sent off expresses in every direction for assistance and were doing their utmost to raise *Thakoors* but I fear no aid could reach them and I doubt the loyalty of them who would be much more likely to plunder the sepoys than to aid the European officers.

4*th*—Captain Gordon also stated that there was a report at Jhansee that the other wing of the 12th N. I. had mutinied

[1] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 31st July 1857, Part II, Cons. No. 355, Pp. 449-50. National Archives, New Delhi.

at Nowgong (Naugaon) and were on their way to join the wing at Jhansee; whether this is true or not I cannot say but I hear from Nagode that there have been some disturbances at Nowgong.

JHANSI FORT ATTACKED

5*th*—Since the date of Captain Gordon's letter I deeply regret to say I have not heard from Jhansee and the Deputy Commissioner of Chundeyree (the district between Jhansee and Saugor) writes me under date the 10th Inst. that he hears from Natives who have come from Jhansee that the fort was attacked on the 7th Inst. and all the Europeans murdered. This may not be entirely true.

THAKURS OF CHANDERI IN REVOLT

6*th*—The turbulent *Thakoors* of the Chundeyree district have nearly all risen in open rebellion and were plundering the Govt. villages. They have surrounded the Deputy Commissioner's Head-quarter station Lullutpore in large force and he has only 2 or 3 weak Companies of the Gwalior Contingent (6th Regiment) with him but both he and I have called on the Brigadier Commanding at Saugor to send troops to his aid and I hear today that the Brigadier has sent 2 guns and 2 Companies of N. I. (one of the 31st and one of the 42nd) but I have also heard that some other *Thakoors*[1] in the North of the Saugor district bordering on Chundeyree, as well as others in the Shahgurh and Oorcha (Tehree) states, have risen. I have urged on the Brigadier the necessity of sending a larger force and stated that if he required more troops at Saugor the 52nd might be moved up from this station and be replaced by Madras troops from Kamptee.

SAGAR TROOPS AGITATED

7*th*—On the 9th Inst. after hearing of the mutiny at Jhansee there was of course considerable agitation amongst the troops at Saugor and in the 52nd at Jubulpore. This and other

[1] "Jhansee Thakoors"—Note in the Original.

matters made me think it advisable that the small guard of Madras Infantry over the Treasury at the station of Seonee should be strengthened from Kamptee and after consulting the Officer Commanding the station (Lt. Col. Jamieson), I with his full consent wrote to the Commissioner of Nagpore to request that this might be done, mentioning that 2 guns, a Troop of Cavalry and one or two Companies of N. I. would be ample and that the detachment was intended only for the protection of the Seonee District.

8*th*—In reply to my request Mr. Plowden states that he thought the Detachment I had named was much too small and although he allows that I informed him that any move of Madras Troops beyond Seonee might have a very bad effect on the 52nd B. N. I. (Bengal Native Infantry) he considered it necessary for the protection of his own Province, it appears, to send a very large force consisting of :—

1 Regt. N. I.
1 Squadron 4th M. I. Cavy. (Madras Irregular Cavalry)
1 *Ressala*—Nagpore Irregulars.
2 Nine-Pounder Guns.
1 Twelve Pounder Howitzer.

with orders to reach Seonee on the 19th Inst. and to act under my orders.

9*th*—I must say I regret this large force having been ordered, because the 52nd B. N. I. will suppose they are going to be disarmed, a disgrace they have long expressed themselves afraid of, but I have requested the Commanding Officer not only fully to explain the object of the movement but to allow the men to adopt measures to ascertain if the troops quit Seonee, which they will not do unless called on from this.

10*th*—The approach however of the Madras troops makes me anxious that the 52nd should be sent to Saugor to replace troops sent thence to Chundeyree and I have suggested this to Brigadier Sage at Saugor.

11*th*—So far as I know the 31st, 42nd, 50th, and 52nd N. I. Regiments, in my division, are all well affected but the times are trying to the well behaved sepoy and after what have occurred elsewhere it is impossible to feel sure of any Corps.

12*th*—I have today taken measures which I trust will succeed, for opening out communication with Agra *via* Saugor and Seronje to Goonah and also another line from Saugor *via* Tehree to Jhansee and have offered rewards for any correct

information that may reach me by *Cossid* or otherwise from Jhansee.

BRITISHERS APPREHENSIVE OF SAGAR TROOPS

13*th*—Under present circumstances I could not hope that the Saugor troops would march against the mutineers at Jhansee but my idea is that the mutineers will soon be plundered and driven out by Boondelahs and if so we may then hope to recover Jhansee through the aid of our own troops.

14*th*—I am acting entirely on my own responsibility in raising sowars and entire Police for the protection of my district and in the absence of any orders from my Government I trust I may be supported by the Governor General in Council.

15*th*—I have no authority to address or interfere with the Chiefs of Bundelkhund and Rewah and I must say I think this is to be regretted for these states lie close to me i.e. between my Division and the Ganges and Jumna but they are subordinate to the Governor General's Agent at Indore.

16*th*—There is of course considerable excitement amongst the inhabitants throughout this part of India but the respectable classes are well affected to the Government and from what I hear the Rewah Raja, who has the Command, I may say, of the great Deccan Road is loyal.

17*th*—The Road between this and Calcutta *via* Mirzapore is open but that between this and Allahabad closed, owing, it is said, to the bad conduct of the *Zemindars* of the Allahabad District.[1]

JHANSI DISTRICTS OUT OF BRITISH HANDS

Narrative of Events in the Central Provinces, Saugor (Sagar) Division., Oct. 3, 1857.

Jhansee Districts—The whole of the Southern and Eastern Districts of this division would appear to have been quite quiet till the middle of August, beyond which the accounts do

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th October 1857, No. 545. National Archives, New Delhi.

not extend. The Jhansee Districts are absolutely out of our possession.[1]

BRITISHERS IN CRITICAL POSITION AT JABALPUR

H

Letter from D. C. Vanrenen, Captain, Artillery, dated Jabalpur, 5th August 1857.

In the present state of affairs, and until we hear of the fall of Delhi, no Station, occupied by only Native Troops of the Bengal Army, can be considered safe.

This does not necessarily imply reflection on the 52nd now here. They have apparently been in a state of great insubordination, but appear to have calmed down, and are now quiet. Still, with the many unfortunate examples before us, reliance can scarcely be placed in any Native Regiment of this Presidency.

Under these circumstances, and considering the critical position we are placed in at Jubbulpore, and the difficulty, indeed almost impossibility, of being speedily relieved during the rainy season in the event of an outbreak of the Corps, as an Artillery Officer, I give it as my deliberate opinion, that it is not at present safe to leave this Station entirely in the hands of the 52nd; and I consider it highly impolitic that the Movable Column recently arrived from Kamptee should pass on, without leaving us a single gun, or European gunner, wherewith to defend ourselves : and although it is improbable that aught I alone advance, will influence a decision on the subject, I for one most respectfully remonstrate against a proceeding which will leave us in so unprotected a state, which may expose this Station to loss, and our helpless women and children to certain destruction.

I consider that a calm and temperate explanation should be made both to the Commissioner Major Erskine, and the Officer Commanding the Movable Column, with an earnest request that all the Madras troops do not move on, at least

[1] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure in No. 8, para 16, p. 85.

until a reply has been received to a representation which is about to be submitted by Major Sleeman to the Governor General in Council, and pending His Lordship's decision as to the propriety, or otherwise, of the proceeding.

For many days, though not besieged, we were almost in a state of siege; throwing up intrenchments, and blockading ourselves in the Agency. Was it an imaginary danger ? And against whom were these precautions taken ? I was always under the belief, that it was against this very Regiment to whose tender mercies it is now proposed to leave us.

This Station should be provided with two guns manned by European gunners, and that before the Movable Column leaves the Station.[1]

MANY BUNDELKHAND DISTRICTS LOST TO THE BRITISH

Letter from W. C. Erskine, Commissioner, Jabalpur, dated 6th August 1857.

GENTLEMEN—The matter on which I wish to consult you to day is the advance or halt of the Movable Column.

Owing to the mutineers and rebellion, the whole of the Jaloun, Jhansie, Chundeyree, Saugor and Dumoh districts, (with the exception of the town and Fort of Saugor and the same of Dumoh) have temporarily been lost to us, and a state of fearful anarchy exists in all these districts.

In Jubbulpore both mutiny and rebellion were expected, and at one time an invasion from Native States but happily all these have been averted. The 52nd Regiment is behaving remarkably orderly and quietly; and by three Detachments of this Corps having marched into the district, all appearance of rebellion has been put down. The roads in every direction, with the exception of that towards Saugor, are open and perfectly safe; and so long as the 52nd remains staunch, no one I believe is afraid of any rebellion here. The question therefore, as far as regards Jubbulpore, is—is it safe to leave the Station and District to the care of the 52nd Native Infantry, whilst the Column advances ?

The Column was placed at my disposal to put down rebellion and mutiny in these Territories.

[1] Appendix H: "Opinions of Council of War in August at Jubbulpore, Pp. 55-6", from *Mutiny Narrative,* Saugor-Nerbudda territories.

Major Sleeman and Captain Vanrenen have recorded, as their opinion, that Jubbulpore, and particularly the Europeans, will be in great danger the moment the Column leaves this; and I believe there are others who think so, and that others do not share in this feeling. The question is one of great moment, and I do not wish to decide it without fully hearing the opinions on both sides; and I therefore trust that you will either record your opinions, or allow me to do so for you.

I have already stated that the roads are open, and I particularly allude to the Deccan Road towards Mirzapore and Nagpore, so that those who may wish to send their families away, in the event of the Column marching, can do so with safety; but no doubt some cannot well afford to send their families to any great distance.

Colonel Millar is of opinion that the Column is too small to be divided, and Brigadier Prior has expressed a hope that it may be kept together.

ATTACK ON SAGAR THREATENED

The Rajahs of Banpore and Shahgurh have threatened to combine their Forces and attack Saugor. Brigadier Sage and his Europeans are in the Fort of Saugor. He has no troops available to send out; but I learnt from Major Western, that the Brigadier thinks he can hold the Fort and town of Saugor against any attack for some time.

From the Deputy Commissioner of Dumoh I learn that Brigadier Sage has allowed the Force now there, (consisting of 3 Companies of the 31st, 2 of the 42nd, 80 men of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry, and 2 six-pounder guns worked by the 31st) to remain till the Movable Column reaches that Station, and that this Force is ample to defend the Fort, Station and town of Dumoh. But it must be remembered that when the Brigadier allowed this, he was under the impression that Colonel Millar's Force was advancing; and if he now hears of its halting here, he may not deem himself justified in keeping the whole of his available Infantry at Dumoh for any length of time.[1]

[1] Appendix H: "Opinions of Council of War in August at Jubbulpore. Pp. 56-7", from *Mutiny Narrative,* Saugor-Nerbudda territories.

REQUISITION FOR GUNS AND EUROPEAN ARTILLERYMEN FOR JABALPUR

Letter from D. C. Vanrenen, Captain, Artillery, dated Jabalpur, 6th August 1857.

Since this Memorandum was written Major Erskine has read out his address to the Officers assembled, pointing out the disturbed state of the Saugor and Dumoh Districts in particular, as well as those to the North of it; and has called for the expression of an opinion, whether under such circumstances the Column should be detained here, or not.

Having already stated my opinion on the advisability of providing this Station with two guns and a detail of European Artillerymen, I still adhere to it. But if they cannot be spared, the Column I consider should not be halted, pending even a reference to the Governor General in Council; it being of great importance, that it should move on into the disturbed Districts.

I must however express a hope, that an urgent requisition will be made to Government for speedily providing us both with guns and European gunners.[1]

REPORTED REVOLT OF REGIMENTS OF BENGAL ARMY

Letter from J. Sleeman, Major and General, Superintendent, 6th August 1857.

Since I recorded my opinion on the 1st, regarding the extreme danger to the Station and Residents, which would attend the onward move of the Madras Column, if we are left to the protection of the 52nd Regiment only, we have heard of the mutiny of eight or nine Regiments of the Bengal Army, many of them in situations affording more reasons for their remaining staunch, than those which have been adduced as calculated to give us confidence in the 52nd. This has of course strengthened my opinion regarding the extreme danger attending the immediate onward move of the Column, without arrangements for our protection.[2]

[1] Appendix H : "Opinions of Council of War in August at Jubbulpore, p. 57", from *Mutiny Narrative,* Saugor-Nerbudda territories.

[2] *Ibid.*

BRITISH OFFICERS' VIEWS REGARDING MOVEMENT OF MOVABLE COLUMN

Note from T. W. Jamieson, Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding at Jabalpur, dated 6th August 1857.

I do not foresee any evil result likely to follow from the march of the Movable Column from Jubbulpore, nor do I consider its remaining absolutely requisite.[1]

* * *

Note from W. P. Jenkins, Major, A. Q. M. General, Nagpur Force, dated Jabalpur, 6th August 1857.

I am of opinion that the whole of the Nagpore Movable Column should, without delay, move Northward.[2]

* * *

Letter from J. Millar, Colonel, Commanding Kampti Movable Column, datd Jabalpur, 6th August 1857.

As regards the propriety of halting the Movable Column at this Station, I am of opinion that such a measure would have a very injurious effect upon the campaign.

As regards the danger to be apprehended from the chance of the 52nd Regiment mutining[3], I consider the position in which the Regiment is now placed almost a sufficient guarantee that the men will not mutiny; but I confess as a stranger, I am hardly competent to give an opinion upon this subject. If there be any danger, the women and children ought immediately to be removed to Kamptee.

As to leaving two guns and a party of European gunners here for the protection of this Station, I have before stated that the Column is too weak already for the duties required of it, and I decidedly object to detach any portion of it whatever.[4]

[1] Appendix H : "Opinions of Council of War in August at Jubbulpore, p. 57", from *Mutiny Narrative*, Saugor--Nerbudda territories.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 58.

[3] This is wrongly printed for 'mutinying.'

[4] Appendix H : "Opinions of Council of War in August at Jubbulpore, p. 58", from *Mutiny Narrative*, Saugor-Nerbudda territories.

BRITISHERS APPREHENSIVE OF 52ND REGIMENT

Note from Major R. Gordon, Executive Engineer, Jabalpur Division, dated Jabalpur, 6th August 1857.

I conceive it is highly desirable that some provision should be made for the protection of Jubbulpore, and that we should not place implicit confidence in the 52nd Regiment; but I am not prepared to advocate the detention of the whole of the Movable Column. I am of opinion that two guns, with nine or ten Europeans would be ample to provide for the safety of this Station.[1]

* * *

Letter from S. O. E. Ludlow, dated 6th August 1857.

Having made myself acquainted with the opinions expressed on both sides of the question, as to whether the Column of Troops which has just arrived at Jubbulpore, should halt at that Station for its protection, or proceed against the insurgents, I am clearly of opinion that it would be very unadvisable to halt, and that such a proceeding would produce in the minds of the sepoys of the 52nd B. N. I. (Bengal Native Infantry) a feeling of distrust, which would in all probability produce the very evil which such measure is hoped to avert.

I am further of opinion, as it has hitherto been the belief of the men of the 52nd, that a portion of this Regiment was to accompany the Column; that some small part of the Regiment, say one or two Companies should join it; but as the advisability of such a measure must depend very much upon the temper of the Madras troops on this point, the opinion of the Officer Commanding the Madras Column should of course have the greatest weight.[2]

ADVANCE OF THE MADRAS COLUMN ADVOCATED

Letter from F. D. Pinkney, Captain, Deputy Commissioner, dated Jabalpur, 6th August 1857.

The objections urged against the advance of the Madras

[1] Appendix H: "Opinions of Council of War in August at Jubbulpore, p. 58", from *Mutiny Narrative*, Saugor-Nerbudda territories.

[2] *Ibid.*

Column are that, from the present state of affairs in the North-Western Provinces, from the spirit shown there by the great majority of the Bengal Army, and from the state of insubordination in which the 52nd B. N. I. has been for some time past, it is probable, indeed most probable, that on the Madras Column advancing, the 52nd will mutiny thus causing the sacrifice of the European residents, including the women and children, the loss of the *Thuggee* Establishments, and the disorganization of the district.

I am not aware that the 52nd B. N. I. have as yet shown any insubordination. It is true that on one occasion, on the spreading of a false report of the arrival of European Troops, part of the sepoys rushed to their Bells of Arms, intending to take possession of their arms; which, however, on its being clearly explained that no Europeans were coming, they refrained from doing. As however I have lately been absent from Jubbulpore, acts of insubordination may have occurred of which I have no knowledge; but the particular acts should be stated.

In the present state of the Bengal Army, I do not think that any Regiment which refrains from mutiny, will do so through pure feelings of loyalty; if it does refrain it will be from local influences and self-interest and I think that these two causes will act sufficiently powerfully on the 52nd B. N. I. to prevent their mutinying. When the Madras Column advances, it will be by the Saugor Road, thus intercepting all communication between the 52nd B. N. I. and the Saugor Force, which latter moreover has already acted against both mutineers and rebels, and has killed many of them. If the 52nd having mutinied, were to attempt to make off by the Mirzapore Road, they would have upwards of 250 miles to march, first through the Jubbulpore district, in which their route would be through a country intersected by many difficult streams and *nullahs* (*Nalas*), and then through Native States presenting similar obstacles, of which States the head of the most powerful one, the Rajah of Rewah, is decidedly in favour of the British Government, and has already actively shown himself to be so. The Nursingpore Road is closed by the Nerbudda and the Madras Force at Nursingpore. Regarding the Nagpore and Mundlah Roads, it is unnecessary to say anything. The Madras Column which for the next month will be at or near Dumoh, could, on the news of a mutiny, at once

intercept the mutinous Regiment on its attempt to move off. The sepoys of the 52nd are well acquainted with all these facts; and even if they were inclined to mutiny, I think the above reasons are sufficiently weighty to prevent their doing so. The sepoys of the 52nd, once the Madras Column moves on, will clearly be satisfied that there is no intention of injuring or disarming them; and this cause for mutiny,—which in the cases that have lately occurred seems to have been the moving one,—will no longer exist. If the 52nd had intended to mutiny, they would have done so when the Madras Column left Seonee and before it arrived at the Nerbudda.

The fact of the English Force having occupied Allahabad and Cawnpore, must also be well known here.

It will thus be seen that, in my opinion, no danger will ensue to any one from the advance of the Madras Column; but even if there were a chance of danger, I think that the reasons for an advance are so urgent that an advance ought to be made. At present it is well known that the Saugor and Dumoh Districts are lost, save the *Sudder* Stations; those Districts are in the possession of the Shahgurh and Banpore Rajahs, who now threaten Forts and towns of Saugor and Dumoh, while the British Forces at both places are unable to keep the field. A Government in such a position cannot remain inactive; to do so, is to retrograde. If immediate active operations are not taken, the insurrection will undoubtedly spread and extend to the Jubbulpore and Nursingpore districts; and the Dumoh Detachment, which, when I last heard of it, had only 40 rounds a gun, will be greatly endangered. The advance of the Madras Column to Dumoh and Saugor was publicly given out; and if it does not advance, it will be believed that Government have no troops and cannot act; and those Chiefs and others in or near these territories, now faithful or wavering, will be shaken in their allegiance, or join the rebels.

The Madras Column will never be more than six forced marches from Jubbulpore; and if mutiny should occur there, the Column, even if the rivers were up, could be back again before much danger was done, and in time to prevent the district rising, and to take revenge on the mutineers. As the Agency House is well fortified against anything that could be brought against it save guns, and as there are no guns that can be brought against it, the European residents could certainly hold out in it against the 52nd which number less than

400 men at Jubbulpore, until the Madras Column returned. The roads to Kamptee and Nursingpore are both open and quite safe, and these places of safety are easily available for the ladies, women and children, and no consideration for their safety need hamper the military movements. Many of the *Thuggee* prisoners and approvers are so old and infirm, that they are no longer dangerous; those who are considered dangerous characters, could be sent to Kamptee and elsewhere, thus removing any apprehension of their possible release.[1]

ALLEGED HANGING OF RANI'S AMBASSADORS, TO BRITISH CAMP

Letter from Robert Hamilton, Baronet, Agent Governor General for Central India to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General. Dated Camp Gwalior, 4th July 1858.

The following extract from a Newspaper purports to be part of speech recently addressed by Mr. Layard to a large assembly at St. James Hall, London on the 11th May.

> No doubt the sepoys had committed some atrocities, though it was quite untrue that they had mutilated the living. But what had we done ? The Ranee of Jhansi, an independent sovereign, despatched two ambassadors to the British camp to negotiate terms of peace. How were they received ? (a pause....then a shout on tiptoe, while the right arm swept through the air like a sledge hammer) They were HANGED; (cries of Shame ! from the galleries). Was it ever known in civilized warfare that the ambassadors of an independent sovereign, in arms for her rights were HANGED ?

2nd— The Ranee of Jhansi sent no ambassadors to me or to the Camp of the Central India Field Force; therefore no such persons were hanged.

3rd—Two *Hurkaras* or common messengers, brought a letter to me, translation of which was forwarded to you with my despatch No. 32 d/23rd Jany. 1858 and the two men remained in my camp until after the capture of Jhansi when one returned

[1] Appendix H: "Opinions of Council of War in August at Jubbulpore. Pp. 58-60", from *Mutiny Narrative*, Saugor-Nerbudda territories.

to his family and the other only left it a few days ago, both were fed and well treated whilst with me and did good service.

4th—One, Annund Ram, went into the town during the siege and returned with a missing letter mail bag which had been carried into the town.

5th—Mr. Layard never visited the Central India Field Force—[1]

UPRISING AT JALAUN

CLEVERNESS OF THE GURSARAI CHIEF

It will be necessary here to explain that on receiving news of Jhansi mutiny, I wrote to the Goorsarai Chief, who holds high testimonials from various civil and military officers, to come over to Orai with some good men to strengthen my hands in holding the district. He did so and met me at Jalaun on the 10th, with some 500 or 600 men Cavalry and Infantry. I had an interview with him, and explained to him that I hoped to get troops from Gwalior in a few days, with which I could retain my post but that in the meantime I wanted him to assist my officials with his men in keeping order. I at the same time told him that a strong party should be sent to Calpee (Kalpi), another to Orai, Koonch (Konch) etc. The Chief professed the utmost readiness to assist the Government, and said that he had always been a loyal subject and would continue so. All he asked for was a letter from me, addressed to him, authorizing him to aid my officials. I sent for a *Mohurir* (*Muharrir*) and dictated a letter addressed to the Chief, requesting him to assist my officials in keeping the district quiet but on no account to interfere with them, or to act on his own responsibility, or independently. He promised perfect acquiescence in my wishes, and we parted, I hoping that I had secured the district from disorganization.

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. Nos. 1-2/1487. National Archives, New Delhi.

GURSARAI CHIEF TAKES JALAUN

The following day, however, I received a report from the *tehseeldar* of Jalaun, to the effect that the Chief had turned all my officials, police etc., out of the Jalaun Fort, and had occupied it with his own men, and declared himself the Governor of the district. The *tehseeldar* also sent me a copy of the letter that I had signed on the preceding day addressed to the Chief. The letter was to the effect that I had made over and relinquished the entire management of the Jalaun district to him and that he was to be considered the ruler. I need hardly explain that the *Mohurir* must have been bribed by the Chief to falsify my dictation, and to address the letter in a style which might hereafter allow him a loophole to escape from any allegation of being a rebel. Captain Cosserat's orders to hasten on to Etawah were so very distinct that he could not return to Jalaun to coerce the Chief, and I could only write very strongly to the latter to point out to him again that he was only called in to assist my officials in maintaining order and tranquillity. He made no reply to this, and has since, I understand, proclaimed himself Sovereign of that portion of the country. I look upon him as in every respect a rebel and a traitor. . . . .

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT IN REVOLT

In the preceding paragraphs I have endeavoured to give you an exact account of all that occurred at Orai, from the beginning of June until I left it. All that I have omitted to state is the mutiny of the whole of the Customs Department *Chuprassees*, as soon as they heard of what had happened at Jhansi. They threatened their officers' lives, and burnt down the Customs lodge, *chowkees*, etc. My police followed their example and became insolent, insubordinate to their officers. The collection of revenue entirely ceased, and I had no means of coercing the recusant landlords.

From the various causes combined, the control of affairs entirely passed out of my hands, save in name; and with a large force of murderous rebels advancing upon us, I thought myself justified in abandoning my post, and seeking my own safety by trying to reach another station, whence I might obtain succour. The Government are, I believe, satisfied that

I did not quit my charge until absolutely obliged to do so, and I trust you will also feel that I could not have acted otherwise than as I did.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 18 *of* 1858, *From Captain A. G. Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun, to Captain F. W. Pinkney, Commissioner of the Jhansi division, dated Calpee (Kalpi), the* 12*th June* 1858.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Circular No. 153 of 1858 and beg to forward now as annexed[2], a full and detailed account of events in this district from the 11th of June, the date on which disturbances first broke up.

2*nd*—The account is furnished by Mr. Passanah, Deputy Collector who himself underwent many hardships, his life being also often threatened.

3*rd*—You will remark that the conduct of *Amlah*, Police, Customs peons, has also been touched upon, thus including I believe every subject of importance.

TAI BAI AND GURSARAI CHIEF AS PRINCIPAL REVOLUTIONARIES

4*th*—The principal local actors in the disturbances of this district were the Goorsurai Chief, and the Taee Baee of Jalaun, Mahrattas of great influence.

THE VILLAGERS OF KACHHWAHAGARH

5*th*—At first the villagers appear to have taken little interest in the rebel movement, but gradually several leaders sprung up from among the Kuchwahagar and other *Thakoors* of the district (the most notorious being Dowlut Singh of Indoorkee), and at length general anarchy prevailed. Among other rebel Chiefs were the Rajah of Bhudeck, and the *Thakoor* of Bellawan.

6*th*—After noticing such rebels, I am glad to be able to

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 34 in No. 8, Pp. 155-6.

[2] The annexure contains the list of letters sent by Deputy Magistrate, Jalaun. Hence the list has not been given in the text here.

bring to your notice the loyalty of the Rampoora[1] Rajah and of the Ranee of Luhur[2]; their conduct will furnish subject for a separate report.

7th—The *Amlah*, with few exceptions, appear to have been passive spectators of the rebellion, some few again openly joining the rebels. The police behaved shamefully, and from the commencement took an active part against the Government they served.

ACTIVITIES OF MUHAMMAD ISHAQ

8th—The principal agent in these parts, or *Nazim* of the Nana of Bithoor, Mohumud Ishack (Muhammad Ishaq), was stationed at Calpee. He appears to have had jurisdiction also over this place, and of many villages round Cawnpore. He was formerly, I am told, a *Thannahdar* under our Government at Bithoor.

9th—Upon the rebels being driven out of Calpee, many papers were found, *showing that our own forms were observed in Civil Department, as they were also kept up in appearance in the Military*. Many of the papers thus taken relate to villages of Bhognee (Bhogne). Akbarpur[3], Sheikhpoora, all villages in the Cawnpore district.

10th—All these documents are being sorted, and will be sent to the Magistrates of the districts to which they refer; they contain informations of purely local importance.

11th—In conclusion, I enclose a translation of Lieutenant

[1] *Rampura*, Tahsil *Jalaun*, District *Jalaun*—The capital of the jagir of the same name lies in 26° 22′ N. and 79° 13′ E., on the edge of wild and broken country stretching down to the Pahuj. It is distant 30 miles from Orai, 18 miles from Jalaun, and 5 miles from Madhogarh, with the last it is connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, Pp. 189-90).

[2] Apparently *Lahar*, Pargana *Lahar*, Zila *Bhind* (*Gwalior State*)—A large village in 26° 12′ N. and 78° 59′ E. lies 48 miles from Lashkar, and 28 miles north-west of Bhind. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 255).

[3] *Akbarpur*, Tahsil *Kalpi*, District *Jalaun*—A considerable village lying in 26° 2′ N. and 79° 43′ E. It combines with its neighbour Itaura to form one village having a total area of 2,289 acres, and is distant 8 miles due south of Kalpi and 16 miles north-east of Orai. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 145).

Browne's letter to the Goorsurai Chief, making over the district to him.

12*th*—The words in brackets "in all departments" are said to have been interpolated, and are written above the line.

13*th*—It was upon the strength of this document that the Goorsurai Chief made himself for a time master of nearly the whole district, governing this through his own people, though retaining the district establishments till 14th October 1857.

PESHWA AS CHIEF RULER

14*th*—The district was later invaded by Tanteeah Topee (Tatya Tope), who supported the claims of Taee Baee of Jalaun, and her agent Biswas Rao, to the detriment of the Goorsurai Chief. Tanteeah Topee proclaimed the Peshwa as Chief Ruler of this part of India.[1]

AMLAH AND POLICE JOIN REVOLUTIONARIES

Extracts from Letter (No. 41 of 1858) from G. Passanah, Deputy Collector of Jalaun, to Captain A. H. Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun, Dated Calpee (Kalpi), the 29th May 1858.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 38 dated 28th instant, calling for a report on the conduct of the *Amlah* and Police of the Jalaun district at the time of the outbreak.

CHIEF OF GURSARAI TAKES OVER THE MANAGEMENT OF JALAUN

2*nd*—There is a peculiarity in the case of the Jalaun district *that no local insurrection took place.* The *jageerdar* of Goorsurai was requested to afford aid in maintaining order, and his sons arrived, after the mutiny at Jhansi, with an armed force at Jalaun, and took advantage of a letter addressed to him by Lieutenant Browne, the Deputy Commissioner, to give out that the entire management of the district was made over to the *Jageerdar.* Lieutenants Browne and Lamb left Orai on the 11th June last, and on the approach of the Jhansi mutineers, whose advance-guard had arrived during the day,

[1] *Mutiny Narrative,* North-Western Provinces, *Jalaun* District, Dated 12th June 1858, Pp. 1-2.

I and Mr. Griffiths, the Settlement Deputy Collector, left on the night of the 15th; but we unfortunately fell into the hands of a company of the 53rd Native Infantry, which mutinied after escorting treasure from Orai to Jalaun.

3*rd*—We were brought prisoners to Orai on the 19th June but released on the 21st. Previous to my arrival the mutineers from Jhansi and Nowgong had passed through Orai, plundering, burning, and destroying all Government treasure, public buildings, and the houses and property of the European and Christian inhabitants.

CHIEF OF GURSARAI SERVED BY THE AMALA

5*th*—A few days after my return to Orai, several of the *Amlah* told me that the Chief had sent for them all, and as they were afraid of incurring his displeasure by a refusal, and the roads all round were infested by robbers, they were preparing to go to Jalaun. As British authority was entirely subverted, and Kesho Rao had established himself, and enlisted some thousands of armed men, I did not attempt to dissuade the *Amlah*. All the *Sudder Amlah* went over, with the exception of Oomed Alee (Ummed Ali), *Roznamcha Nawees*, and Ronnuck Alee (Raunaq Ali), *Nukul Nawees* (*Naqal Navis*), who started for their houses in Oudh — the former was murdered, and the latter robbed. Ramnaraen (Ram Narain), *Izhar Nawees*, who had obtained leave previous to the disturbance, also went away.

AMLAS ESPOUSE REVOLUTIONARIES' CAUSE

7*th*—Under the above circumstances I do not consider that *Amlah* generally were guilty of disloyalty to the British Government, the opportunity of taking an active part on the side of Government did not offer. The exception, as far as I am aware, are Fuzul Ahmed (Fazal Ahmad) *Fouzdaree Mohafiz Duftur*, who I frequently heard, expressed satisfaction at the subversion of British rule; and Moolchand (Mul Chand) *Mohurrir*, who took service under Taee Baee; also Naraen Rao, *Roznamcha Nawees*, who was made *Naeb Tehseeldar* of Orai by Taee Baee.

8*th*—Vilayut Alee, a *Mohurrir* of the Calpee Deputy Collectorship, was, I heard, known to speak against Govern-

ment. He never came to me, though he had several opportunities when I came to Calpee.

9*th*—I now proceed to state what I know regarding the *Tehseeldar* of the district.

10*th*—Mohumud Hossein, *Tehseeldar* of Orai, was very active before the outbreak at Orai, and was much trusted by Lieutenant Browne, who made over some valuable property to his keeping; and after leaving Orai, addressed him a *perwanah*, if I recollect right, to try his utmost to save the *Cutcherry* and records. Mohumud Hossein told me that he would supply *russud*, meet the mutineers, and with the view of saving the records, represent to them that they would be of great service in the reign of the King of Delhi. He met the mutineers, but was plundered by them, and had to hide himself. He started next day for Koodaree, but was stopped by the *zemindars* of Etowrah, who plundered a great part of his property. He however managed to save the property entrusted to him by Lieutenant Browne. He received an advance of, I believe, Rs. 2,000/- for pay of the *Seebundees* enlisted by him. He is employed as *Tehseeldar* in the Futtehpore district. Lieutenant Browne, from Agra, expressed his great satisfaction at Mohumud Hossein's conduct.

12*th*—Humeed-ood-Zuman, *Tehseeldar* of Attah, on the approach of the mutineers, went and hid himself at Orai, and soon after went off to Hameerpore, to join his father Waheed-ood-Zuman, Deputy Collector. The latter was proclaimed a rebel, and both found their way to Rampore, in Rohilkund (Rohilkhand), from which place the *Tehseeldar* sent me several *Urzees*, and himself came over a few days before my leaving Cawnpore, but was apprehended under orders of Mr. Sherer. I am not aware of the charge against him.

TAHSILDAR—A REVOLUTIONARY

17*th*—Narain Rao Vishnoo, who was *Tehseeldar* of Luhur, is a Mahratta *Pundit*; he took service both under Kesho Rao and Taee Baee, and from all accounts was no well-wisher of Government. I hear he has now absconded.

21*st*—The remarks contained in the 18th paragraph of this letter apply generally to the subordinate *Tehseel Amlah* and *Thannah Mohurrirs* and *Jemadars*.

REVOLUTIONARY BARQANDAZES AND CHAPRASIS

22*nd*—Of the *Burkundazes* and *Chuprasees*, some of those

at Orai joined the mutineers in plundering the town :— a few gave me all the assistance in their power, and the generality entered the service of Kesho Rao. The *Burkundazes* of *Thannahs* Attah[1] and Bungra[2] behaved violently in demanding their pay from the *Tehseeldar*.

23*rd*—There were some 70 or 80 *Burkundazes* of the Bagree tribe, formerly dacoits by profession, employed in the district; these, after the outbreak, went off in a body to follow their old occupation.

24*th*—The *Chuprasees* of the Customs line, which ran from Luhur to Jhansi, turned rebels, and many of them joined the mutineers : some took service under Kesho Rao, and his son Tanteea, who was at Calpee.[3]

EVENTS AT JALAUN AFTER THE FLIGHT OF THE BRITISH

Extracts from Letter (No. 12 of 1858) from G. Passanah, Deputy Magistrate of Jalaun, to Captain A. H. Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun, dated Calpee (Kalpi), the 9th June 1858

Having been desired by you to furnish a Narrative of Events attending the outbreak of disturbances in this district, with reference to Mr. Secretary Muir's Circular letter No. 212, dated 30th April, 1858, I have the honour to state, that, an account of the outbreak, with my personal adventures, and the conduct of Kesho Rao, *Jageerdar* of Goorsurai, and his son Sheo Ram Tanteea, who assumed possession of the district, will be found in the accompanying copy of my letter dated 27th March last, to the address of Major Ellis, Political Assistant for Bundelkund (Bundelkhand).

2*nd*—I also had the honour of reporting to you, in my

[1] *Ata*, Tahsil *Kalpi*, District *Jalaun*—A large village lying in 26° 3′ N. and 79° 37′ E., on the Cawnpore-Jhansi trunk road, distant 11 miles from Kalpi and the same from Orai. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 146).

[2] *Bangra*, Tahsil *Kunch*, District *Jalaun*—A village lying in 26° 12′ N. and 79° 13′ E., on the borders of tahsil Jalaun. It is distant 11 miles west of Jalaun and six miles south of Madhogarh, and is situated on the metalled road which connects Madhogarh and Jalaun *via* Bangra: a second-class road runs south to Kunch, and others to Rendhar and Gopalpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 147).

[3] *Mutiny Narrative*, North-Western Provinces, *Jalaun* District, dated 29th May 1858, Pp. 2 to 5.

letter dated 29th ultimo, the conduct of the *Sudder* and *Mofussil* officers of the district.

3*rd*—To complete the Narrative up to the time of expulsion of the rebels and mutineers from the district, I shall state what occurred after my leaving it for Cawnpore, with some other particulars.

KESHO RAO MANAGES MOST OF THE JALAUN DISTRICT

4*th*—Kesho Rao, and his fourth son, Seetaram Nana (Sita Ram Nana), continued to manage the greater portion of the district comprising the *pergunnahs* of Jalaun, Kunnar, Orai and Koonch, from their station at Jalaun, while his eldest son, Sheo Ram Tanteea remained at Calpee, in occupation of that portion which comprised the former *pergunnahs* of Calpee and Atta.

5*th*—The *pergunnah* of Duboh was first taken possession of by the rebel Ranee of Jhansi, immediately after the insurrection at Jhansi in the month of June 1857; but after the lapse of nearly two months, the Rajah of Dutteea (Datia) expelled her servants, and took possession of it, appointing his own *Amil*, and occupying it with his own troops, until the fall of Jhansi. Your presence with the army at Jhansi will have made you acquainted with the particulars of the evacuation of Duboh by the delegates of the Dutteea (Datia) Rajah.

6*th*—The *pergunnahs* of Indoorkee and Madhogurh[1], called Kuchwahagar[2], having formerly belonged to the Gwalior State, were, on the breaking out of the insurrection, taken possession of by the Maharajah Scindhia. I am not well acquainted with the occurrences in that part of the district, but the statement of Oomur Duraz Alee (Umar Daraz Ali), Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate of Luhur, forwarded to you with Captain Pinkney's letter No. 50, of the 23rd March last, gives some information.

[1] *Madhogarh*, Tahsil *Jalaun*, District *Jalaun*—A town lying in 26° 17′ N. and 79° 13′ E., 13 miles north-west of Jalaun, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road direct, and a metalled road, 17 miles long, *via* Bangra : other roads run to Jagamanpur, Rampura, Gopalpur and Kuthaund. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 180).

[2] Apparently *Kachhwahagarh*.

TATYA TOPE AT JALAUN

7th—The mutineers of the Gwalior Contingent, accompanied by Tanteea Topee (Tatya Tope), the active emissary of the Bithoor Nana, arrived at Jalaun on or about the 29th October last. Both, Kesho Rao and Taee Baee, grand-daughter of a former Chief of Jalaun, were prepared to treat with them. Tanteea Topee, it appears, had taken offence with the Goorsurai family, and favored the cause of the Baee. The mutineers, at his instigation, displaced Kesho Rao, and seizing him and his sons, put them in confinement, and treated them with great indignity, subjecting them to severe bodily chastisement. They placed the infant son of the Baee on the *guddee* and proclaimed her authority throughout the district. I hear she had promised the Nana three lakhs of Rupees, of which she made one lakh in cash and jewels, and promised to liquidate the remainder from the collections of the estate. Bhaoo Biswas Rao was appointed *Kamdar* or Minister, and assumed the functions of that office.

KUNWAR SINGH AT KALPI

8th—Previous to the arrival of the Gwalior mutineers at Jalaun, Kooer Singh of Jugdeespore, and the 40th Native Infantry, came to Calpee *via* Banda on the 19th October. They had communication with the Gwalior mutineers, and on the 3rd November seized and imprisoned Sheo Ram Tanteea at Calpee. On the 7th November the Gwalior mutineers came in and coalesced with Kooer Singh and the 40th Native Infantry, and marched to attack Cawnpore a short time after.

MUHAMMAD ISHAQ AND TATYA GANGOLEY

9th—Biswas Rao also came to Calpee with the mutineers and remained here till the rebels returned after their defeat at Cawnpore on the 6th December last, since which a *Pundit*, named Tanteea Gungoley, and one Mohumud Ishaq, exercised joint authority on the part of the Nana, but the *Tahseeldar* Narain Rao, appointed by Biswas Rao remained in office.

RANI AND NAWAB OF BANDA JOIN REVOLUTIONARIES

10th—The rebels were joined by the Ranee of Jhansi and

Nawab of Banda and the united forces are said to have amounted to about 10,000 men, horse and foot, when Sir Hugh Rose defeated them, and put them to flight, occupying Calpee on the 23rd ultimo.[1]

ACTIVITIES OF THE CHIEF OF GURSARAI

Letter from G. Passanah, Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate, Jalaun, to Major R. R. W. Ellis, Political Agent for Bundelkhand, Dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), the 27th March 1858.

CONDUCT OF KESHO RAO

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 93, dated 16th instant, forwarding copy of a vernacular *Roobkaree* from the Agent to the Governor General for Central India and of a petition from the *Mookhtar* of Kesho Rao, *Jageerdar* of Goorsurai, and requesting information regarding the conduct of the *Jageerdar* during the insurrection.

2*nd*— To enable the Governor General to judge of the conduct of Kesho Rao, I shall narrate the circumstances under which he took possession of the Jalaun district, and his subsequent proceedings.

BRITISH APPEAL TO GURSARAI CHIEF FOR HELP

3*rd*—When the troops at Jhansi mutinied at the commencement of the month of June last, Mr. S. Thornton, Deputy Magistrate of Mow Raneepore[2] (Mau Ranipur) took refuge in the fort at Goorsurai, whence he wrote me a letter, saying that the Chief of Goorsurai was willing to afford assistance

[1] *Mutiny Narrative,* North-Western Provinces, *Jalaun* District, dated 9th June 1858, Pp. 5-7.

[2] *Ranipur,* Tahsil *Mau,* District *Jhansi*—A town 2 1/2 miles south of Jhansi-Nowgong road, 36 miles from Jhansi and four from Mau, with which it is combined to form one union, administered as a municipality. The site lies in 25° 15′ N. and 79° 5′ E., on the left bank of the Sukhnai nadi, which here has a clean sandy bed, carrying a narrow stream of clear water. (*District Gazetteers,* Jhansi, 1929, p. 315).

in preserving order in the Jalaun district, if his aid would be acceptable. This letter I shewed to Lieutenant Browne, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun, who immediately addressed a letter to the *Jageerdar*, requesting his aid.

JAGIRDAR'S SONS LOOKED UPON WITH SUSPICION

4*th*—On the 10th of June, two sons of the *Jageerdar* arrived at Jalaun, with a force of several hundred men and a few guns. Their passing within a few miles of Orai, without communicating with the district authorities, looked suspicious, but Lieutenant Browne marched the same day to Jalaun, and the *Jageerdar's* sons having assured him of their good intentions, Lieutenant Browne addressed a letter, requesting the *Jageerdar* to afford every assistance in preserving order in the district.

PARWANAHS ADDRESSED IN THE NAME OF JAGIRDAR

5*th*—The next day *Perwannahs* were addressed in the name of the *Jageerdar*, or one of his sons, to the different *Tehseeldars*, stating that the management of the district was entrusted to him, and that in future they should send their reports to him. Lieutenant Browne having marched from Jalaun, the *Tehseeldar* of that *Pergunnah* referred to him for orders. The order passed on the *Tehseeldar's urzee* was to the effect that the *Jageerdar* was not authorized to assume control of the district and that in his (Lieutenant Browne's) absence, all the officers of the district should act under my orders and that a letter to that effect be addressed to the *Jageerdar*. The *Tehseeldar's urzee* was sent for my information by Lieutenant Browne, who also stated that some words had been interpolated in his Oordoo (Urdu) letter to the *Jageerdar*.

JHANSI REVOLUTIONARIES ARRIVING AT JALAUN

6*th*—As I remained at Orai the *Jageerdar's* younger son, Seetaram Nunha, came to me on the 13th June. The mutineers were advancing from Jhansi, and he said he would endeavour to come to some terms with them, to induce them to spare the records and buildings.

SHEO RAM TATYA IN POSSESSION OF JALAUN FORT

7*th*—When the advance-guard of the mutineers, consisting of six or eight sowars, arrived at Orai, I and Mr. Griffiths, Deputy Collector, left that station on the night of the 15th and passed through Jalaun, where Sheo Ram Tanteea (Tatya), the Rao's eldest son, met me, and spoke very fair; but the next day I heard that he expelled the *Tehseeldaree* establishment, and took possession of the Jalaun fort, and assumed entire authority in the district.

SHEO RAM WELCOMES THE REVOLUTIONARIES

8*th*—Having escaped the Jhansi mutineers, I was on the road to Gwalior, but on the 17th June unfortunately fell in with a company of the 53rd Regiment Native Infantry coming from that side, who plundered our property and made us prisoners. The next day the mutineers marched with us to Jalaun, where they were received with great cordiality by Sheo Ram Tanteea, the *Jageerdar's* eldest son.

BRITISHERS SEEK RELEASE THROUGH SHEO RAM

9*th*—As the mutineers declared that, with the exception of cash they would return the rest of our property on payment of Rs. 2000, I entrusted Sheo Ram Tanteea to advance the money, and make arrangements with the mutineers for our release, as they consisted of only one company, and he had a large force under his command; but he refused to do so, though he made over about Rs. 1,400 of Government money, which was in the *Tehseeldaree* Treasury, to them and bought our horses, guns, etc. for Rs. 1,200 from them.

RELEASED BRITISHERS HANDED OVER TO GWALIOR REVOLUTIONARIES

10*th*—From Jalaun the mutineers brought us on to Orai; luckily for us the blood-thirsty party from Jhansi had passed through, and we were released on the 21st June, when our captors started for Cawnpore. It was then about 2 A. M. and we intended to proceed southward; but having to pass by a

guard of *Seebundees* in the service of the Goorsurai *Jageerdar*, we were intercepted by them and by order of the head men, detained in the *Serai* under a guard of about 50 men. The same day another party of mutineers, consisting of four companies of the Gwalior Contingent and some sowars of the 14th Irregular Cavalry, arrived at Orai and we were made over to them by the *Jageerdar's* people. Some of the sowars who first came into the *Serai* levelled their carbines at me and Mr. Griffiths, but were restrained by others, who proposed taking us to their *Jamadar*. This man happened to be of a mild disposition; he spoke to us kindly, and persuaded the rest that having spared their own officers, they should not take their lives after we had been released by another party.

11*th*—After we had been again set free we remained at Orai, not knowing where to go and having no means of travelling. Some days after, Kesho Rao, who had arrived at Jalaun, sent me a kind letter and some money; but though he appointed a *Mookhtar* to see me daily, he would not give a guard for our protection.

KESHO RAO ASSUMES FUNCTIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY

12*th*—It was generally known that the *Jageerdar* intended placing one of his sons on the *Guddee* as Rajah of Jalaun, but was afraid of the opposition of Tace Baee (Tai Bai) whose pretensions were favoured by a strong party of the Jalaun *Pundits*. He however commenced collecting the Revenue, and levying contributions from all monied (moneyed) men by means of duress and intimidation. He established a mint at Jalaun, employed his own officers, and gave villages in *Jageer* to a number of his supporters, chiefly *Pundits*, who enjoyed pension from Government.

BRITISH OFFICIALS' LIVES THREATENED

13*th*—We were left unmolested for above three weeks but on the 14th July heard from several persons that a few mutineers had put up at the *Serai*, who, having heard of our living at Orai, talked of attacking and murdering us. Next morning these men, who appeared to be *Golundazes*, six in number, accompanied by two men in the *Jageerdar's* service, named

Shaadut Khan[1] and Meea Khan (Mian Khan) came to the door of the house we were living in and threatened to kill us. The doors however were secured, and we were well armed. The two men above named and a few others were exciting the mutineers to force the door, or set fire to the house; but a number of people gathered round, who were well disposed towards us. We had sent to the *Thannahdar* a *Pundit* appointed by the *Jageerdar* for assistance, but received none from him, or any other of the *Jageerdar's* men, though some two or three hundred were present in the town. The mutineers kept threatening us for four hours, till our friends, seeing they could not be persuaded by entreaties made rush at them, brandishing their *lattees* (*Lathhis*) and pelting at them stones, and so drove them away.

PASSANAH AND OTHERS SEIZED TO BE SENT ON TO NANA

14*th*—On the 17th July, I received a letter from Kesho Rao, saying that a force of the Wauhas was about to proceed from Cawnpore to Jhansi and advising me to go to some village off the high road; but on the same day a party of about 300 men, in the employ of his son, Sheo Ram Tanteea, who was at Calpee (Kalpi) came and seized me, Mr. Griffiths and my family, saying that they were servants of the Peshwa, and had been sent by him to take us to Cawnpore (Kanpur). Our whole party, including my wife, sister, five children, and two nephews, was placed upon two common carts, and marched off in the night towards Calpee (Kalpi) to be sent on to the miscreant Nana, at whose hands we expected no mercy.

15*th*—At Attah, half way to Calpee, which we reached in the morning, we met Sheo Ram Tanteea, who was going to Orai. We begged hard not to be sent to the Nana, but he said he must obey the Nana's orders; so we were sent on in the afternoon, and reached Calpee in the evening.

GANESH—A SUPPORTER OF BRITISH—FINED

16*th*—Sheo Ram went on to Orai; the *Thannahdar* there

[1] Spelt for 'Shahadat Khan' or 'Saadat Khan'.

had got the names o seven of the men, who were foremost in beating off the mutineers who came to murder us. Sheo Ram ordered them to be apprehended, but only one, a cloth-merchant named Gunesh (Ganesh) was found, the rest having hid themselves on being threatened by the *Thannahdar* that they would be sent to Jalaun for having taken our part and assaulted the mutineers. Gunesh was fined Rs. 60 for the imputed offence.

REVOLUTIONARIES REACH KALPI WITH PASSANAH AND OTHERS

17*th*—At Calpee we were confined in the *Serai*, and numerous guards placed over us, and at the gate, to prevent any one communicating with us. Sheo Ram returned from Orai in the night, and sent orders to the *Soubadar*, commanding the escort, to take us on next morning to Cawnpore. This man, who appeared well disposed towards us, told us that he would not proceed until he got a tent and more suitable conveyance for us; he even said that if he could possibly do so, he would take us to a place of safety.

NANA'S DEFEAT SAVES THESE BRITISHERS FROM DOOM

18*th*—Our march from Calpee being thus put off, on the 19th July intelligence was received, during the day, of the Nana's defeat and flight from Cawnpore. This brought about a total alteration in the conduct of Sheo Ram Tanteea who called upon us, professing great friendship, but still acting with duplicity, concealed the defeat of the Nana, but said that he had persuaded the Nana's emissary to leave us for the present under his charge. Kesho Rao also came over from Jalaun, and spoke very kindly to us. We were thus, by an unexpected turn of destiny, saved from a frightful doom.

REVOLUTIONARIES FROM SAGAR ARRIVE AT KALPI

19*th*—While we remained prisoners in custody of Sheo Ram, the mutineers of the 42nd Native Infantry arrived from Saugor on the 22nd July. They made enquiries about us, and we had great fear of falling into their hands, but Sheo Ram got us into the fort and protected us. The mutineers having

remained at Calpee, Sheo Ram provided us with suitable conveyance, and sent us off to a village 15 miles from Calpee.

PASSANAH IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH NEILL

20*th*—While in the Calpee fort, though strictly guarded, and prevented from writing, we managed to send off a man to give intelligence regarding us to General Neill at Cawnpore. The General on hearing of our circumstances, very kindly sent a letter to Sheo Ram, desiring him to send us with a suitable escort to Cawnpore and also sent a letter to us, after which I kept up a correspondence with him.

NANA'S RULE REPORTED RE-ESTABLISHED

21*st*—For a long time the *Jageerdar* objected to send us off, alleging the dangers of the road; but on receiving several peremptory letters from General Neill, he agreed to let us go, and, on the 11th August, we left the village of Choorkee, and arrived at Calpee. Sheo Ram detained us, saying there were parties of mutineers at Bara and Chuchendee on the road side; but three of our emissaries having returned from Cawnpore on the 11th, 13th, and 14th and informed us to the contrary, we resolved on starting on the 16th. Sheo Ram appeared to assent, but on the evening of the 15th sent word to us that the British forces at Cawnpore and Allahabad were annihilated and *the Nana's rule again established; that he could not attend to the General's requisitions, and acknowledged no other authority but that of the Nana*, and that, instead of going to Cawnpore, we must go back to Choorkee.

22*nd*—Some emissary of the Nana had arrived and magnified the strength of that miscreant's adherents and Sheo Ram gave too willing an ear to his representations.

KESHO RAM ALLOWS BRITISHERS TO GO

23*rd*—Soon after our return to Choorkee we heard that the mutineers and rebels, who had assembled at Bithoor (Bithur), were beaten and dispersed. General Neill again wrote peremptorily to Kesho Rao not to delay sending us over, and he also received your letter regarding us. Kesho Rao

then made up his mind to let us go, furnished us with money and conveyances and restored two horses belonging to myself and Mr. Griffiths, which he had purchased from the mutineers, and without further hinderance we started from Choorkee on the 31st August last, and after halting two days at Calpee, came on to Cawnpore.

SHEO RAM TATYA STILL AN ENEMY OF THE BRITISH

24*th*—Kesho Rao was evidently playing a double game; his object was to secure the *Raj* of Jalaun, by adhering to the interest of the diabolical Nana, but at the same time not to compromise himself with our Government, having a latent fear that British rule might again be paramount, in which case the assistance he rendered (to) my party would tell in his favour. The conduct however of his eldest son, Sheo Ram Tanteea, to whom Calpee has been assigned, was most flagrant.

25*th*—While pretending that the guards, who had us in custody, were servants of the Nana, Sheo Ram had the impudence to present for mine and Mr. Griffith's signature a document, purporting that he had rescued us from the Nana's hands, and also from the mutineers. Being completely in his power, we were constrained to sign the paper, as it would have been impolitic at the time to let him see that his villainy was detected.[1]

ACTIVITIES OF THE RAJA AND THE RANI OF BUDHEK

Extracts of letter No. 122 *of* 1858 *from Captain G. H. Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun, to B. Outram, Assistant Secretary to Govt. of N.W. P., Allahabad, dated* 27*th August* 1858.

In replying to the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Ternan says about "the Rance of Budhek now under surveillance at Cawnpore" that :—

"The Rajah of Budhek (Pareechut) held 26 Villages Paying to Government Yearly Rs. 12,262".

"The Rajah it was well known had taken an active part

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, North-Western Provinces, *Jalaun* District, Dated 27th March 1858, Pp. 9-12.

against Government during these disturbances and even upto the present moment, many of his followers are in arms plundering villages".

"After the occupation of Calpee the case of the Raja of Budhek was brought to my notice and I determined upon seizing the Ranee and her adherents".

"Therefore Ranee, the *Dewan* and others with two guns were arrested".

"The rebellion of the llate Rajah is fully proved by a mass of evidence. He assisted the Gwalior mutineers; he entertained mutineer sepoys of the Regular Bengal army; he sent a force to co-operate in the attack of Cawnpore and committed many acts of depredation and murder".

"The Raja seeing the rebel cause lost, died it is suspected of poison administered by his own hand; he left no son".

"His widow, the present Ranee Chundelin-jeo, adopted the son of another chief, and supported by Rao Sahib, a nephew of the Nana, put him up to succeed to the titles and estates of the deceased Rajah".

"It being evident that the Ranee would thus become nucleus for the evil-disposed, she was as stated above arrested".

"This district is at present much disturbed and having heard that an attempt at rescue would be made if she remained under surveillance in Calpee, I sent her to Cawnpore".

× × ×

(ii) In a letter No. 145, dated 23rd November, 1858 written to the Commissioner, Allahabad, the Officer whose name is not legible says that he is not aware of any evil acts of disaffection on the part of Rana Sheo Raj—brother of Bhudek Ranee. The disaffected attitude assumed by the Chandel *Thakurs* of this district and the active complicity in the rebellion of their two principal men Sultan Pursad and Durga Pursad showed this Rana, if he was, only a very lukewarm partisan.[1]

UPRISING AT MAHMA

Letter from Lieutenant G. Browne, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun, dated 13th June 1857.

Reports his arrival at Mahma, and that the revolt of the

[1] Department No. XIII, File No. 65, Year 1858-59. Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

Customs Department there, has quite disorganized that part of the district, and made the Police mutinous. States that he has called upon the petty chiefs of Kuchwaghur for assistance in maintaining order. Recommends the raising of a police Battalion, of Horse and Foot, for the protection of the district. Asks the recognition by Government, of the services rendered by Lieutenant Lamb; and intimates having made over to him all important duties.[1]

× × ×

Letter from Ram Chunder Rao Martund (Ram Chandra Rao Martand), the Officiating Minister of the Indore Darbar, to the Officiating Agent to the Governor General for Central India, dated Indore, August 9, 1857.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, and in reply, to inform you that the *Durbar* proposed sending 150 sowars and 150 footsoldiers to Koonch (Kunch) *via* Alumpore, a district belonging to His Highness. The above troops will be composed of Rajpoots and Mahrattas.[2]

KUNCH OCCUPIED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from Ram Chunder Rao Martund (Ram Chandra Rao Martand)—the Officiating Minister of the Indore Darbar, to the Officiating Agent to the Governor General for Central India, dated Palace Indore, August 15, 1857.

I have the honour to inform you that private intelligence, received yesterday, communicates that the Chiefs, or pensioned Chiefs of Jalaun and Goorsarai, have taken possession of Koonch, which has placed the *Tehseeldar* and ryots of the *Pergunnah* in great difficulties. They are importuning the *Durbar* for assistance. Will you, therefore, oblige me by letting me know, at your earliest convenience, what course we should adopt in this emergency ? I need not add that delay would be the source of great injury to Her Highness the Bheema Bace Boolia Sahibah, for the insurgents would

[1] N. W. P. Proceedings—Political, 1857, Foreign Department, No. 198; Proceedings of 17th June 1857. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7) relating to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 38 in No. 10, p. 291.

appropriate the revenues, which it will be impossible to recover from them hereafter. Requesting an early reply.[1]

INDORE[2] DARBAR INTENDS TO SUPPRESS REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from H. M. Durand, The Officiating Agent to the Governor General for Central India, to the Officiating Minister of the Indore Darbar, Indore Residency, Camp Mhow, Sept. 1, 1857.

I have had the honour to receive your letters of the 9th and 15th ultimo, and have delayed answering in consequence of the additional information, given in your letter of the 23rd ultimo, of the state of affairs in your own Alumpore *Illaka.*

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 39 in No. 10, p. 291.

[2] *Indore* State or the possessions of the Holkars were situated principally in the *Central India* tracts known as *Malwa* and *Nimar* and consist of several large blocks of territory lying between 21° 22′ and 24° 40′ north latitude and 74° 22′ and 77° 3′ east longitude and the isolated parganas of Nandwas (Nanduai) in Rajputana and Alampur in Bundelkhand, giving a total area of 9,500 square miles. Generally speaking it was bounded on the north by the Udaipur State, on the north-east by Jhalawar, on the east by the States of Gwalior, Dewas, Dhar and the British District of Nimar in the Central Provinces, on the south by the Khandesh District of the Bombay Presidency, on the west by Gwalior and Barwani and on the south-east by Bhopal.

Chief town of the State was situated in 22° 43′ N. and 75° 56′ E., on the banks of two small streams the Sarasvati and Khan, tributaries to the Sipra.

When the outbreak at Meerut took place on May 10th Sir Robert Hamilton was still Agent to the Governor General, but he went home on sick leave immediately after, and was relieved by Colonel H. M. Durand. When Colonel Durand entered on his duties he remarked that "there was not a ripple to break the calm which reigned in Central India". Three weeks later, however, a sepoy was caught carrying a letter full of treasonable suggestions to the Rewah chief. On May 14th he heard of the Meerut outbreak and realised the serious nature of his position.

The troops at Mhow consisted of a British Battery with native drivers, a regiment of Native Infantry and a wing of Native Cavalry, no great source of strength, while in Indore itself there were 200 men of the Mehidpur Contingent. Everything in fact depended on Holkar, who had 2,000 regular and 4,000 irregular Infantry, 2,000 regular and 1,200 irregular Cavalry and 500 gunners with 24 guns. Colonel Durand at once called in 270 Bhils from the Corps at Bhopawar, and 2 troops of Cavalry, increased later on by a further detachment of the Bhopal Contingent brought by Colonel Travers, consisting

2*nd*—If the *Durbar* feel in a position to succour the Koonch[1] *Jageer*, whether from Alumpore or elsewhere, the *Durbar* has my sanction to the entry of its troops for that pur-

of 270 Infantry and 2 guns. These reinforcements arrived on May 20th, while Holkar sent 3 companies of Infantry and 3 guns to guard the Residency.

News of the outbreak at Nasirabad (May 28th), Nimach (June 3rd) Jhansi (June 7th) and Gwalior (June 14th) followed in quick succession.

On the night of June 30th one of Colonel Travers' servants warned Durand that an attack would be made on the Residency next day, but he was not believed. At 8 the next morning Durand was informed of a disturbance in the Bazar. As he walked out to the verandah to make further inquiries the 3 Holkar guns opened fire on the Bhopal Contingent lines. Durand at once sent to Mhow for the Battery and Travers turned out his men but could not get them to act against the rebels, while the Bhils, scared by the big guns, retreated into inner rooms. At 10 o'clock the Contingent troops announced that they would not remain in Indore but were ready to escort the Agent. Durand was, therefore, compelled to retire to Sehore, which he reached on 4th July. The Mhow troops rose on the night of July 1st, and on the night of the 4th all but a few of Holkars troops swarmed out of Indore cutting telegraph wires and plundering and burning houses and made for Gwalior.

Holkar throughout this trying time was almost, if not quite, powerless, his troops being entirely beyond his control. As early as June 9th he had urged Durand to send away the ladies and children and treasure to Mhow, but his counsels were not accepted, and again on the 1st July he had written offering to help to the best of his ability. After the outbreak at Mhow and Indore he did his utmost to assist in maintaining order. His mutinous troops flocked to the palace demanding the surrender of the native Christians to whom he had given asylum, but he would not listen to their demands. He sent out detachments to bring in and secure wounded Europeans and recovered what was left of the Indore treasure, and gave Captain Hungerford, who was commander at Mhow, all the assistance in his power. "So efficiently in a word did he cooperate with Hungerford that the latter found himself able to re-establish postal and telegraphic communication and to restore order in Mhow and the neighbouring districts".

Durand was throughout suspicious of Holkar but subsequent events and a careful consideration of the pros and cons have failed to shew more than that he was at first inclined to waver whereas when an actual crisis came he proved himself a friend by his deeds.

On August 2nd, the relief column under Colonel Stuart arrived in Mhow and the work of pacification was commenced. The column did not actually enter Indore, however, till 15th December, and the next day Sir Robert Hamilton again assumed charge of the Agency. (*Indore State Gazetteer*, Vol. II, 1908, Pp. 1, 37-38, 280)

[1] *Kunch*, Tahsil *Kunch*, District *Jalaun*—The principal town of the tahsil is situated 18 miles west of Orai in 25° 59′ N. and 79° 10′ E. With Orai and Ait it is connected by metalled roads, and a branch line of railway

pose into the Koonch *Jageer*; and communication will accordingly be made to the Commissioner, Saugor and Nerbudda territories, and to Captain Pinkney, Deputy Commissioner.

3*rd*—Any steps taken for the expulsion of insurgent occupants, and for the restoration of order, should be at once reported by the *Durbar*; as, the measure is only a temporary expedient until the Commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories is again able to resume the management of that and neighbouring districts.[1]

ORAI AND JALAUN IN THE HANDS OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Statement of Mukhun Comman and Bissasu Luchmun, servants of Lieutenant Browne, who left Orai on or about September 1.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES AT ORAI

Three or four days after you left Orai, the mutineers from Jhansi arrived. They first of all released the prisoners from the Jail, and then told every one to loot. All bungalows were burnt. Dr. Hemming was trying to escape in native clothes, but stopped to drink at a well near the *Cutcherry*. A sepoy of the 12th Native Infantry saw and killed him. Mr. Passanah's sister was killed the same day. Mr. Passanah and Mr. Griffiths escaped to Jalaun. Gopal Sing, the road *Jemadar*, whom you left in charge of your property, buried twenty-three boxes of yours in the garden and tent house, and planted vegetables over the spot; others he put down the well. Nothing would ever have been discovered by the plunderers, had not your orderly, *chuprassees* and the house-guard pointed out to (*sic*,) place where the boxes were hidden. They were all dug up and looted; cows and sheep, and as much of your property as they could find. Mr. Double escaped as far as a village about two *coss* from Orai. The *Zemindars*

nine miles long was constructed in 1903 from Ait. Unmetalled roads radiate from it in all directions and run to Bangra, to Mau, to Duboh in Gwalior, to Ingoi and to Jakholi, while a road passes through it leading from Jalaun to Punchh in the Jhansi district. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, Pp. 171-2).

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 40 in No. 10, Pp. 291-2.

caught him and brought him back and he and his family were killed by the Jhansi troops; great search was made for Gopal Sing, to kill him for hiding your boxes, but he hid himself. They plundered his house of everything. He has never left Orai, and has now sent us over to you for orders, as he says he will not leave until you tell him. The Jhansi troops remained one day only. After about 7 or 8 days the Nowgong Force came, but they only plundered a few of the *umlah* and the treasurer. A few days after they left, the company of the 53rd who had gone to Gwalior with treasure, came back at Jaloun, where they were entertained for two days by Tantiah, the Goorsarai Chief; some one told them that Mr. Passanah and Mr. Griffiths were concealed in a village near, and a party went out to search for them. They found them and carried them into Orai, where after making them pay a heavy ransom they let them go. These gentlemen are now at Soorkee, near Orai. They once tried to go to Cawnpore, but returned from Calpee. Some of the *tehseeldars* and *umlahs* ran away. The rest have taken service with the Goorsarai Chief, and are at Jalaun with him, where he holds *cutcherry*. All your orderly, *chuprassees*, and all the sowars, entered in service. He allows no one to send or receive letters from anywhere. He is collecting the revenue and sending off bullock loads of rupee to Goorsarai. He has about 3,000 men. The *tehseeldar* of Orai (a Mahomedan) remained at Orai for about a month, and then went to his home in the Lullutpore (Lalitpur) district, carrying off with him those three or four boxes which you entrusted to his care. The Jhansi troops did not plunder him at all. There is a regular *dak* laid by the Goorsarai men from Bithoor to Jalaun. Some say the Nana's brother died of his wounds. Three officers escaped from Cawnpore and came to Calpee, but at a village, about 1½ *coss* or so (between Orai and Calpee) the villagers killed them at a well. All the *chuprassees* went out and saw the bodies. The Goorsarai Chief holds Calpee and collects the revenue. He has *chowkees* and *thannahs* there. Gopal Sing is the only man who has remained faithful to the Government, all the rest have either deserted or gone over to the Chief.[1]

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 31 in No. 3, p. 152.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY AT LALITPUR

LALITPUR THANA CUT UP

Para 88—The Superintendent of Jhansi forwarded a report upon the state of affairs in his division, and stated that our *thanah* at Lullutpur had been cut up, and the rebels were threatening Talbahut[1] where there was nothing to oppose them save about 50 police and 100 or 150 men of Tehree Rani. The latter judging from the manner in which they behaved at Lullutpore, were not to be depended on, as far as fighting was concerned. Under these circumstances he had instructed Captain Macleans to withdraw his *thanah* from any post that he might ascertain to be seriously threatened, and which he thought the men of our police and the native states were unable or unwilling to defend.

Para 89—In reply the Right Hon'ble the Governor General approved the issue of above orders.[2]

OUTBREAK AT LALITPUR AND NEIGHBOURING DISTRICTS

MARCH OF THE JHANSI MUTINEERS

The Jhansi mutineers left for Delhi on the 11th June and reached Moth, 35 miles north-east of Jhansi, on the 13th, where they plundered the treasury and took away as a prisoner Niaz Ali, the Deputy Collector. On the 15th their advance guard of six or eight sowars reached Orai, and Messrs. Passanah and Griffiths, Deputy Collectors, left in the night and passed through Jalaun, where they met Shivram Tatia, eldest son of

[1] *Talbehat*, Pargana *Talbehat*, Tahsil *Lalitpur*, District *Jhansi*—A town situated in 25° 3′ N. and 78° 26′ E. on the Jhansi-Saugor road. It is the largest place in the sub-division after Lalitpur. It is situated 30 miles from Jhansi and 26 from Lalitpur, and mile and a half from the railway station. The name (is) derived from a large tank which supplies water for irrigation purposes to several of the surrounding villages, 'behat' being in Gond language the equivalent of ganj. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 318).

[2] Agra Narrative, Foreign Department 1853-60, No. 2 of 1858, Narrative of the Proceedings of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in the N. W. P. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

the Gursarai Chief, who shortly afterwards assumed authority over the entire district.

From Jalaun the two Deputy Collectors made for Gwalior* but on the 17th June they fell in with the hundred men of the 53rd, who had taken the Jalaun treasure, to Gwalior. These men plundered the two gentlemen, made them prisoners and marched to Jalaun, where the mutineers were cordially received by Shivram Tatia, who bought the plundered horses and guns. On the 21st Messrs. Passanah and Griffiths were released at Orai, and the mutineers proceeded to Cawnpore. They remained at Orai, and after many adventures, during which they were kindly treated and protected by the Gursarai Chief, Keshu Rao, the latter after the defeat of the Nana at Bithur, sent them to Cawnpore on the 2nd Sept., where they arrived in safety.

The native officers were made acquainted with the plan of falling back on Gwalior; the twenty-five thousand rupees in the Treasury were distributed among the sepoys, to confirm waverers and as compensation for their abandoned property; and the detachment was to start on the afternoon of the 12th June; and as the Raja's men had rushed on to the *bazaar*, in order to prevent plunder, Captain Gordon made over the district to the Raja, who still professed friendship.

On proceeding to the lines the officers found two bodies of men collected, but without native officers; these were the bad men of the regiment, the remainder kept out of the way. Captain Sale and Dr. O' Brien went to one party, Captains Irwin and A. C. Gordon to the other. The men broke into open mutiny, saying, "We are servants of the King of Delhi, not a man of us will go with you; however, we won't take your lives but you must be off". The whole party† then pro-

*"Mr. Passanah was accompanied by his family, but his mother, being unable to travel, was left at Orai and cruelly murdered there by the Jhansi mutineers on the 17th June, as were Sub-Assistant Surgeon Heming, Mr. Double, head-clerk of the Jalaun office, and his family".—Note in the Original.

†"Captain A. C. Gordon, Deputy Commissioner; Captain Sale Commanding 6th Regiment,Gwalior Infantry; Captain Irwin 6th Regiment, Gwalior Infantry; Mrs. Irwin and 2 children; Doctor O' Brien, 6th Regiment, Gwalior Infantry; the Sergeant-Major and his wife; Mr. Verrier, Customs Department; Captain Gordon's two Madras Servants".—Note in the Original.

ceeded by the Saugor road, but when at the end of the *bazaar*, they were taken by some of the Raja's men to Maraura.

THE LALITPUR PRISONERS

On the 13th June the Raja moved into Lalitpur with a large force and some guns, and the officers and ladies were kept in the fort of Maraura as prisoners, although well-treated in other respects. On the 15th June the party were sent to Banpur, and were visited on the 16th, when they arrived, by the Raja's *Mukhtiar* Muhammad Ali who was in disgrace owing to his opposition to his master's rebellious schemes. At 2 A. M. on the 17th they were forwarded to Tehri, where they took up their quarters in the house of Prem Narayan, tutor of the young Raja, where they remained until the 2nd July, and were well treated. The Tehri authorities promised to send them in to Saugor, and on the 2nd July they started under a guard for Shahgarh, deserted by all except Captain Gordon's Madras servants. On the 5th July they arrived at Shahgarh and were hospitably received by the Raja of that place. On the 7th they made preparations to proceed to Saugor, when news arrived of the mutiny there. On the 10th some of the mutineers arrived accompanied by the Raja, whom they met at Kataura, where he had gone to join his troops, and compelled to go with them. The rest of the Saugor mutineers arrived in the course of the day and the Europeans were sent for safety to a garden house of the Raja, and moved about from village to village until the mutineers left, when they returned to Shahgarh.

RAJA OF SHAHGARH HOSTILE TO BRITISH

By this time the Raja of Shahgarh had invaded Saugor territory, and was a rebel and in correspondence with the Raja of Banpur, but continued his professions of loyalty to Captain Gordon. On the evening of the 18th July he fired a salute for the supposed fall of Delhi, and next morning the Europeans were told that they were to start at once for Saugor. Henceforth they received nothing but ill-treatment in place of the kindness hitherto experienced. They were hurried off without seeing the Raja, and made over as prisoners to a guard under his brother Diwan Lachman Singh. Shortly

after, the latter left to attack the British troops at Benaika, where he was defeated, lost a gun, and was severely wounded. The prisoners were then sent to Papit, confined in a cow-shed, and insulted in every way.

SHAHGARH RAJA THREATENS TO JOIN REVOLUTIONARIES

On the 25th July Captain Gordon was sent for by the Shahgarh Raja, who stated that his troops had attacked the British forces contrary to his orders, and that he was anxious to be an ally if the Garhakota[1] district were given to him; otherwise he would join the rebels.

MR. VERRIER WOUNDED

On the morning of the 27th July the party started for the town of Benaika in the Saugor[2] district, the Raja having promised to send them direct to Saugor but they were taken back to Papit by their guard, and at Zalimpur a sowar drove his spear into the cheek-bone of Mr. Verrier, inflicting a severe wound. Captain Gordon stated that all through the Banpur, Tehri and Shahgarh states the people were bitterly hostile to the Salt Department.

On the 29th July the party were moved to Baretta, a fort in the middle of the jungle, and were informed that the Raja could not send them to Saugor owing to the disturbed state of the country. Here they remained, badly treated and half-starved, until their release. On the 12th September they left Baretta and reached Saugor on the 14th, the Raja being induced to set them free by his alarm at the advance of Colonel Millar's Nagpore Movable Column.

[1] *Garhakota*—A town in the *Rehil* Tahsil 28 miles east of *Saugor* on the Damoh road. The town lies at the junction of the Sonar and Gadheri rivers, on both banks of the Sonar. (*Central Provinces District Gazetteers*, Saugor District, 1907, p. 229).

[2] The *Saugor* district is situated in the extreme north-west of the old *Central Provinces* between north latitude 23° 5′ and 24° 25′ and east longitude 78° 10′ and 79° 15′. (*Central Provinces District Gazetteers*, Saugor District, 1907, p. 1).

HOSTILITIES BETWEEN BUNDELAS AND OTHER REVOLUTIONARIES

At Lalitpur, where the Raja of Banpur and his troops had gone on the 13th June, a quarrel arose between him and the 6th Regiment, Gwalior mutineers, and sowars, the Raja demanding a share of the treasure which Captain Gordon had distributed. The mutineers marched from Lalitpur in the evening, and were immediately attacked by the Raja's followers and other Bundelas, but beat them off with heavy loss. These attacks were continued by the Bundelas until they crossed the Betwa river, north of Talbahat, into Jhansi territory, the Bundelas always being worsted. The mutineers passed through Jhansi, where they were well received and feasted for three days by the Rani in the Jokan Bagh; they reached Orai on the 21st June, and thence proceeded to join the other mutineers at Kalpi.

CHANDERI UNDER BANPUR CHIEF

The Raja of Banpur established his authority in the Chanderi district and remained in possession of the northern part of the Saugor district until Sir Hugh Rose's advance in January, 1859.

ORCHHA AND JHANSI

Although the Rani of Jhansi established her authority throughout that district, she did not remain in undisputed possession. The Tehri or Orchha state had in former times possessed a great part of Jhansi territory, and conceived that a favourable opportunity had arisen for aggrandisement and plunder. On the 10th August a Tehri force took Mau-Ranipur, overran the country between the Betwa and Dhasan rivers, burned villages, and captured cattle. They then took Barwa Sagar, and besieged Jhansi from the 3rd Sept. to 22nd October 1857, when they withdrew, after inflicting great injury on the population south of Jhansi. All this time they represented themselves as acting on behalf of the British Government. In January 1858, the Rani's troops began to gain the ascendency and the Tehri troops were beaten on the 1st March and expelled from the territory between the Betwa and Dhasan rivers.

RANI IN TOUCH WITH NANA, TATYA TOPE & BANPUR CHIEF

The Rani entered into close relations with the Nana, Tantia Topi and the Banpur Raja. Meanwhile other districts in the vicinity of Jhansi had risen in rebellion, and the native troops at Banda, Hamirpur, Nowgong, and Nagode had mutinied. At Banda was a detachment of three Companies of the 1st Bengal Infantry; at Hamirpur a part of the 53rd Bengal Infantry; at Nowgong a wing of the 12th Bengal Infantry and of the 14th Irregular Cavalry (the regiments which had their head-quarters at Jhansi), and a detachment of Native Artillery. At Nagode was stationed the 50th Bengal Infantry.[1]

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT HAMIRPUR

Report of George H. Freeling, Collector and Magistrate, Hamirpur.

INTRODUCTION

All records of every kind having been destroyed, it is very difficult to give more than an outline of what happened; but it is sufficiently evident that there had been a very uneasy feeling in the place for some time previous. There had been outbreaks elsewhere, and news of them had arrived here, disturbing men's minds, until at last we see in a most affecting memorandum left by the late Mr. Loyd, written a few days before he fled, that he with the rest having heard false reports concerning Allahabad, where it was said, by Sepoys who came thence that every European was slaughtered, had made up their minds that their race too was nearly run, and they were prepared for the worst.

CHRISTIAN INHABITANTS AT OUTBREAK

2*nd*—The Christian inhabitants at that time in the place consisted of those shewn in the annexed list*, Mr. Crawford

[1] "*The Revolt in Central India*", 1857-59, compiled in the Intelligence Branch Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Head-quarters, India (Simla 1908) Pp. 22 to 25.

*"Mr. T. K. Loyd, Collr. & Magt., Mr. Donald Grant, Joint Magt., Mr. W. D. Murrey, a Scotch landholder, Mr. James Crawford, Head Clerk, Mr. W. Bunter, Judicial Clerk, Mrs. Bunter, Mr. & Mrs. Anderson, relatives of the Bunter's four or five children, Jeremiah a catechist of the Church Mission Society, his wife and four children."

having sent his wife and children to Mr. Mayne at Banda on the first news of the coming storm; of all these but one, the eldest Miss Anderson a girl of twelve or thirteen escaped, and she as will be seen not without injury.

PREPARATIONS MADE

3*rd*—Mr. Loyd, on hearing of the disturbance elsewhere, sent to the Chiefs of Chirkharee, Tehree, and Baonee, for assistance, and received 100 men and a gun from each; he also entertained 500 New Levies, and collected in a *Jemadar* and 10 *Chuprassees* from every *Tehsildaree*, as well as two *Burkandazes* from every *Thannah;* of these he set pickets round the place to prevent any armed men from approaching; the real danger, however, was from within, consequently these arrangements were unavailing.

SIGNS OF EVIL

4*th*—The *Zemindars* of Romeree which forms part of Humeerpore are *Thakoors*, and many Sepoys, relatives of theirs came in relating terrible tales of mutiny and blood-shed, which caused the *Zemindars* of the two *Thokes* Danda and Manjkhore to band themselves together for plunder, which they commenced early in June. Some security, however, seems to have been felt from the preparations made by the Collector, but on the 12th there was a meeting at the large house occupied by the Chirkharee troops, attended by the headmen of each band of auxiliaries, the *Soobadar* of the 56th Regiment on duty at the Treasury, and I believe by one or two of our own officials. The result was seen on the morrow, when the guard refused to give up the keys when called on to do so, and tightened their waist bands for action. The *Chuprassee* who brought this intelligence to Mr. Loyd, had his badge taken away for spreading such a report, though promised a reward if it should really prove true. That day, however, passed off quietly.

THE OUTBREAK

5*th*—Next morning some troopers arrived from Baonee, and a headman of the Nuwab's, Ruheem-ood-deen by name who had come overnight, withdrew the guns which were posted

in Mr. Loyd's compound, and turned them on the house, saying it was by his master's orders; at the same time the news was brought that the prisoners at the jail had been released by some six or seven sepoys, their guard being faithless: and the gentlemen saw that the crisis was come. In the early morning two officers of the 1st Regiment, Messrs. Raikes and Browne, whose detachment had mutinied *en route* to Orai, had arrived as fugitives, and they with Messrs. Loyd and Grant, who up to that time had refused to quit their post, although asked by the Collector of Banda to join him there, called for their horses; these were ready saddled under the charge of two Suwars who had also had some money made over them for the expenses of the road, but the wretches at this moment of extremity turned traitors and themselves carried off the cattle, crying out to the mutineers then approaching that the "*Sahib log*" were escaping.

THE FLIGHT

6*th*—There was now not a moment to be lost, and the fugitives hastened down the bank where an iron boat with a lad as boatman was ready; they with Mr. Loyd's bearer "Poorun Kahar", two orderly *Chuprassees* "Ju bundun" and "Debee Sing" and "Ajoodhia" *Burkandaz* got in and pushed off; when half across the Jumna they were fired into from the bank, and the balls coming thick amongst them, jumped into the water and swam to shore. Here they met with more bad treatment, for the men of Rampore, near which village they landed, fell on them, plundered them of all they had and severely beat some. They then got separated; the natives managed at night to return to Humeerpore where they concealed themselves with friends until they could escape; the two officers of the 1st wandered towards Allahabad; Browne reached Futtehpore in time to accompany Havelock in his glorious march (after which he too fell a victim to Cholera), but Raikes perished from want on the way.

MESSRS. LOYD AND GRANT'S MOVEMENTS

7*th*—Messrs. Loyd and Grant hid themselves in the castor fields till evening, and then swimming with the current reached the Humeerpore bank, near the junction of the Betwa with the Jumna, three miles below the town; there they stayed

for five days from the 14th to the 19th spending the day standing up to their necks in water amidst reeds, and by night only daring to come to the shore. During this time it seems many were aware of their being concealed, and two men, Mr. Loyd's *Syce* (*Saees*) "Pultoo", and shepherd "Munniah" went and told Hurreemohun (Hari Mohan), a Bengalee writer in the office, who through them and Milaff a *Zemindar* of Tirhose Romeree kept them supplied with food, and I believe, also sent them some clothes. This action of his performed at some risk of his own life, at such a time, and for which he afterwards got illtreated at the hands of the rebels, is deserving of all commendation, and I would recommend a grant of a handsome sum of money as a reward to the *Baboo* for his conduct; and another to be divided among those who were instrumental in carrying his merciful schemes into execution.

FATE OF THOSE LEFT

8th—Meanwhile at Humeerpore much blood had been shed, Messrs. Murray and Crawford at the first outbreak had with the Andersons made for the house where the Chirkharee troops were, trusting to find shelter at their hands but were instead butchered in cold blood. Mr. and Mrs. Bunter seeing this fled and hid in a garden where they were discovered, taken to the *Soobadar*, but, on consenting to apostatise were given their lives, and going to the hospital where the Sub-Assistant Surgeon was, they found with him the eldest Miss Anderson with her arm severely cut; they remained there till the 19th. All the bungalows were meanwhile plundered and burnt.

THE DEATH OF MESSRS. GRANT AND LOYD

9th—On the evening of the 18th three Ahirs, Gungadeen Kullooah and Chitaia discovered Mr. Loyd's place of concealment, and by Kullooah he sent his ring to Gunga Sahai—his *Sirishtadar*, but the miscreant took it instead to the *Soobadar* "Ali Bux", who had proclaimed the Delhie dynasty, and himself its Agent; on thus receiving news of the officers being yet alive and near, some of the Sepoys went down (there were in all 66 in Humeerpore) and escorted them up, barefooted to a tree without the *Cutchery* compound; they were there bound

and made to kneel; a volley followed; Mr. Grant received a bullet in his brain and died instantly, Mr. Loyd three in his chest, and called out "Are not English troops yet come ?" when another volley completed the tragedy.

SLAUGHTER OF THE BUNTERS, MISS ANDERSON SAVED

10*th*-- As however, the officers were being marched by the hospital, Mr. Bunter came out and made a bow; he with his wife were immediately cut down and Miss Anderson would have shared the same fate but the rough hold they took caused the sewing of her wound to give way, and she fainted, so was left for dead. "Ramdeen", "Muthra Chowbey", "Gobra Thakoor" *Zemindars*, and "Buddeia Koree", "Munsookh", and "Kashi" cultivators hid her in a field and carefully tended her till she was recovered, and on the 15th September forwarded her in safety to Beharee Sing, the *Zemindar* of Burreepal, whence she was sent to Cawnpore, and eventually to her relatives at Monghyr. For the *Zemindars* I have separately requested that the proprietary rights in the other *Thokes* be made over to them as a reward; I would also request some pecuniary acknowledgment of the services of the cultivators.

ANARCHY AND MORE BLOOD

11*th*—After the murder of the Europeans, anarchy was the order of the day; the Mob and Sepoys rushed up to the town, plundered every one they could lay their hands on; old scores were wiped out in blood, and the Christian preacher Jeremiah with his whole family were (*sic*,) slaughtered unresisting. The Bengalee *Baboos* as writing English were next attacked, and though they begged their lives, lost everything they possessed. To shew to what an extent the lust of plunder ruled, there were three boats of unarmed Sepoys of the 44th and 67th Regiments, those I believe who were disarmed at Agra, passing by on the 18th June; the guns were turned on them and opened; many were killed, the boats taken and the goods found in them made over to men of the auxiliary chiefs, the Sepoys being left to get on their way as they best could.

TREASURY PLUNDERED

12*th*—The Sepoys and their auxiliaries now fell out about

the money in the Treasury, which appears to have been Rupees 1,49,695-3-11, and on the *Soobadar* stating he meant to take it to Delhie, the Chirkharee leader declared it should not go without the Rajah's leave; this, however, seems to have been anticipated by the *Soobadar*, as he had written for aid to Cawnpore and on the 20th a body of troopers came from the Nana, and silenced all opposition, they too had their turn of plundering the place and on the 21st took the proceeds with the Treasure to Cawnpore with them.

RULE OF SHEIK WAHEEDOOZUMAN (WAHIDUZ-ZAMAN), AMLA'S CONDUCT

13*th*—The Native Deputy Collector Waheedoozuman, now tried to restore some sort of order, in virtue of directions received, I believe, from the late Lieutenant Governor, North-Western Provinces, but in a few days an *Akhbar Nawis* or news writer, came from the Nana with an order to the Deputy to manage in his name which was fully acted up to, for on the Ist July the Peishwa's rule was proclaimed; on the 3rd, another proclamation issued that the Poonah and Sattara (Satara) has (*sic*,) fallen and the English been exterminated, and on the 4th, all landholders were ordered to pay their revenue to the Nana's accredited Agents. The *Amlahs* or native officials almost to a man accepted the new order of things until the 15th, when hearing of the British advance on Futtehpore they thought it time to look to their own interests, and many left for their homes; on the 21st or 22nd hearing of Cawnpore being re-taken, and the rebel Nana fled, the Deputy Collector also absconded, and many others at the same time. A few had left at the first outbreak, and so are (*sic*,) clear, but the only one who remained and distinctly refused to serve the Nana was Bakee Lall, *Tehsildar* of Humeerpore, and even he was persuaded to do so temporarily as a measure of safety, but his papers and the Nana's orders shew how unwillingly he did so.

CONDUCT OF THE ZEMINDARS

14*th*—Once more anarchy reigned in Humeerpore, the Romeree *Zemindars* levying blackmail on whom they pleased, and committing all kinds of violence; these

men with the exception of *Thoke* Terose were the leaders in everything bad, and were well backed up by those of Serowlee Buzoorg (Buzurg) and Khoord (Khurd). The Humeerpore *Zemindars* seem to have behaved decidedly well, but are so weak and poor as to have been able to do little. On the 18th September Beharee Sing the *Chowdry*[1] of Burreepal came over to establish order but finding it a hopeless task returned to his own village on the 20th.

BAONEE (BAONI) MANAGEMENT

15*th*—The Baonee Nawab who lives at Kudowra near Humeerpore itself had been asked to take charge of the one *Purgunnah* of Humeerpore Khass, and he now did so, appointing his own officers and managing it on behalf of Government; his collections amounted to Rupees 26,751-1-11, of which he spent 17,835-1-2, and has since remitted the balance of Rupees 8,916-0-9, to me. The place was again visited, I believe, by Sepoys in the autumn, but they found little to re-pay them for their trouble, the town at all times very small having been nearly deserted.

CHIRKHAREE (CHARKHARI) MANAGEMENT

16*th*—While this was going on at the *Sudder* Station, the *purgunnahs* were better off. Mr. Carne, the Assistant at Mahoba had fled to Chirkharee, after a series of adventures with the Nowgong fugitives, during which the inhabitants of Bareegurh and Jeoraha fired on them, and compelled a change of route; Mr. Carne himself, however, can give a far better account of this than I can, so I merely mention the general effect on the district; he with the sanction of higher authorities requested the Rajah to take charge of it with the exception of the Humeerpore *purgunnah* which was across the Betwa, and he did so. The *purgunnahs* of Raat[2], Jeitpore,

[1] 'Zemindar' used elsewhere in this document.

[2] *Rath*, Pargana and Tahsil *Rath*, District *Hamirpur*—The headquarters of the tahsil is the largest town in the district. It lies on the unmetalled road from Hamirpur and Muskira to Jhansi, in latitude 25° 36′ and longitude 79° 34′, at a distance of 16 miles from Muskira and 50 miles from the town of Hamirpur. Other roads lead north to Chandaut and Kalpi, north-

and Punwaree[1], were held by him throughout, and the Northern ones also for some time, but Mahoba he never seems to have got possession of; the Chief of Goorserai took it without any one's orders and managed it for his own benefit; he was probably led to do so by it (its) having formerly belonged to Jalown, but his doing so was an act of gratuitous rebellion on his part. I am not prepared to say what amount the Chirkharee Rajah realized during the term of his management as he has not yet furnished his accounts. I believe, however, it was altogether about two and half lacs, and that he is prepared to bring in a further bill against Government, notwithstanding, all the establishments were reduced, and most had received no pay on my taking charge since January.

THE NORTHERN PURGUNNAH (PARGANA)

17*th*—In the end of January and beginning of February, the Fort of Chirkharee was itself beleaguered, the town plundered and burnt by the forces of Tantia Topee aided by Despath; from that time till the battle of Banda, the Banda Nawab held Mowdha (Maudaha), the Mahrattas Jellalpore, realizing Rupees 24,683-6-0 there, and each in turn ravaged Soomeerpore (Sumerpur) and the neighbouring lands. The Nana's flag was hoisted in most villages and every one again helped himself to what he could get at Serowlee Buzoorg on the Jumna; batteries were thrown up and all passing boats plundered, and they even fired into the British troops on the other side of the river who came from Cawnpore.

RANEE OF JEITPORE (RANI OF JAITPUR)

18*th*—I must not forget to state that at the very commencement, the widow of Pareechut the former rebel Rajah of Jeitpore and a pensioner of Rupees 1,200 a month from

east to Jalalpur, south to Jaitpur and south-west to Panwari. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, p. 219).

[1] *Panwari*, Pargana *Panwari-Jaitpur*, Tahsil *Kulpahar*, District *Hamirpur* —This town was formerly the capital of a pargana and tahsil. The pargana has now been amalgamated with Jaitpur, while the tahsil headquarters were removed from here to Kulpahar in 1857. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, p. 218).

Government, set up herself again at Jeitpore and appropriated the *Tehsildaree* funds, being joined by Despath a notorious murderer and I believe a connexion of hers, as also by many other *Thakoors* (Thakurs) of the *purgunnah* : the Chirkharee troops, however, after eight days made her retire, and she is now I hear a fugitive at Tehree. Her associate Despath is still in the Jeenjhun jungles near Jeitpore, the leader of a band of dacoits.

AUCTION PURCHASERS OUSTED

19*th*—I need scarcely say that the great feature in the rebellion here, has been the universal ousting of all bankers, *Buniyas*, Marwarees etc., from landed property in the district, by whatever means they acquired it, whether at auction, by private sale or otherwise, and also that the larger communities have profited immensely by the time of anarchy, while, many of the smaller ones have been ruined and dispersed : those, who were strong enough to plunder with impunity did so, the others were the victims. This, however, must have been equally the case all over the country, but it is strange that in no instance do (*sic*) the class so favored by our rule, the bankers and other traders, appear to have been able to keep their own in the struggle.

CONDUCT OF THE CHIRKHAREE RAJAH (CHARKHARI RAJA)

20*th*—As the neighbouring native Chiefs had so much to do with the district, some notice of their behaviour seems to be called for here. The Chirkharee Rajah managed the greater part as said, for Government; that he is loyal there is no doubt; he has cast his all with us, and must be considered so; at the same time it is equally certain it was so to speak the lucky accident of Mr. Carne being there that made him so; that he was seriously displeased with Subdul Dowa for the leading part he took in the murder of the officers at Humeerpore is a fact, as also that he ultimately hung (hanged) him for the same, but his doing so was for a long time doubtful, and when the *Soobadar* Ali Bux proclaimed the King of Delhi, the Rajah sent a letter to him giving in his allegiance, and requesting that all the domains formerly held by his ancestor Chuttersal might be confirmed to him by royal *sunnud*. There was, how-

ever, no immediate pressure on the Rajah from without, and he must soon have seen that the British Star had not yet set; he was managing a paying district with the sanction of Government and the good counsel of Mr. Carne, an old friend of his, with the knowledge that having so long given him shelter had marked him as well inclined to our rule, must all have had their effect : on Mr. Carne's first application he refused to take him in saying he would finally answer in a fortnight, he was then undoubtedly wavering, and it was that gentleman's forcing himself on his hospitality that must be considered the turning point to this Chief.

THE NAWAB OF BAONEE (BAONI)

21*st*—Of the Nawab of Baonee, I cannot say as much; he sent Mr. Loyd the aid required under one "Khuda Bux", who with his *Vakeel* Kirparam seems at once to have begun intriguing, and on the morning of the outbreak, another officer Raheemoollah came from Kudowra (the Nawab's residence) and after holding consultation turned the guns on the bungalow.

RAO OF BHEREE (RAO OF BHERI)

22*nd*—Of the Rao of Bheree it is difficult to speak; his men shared in the atrocities with the rest, but his leader Mudaree Dowa has been killed fighting for the Rajah of Chirkharee; that this petty Chief realized at first, I doubt not; but he also afforded an asylum to some of our officials, and save this, and his having been plundered himself I know little of his conduct. Since my taking charge on the 26th of June, he has been in every way actively loyal.

23*rd*—Of the other small semi-independent *Jagirdars*, I believe there is nothing to say, save that they all collected what revenue they could, and joined different sides as it seemed to their advantage at different times; the Sareela man, however, as I was told by Mr. Carne sent a message to the Chirkharee Rajah to divide the district with him; this Mr. Carne said he heard himself, and reported the fact to the Agent and the Commissioner.

24*th*—I would state that after the battle of Banda, Mr. Carne managed the *purgunnahs* of Mowdha and Soomeerpore from Banda, until after the taking of Calpee I was appointed

Magistrate and Collector, and on the 25th with Mr. Griffiths the Deputy Collector accompanied a force over and re-occupied the station again. Mr. MacMaghtem[1] from Futtehpore had previously been there a day but left again.[2]

[1] The correct name may be 'Macnaughten'.

[2] *Mutiny Narrative*, North-Western Provinces, *Hamirpur* District, Pp. 1 to 5.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCERTED ACTION

IMPORTANCE OF GWALIOR

The scattered dominions of Scindia are bounded on the north by the British districts of Agra and Etawah, and the protected states of Dholpore and Rajputana are coterminous with them on the north-west. Along the whole of these frontiers the river Chumbul forms the boundary line. To the north-east the Gwalior State extends almost to the point where the Chumbul and the Jumna are joined by a smaller tributary, known as the Sind, which divides it from the protected States of Bundelcund (Bundelkhand). On the south-east the river Betwa separates it from the British districts. To the south, between the Gwalior State and British territory, lies the Muhammadan State of Bhopal. To the west of Bhopal is the dominion of Holkar, which stretches beyond the Nerbudda, hardly less sacred in the eyes of the Hindu than the holy Ganges. About forty miles north of the Nerbudda, on a plateau some two thousand feet above the sea, is situated in an isolated fraction of the state, Indore, the capital. Indore is an artificial and not a geographical capital, and as the state was built up by a series of spoliations, the capital is separated from the remaining parts of the dominion by the smaller states which, though robbed, survived. To the north and north-east lies, separating it from a portion of its territory the Mahratta state of Dewas, which before the British occupation was sorely oppressed by Scindia and Holkar and plundered of many districts. To the west, the Mahratta state of Dhar separates it from territory plundered from the noble Puar family. To the north of the state lies Jowra. But in this case the Mahratta chief had to bestow a fief on a Moslem adventurer. To the north of Jowra, the dominion of Holkar stretches into Rajputana, by which it is surrounded on three sides. Gwalior, Indore, and the other States of the Central India Agency are geographical expressions, being merely names given to portions of the great triangular peninsula divided by no marked natural boundaries. The geographical position of the peninsula was itself, however, during the mutiny of vital importance. Through it, from the Nerbudda on the south to the river Chumbul

on the north, ran the great highway which connected Bombay with Madras. It was also the chief route for telegraphic communication between Calcutta and the Bombay and Madras Presidencies.[1]

OUTBREAK AT GWALIOR

Letter from Brigadier Ramsay to the Agent to the Governor General for Central India, dated Gwalior, May 30, 1857 (*Extracts*).

I have the honor to report for your information the following circumstances which have occurred here during the last four days.

GWALIOR DIWAN INSULTED

1*st*—On the evening of the 26 instant, Major Macpherson, Political Agent, mentioned to me that he had been informed by His Highness that the men of the Contingent were not to be trusted, that they had insulted the *Dewan* on his entry into cantonments, and that the latter was so much afraid of personal violence from them that he returned to the Luskur[2] by a bye-road, and on horseback instead of in a carriage, in which he had come, to avoid observation.

27TH MAY 1857

2*nd*—On the following morning, Major Macpherson called on me and said that His Highness had stated that the whole of the Contingent troops were all wrong and disaffected, that they had all sworn on the Ganges water and *Koran* to stand by each other, and that an outbreak was so imminent that His Highness urged the ladies being sent at once to the Residency for protection, and that the officers could, on the outbreak showing itself, at once mount their horses and ride off. Major

[1] George W. Forrest : "*The Indian Mutiny*", 1857-58, Volume IV. 'Introduction', Pp. 48-49.

[2] *Lashkar* with Brigade (*Gwalior State*)—The modern capital of Gwalior State, is situated in 26° 12′ N. and 78° 15′ E., two miles south of the fort, and old town of Gwalior and 763 miles by rail from Bombay. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 256).

Macpherson also expressed a wish that the guard of the Contingent on duty at the Residency should be at once withdrawn, as he had no longer any confidence in them, and that he would appeal to His Highness for a party of his troops to take their place. He added that he himself was considered by the troops to be the cause of the movement of the Grenadiers from the station to Etawah, which had interfered with their schemes, and that he had thus become the object of their vengeance.

BONE-DUST IN 'ATA' AND 'SHAKAR' SUSPECTED

3*rd*—I must here mention that a few days previous to this, a report was spread both in the Luskur and in the cantonments that a large quantity of *atta* and *shukur* (*shakar*–sugar) had arrived for sale at extraordinary low prices, that both were impregnated with bone-dust, and were being sold for the express purpose of destroying the men's caste and making them Christians. The *Dewan* made full inquiries into this, and found that the whole was a malicious rumour, doubtless spread to excite mutiny and rebellion; and Major Macpherson stated that the circumstance of the *Dewan's* having exposed this trick had brought down on him also the animosity of the traitors.

SAWARS TALK OF GOING TO DELHI

7*th*—The following morning a private servant (a Mussulman) of my own informed me, while outriding with me, that the sowars of the Ist Cavalry in the lines and of His Highness's *rissalah* were talking of nothing but going to Delhi, and that I should be on the look out.

TROOPS READY TO BREAK OUT

8*th*—About 3 P. M. that day, a lance *duffadar* of the 1st Cavalry came to Captain Meade, the Brigade-Major, and asked him if he had heard of anything that was going on. Captain Meade replied in the negative, and seeing that the men had something important to communicate, examined him privately and at once brought him to me. The *duffadar's* statement was to the following effect : that the troops in cantonments were all to break out into open mutiny on a bugle sounding at 11 o' clock that night; that the lines and bungalows

were to be fired, and the officers massacred; that the treasure in the cantonments was to be seized and the whole force to proceed towards Delhi. This man had hardly completed his statement, when a sowar of the same regiment (Captain Alexander's *darogah*) arrived at my house, and expressed a wish to see me on urgent business. Before admitting him, I carefully concealed the first informer. His statement was to the same purport as the other's and he most strongly insisted on the determination of the mutineers to murder the officers.

10*th*—Having ascertained that a rumour had been circulated in the lines that all confidence in the men of the Contingent had been lost by the Political Agent and the officers of the station, and that the treasure (amounting to 60,000 rupees), then in the custody of the 4th Infantry, was in consequence to be taken from them that evening and made over to a party of Luskur troops for removal to the 'Gunga Jali' at the Palace, and that this distrust, coupled with the withdrawal of the guard from the Residency, and the departure of the Political Agent from cantonments, had greatly incensed the men, I determined, in order to restore confidence, and avert if possible a fatal outbreak, to increase the guard of the 4th Regiment, over the Treasury (with a view to lead the men to think that I feared danger from without and not from the troops themselves); and having been assured by Major Blake, commanding 2nd Infantry and Captain Hawkins, commanding No. 1 Light Field Battery, that it was impossible, the whole of their men could be implicated without the slightest symptom having come to their knowledge, and having great confidence in these officers, we resolved to pass the night in the lines, telling the native officers and men on arrival that reports of a proposed outbreak had been made to me, that I considered it had been set on foot by malicious persons, that I did not credit it, and to show them that I had full confidence in their loyalty and good conduct, that I and all the officers would sleep in the lines and commit ourselves to their care for the night. We also gave them all to understand that, in consequence of this determination, we considered it unsafe to leave the ladies to sleep alone at some distance in thatched bungalows, exposed to risk by fire from any of the miscreants always ready to take advantage of a night disturbance, and that they had therefore been sent out for safety to the Residency.

APPREHENSION OF OUTBREAK INCREASED

12*th*—Next morning (yesterday) in consequence of a telegraphic message from Major Macpherson to Mr. Colvin, sent by the former for my perusal, in which His Honor was informed that Scindia declared that the whole of the Contingent was wrong, that he distrusted his own troops, and required the immediate return of his Body-Guard from Agra, that the ladies of the cantonments had been forced to seek refuge in the Palace, whence he was preparing to forward them, under escort of a body of Horse, to Agra, and that the Body-Guard would meet them for this purpose at Dholpore, I took on myself to report to Mr. Colvin that we had slept in the lines the previous night, that all was quiet, and confidence increasing, and that I considered Scindia was disposed to enhance his own services at the expense of the Contingent.

EUROPEAN LADIES REPORTED IMPRISONED

13*th*—I learnt in the morning, with great surprise that the ladies had, without any communication either with myself or their husbands, been removed from the Residency to the Palace. This step appeared to me and the officers so fraught with mischief, not only here, but over the whole country, that, at my suggestion, several officers wrote to their wives immediately to return to cantonments. Captain Meade was also informed by his pay-office treasurer, a respectable banker, whose *kothe* is in the Luskur, that it was generally reported there that the ladies had been seized by His Highness and imprisoned in the Palace.

14*th*—I also wrote to Major Macpherson that I apprehended no outbreak, and that I thought the ladies should return. Two ladies, Mrs. Meade and Mrs. Murray, in opposition to the most urgent solicitations of Major Macpherson, returned to cantonments late in the afternoon, and the news of their having done so immediately spread through the station, and had the most beneficial effect on the men generally, who, it was reported to me, had been greatly hurt at the distrust implied by their leaving the cantonments. Many inquiries were made of the other officers whose wives and children had not returned, and voluntary offers of protection, and even of rescue, were made to these officers by many of their men.

15*th*—We again passed last night in the lines, and received every possible kindness and attention from the men, and the night passed perfectly quiet, with the exception of some little anxiety at hearing a few shots in the direction of the Luskur, and a rumour which arrived about 11 o' clock that a portion of the Maharajah's troops were under arms, with the intention of proceeding to Delhi. There subsequently appeared to be no grounds for this assertion.

16*th*—I am happy to say that the rest of the ladies returned to cantonments this morning, and I consider that the excitement caused by the above occurrences has, so far as this cantonment is concerned, subsided.

GWALIOR CONTINGENT BEING INCITED TO REVOLT

19*th*—That an attempt was made by some evil-disposed persons to wean the men from their officers, and destroy the confidence of the latter in the former, I have no doubt, from the industrious circulation of reports that the 1st Cavalry and Grenadier Regiment had risen on and destroyed their officers (excepting Major Hennessy, whom they had let go), and from the extreme anxiety evinced by one of my informers, under pretence of interest in my preservation, that I should not trust the brigade, but be prepared for flight.....[1]

OUTBREAK AT SIPRI

Deposition of Thakurdin.

Thakur Din Tiwari, son of Bakhtawar Tiwari, Brahman, Resident of Basant Pur, Pargana Samroth, Age about 32 years, Profession—Service, *Sipahi* Company.....(Illegible) Regiment 3 Gwalior Contingent—present.

Question—What do you depose ?

Answer—Last year in *Jeth*, my *Paltan* was stationed in Sipuri when the Gwalior *Paltan* mutinied. All the Englishmen left us. Then our *Paltan* went to Gwalior and stayed there for the whole rainy season as ordered by the Raja of Gwalior.

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 4 in No. 4, Pp. 151-3.

After the rains, the Gwalior *Paltan* and ours marched for Cawnpore (Kanpur). I dropped at Kalpi. I retained all the arms, guns etc. From Kalpi I came to my home in *Mauza* Basant Pur. Since then I have been at home and did not take any service. I could not go anywhere as rebellion was raging. Now when I heard of your return, I presented myself and handed over a gun and a bayonet. I have also brought for submission a gun which belongs to Ganesh Tiwari, one of us who is at present staying in *Mauza* Sirsona.

Question— Who was the cause of creating rebellion in your *Paltan* ?

Answer— There was no rebellion in our *Paltan.* When all the Englishmen had fled away, the *Sipahis* and officers (Indian) also went away where they liked. Nobody created rebellion in our *Paltan.*

Question— Why did not Ganesh *Sipahi* present himself ?

Answer— He is hidden in Daryabad for fear and therefore did not present himself.

Question— Has Ganesh *Sipahi* killed some one ?

Answer— He is not a murderer and has killed none.[1]

Deposition of Durgaj Singh.

Durgaj Singh, son of Sobha Singh, Caste Khanora, Resident of Mesarwa, Age, about 42 years, Profession—service, Nayak Company 4, Regiment 3 stationed at Sipri—present.

Question— What is your deposition ?

Answer— More than a year back in June 1857 our *Paltan* was stationed in Sipri. Rebellion broke out all round and *Paltans* 2 and 4 stationed at Gwalior rebelled. Hearing of this the Englishmen in our *Paltan* got alarmed. However our *Paltan* remained faithful. On June 16, 1857, Major Macpherson, Captain Hill, the Doctor and Sergeant Jules fled to Mau. After these English gentlemen and the Quarter-Master had left we stayed for 10 or 15 days at the Sipri Camp. Three bungalows of the Englishmen which contained some belongings were set on fire by some one (then said, "by Debi *Sipahi,* Caste— Kalwar, whose place of residence is not known) and were burnt

[1] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta* : No. 11, Papers relating to Commissioner's Court, Fyzabad, Dec. 9, 1858.

down. After this we were called by the Raja of Gwalior and therefore we went there. For the four months of the rainy season we stayed there and were paid by the Raja. After the rainy season we left the place and came to Cawnpore (Kanpur). When our troops marched for Cawnpore, I left for my house. I kept my arms with me and took no service. I stayed at home and lived on cultivation. Now when your honour has come here I have presented myself and submitted my arms.

List of arms.....

Question—Why did you not bring in your arms before this ?

Answer—I had no information about your coming. When I heard of it I came here and surrendered them.

Question—Truly state as to who created rebellion in your *Paltan* ?

Answer—Captain Ausan Singh, once *Subedar* of Company Grenadier, Captain Debi Din, *Subedar* of Company 3, and *Subadar* Lal Muhammad *Subadar* of Light Company raised to Captainship were the leaders and the cause of rebellion. They went to the Raja of Gwalior and took service.

Question—Was Debi Sahai a new recruit or an old *Sipahi* ?

Answer—He was an old *Sipahi* and had been here since his recruitment in this *Paltan.* I did not see him setting fire to the bungalow but simply heard of it. The bungalows were set on fire the next day that the Englishmen had left.

No Englishman of our *Paltan* was killed.[1]

* * *

Deposition of Kalka Prasad.

Kalka Prasad son of Ishwari, Caste Brahman, Tiwari, Resident of Bisaowa, *Pargana* Tiloi, Age about 32 years, Profession Service.....Nayak of Company 3, Camp Sipri.

Question—What have you to say ?

Answer—Last year in the month of *Jeth,* date (I do not recollect), the *Sipahis* of Companies I and III came from Sipri Camp to Gwalior for the escort of the Treasury. In these two Companies, Lal Muhammad *Jamadar* Light Company, Gunga Singh *Jamadar* III Company and Chup Chaubey *Subadar* of the III Company were posted as officers. On our way when

[1] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta* : No. 11, Papers relating to Commissioner's Court, Fyzabad, December 8, 1858.

we encamped at Antorir[1] and therefrom came to Sipri, our Commanding Officer Major Macpherson asked Chup Chaubey about the conditions at Gwalior. The *Subedar* replied, "Reaching our first halt we saw the bungalows on fire at 9 P.M. from a distance and went to some unknown place in disguise." Chuttu Halwai resident of Baiswara, five or six others (I do not remember their names) and myself escorted Major Macpherson, the Quarter-Master and the Sergeant-Major of the Artillery upto *Mauza* Gona. We came back to the *Paltan* and had a mind to go away to our homes when the *Sipahis* of the *Paltan* made us, fourteen *Nayaks*, captive, on the charge that we were accomplices of the English. Eight days after they took Rs. 7 which I had with me and set all of us free. I came home. Last year in the month of *Jeth* I took service with the Raja of Tiloi and remained present there. Now that you have returned, I have reported myself and have brought a musket, a bayonet with a leather pouch, a ..... (MSS Illegible) which I have handed over.

Question—Who was the rebel leader of your *Paltan* ?

Answer—Our *Paltan* did not rebel. The English officers left it out of their own accord and went wherever they pleased.

Question—Why did you not hand over your arms here or give to some other officer till now ?

Answer—I was ill and did not do so for fear of the Govt. Now when the Govt. orders for handing over the arms were given, I did so.

Question—Where do you think is Major Macpherson ?

Answer—I think he has gone to Kalpi. He sent a letter to me which the people in the army snatched away from me.[2]

EVENTS AT JABALPUR

Reporting the seizure of Shankar Shah's[3] papers, the Deputy Commissioner of Jabalpur writes to Major Erskine, Commissioner, Sagar Division, on 19th September 1857 :

[1] Name not clearly decipherable.

[2] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*: 11, Papers relating to Commissioner's Court, Fyzabad, Dated 7th and 8th Dec. 1858.

[3] Raja Shankar Shah belonged to the well-known Gond royal family of Garhamandla connected with the chivalrous Rani Durgavati in the 16th century, and lived as a pensioner at Purwa, a suburb of Jabalpur. He was

"On searching Shankar Shah's and Raghunath Shah's house, several papers of a rebellious tendency were found—one in particular, a copy of which is annexed to this letter. It is a prayer invoking his deity to aid him in the destruction of all Europeans, to upset our Government and re-establish his own. The paper was found in a silk bag in which he kept *Pawa* by the bed from which he rose as I entered his house. .....it appears to be in the handwriting of Raghunath Shah". On the back of this sheet of paper, the Raja had written a prayer composed by him, invoking the Goddess to destroy the Europeans. This was the prayer :

Hindi Version

मुंद मुख डंडिन कौ चुगलो को चबाई खाई
खुद डौर दुष्टन शत्रु—
संघारका मार अंगरेज रेज कर देइ मात
चंडी बचै नहीं वैरि—
वाल बच्चे संघारका संकर की रक्षा कर
दास प्रतिपाल कर दीन की
सुन आयमाल हालका खायइ लै
मलेछन को झेल नाहीं
करो अब भक्षन कर ततछन घोर—
मात-कालिका ।

The poem has been freely translated into English by the Commissioner of Jabalpur, at that time, Mr. Erskine, and runs as follows :—

"Shut the mouth of slanderers, bite and eat up
backbiters, trample down the sinners, you,
"Sutesingharkha !"—"Shatrusanharaka" (One of the names of "*Devee*", implying here destroyer of the enemy).
Kill the British, exterminate them, "Mata Chandee" (another of the names of the Goddess "*Devee*").
Let not the enemy escape, nor the wives and children

arrested on 14th September along with his son Raghunath Shah and others. They were summarily tried and dubbed as guilty of high treason. They were tied to the mouths of guns and were blown up.

of such, Oh "Singharkha !" "Sanharaka" (another of the Goddess "*Devee's*" names).
Show favour to Shankar.
Support your slave,
Listen to the cry of religion.
"Mathalka" (another of the Goddess "*Devee's*" names).
Eat up the uncleans,
Make no delay.
Now devour them,
And that quickly,
"Ghormat Kalika" (another of the Goddess "*Devee's*" names). (Free Translation)[1]

* * *

The brutal execution of Raja Shankar Shah shocked the people and the troops who followed him. On the night of the execution, the entire 52nd Regiment rose quickly in a body and left the station, carrying with them their arms and ammunition. They marched by a circuitous route outside the city towards Patan where a detachment of the same regiment was stationed. Another detachment of the Regiment was at Sleemanabad. The news of the revolt of 52nd Regiment reached both these places, and the troops there also rose against their officers and marched to join their companions coming from Jabalpur. The conduct of these insurgent troops of the 52nd is conspicuous for its dignity and high sense of honour. Even, when they defied their English officers, they did not resort to any act of violence or mass murders, but firmly and quietly asked the officers to quit. There were two officers with the detachment at Sleemanabad, Lieutenants Barton and Cockburn. When the troops under them had decided to rise against the Government, they "expressed their regret at parting with these officers and did not molest them. Some of them shook their officers by the hand, and the pay-Havildar handed one of the officers the balance of his pay, and marched off quickly towards Nagode. The two officers safely reached Jabalpur while the men obtained a carriage and sent the officer's baggage to Jabalpur after them". (Erskine's Narrative). Again and again it has been found that the leaders of

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*—N. W. Provinces : Agra 1857-58.
List of Appendices—Appendix-1. Translation of Hindee Verse.

the uprising showed great forbearance towards the Britishers who had fallen into their hands, and there were very few violent murders of the captives. The Englishmen, women and children seized by the Raja of Banpur at Lalitpur were kept in custody for some time by him, and later they were imprisoned by the Raja of Shahgarh, who, some months later, released them and sent them to Sagar. While they no doubt underwent privations during their confinement, they were never in danger of losing their lives. This singular treatment of British captives by the local leaders of the uprising in these territories redounds to their credit; and provides a sharp contrast to the fate that befell the captured insurgents at the hands of the Britishers.[1]

REWA

Letter No. 1,360 *from Lieutenant W. Osborne, Political Agent, Rewah, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, Allahabad, dated Rewah, the 7th September* 1858.

Agreeably to the instructions conveyed in your letter No. 2,680, dated 10th ultimo, I have the honour to report on the services performed by the Rewah State during the rebellion.

2*nd*—When the mutiny first broke out the Rewah troops behaved very well in several frontier affairs with rebels.

3*rd*—When Kooer Sing ascended the Kutta pass (the *ghaut* itself is in Government territory) with the avowed intention of marching to Nagode, to get the 50th Regiment to join him, he was deterred from doing so by the hostile appearance of the Rewah ryots. *Had he marched through the Rewah territory the situation of the officers of the 50th Regiment would have been most critical*, as their retreat through Banda and Domoh[2] was cut off,

[1] "*The History of Freedom Movement in Madhya Pradesh*", 1956. Published by Government of Madhya Pradesh, Pp. 76-8.

[2] (1) *Damoh* (District)—District in *Jubbulpore* Division of the *Central Provinces*, lying between 23° 10′ and 24° 26′ N. and 79° 3′ and 79° 57′ E. with an area of 2816 square miles. It is in the extreme north of the Province, and forms part of the Vindhya plateau. On the west it abuts on Saugor, with which it is closely connected geographically and historically. On the south and east it is bounded by Narsinghpur and Jubbulpore; and to the north it marches with the Bundelkhand states of Panna and Chhatarpur. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XI, 1908, p. 134).

and the young chief of Bijairaghogurh was only waiting for a favourable opportunity to close the Grand Deccan Road.

4*th*—The Rajah did all in his power to render the refugees from Banda, etc. as comfortable as he was able, furnishing them with escorts, etc.

5*th*—No bands of rebels have been allowed to pass through or enter the Rewah territory.

6*th*—The Rewah troops captured the forts of Kunchunpoor[1] (Kanchanpur), Joorah[2], Myhere (Maihar) fortified town and Myhere fort, Jokeliare, Kunwanah, and Bijairaghogurh, capturing 41 guns; they opened the Grand Deccan Road, and destroyed a confederacy that was daily gaining strength.

7*th*—Since the confiscation of Bijairaghogurh, the Rewah troops have performed the police duties of that district, and have also been posted to keep the Deccan Road open.

8*th*—A detachment of Rewah troops with guns cooperated with a force under Captain, the Baron von Meigern, in the operation against Sohagpoor (Suhagpur).

9*th*—Another detachment marched into the Banda district, driving the rebels out of the Manickpore (Manikpur) fort, and is doing good service now.

10*th*—Another detachment has just been sent to drive the rebels out of the hills on the Allahabad frontier, and to co-perate with the troops from Allahabad.

REBELLIOUS SARDARS

11*th*—*The Maharajah's position has been a most difficult one.*

(2) *Damoh Town*—Headquarters o the District and Tahsil of the same name in the Central Provinces; situated in 23° 50′ N. and 79° 27′ E, on the Bina-Katni section of the Indian Midland Railway, 702 miles from Bombay. The name is supposed to be derived from Damayanti, the wife of Raja Nala of Narwar. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XI, 1908, p. 144).

[1] *Kanchanpur*—A village in Pargana *Jaura*, Zila *Tonwarghar* of the old *Gwalior State* at 26° 36′ Latitude N. and 78°-14′ Longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, Village List 1908, p. 53).

[2] Apparently *Jora* (Jaura), Pargana *Jora*, Zila *Tonwarghar* (*Gwalior State*)—Headquarters of the Tonwarghar zila of Gwalior State situated in 26° 20′ N. and 77° 51′ E., on the Gwalior Light Railway. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 246).

Several of his sirdars have been from the first anxious to drive him into rebellion, and were at the same time too powerful to be punished. Most of these are now in open rebellion, and some have been severely handled by our troops in the Banda and Allahabad districts.

12*th*—The rewards I should recommend are, that the Sohagpoor district (formerly a part of Rewah, but now under the Commissioner, Jubbulpoor) should be given him, and should the revenue be less than 84,000 rupees per annum, a portion of either the Bijairaghogurh or some other district should be given him, to make it up to that amount, and also an increase of 2 guns to his salute, viz. from 17 to 19 guns. I have written to the Deputy Commissioner, Sohagpoor, for information regarding that district, and have delayed this report in the hope of receiving a reply.

13*th*—I have also to bring forward the Rajah of Nagode, whose state is under management, but who, when it was necessary to raise a force, in a few days collected his relatives and their followers, and placed 1,500 men at my disposal. These men served in the Bijairaghogurh and Myhere campaigns. In scaling the walls of the fortified town of Myhere their leader was killed. I propose bringing his family to the notice of Government hereafter.

14*th*—The Rajah is allowed Rs. 1,500 per mensem from the revenue of his territory, the balance going to paying off his debts and the expenses of management.

15*th*—I consider that his influence over the *obareedars* and others has been in a great measure the reason of their being kept quiet. I therefore recommend that he should have a *jageer* in either the Jubbulpoor or Bijairaghogurh district, to the amount of 12,000 rupees per annum, and a salute of 5 guns, as he is at present entitled to none.[1]

OUTBREAK AT INDORE

On the 3rd of July, Hungerford was informed that Holkar's troops, accompanied by the mutineers from Mhow, meant to attack the fort. Every preparation was made to meet it, and Hungerford, having been left alone at Mhow

[1] Parliamentary Papers : "*Native Princes of India*" : 1860, Pp. 68, 69, No. 1360.

without any political officer, assumed political authority and wrote to the Maharajah as follows :–

"I understand, from many natives, that you have given food to the mutinous troops. I have heard also, but do not know whether to believe, that you have lent them guns and offered them Irregular Cavalry, as assistance. These reports are probably very much exaggerated; I do not believe them. You owe so much to the British, and can be so utterly ruined by showing enmity towards them, that I do not believe you can be so blind to your own interest as to afford aid and show friendship to the enemies of the British Government. Let me understand therefore from yourself what your wishes are. From your not throwing obstacles in the way of the mutinous troops passing through your territory, and not punishing them, as a power friendly to the British would do, many may suppose that you are not so much the friend of the British *Raj* as I believe you to be. Write, therefore, and let me understand your intentions. I am prepared for everything alone and without assistance; but with the assistance I very shortly expect, I can act in a manner that you will find, I fear, very injurious to your interests; and if you will take my advice, you will write to me at once and let me know what I am to think of the reports which have reached me".

Early in the forenoon of the 5th of July, arrived Holkar's Prime Minister, Bhao Rao Ramchunder (Ram Chandra), and his treasurer Khooman Sing[1] accompanied by Captain Fenwick, an East Indian in the service of the Maharajah. Holkar wrote:

"No one in the world regrets more than I do the most heart-rending catastrophe which befell at Indore and at Mhow[2].

[1] The correct name appears to be 'Guman Singh'.

[2] *Mhow Cantonment*—A Cantonment in the *Central India Agency*, situated on the southern boundary of the Malwa plateau, at Lat. 22° 33′ N. and Long. 75° 48′ E., 15 miles south-west of Indore. The cantonment stands on a somewhat narrow ridge of trap rock, with an average elevation of about 1,800 feet, the highest point, near the barracks of the European Infantry, being 1,919 feet above the sea. The ridge which falls away abruptly on the south and east slopes away gradually on the west forming a broad plain used as a brigade parade ground.

In 1857 the garrison at Mhow consisted of a regiment of Native Infantry, the wing of a regiment of Native Cavalry and a Battery of Field Artillery, manned by British gunners, but driven by natives.

My troops, probably under the influence of the Mhow mutineers, mutinied openly on the morning of the 1st instant; and the very companies and guns that were sent to protect the Residency picked up a general quarrel with some one, and began at once to fire upon the Residency house. The mischief done was great; many lives were lost. No companies of the Contingent, etc., assisted the British officers; but it is cheering to hear that Colonel Durand, Mr. Shakespear and family and others went away quite safe. The rascals then plundered the whole Residency. The next morning the Mhow troops, after committing similar brutalities arrived here; the whole town was in a panic. A greater part of my troops were in open mutiny, and what remained could not be trusted. The Mahomedans raised a standard of "*Deen*", and the disorder was complete. Under these sad circumstances the mutineers exacted their own terms. They not only demanded the heads of a few Europeans whom I had concealed in my own palace, but also of a few officers of the court who were supposed to be in the British interest. They prepared to plunder and destroy all, if I myself did not come out. I had no alternative left but to offer them my own person, but I would not allow the poor Europeans to be touched before being killed myself. After plundering the British treasury, and the carriage from the town and taking with them all the guns which had gone over to them in a state of mutiny, all the mutineers of this place and Mhow have marched off last night in a body towards Dewass[1]. The tale is a painful one, and will be described to you in detail by Rao Ramchunder and Bukshee Khooman Sing (Bakhshi Khuman Singh) who are bearers of this to you. I have not

The outbreak took place on the evening of July 1st, but order was rapidly restored, only a few lives being lost, the Europeans taking refuge within the fort. The Cantonment is the headquarters of the Mhow District, a First Class District under the Bombay Command. (*Indore State Gazetteer*, Vol. II, 1908, Pp. 309-10).

[1] *Dewas Town*, Pargana *Dewas*—Chief town of the twin States, situated, 1,784 feet above sea-level at 22° 58′ N., 76° 6′E. The town lies at the foot of a conical hill known as the Chamunda *pahar* or hill of the goddess Chamunda, which rises some 300 feet above the general level. The town derives its name either from this hill which, owing to the shrine upon it, was known as Devivasini (the goddess's residence) or as is also alleged from the name of the founder of the village Dewasa bania. [*Western State Gazetteers*, (Malwa) Volume V.—Part A, Text, Dewas States, p. 64]

even in a dream, ever deviated from the path of friendship and allegiance to the British Government. I know, their sense of justice and honour will make them pause before they suspect, even for a moment, a friendly chief, who is so sensible of the obligations he owes to them, and is ready to do anything for them; but there are catastrophes in this world which cannot be controlled, and the one that has happened is one of the kind."

The deputation from Indore confirmed the statement in the letter that the Maharajah had been unable to control his mutinous troops, and expressed on his part deep regret at the occurrences which had taken place in his capital. They offered also to send over the remaining treasure from the Residency to Mhow, and were prepared to carry out any measures which Hungerford might advise for opening up communication through and tranquillising the country. On the evening of the 6th, the treasure, amounting to 4 lacs besides nearly 23½ lacs in Company's paper, arrived in the fort. The same day news reached Mhow that Captain Hutchinson, an Assistant to the Resident, had been taken prisoner by the Rajah of Amjhera[1], a petty Rajput state in Malwa. Mrs. Hutchinson was the daughter of Sir Robert Hamilton, and the following shows that Holkar had not forgotten what he owed to his former guardian :

"His Highness the Maharajah has learnt with great regret the astounding account of Captain and Mrs. Hutchinson and parties' detention at Amjhera. He looks upon Mrs. Hutchinson as his sister, and the whole family as his own relations; and though not crediting that the Rajah of Amjhera could be so blind to his own interests, he has, however, lost no time in ordering Bukshee Khooman Sing, with three companies of infantry, two guns, and 200 sowars, towards Amjhera, with orders to blow up the town, and bring in the Rajah dead or alive, should he have proceeded to any extremities with the party. Amjhera, it must be recollected, is not a tributary to

[1] Apparently *Amjhera*, Pargana *Amjhera*, Zila *Amjhera* (*Gwalior State*)—Headquarters of the zila and pargana of the same name. It is situated on the Vindhyan scarp, 1,890 feet above the sea-level in 22° 34′ N. and 75° 10′ E., twelve miles west of Dhar. Population was, in 1901, 2,954. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 194).

Holkar, but to Scindia; but in this emergency His Highness thinks hesitation as to its being a foreign state inadmissible".*

The news of the attack on Indore Residency by Holkar's troops spread like wild fire throughout the country around. It was stated that the Maharajah had joined in the revolt, and the petty chiefs were ready to follow the example supposed to have been set by the great Mahratta sovereign.[1]

* * *

Substance of a letter from His Highness Maharaja Holkar to the Agent for Central India, 4th July 1857.

It is a matter of deep regret that the detachment of State troops that had under your orders been stationed for the protection of the Residency, joining with the British forces, adopted a course of direct mutiny, and led on by their unfortunate fate did, on the 1st instant, raise a great disturbance, and having commenced firing guns, killed some innocent beings. But thanks to the Almighty that yourself and all British officers were safe and escaped the hands of these miscreants doomed to destruction.

Subsequently the whole Residency was plundered, and the Muhammadans raised the standard of religion. *A total disorganisation followed; none of my troops would listen to orders, and, quite confused, I had nothing left but to regret.* I immediately sent out a mission to Mhow asking for aid; but my people could get no admission to the Colonel.† About the same time the Mhow troops, also mutinying, killed some officers, and having burnt some houses marched to Indore where they joined the mutinous, and disaffected here. It is impossible to describe the excitement, plunder, and bloodshed that continued here for the two following days. I had no troops left to think of fighting with the troops of the line from Mhow, who under the excuse of supplies and carriage sent their men into

*"From Captain T. Hungerford to the Secretary to Government, Bengal, Mhow Fort, 17th July 1857. Appendix D."—Note in "*The Indian Mutiny*" Vol. IV, by G. W. Forrest.

[1] George W. Forrest : "*The Indian Mutiny*", 1857-58, Volume IV. 'Introduction' Pp. 63, 64 and 65.

†"The letter to Colonel Platt is on record".—Note in the original Text.

the town and were joined by hundreds of bad characters to plunder the people.

Although I sent my people to persuade them, yet the mutineers of the *Durbar* troops that had joined them would not desist from plundering.

At length a message was sent by the mutineers to send them the heads of the few Europeans and Christian women that had found shelter in my own palace, and that if this were not done the plundering would not cease. I replied that the murder of these Christians would not be suffered as long as I live, even if the town were destroyed. The mutineers insisting in their demands, I was obliged in the absence of even a few hundred faithful and trustworthy troops, to go to the mutineers, followed by a few personal attendants, and told them that they would one day be recompensed for what they had done, and wished them to leave Indore. The mutineers had forcibly taken carriage from the town, and with that and some that was supplied them in order to have them removed and the town saved. (*Sic*) The mutineers marched off from Indore towards Dewas last night, having plundered the Government Treasury and taken as much of the treasure as they could load, and followed by about 500 of the real mutineers from *Durbar* troops and 6 *Durbar* guns that had joined them. I am now quite unprotected and unassisted. How far shall I describe my regret at what has taken place ? I trust you have heard of these misfortunes from independent sources. I am heartily loyal to the British Government and alive to the thousands of obligations I owe to that Government. I am quite ashamed at my inability, but the epidemic of disaffection of troops had left nothing in my hands. No doubt at the proper time sufficient punishment will be given to the criminals, but the parties really guilty of this crime have marched with the Mhow troops to save their lives.

The preservation of the honour of this State now lies only in your hands. Myself and the whole State, save the disloyal troops above alluded to, are quite innocent in the matter, and this circumstance can be solemnly witnessed to by the Christians that were eye-witnesses to the affairs here. I trust to the justice of the British Government in the hope that without full enquiry into all circumstances you will not give up your usual and long-cherished kindness in an angry moment. In the disturbed state of my mind I have sent Rao Ram Chandar

to describe to you all the particulars, and I have every hope that, having listened to him, you will be pleased at your earliest convenience to console me with a favourable reply.[1]

INSURRECTION IN MALWA

WIDESPREAD REVOLT

But every hand was now against the English—from Neemuch to Saugor, from Gwalior to Mhow—and the force at Durand's disposal was extremely inadequate to the restoration of order and the stay of anarchy. The Gwalior Contingent had become our most powerful foe; the Bhopal Contingent was in open mutiny and no trust could be put in the Malwa Contingent. Holkar's force, which had supplied the troops who had attacked and burnt the Residency, consisted of 30 guns of various calibre, about 1400 Horse and five battalions of disciplined Infantry and Holkar's capital contained a turbulent population ready to burn and slay. Durand's force was sufficient to disarm Holkar's force at Indore and maintain order in the city. But he could not at the same time disarm Holkar's troops stationed in separate cantonments. He was weak in Infantry and the rain had rendered the country impassable. He therefore wisely determined to leave Indore alone for the present and to make preparations for operations against the enemy who were openly defying our power and spreading rebellion over the whole State of Malwa. In July, a number of Scindia's revolted troops had seized Mundesore (Mandsore), an important town near the Rajputana frontier, about a hundred and twenty miles north-west of Indore. All the turbulent Afghans and foreign mercenaries in the surrounding districts joined them. Firoz Shah, of the Delhi royal family, placed himself at their head and raised the Mussulman standard. But Durand had to possess his soul in patience. The heavy rains continued and rendered the black cotton soil impassable. He made the best use of the delay. The hammer and forge were going night and day in the fort, gear for elephants and siege-guns was making (*sic*,), untrained bullocks were being taught the draught of guns, and commissariat stores

[1] "*The Revolt in Central India*", 1857-59. Appendix I, p. 237.

were being prepared. In September, the rebel force had risen to some seventeen or eighteen thousand. As Easter in Western lands marks the awakening of spring, so in India the *Dasahra*—like Easter a movable festival, occurring in September or the early days of October—marks the close of the season when the rain waters the parched plains, and the arrival of dry winter when the fields are green with young corn. Some intercepted letters informed Durand that at the close of the great Hindu festival a general rising would take place in Malwa. On the 12th of October, when the rains had barely ceased, news reached Mhow that a body of Rohillas was about to move on the town of Mandlesar on the Nerbudda. The 3rd and 4th Troops of the 3rd Hyderabad Cavalry Contingent under Lieutenant Clark were sent at once to the village of Goojeeree to intercept them on their way. Another detachment of the 3rd Cavalry was sent to the town of Mandlesar, to Captain Keatinge, the Political Agent there. Two days later, three Companies of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, three guns, and fifty Sabres of H. M.'s 14th Light Dragoons were ordered to proceed without delay to the support of Lieutenant Clark. On the 19th, orders were issued for the Column to march, and all Europeans left behind to go into the fort. The cantonment was to remain in charge of a detachment of H. M.'s 86th, a portion of the 25th Native Infantry, and the detachment of the Bombay Sappers under Lieutenant Dick, Bombay Engineers. On the 20th, the bulk of the Column set out for Dhar[1],

[1] *Dhar*—The Maratha State of *Dhar* was one of the eleven States of the *Central India Agency* in direct treaty relation with the British Government lying in the Bhopawar Political Charge. The State was situated principally between 21° 57′ and 23° 15′ North latitude and 74° 37′ and 75° 37′ East longitude. (*Western States Gazetteer* (Malwa), Volume V—Part A, Text, Dhar State, p. 389).

Dhar town, Pargana *Dhar*—The ancient name of the town was Dharanagari. Its derivation is obscure. The usual derivation is from the "edge of a sword" a name given possibly with regard to its having been founded, conquered or held by the strength of the sword. The Muhammadans call it Piran Dhar after the many ancient tombs of Muhammadan saints (Pirs) or Kila Dhar after the old fort.

The town is situated at lat. 22° 36′ N. and long. 75° 19′ E., 1,908 feet above sea-level. It has an area of 0.26 square miles.

It lies 34 miles by metalled road from Mhow Station on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. It is connected by metalled roads with Sardarpur, Mandu

and early the next morning the siege-train followed.[1]

FIROZ SHAH SHAHZADA AT MUNDISORE (MANDSORE)

Letter from Ramchunder Rao Martund (Ram Chandra Rao Martand), Offg. Minister, Holkar's Darbar, to Colonel H. M. Durand, Offg. Agent Governor General for Central India, Camp Mhow, dated Palace Indore, 30th August 1857.

I have the honor to forward to you herewith translation of a Marhatti news report from Mundisore[2] dated 26th instant for your information. You will perceive from it that the Insurrection, raised by the person *calling himself a "Shahazada"*, had already acquired a formidable appearance, and is likely to lead to extensive disasters in Malwa if not crushed at once. The Jaorah[3] and Rutlam[4] rebels will no doubt flock to the

and the Agra-Bombay high road near Gujri. (*Western States Gazetteer* (Malwa), Volume V, Text, Dhar State, Pp. 494-5).

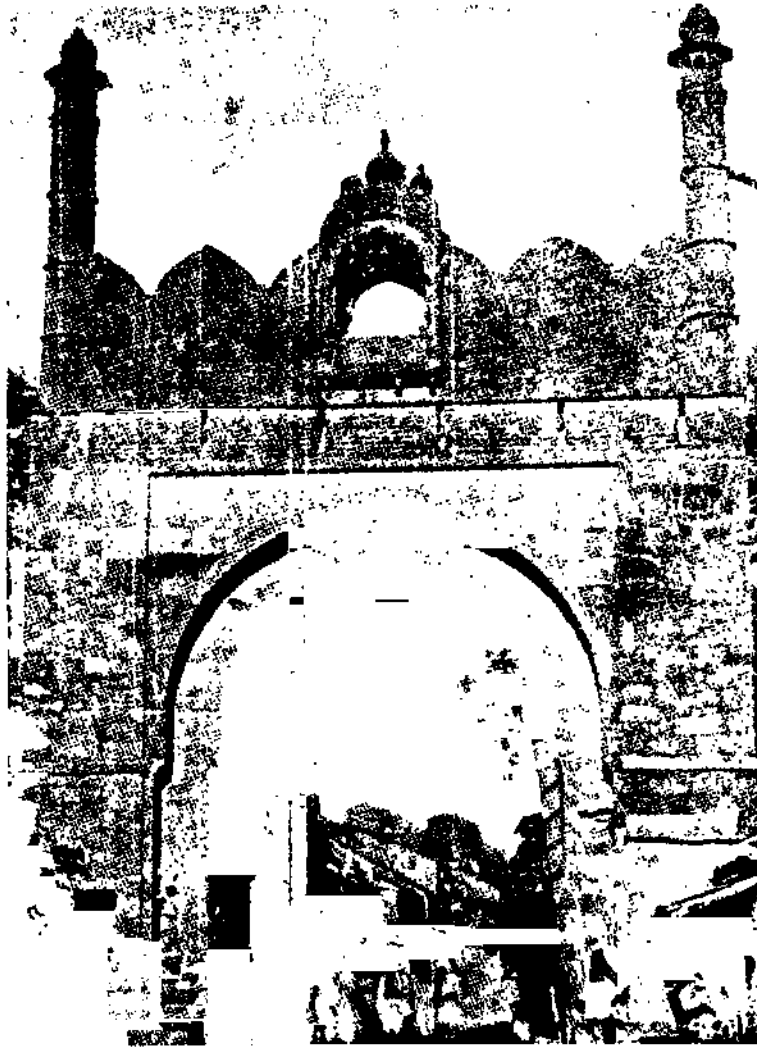
[1] George W. Forrest : "*The Indian Mutiny*", 1857-58, Volume IV, 'Introduction', Pp. 69-70.

[2] *Mandasor Town* (*Gwalior State*)—Headquarters of the pargana and zila of the same name, situated 1,516 feet above sea-level, in 24° 5′ N. and 75° 5′ E., on the bank of the Siwana (Seuna or Sau) river, a tributary of the Sipra, and on the Ajmer-Khandwa branch of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway.

In the Mutiny of 1857 one Sahibzada (Shahzada) Firoz Shah, a member of the Delhi house, raised his standard here and collected a considerable following, among whom were a large number of Rohillas. As their presence endangered the safety of Nimach, the Mhow Column made a rapid advance on the fort, which was captured on November 21, 1857. A fierce fight took place three days later at the village of Guraria, five miles north-west of Mandasor, in which the Rohillas fought with the greatest determination, but their defeat broke up the forces of Firoz Shah, and completely cleared this part of the country. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, Pp. 265-6).

[3] *Jaora*—The State of *Jaora* was situated in the section of *Central India* known as *Malwa* and was one of the three Treaty States in the Agency of the same name. The territories of the State were much split up, the main block consisting of the tahsils of Jaora, Barauda, Tal, Barkhera, and Nawabganj, the remaining tahsils of Malhargarh and Sanjit being separated from the main block. The main block was situated between 23° 30′ and 23° 55′ N. and 74° 52′ and 75° 32′ E.; and the portion comprising the tahsils of Sanjit and Malhargarh, between 24° 5′ and 24° 20′ N. and 75° 0′ and 75° 28′ E. The area of the State is 568 square miles. (*Western States Gazetteer* (Malwa), Volume V—Part A, Text, Jaora State, p. 181).

[4] *Ratlam* was the chief Rajput State in the *Malwa* Political Charge of



City Gate at the Mandsor Fort
(*Gwalior Gazetteer*)

standard of revolt, and Musselmans (Musalmans), and others from all parts of the country, will readily gather round this nucleus of disorder and devastation. It is said that ten thousand rebels have already collected at Mundisore.[1]

* * *

Translation of news report from Mundisore (Mandsore) of the 26th August 1857, Tuesday, Received at Indore, 30th August 1857.

At about 9 A.M. the Shahzada alighted at the *Dargah* of Doodan Said (Saiyid) with four of five attendants. When the *Kotwal* heard of this he went there with 25 or 30 followers and desired him to go away. The latter said that he would do him no injury and would go away after the *Mohurrum*. The *Kotwal* said, his orders were not to allow strangers to remain in the town. The Shahzada reported that he had orders to remain there. The *Kotwal* perceiving the refractory manner of the other, sent word of it to the *Tehsildar*. When Dajuba Bhooskoote, *Tehsildar*, Madhorao Gulwute, belonging to Baba Sahib, Ramrao Tatea, on the part of the *Soobah*, came to the Shahzada with fifty or a hundred men, the Shahzada made a signal when two or three hundred Mewatees, out of employ, appeared. High words passed and swords were drawn. Four sowars were killed. The *Ghole* of the *Lushkar* Bhyrogarh[2], and the *Soobah* and also the Mundisore *Seelandees* combined and took the Shahzada to the Palace and placed him on the *Musnud;* and erecting the Royal standard, proclaimed the assumption of the Government. The Shahzada sent for the *Saits* (*Seths*) and *Sahookars*, and gave them assurances of safety and protection and they presented *Nuzurs*. All the records and documents found in the Palace were torn and burnt. Four of the *Kamdars* are in confinement. It is supposed that after the *Mohurrum* the insurgents will go towards Neemuch and Rampoorah. Nana Sahib, *Soobah* of Mundisore, is at Bhyrogarh (Bhairongarh). He has reported the occurrences to

the *Central India Agency*. It was situated between latitude 23° 6′ and 23° 33′ N. and longitude 74° 31′ and 75° 17′ E. (*Western States Gazetteer* (Malwa), Vol. V—Part A, Text, Ratlam State, p. 221).

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th Oct. 1857, No. 284. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Bhairongarh*, Pargana and Zila *Ujjain* (*Gwalior State*)—A large village lying in 23° 14′ N. and 75° 49′ E., 1½ miles north of Ujjain on the left of the Sipra river. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 202).

Gwalior. The *Naibsoobah* Gunput (Ganpat) Rao Baba has made his escape. Accounts have just been received from Jowrah that the troops there had also revolted and that some of them had set out for Mundisore. It is thought the Nowab will fly from Jowrah.[1]

* * *

Letter from P. G. Timins, Major Commanding Malwa Contingent, to Colonel H. M. Durand, Offg. Agent Governor General for Central India, Mhow, dated Mehidpore, 28th August 1857.

I have the honor to inform you that I have received intelligence that at one time it was the intention of the Shahzada 'Hamoon' (Humayun)[2] who has set himself up at Mundisore to proceed to Mulhargurh[3] and take away the Nawab's gun from that place and proceed *via* Neemuch[4] to Delhi. However, it is now said that Shahzada has established himself at Mundisore and this appears to be the case, he having issued *Purwanahs* in the surrrounding districts, a copy of which I enclose.

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th Oct. 1857, No. 284. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Prince Firoz.

[3] *Malhargarh*, Pargana *Mungaoli*, Zila *Isagarh* (*Gwalior State*)—This village was situated in 24° 17′ N. and 78° 6′ E., on the Betwa river, 8 miles south of Mungaoli. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 264).

[4] *Nimach*, Pargana *Nimach*, Zila *Mandasor* (*Gwalior State*)—Town and British cantonment situated in the Mandasor zila in 24° 29′ N. and 74° 53′ E. on the Ajmer-Khandwa branch of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. In 1857 Nimach was the centre of the disturbances in Malwa. The cantonment was then held by a Battery of Native Horse Artillery, the Ist Bengal Cavalry, 72nd Native Infantry and 7th Infantry, Gwalior Contingent. Signs of unrest appeared early among the men of the Contingent and on the night of June 3rd the troops rose. The Europeans, except one sergeant's wife and her children, escaped in safety to Jawad, which they were, however, obliged to vacate soon after. Ultimately the women and children escaped to Udaipur, where they were sheltered and most hospitably treated by the Maharana. The officers returned to Nimach and occupied the fort, assisted by some Native State troops. The garrison was at one time hard-pressed by the pretender Firoz Shah from Mandasor, an attempt being made to take the fort by escalade on November 21st. It was finally relieved on November 24th after a fierce fight with Firoz Shah's followers at the village of Guraria, which lies between Mandasor and Nimach. On the constitution of the Malwa Agency in 1895 Nimach was selected as the headquarters of the Political Agent. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, Pp. 275-276).

In the present state of affairs and in the absence of a Political Officer at this place I beg to solicit your attention to the expediency of addressing Sheo Churun Kotharay (Shiv Charan Kothharey) in charge of the Rampoora Frontier and the Mama Sahib as well as the Nawab of Jowra (Jaora), the Rajah of Seetamow[1] and other Chiefs.[2]

* * *

Translation of an Oordoo Perwannah (Urdu Parwana) to Rasool Khan (Rasul Khan) Jamadar, from Firoz Shah.

Be it greeting to you—that this day, the fourth of *Mohurrum* (25th August 1857) I, Shahzada Humayoon Shah, have been placed on the *Musnud* at Mundisore and the standard of the Prophet has been planted. The following rates of pay being fixed you are requested to repair to this place without delay.

Rates :—

Per *Jamadar*—30 Rs.
Per *Duffadar*—23 Rs.
Per *Nishanburdar*— 20 Rs.
Per Sepoy— 15 Rs.[3]

* * *

Translation of a Purwanah (Parwana) from Mundisore Shazada (Shahzada) to :

1. Molwee Jamalooden, Commander-in-Chief.
2. Abdool Sultan Khan, Buxee (Bakhshi).
3. Goolam Maheeoodeen Bahadoor.
4. Mahomed Kasim.
5. Maharab Shah.
6. Summud Khan.

(2–6) *Ressaldars* of the Meywatees.

7. Chand Khan.
8. Saile Khan.

(7–8) *Ressaldars* of the *Mukranees.*

and to all the *Mukranee, Wulayutee Sirdars* and officers of the

[1] The *Sitamau* State, which was one of the mediatised States of the *Central India Agency*, was situated between 23° 48′ and 24° 14′ north latitude and 75° 17′ and 75° 36′ east longitude having an area of about 350 square miles. (*Western States Gazetteer* (Malwa), Volume V—Part A, Text, Sitamau State, p. 319).

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th Oct. 1857, No. 289. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 290. National Archives, New Delhi.

force, dated 21st *Rabeeoolawul* A. H. 1274 corresponding to 9th November 1857:

On the strength of each *Shooka* and the representations of spies, well-wishers and *Elakadars*, I am convinced of the dubious character of the forces of Rampoora, sent by the ill-natured or disaffected *Kotharee*. It is now advisable that they should be sent to me and although they might have pledged their faith by *Kooran* or the Ganga (Ganges) they are not to be trusted. Summud Khan *Ressaldar* spoke to me that the *Kotharees* were not to be trusted. Should it be not possible to send the whole force, tell the principal leader to come to me with a detachment and then watch whether he is willing to come or not. Should he be willing to come send him with a proper escort, if not believe in their infidelity and so arrange that they may not be able to do us harm and see them placed in such position that no other recourse may be left to them, but to die or fight the enemy. Secure his guns and use his ammunition in killing the enemy. Be always on your guard with regard to this force and act in such a way that it may do us no harm and the life and property of these men may be in danger. The proverb "Make the enemy to deal with a serpent" should be the principle of your action, for should the serpent bite the enemy or the enemy kill the serpent in both cases we are to gain our object. We will destroy one of the two enemies. Should an action have taken place and it be in your power, secure the guns and the ammunition. On the contrary should these doubts be proved to be real kill the man, for it is proper to kill the enemy when it is in our power to do so. You are all wise, do as you may think proper.[1]

* * *

Translation of a Shooka from Feroz Shah Bahadoor Gazee (Firoz Shah Bahadur Ghazi), dated Mandasore, to the Chief of Jowrah (Jaora).

You have been since long putting off your attendance here, but now I must tell you in plain terms that if you are willing to come to me you must make haste and let it be impressed upon your mind that you will be the most deserving of my favour and consideration. While on the contrary, that is

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 29th January 1858, No. 116. National Archives, New Delhi.

in case of your refusing to attend, I will myself be soon there, and then obedience and supplication on your part will do you no good. Should you take the advice of one like myself who is the well-wisher of the people in general and of the Mahomedans in particular, it would be better for you that previous to your waiting on me you should send without failure 60 or 70 maunds of gun-powder, and 12 or 18 maunds of lead along with the bearer of this *Shooka*; as I am to move to some place I require the material and your supplying them to me will in some measure ingratiate you to me. If you are a well-wisher of Islam and of the house of the *Sultan* you will do as desired.

P. S. in the hand-writing of Shahzada.

On the very receipt of this *Purwana* and without delay, either to-day or to-morrow send me the following articles :

Some money in cash according to your ability.
60 or 70 maunds of gun-powder.
12 or 18 maunds of lead.
Some Golden Tea Cups.
A few pairs of Plates.
A few pairs of China Cups.
A few pairs of large Plates.
1 or 2 pairs of Chandeliers.
1 or 2 pairs of Wall shades.
2 Candle Sticks.
2 or 3 Carpets.
2 pairs of fine Shawls white or green.

Consider well what I have written to you and do as desired; do not fail in this.[1]

* * *

Letter from Lieutenant Colonel H. M. Durand, Offg. Agent Governor General for Central India, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secy. to the Govt. of India, Fort William, dated Indore Resy. (Residency), Camp Mhow, the 28th of Sept. 1857.

I have the honor to report for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council that the Mundisore (Mandsore) insurrection seems for the present stationary.

I have two distinct estimates of the Forces of the Insurgents,

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th November 1857, No. 256. National Archives, New Delhi.

from quarters that are not likely to have had the slightest intercommunication.

The first spy gives their numbers as 1,200 Affghans (Afghans), and 3,800 Mewatees (Mewatis), seventeen guns on wheels, and therefore movable; three guns on the ground, this (*sic*, that) is without carriages. The spy in question has not been able to ascertain the Garrison of the Fort, or the number of guns in the Fort. He only could speak of the troops, and guns in position around Mundisore.

The second informant returns the strength of the Insurgents as:—

Mewatees	5,000
Affghans	500
Mukranees	400
Bheels	200
Miscellaneous	3,000
Sowars (Cavalry)	1,000
Total	10,100

He reports 16 guns as serviceable but they are short of ammunition, and were making great exertions to manufacture powder and shot. On digging in the Fort, more guns, shot, lead and small arms had been found, but the exact amount he could not state. This spy seems to have included the Garrison of the Fort in the strength of men which he gives.

Baba Aptiah[1] was trying to raise troops to act against the insurgents, but it was doubtful whether the new levies would not join the enemy.

A party of 300 Affghans, after committing very offensive atrocities and carrying away four Hindoo women, had joined the Mundisore Insurgents.

Money was scarce and the pay had been reduced from 15 Rs. to 7 Rs. a month for Sepoys. It was anticipated that the collections of the district still made in the name of and for Scindia would be appropriated for the support of the Insurgents.

ATTACK AGAINST NIMACH AFTER DASHEHRA

The latter talk of marching against Neemuch after the

[1] Apparently 'Baba Apte'.

Dussehrah (*Dashehra*), but as the Neemuch troops will return to that place with the credit of having taken Neembharah[1] and become masters of a good many guns there, and the Fort of Neemuch itself is provided, and defensible, I think it very improbable that the Insurgents will attack Neemuch. They are more likely to plunder where plunder is easier to be taken, in the country around.

I have ordered more spies to be sent, for, it is very advisable to watch this insurrection, and to have as accurate information as can be obtained before any measures are taken to crush this rebellion. From the reports of Scindia's *Vakeel*, and Baba Aptiah's the *Sar Soobah's*—letters I was lately in hopes of a more rapid dissolution of this rebellion, than has proved to be the case. Both of them represented the insurrection as breaking up from internal dissension, and on the point of falling to pieces. Up to the present time this has not proceeded to the extent they wished and anticipated. The power of much evil and mischief still exists at Mundisore.[2]

* * *

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel H. M. Durand, Offg. Agent Governor General, C. India, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India, Fort William, dated Indore Residency, Camp Mhow, the 1st of Sept. 1857.

I have the honor, for the information of the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General in Council to enclose the copy of a letter No. 287 of this date addressed to Brigadier Stuart, Commanding Field Force.

In a letter from the Nawab of Jaorah dated 27th August, it is stated that the whole force of Maharaja Scindia including Cavalry, Infantry and Arty. (Artillery) joined by *Weelaitees* (*Wilaitis*), Mewatees, and Hindoos have set up the Shazada and apprehended all the *Ahalkars* who from mere force and fear have been compelled to show outward allegiance. *Nuzzurs* or presents have been taken from the *Sowkars* (*Sahukars*). The whole Force amounts to about 15,000 men. The Shazada has commenced enlisting new men at the following rate—

[1] Apparently *Nimbahera*—A railway station in the pargana *Jawad* of the Old *Gwalior State*. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, Village list, 1908, p. XIV).

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th October 1857, No. 375. National Archives, New Delhi.

Infantry 20 Rs., Cavalry 40 Rs. and has also issued *Perwannahs* in every place to this intent, that all should unite with him or else they would meet with punishment. I have also received an order to present myself, or else it will not be good for me in the end. Destruction and anarchy has taken place; no one looks to fidelity, and every individual intends going to Mundisore. I am sitting in my quarters and should any one come it will be seen; but alas I am without help and destitute in everyway.

The Nawab sends a copy of a *Perwannah* despatched to his own officer Russol (Rasul) Khan, *Jemadar* of the Jaorah state; it runs as follows.

Signed.

"Rusool Khan *Jemadar* of *Weelaitees*, be it known to you; I Humaioon Shazada (Humayun Shahzada) being blessed and powerful, took my seat on the throne of Mundisore on the fourth of *Mohurrum*. 30 Rs. to a *Jemadar*, and 20 Rs. to a *Duffadar* and 23 Rs. to a *Nishanburdar* and 15 Rs. to a Sepoy are established. Be you also quickly present. Pay attention".

I cannot but think the numbers said to be assembled, exaggerated, though it must be remembered that this Shazada has selected his point Mundisore judiciously enough, for that neighbourhood abounds with turbulent Mewatees and the Rampoorah Musselmans are notedly rebellious. The seat of the Raja of Rutlam is also in favour of disorder, and many may be expected to join the standard of the Shazada.

Under these circumstances as Mundisore is about 60 miles from Mehidpore[1], the Cantonments of the Malwa Contgt. (Contingent) where the Shazada might by a rapid march equip himself with the Malwa Contingent Artillery, I have thought it advisable to recommend to Brigadier Stuart to push forward to Mehidpore, the 3rd Nizam Cavalry with the exception of one Troop to be left on the Nerbudda at Ackbarpore.

This body under Major Orr will probably check any

[1] *Mehidpur*, Pargana and Zila *Mehidpur*—Town and headquarters of the zila and pargana of the same name. It is most picturesquely situated on the right of the sacred Sipra river, 1,543 feet above the sea-level, in 23° 29′ N. and 75° 42′ E., 24 miles north of Ujjain. (*Indore State Gazetteer*, Vol. II, 1908, p. 306).

disposition to advance in the direction of Mehidpore which the Shazada might entertain.

Should the Shazada and his rabble move south it will then be matter for consideration what further operations must be undertaken. I need not point out to you that the position of the Force here with reference to other Troops besides this Shazada is peculiar, and any movement, no matter in what direction, unless the base be clean and sound, is thorny and dangerous.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES AND RANA OF DHOLPUR

Copy of a letter from Nawab Warris Mohomed Khan (Nawab Waris Muhammad Khan) calling himself of Bhopal, to the Raja of Dholpoor(Dholpur[2]), dated 29th Zileijja (Zilhijja).

States that some Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry and *Ghazees* having stayed at Gwalior until the break up of the rains, are starting for Delhie, and desiring the Rana to pass them across the Chumbul (Chambal).[3]

VAKIL OF NANA SAHIB AT GWALIOR

Telegraphic Message from Major Macpherson to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, dated Agra, September 30, 1857.

News from Gwalior up to the 26th of September. Scindia,

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th October 1857, No. 313. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Dholpur* lies between 26° 21′ 20″ and 26° 57′ 4″ parallels of north latitude, and between 77° 16′ 15″ and 78° 18′ 49″ parallels of east longitude. It extends from the north-east towards the south-west over a length of 72 miles, with an average breadth of 16 miles 1 furlong. Its area is 1,174 square miles.

It is bounded on the east and north by the British district of Agra, from which it is for the most part divided by the Banganga river; on the west by the States of Kerauli and Bharatpur; and on the south by the river Chambal which separates it from the independent State of Gwalior(Central India). (*Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. I, 1879, p. 243).

[3] N. W. P. Proceedings—Political, 1857, Foreign Department. Abstract of the Proceedings of E. A. Reade, Esq., Incharge of the Government of North-Western Provinces, from 10th to 30th September 1857. Proceedings, dated 22nd September, No. 256. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow,

by arraying against the rebels, who demanded money and carriage to march to Agra, his own troops, and 10,000 *Thakoors*, and by cutting off their supplies, and by removing their boats on the Chumbul on the route by Dholepore to Agra, has subdued the rebels, for the present under his control : none of them now wish (*Sic*,) to go to Agra or Delhi. Three corps and three batteries say they wish to serve Scindia, two corps and two batteries wish to move towards Cawnpore, and Scindia has promised them carriage after the *Dusserah* (*Dashehra*), or today. A prince has arrived to summon them to Delhi and the *Vakeel* of Nena (Nana) Sahib to call them to him. They are very much divided and dispirited, and Scindia's *Vakeel* will come immediately to Indore. Rebels at Dholepore are deeply dispirited by news of Delhi, and by being cut off from Gwalior.....[1]

GWALIOR REVOLUTIONARIES INTEND TO GO TO KALPI

Telegraphic Message from the Political Agent, Gwalior, to the Secy. to the Govt. of India, dated Agra, Oct. 3, 1857.

At Gwalior, on the 30th, Scindia still detained the rebels by his management; they had resolved to move on Cawnpore, but though supplied with a portion of the carriage required, changed their minds and they now say they will go to Dutteah, Jhansi, and Jaloun, in Bundelcund; induce the people to join them, and if they cannot, will extort money, and go to Calpee. The rebels' camp is full of dissension. Scindia is in high heart and spirits.[2]

GWALIOR CONTINGENT TO MARCH TOWARDS KANPUR

Narrative of Events, dated Oct. 22, 1857.

Gwalior—Scindia still holds his own, and is in high heart and spirits; had fired salutes on hearing of the fall of Delhi. Rebels said to be going into Bundelcund, there to induce the

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 30 in No. 2, p. 69.

[2] *Ibid.*, Inclosure 48 in No. 2, p. 74.

people to join them; or failing to do so, to extort money, and go to Calpee (Kalpi). The rebels' camp full of dissension. Latest news says, that the Contingent was likely to march on 15th *via* Jhansi, towards Cawnpore.[1]

GWALIOR REVOLUTIONARIES AT KALPI

Telegraphic Message from Major-General Windham to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), Novr. 21, 1857, (Noon).

The Gwalior force has certainly begun to cross the Jumna at Calpee (Kalpi), and preparations for further crossing are going on; six guns are said to be on this bank. The Nena (Nana) and his followers the same as before.....[2]

GWALIOR CONTINGENT

Telegraphic Message from the Governor General of India in Council to Major-General Windham, Cawnpore (Kanpur), dated Calcutta, Nov. 11, 1857, 7 A. M.

Can you obtain any reliable information of the Gwalior men, as to the direction in which they are moving and whether in one or more bodies, and with what force of Artillery.

The intelligence furnished from Cawnpore has been very meagre of late. I hope you will be able to improve that department; spare no expense to do so; Captain Bruce and Mr. Sherer will help.

Pray keep me informed of the Commander-in-Chief's movements, and address your messages directly to myself.[3]

GWALIOR REVOLUTIONARIES START FOR BUNDELKHAND

Narrative of Events, dated Nov. 25, 1857.

Gwalior—The 5th Contingent Infantry and the two

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure I in No. 2, p. 48.

[2] *Ibid.*, Inclosure 33 in No. 3, p. 147.

[3] *Ibid.*, Inclosure 8 in No. 3, p. 140.

Mehidpore guns left Gwalior on the 4th November to join the rebels at Jaloun. Scindia could not prevent them. Before the mutiny at Gwalior, Scindia asked if he should endeavour to save from ruinous disorder the districts of Kuchmardha and Banda, assigned for the payment of the Contingent. *The Ranee of Jhansi took possession of Banda.* Scindia, who retained the sovereignty of the district, then sent his Agent to take charge of it, and of Kuchmardhar[1], which was in great disorder. The Agent has merely kept the place. Scindia has since asked if he may collect the revenue now overdue, and which the people are all willing to pay. Scindia's proposal has been accepted with thanks, every confidence being felt in his management, and it has been intimated that His Highness may also take charge of any other assigned districts where the authority of Government has ceased for the time.

Jhansi—No news.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from the Political Agent of Gwalior to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Agra, November 7, 1857.

With reference to my despatch by *cossid* (*qasid*) of the 2nd of November, I beg to say that the 5th Contingent Infantry, and the two Mehidpore guns, left Gwalior on the 4th to join the rebels at Jaloun. Scindia could not prevent them. Scindia, just before the mutiny at Gwalior, asked if he should endeavour to save from ruinous disorder the district of Kuchmardhar and Banda, assigned for the payment of the Contingent, by sending his Agent there till we could resume the administration. I promised to refer the question to the Government. The Ranee of Jhansi took possession of Banda. Scindia, who retained the sovereignty of the district, then sent his Agent to take charge of it and of Kuchmardhar, which was in great disorder. Scindia's Agent has since merely kept the place. Scindia asks if he may collect the revenue now overdue, which the people are all willing to pay. As a mark of confidence, his being allowed to do so would have a very good effect.[3]

[1] Appears to have been mis-spelt for 'Kuchmardha', mentioned in this very document.

[2] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure I in No. 3, p. 137.

[3] *Ibid.*, Inclosure 4 in No. 3, p. 139.

BANDA NAWAB AND SHAHGARH RAJA TO AIM AT THE OCCUPATION OF KALINGAR FORT

Draft of a letter from Nawab Ally Behadur (Ali Bahadur), to The Raja of Shahgarh.

After expressing my desire to see and converse with you, which is so intense, that the pen cannot describe, I have to state that after the destruction and flight of the infidels, who were enemies to the religion and customs of every one, in and from almost all the towns, the Emperor's rule has, by divine mercy, been established and several princes have declared themselves for the Emperor and fought memorably to protect their religion and destroy the enemy. Maharajah Sreemunt Nana Sahib Bahadoor began the praise-worthy act; and though evil tidings have lately been received still the Sreemunt Sahib Bahadoor aforesaid has taken courage and is prepared to drive away the enemy.

It is not improbable that through the mercy of God he will get a victory. It is known to you that the Rajahs of Bundelkund are of a different opinion.

Several of your confidants came to me and orally informed me of your state. I have no objection to stand by and befriend you, but until something definite is determined upon between you and me, there is no confidence.

Let us now fix upon a strong and safe place in Bundelkund, where we will send half or one third of our troops or as much as is determined upon, who shall be stationed there permanently. He who wishes may send his females to that place. The men should be paid on the spot and provisions should be collected there by degrees. In Bundelkund there is no place so strong and safe and fit for the location of troops as Calinger (Kalingar). But as some troops of the Raja of Punna are there, so you may fix a date when your troops will by stealth come to a place adjoining it. I will despatch my force on that date; so that your and my troops having made a junction, shall take possession of the fort, remain their permanently and purchase and store supplies in the fort and you and I will remit their pay to that place. I will send as many men as you will.

The object in stationing troops and collecting supplies in one place (Calinger) is that, when (God forbid) the enemy comes to this side, the assembled forces of both the Govts. whose number should be very large, will be able to destroy him; and in time of need reinforcements may be sent to any

place where you or I may remain. Until this is done, how can there be confidence between you and me who are so far distant from each other. It will be very difficult for any of us singly to destroy the enemy. Send me an answer very soon so that I will act accordingly—11th *Sufur*, 1274 *Hijree* (1st October 1857).[1]

GWALIOR MAHARAJA GRATIFIED AT NAWAB OF BANDA'S CONDUCT

Translation of a Hindee letter from the Maha Rajah Scindiah to Nawab Ally Bahadoor (Nawab Ali Bahadur) of Banda, dated 15th Kartick Soodee (Kartik Sudi), 1914 Sambut (Samvat), corresponding with 11th Nov. 1857.

After compliments—Your conduct in beating and expelling the British has gratified me much. If any one wish (*sic*,) to oppose you write to me and I will send troops to your assistance.

I hear that the *Hurkara* of Rajah Hindooput went to the Rajah of Hutchwa. The place where you are not being quiet I addressed this letter to you.

I am given to understand that the Rajah of Rewa has given accommodation to the British which conduct is very unbecoming. I have also learnt that the Rajah of Punnah has given shelter to the British at Nagode, a proceeding which is not good.

As I have not for a long time heard of your welfare I beg of you to address me a letter intimating the same.

Blessings attend this place under your auspices.

The *Hurkara* of Rajah Hindooput has been robbed, a fact which the Rajah has communicated to me.

I am anxious to hear of you at all times. At the suggestion of the Rajah I address this letter to you. You need not be sorrowful. I will render assistance to you. Your conduct in expelling the British does you great credit and I have caused the news of this fact to be conveyed to Delhi. I pray for your favour.

The *Hurkara* (above alluded to) says that the *Dawa* of

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—35. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

the Bundelahs is in the habit of committing oppression and tyranny, a circumstance which I communicate to you.

Send me a satisfactory reply.[1]

AID PROMISED TO BANDA NAWAB BY GWALIOR MAHARAJA

Abstract Translation of a Letter from the Maharaja of Gwalior to Nawab Allee Bahadoor (Ali Bahadur), dated Katik Suddee (Kartik Sudi) 15th, Sambut (Samvat) 1914, corresponding with 18th November 1857.

After compliments—You have beaten and driven out the English. This is good news to me. Tell me of whoever comes to fight with you and I will give you assistance with my army. I hear from the Raja Hindooput's *Hurkara* that you are in trouble. Therefore I write to you. I hear that the Rewa Raja has allowed the English to stay with him, at this I am much displeased. I also hear that the Punna Raja has protected the English from Nagode. This is not good. I have not heard of your welfare for some time. Please write to me. We are alright here. I am ready to assist you. You have done well. I have published your name from this to Delhi.[2]

RAJA OF SHAHGARH FRATERNIZES WITH THE NAWAB OF BANDA

Letter from Raja Bakht Bulee (Bali) of Shahgarh (with his seal) to Nawab Ali Bahadur, dated Shahgarh, the 1st Aghan, 1914 Samvat, corresponding with 3rd December 1857, with the form of address, "To the kind and affectionate Nawab Sahib, Nawab Ali Bahadur.....Peace be to you".

After expressing my desire to see you, I beg to state that I have already sent a letter informing you my welfare which I believe has reached you. Allow me now to observe, that the High God has kindly given so much strength and bravery

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 11th March 1859, Nos. 238-44. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII-35. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

cf. Foreign Political Consultations, 11th March 1859. Nos. 238-44. National Archives, New Delhi.

to the officers and soldiers of the *Poorbea* Regiments and to the *Rissaldars* and sowars, as has saved the religion of everyone, of the Emperor, the *Wazeer*, the Nabobs (Nawabs), the Nobles and of us the Rajahs. God is very kind to these sepoys and it is owing to them that you and we Rajahs have become prepared to kill the infidels. *All persons, whether Mahomedans or Hindoos who are ready to kill the infidels stand in the relation of brother to each other on account of their embracing cause of religion.* Those kings, who keep the infidels in their own houses, whether Mahomedans or Hindoos, are our enemies, be they our own brothers or strangers. I, therefore, beg to assure you not to entertain any suspicions respecting myself on the ground of all the Rajahs being of the same brotherhood, for, those who have kept the English in their houses are for that very reason my enemies. At present you are my brother as both of us have taken up the same cause i.e. that of religion. Listen, therefore, to whatever may be said by any good man who may be sent to you from this place, and communicate to him the secrets of your heart, and having become of one consent, be ready to punish the infidels and those who have taken part with them, so that our faith may be preserved in the sight of the Just and High God by our murdering the infidels and our faithfulness to the Emperor be proved to the world.

The Peishwa Sahib Bahadoor is patron (Malik) of both you and me. Introduce my good name to him, so that I may be on terms of friendship with both your houses.

It appears the infidels have still some influence in the South and some Madras Regiments are still with them in Nagpore and other places. Petition the Peishwa and send eight or nine Regiments with Artillery and ammunition to this part of the country to punish them, so that the infidels be at once extirpated from the South. If you neglect to do so and the infidels advance to this side, it will not be good for you and me. It is necessary that no delay should take place in killing the enemy. It is advisable to make the application speedily for the settlement of this country. Please favor me often with your letters, considering me as one of your friends.[1]

* * *

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII-35. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

Draft of a letter from Nawab Ally Behadur (Ali Bahadur) to the Raja of Shahgarh.

Raja Sahib, kind and affectionate, Rajah Bukht Bulee Jeo Bahadooi. May God protect you.

After expressing my desire to see you which is so intense as cannot be fully described, I let you know, that I received in a propitious moment your two kind letters bearing different dates and containing expressions of friendship and some account of that part of the country; and derived much pleasure from their perusal. I have learnt the present state of your affairs. As for the aid requested, you are well aware that up to the time I cannot give it to you. But when through the favor of God, I shall have completed my preparations, I will not fail to comply with your request. You will learn other things from the bearer of this—Punth Sree Rajdhur. I hope you will continue to give me pleasure by writing to me often. Dated 5th *Jumaduol - awul* (*Jamadi-ul-awwal*), 1274 *Hijree* (22nd December 1857).[1]

MACPHERSON SEEKS PERMISSION TO MOVE ON GWALIOR

Letter from Major S. Charters Macpherson, Political Agent, Gwalior, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, dated Camp Agra, 10th February 1858, *No.* 7.

I have the honor to forward for submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, the accompanying copies of a Report dated the 10th Instant on the affairs of Gwalior, and of my letter No. 7 of that date to Sir Robert Hamilton, Bart. (Baronet).

Sir R. Hamilton, in a demi-official letter dated Saugor the 3rd Instant, observes that my advance to Gwalior even with 200 Europeans as an escort will be most important after Sir Hugh Rose's force shall reach Jhansi which it may do on about the Ist of March. I beg leave to say that this view is in concurrence with mine and with the earnest desire of the *Durbar*, with reference to the ideas respecting our power which still prevail in Gwalioi, and to the disturbed condition of the

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records: File No. XVIII-35. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

intervening State of Dholepore;and that I hope the Government may be pleased to direct the movement with me of 200 Europeans, strengthened if possible by 50 Horse and 2 guns. This detachment might of course return immediately to Agra from Gwalior.[1]

SCINDIA

Letter from Major S. C. Macpherson, Political Agent, Gwalior, to Sir R. Hamilton, Baronet, Agent Governor General for Central India, dated Agra, 10th February 1858, *No.* 6 *of* 1858.

I have the honour to forward for your information, and for submission to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, the accompanying report on the course taken by the Maharajah Scindia, his *durbar*, and his troops, the conduct of the late Gwalior Contingent and the policy which I have pursued from the outbreak of the Bengal Army on the 11th of May up to the present date.

I beg to say, that having submitted to the Government, on the 2nd of November, a full summary of events up to that date, and notified by telegraph the few and unimportant events which have since occurred, I have postponed until now the transmission of this detailed report, from anxiety to verify fully its views and statements, by means not easily available, whilst I am excluded from Gwalior, and from thinking it desirable to show the state of things existing there up to the latest date before the arrival of the force expected from Saugor.

In your demi-official letter, dated Saugor the 3d (3rd) instant, just received, you observe that my advance to Gwalior, even with 200 Europeans as an escort, will be most important after that force shall reach Jhansi, which you hope it may do on about the Ist of March. I trust that the Government may adopt your view in concurrence with mine, and with the earnest desire of the *durbar*. In submitting it, with a copy of this report, I shall offer the suggestion that, with reference to the disturbed state of Dholepore, but especially to the ideas

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 8th Octr. 1858, Nos. 81-82 & K.W. National Archives, New Delhi.

respecting our power which still prevail in Gwalior, the Government may be pleased to arrange for the movement with me of 200 Europeans, strengthened, if possible, by 50 Horse and two guns.[1]

DETAILED NARRATIVE OF THE OUTBREAK AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS AT GWALIOR

From this point of view, in order to obtain from Scindia effectual antagonism to the revolt, it was my policy, as in the past, to lead him to make my plan of action for him, in its execution, really his own, and from the motives of avoiding ruin to his state, and of obtaining from our Government distinction and advantage.

OUTBREAK AT GWALIOR—14TH JUNE

My immediate object, up to the outbreak at Gwalior on the 14th of June, was, to lead him to influence by his example the neighbouring princes, particularly of Bundlekund (Bundelkhand) and to counteract the movement towards revolt of the Contingent and of his sympathizing troops, chiefly through demonstrating by every act devisable that he believed the religious grievance of the revolt to be groundless, and our stability to be immovable, and that he was, therefore, necessarily, one with us.

The continuance of the *Dewan's* ascendancy was, I need scarcely observe, essential to the hope of carrying out this policy. His Lordship in Council is fully informed of the features of Scindia's difficult character, which improves steadily, but does not essentially change. The *Dewan* had shown that, while possessed of the highest capacity, courage, and enlightenment, it was his ambition to save Gwalior, through inducing the Maharajah to place its policy and administration in full accord with ours.

This is what I would premise to make my narrative intelligible.

On the 11th of May the Lieutenant-Governor, informed

[1] Parliamentary Papers : "*Native Princes of India—Scindia*". No. 6 of 1858, p. 90.

of the outbreak at Meerut, and of the threatened defection of the troops, asked me if a Brigade of the Gwalior Contingent could be spared to Agra, and I placed at his disposal, subject to the sanction of the officiating Agent to the Governor General in Central India, one and a half regiments of Infantry, 100 Horse, and a Battery, being one half of the force at Gwalior.

On the evening of the 12th I held with the Maharajah a long conversation, which he came to me next morning at day-break to renew.

He was deeply distracted by accounts and rumours of risings throughout the North-Western Provinces and Rajpootana, which filled the city; and, regarding them in connexion with the mutinies at Calcutta which he had anxiously observed, he apprehended a great outbreak of our army.

GWALIOR CONTINGENT GETS APPREHENSIVE

He said that from the greased cartridges, the belief had arisen in the army that the Government intended to strike at the Hindu and Mahomedan religions; that the enemies of our rule had found in that belief a pretext and an opportunity; that the confidence of the army in the Government was at an end; and that widespread belief had arisen that they would overthrow it.

REPORTED OFFER OF SERVICES BY SCINDIA

Scindia begged that his troops, his personal services, all his resources, might be considered at the disposal of the Governor General, and declared that he would act exactly as I should advise.

With his habitual anxiety to show that he settled, unaided with me all business of importance, he was disinclined to call the *Dewan* from his country residence, but I was enabled to lead him to do so next day.

THE DIWAN'S VIEWS

The *Dewan* took nearly the same view of the outbreak while he was perfectly confident that it would be at once stamped out by the European force assembling under the Commander-in-Chief, provided that every semblance of ground

for the cartridge grievance and cry should be at once removed.

SCINDIA OBJECTS TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE CONTINGENT IN BRITISH PROVINCES

Scindia objected distinctly to the proposed employment of the Contingent in our provinces.

Regarding Agra as the vital point of our position in Hindoostan, while its garrison consisted of but one weak European regiment and Field Battery, brigaded with two native corps, he earnestly warned me against the expectation that Contingent troops, if sent thither, would act against their brethren, or abstain from joining them, should they revolt.

Again he urged, "the internal peace of Gwalior, the obedience of its reduced princes and thakoors, depends (sic,) upon the Contingent. It being somewhat isolated from your troops, if kept in Gwalior, it may remain faithful and keep the country tranquil, but if sent to your provinces it will inevitably be corrupted, and heighten the difficulty there, while there will remain no means of maintaining order within Gwalior".

MACPHERSON'S REPLY TO OBJECTIONS

I replied, that our first object being simply to gain time for the European force to assemble to crush the rebels, the employment of the Contingent in our provinces might still avail us. For, it was agreed that it would not mutiny at least until our regiments did so, and would meanwhile act against plunderers, and maintain our communications.

As to the second objection, I agreed generally with the Maharajah, while its discussion gave me an opportunity to introduce, with a distinct application, my views as to his proper part. The sum of these views, gradually introduced as each new phase and aspect of the revolt suggested, was, from first to last this :—

That, whatever the magnitude, and whoever the instigators or the dupes of the revolt, their destruction by our Indian or by our European resources, to the increased solidity of our rule, was inevitable; that the domination, however, of our soldiery and of the King of Delhi even for a day, must shake authority, both in our provinces and in every state of

Hindoostan, and most seriously in states under Mahratta rule; that, therefore, to identify their course with ours in stifling the revolt was the first duty and interest of every State; that it was necessary, however, to effectual co-operation by Gwalior that Scindia should thoroughly subordinate all its interests to our temporary imperial requirements. I advised the Maharajah strongly to seize the opportunity offered to attain the distinction and advantage of the Governor General's recognition of his precedence in sagacity and zeal as an ally, in addition to the precedence accorded to him in respect of administrative improvements. I laboured to excite in him, as far as possible, the just apprehension that, should the Contingent revolt, but, above all, should our power be shaken, the princes and chiefs of the Rajpoot, Jat, and other ancient races of Gwalior would unite to cast off the Mahratta yoke; and this suggestion has, I believe, contributed greatly to keep him flexible in my hand. And I advised him to make it his immediate object, in antagonism to the revolt, to influence by his example the surrounding princes, and to counteract the movement of the Contingent and of his sympathising troops towards rebellion; and to do this by demonstrating by every act devisable that he discredited the religious pretext of the movement; that he held that our power must triumph; and that he was, therefore, necessarily one with us.

Scindia seemed to agree fully that, at whatever immediate risk to Gwalior, the Lieutenant-Governor's wish for aid from the Contingent should be complied with.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR CALLED FOR THE 1ST CAVALRY AND A BATTERY

On the 13th of May the Lieutenant-Governor requested the despatch to Agra of the First Regiment of Cavalry and a Battery.

Of the value of the Contingent I submitted to him this view,—that, although their officers considered them still sound, yet, if associated with disturbed corps, no one would answer for a moment for their soundness; while I did not believe that any native corps would now draw trigger against another in mutiny, although it might still, as at Lucknow, even guard reduced mutineers.

I thought it of the highest importance that Scindia should

at once demonstrate, by the most significant act available, that he had identified his course with ours.

SCINDIA ADVISED TO SEND HIS BODYGUARD TO AGRA

That act was to send his body-guard of 4000 Horse and a horsed Battery to Agra for the immediate service of the Lieutenant-Governor; for it was notorious that the formation of that guard had been, for years, the object next (*sic, to*) Scindia's heart; that its Cavalry, composed of Mahrattas of his own caste and kindred, were his companions by day and night, inseparable from his pleasures and his state; that, although pampered soldiers, their fidelity to Scindia might be relied on; and that their despatch would certainly import more unequivocally than any other act then possible his co-operation with us.

Upon the 14th Scindia, on my suggestion, cordially adopted this measure, requesting only that his guard might be accompanied by a British officer, fortunately available in Captain Campbell, Superintendent of the *durbar* public works. Scindia omitted nothing to make the despatch of his men palpably his own act, and to heighten its effect. With high apparent exultation, he made them over next day to Captain Campbell, in the presence of the officers of the Contingent and myself. The day after he marched out with them to their camp. The Lieutenant-Governor at first accepted his offer merely out of compliment to him, and then, from increased confidence in his position, desired to dispense with it, if Scindia would not be hurt. But he ordered his guard to advance towards the Chumbul, to await the Lieutenant-Governor's pleasure.

NEWS OF DELHI KING'S LEADERSHIP OF THE REVOLUTION REACHES AGRA

Meanwhile, late on the 15*th, came the news that the King of Delhi had headed the revolt, giving to it a new character, and making of more immediate importance the manifestation of Scindia's course.* The Lieutenant-Governor then accepted the body-guard strengthened by 200 Infantry, employed it as his personal guard for above a fortnight, warmly acknowledged its services, and requested its farther (*sic,*) stay. The Governor General gratified Scindia highly by acknowledging its despatch as a mark of attachment and confidence.

The effect of this demonstration was signal. The leaders of the movement were much depressed. The trust of the officers of the Contingent in it rose so high, that on the 16th I wrote more hopefully of it to the Lieutenant-Governor.

1ST CONTINGENT CAVALRY REVOLTED AND WENT TO ALIGARH

But the First Cavalry, upon contact with one of our corps in revolt, immediately set to the Contingent the example of defection.

It reached Allyghur (Aligarh) on the 19th of May, just as a wing of the 9th N. I. (Native Infantry) mutinied and carried off the treasure. It returned to Hathras, and behaved well against a body of plunderers, but, on the 23rd a hundred men, shouting "*Dien*" (*Din*) moved off to Delhi.

1ST CONTINGENT INFANTRY CALLED TO REOCCUPY ETAWAH

On the 2nd of May, at the Lieutenant-Governor's request, the Contingent Infantry, under Major Hennessy, moved from Gwalior upon Etawah, whence the magistrate had been compelled to retire by the mutiny of another portion of the 9th N. I. Major Hennessy, in a very difficult position, restored order, while the Lieutenant-Governor thanked and promised to reward his corps. Yet it was understood to be in the van of the movement, and, on the mutiny of the Contingent, its Soobadar-Major assumed command of the whole.

SCINDIA SENDS HIS PERSONAL MAHRATTA PAEGAH WITH THE 1ST REGIMENT

Scindia, to the great satisfaction of the Lieutenant-Governor, marked afresh his co-operation with us by sending with Major Hennessy his personal Mahratta *Paegah* of one hundred Horse. The feeling produced in Etawah by this measure may be best inferred from the fact that some of its chief inhabitants petitioned Scindia in July, out of friendship to the British Government to send to them a small body of his troops, to enable them to keep order until our authority should be restored.

On the 23rd of May the Lieutenant-Governor requested the despatch to Agra of a reserved troop of the 1st Cavalry.

I submitted a repetition of the warning, that the Contingent would not act against our troops, their brethren, although I trusted they would still act against broken hordes of plunderers or mutineers.

ATTEMPT TO CREATE DISTURBANCES IN GWALIOR BY SPREADING THE BELIEF THAT GOVERNMENT HAD MIXED BONES WITH THE PEOPLE'S FOOD

All believed in the truth of the cartridge grievance, but it affected the sepoys alone. *The great object of the leaders of the revolt, as shown in every proclamation and newspaper, was to lead the mass of the population to regard the contest as a religious one*; whence they laboured from Calcutta to Lahore to spread the belief that, to destroy caste, the Government had mixed pig's and bullock's bones with the people's food; and an attempt, which in spite of the *Dewan's* utmost efforts proved all but successful, was now made to excite disturbances by the cry that flour and sugar so polluted had arrived for sale at Gwalior from Agra.

ANIMOSITY TOWARDS THE DIWAN

About the end of the feast of *Ramzan*, on the 25th and 26th of May, the fanatical excitement of the soldiery ran so high, and pointed so strongly at the *Dewan* as the great enemy of the revolt, that on the latter day he could not venture to visit me in cantonments where I may observe that I had resided since the outbreak to be near the electric telegraph and the Brigadier. On hearing of his difficulty I arranged to return to the residency next day.

During this period of intense anxiety, I need scarcely say that my communications with the Maharajah and the *Dewan* were ceaseless. When I did not visit Scindia, the *Dewan* generally came to tell me his mind, to discuss every phenomenon of the revolt, and every point of the situation in Gwalior, and to receive the encouragement so much needed under the extraordinary difficulties of his part. Moreover, the agency *vakeel* passed daily between the Maharajah and myself, with numberless notes and messages.

On the morning after the *Dewan's* difficulty, I visited Scindia at his request. I found him oppressed with

anxiety. He spoke long of the state of affairs, as I had the honour to report in part to the Secretary to Government in the Military department on about the 1st June 1857. He said that he spoke formally, under a sense of his responsibility of a misunderstanding as to his part.

He observed that, amongst the worst affected of the Contingent, and some of his own men from our provinces, nightly meetings for administering pledges, as on Ganges water, and infinite boasting of the destruction of the English power and of all Christians, were very rife, such meetings, as I had heard, having gone on more or less since the commencement of the insurrection. That emissaries and letters from Delhi, Calcutta, and other centres of the revolt circulated, as heretofore, everywhere; six of the former discharged as deserters from Bengal regiments, but against whom nothing could then be proved, having been arrested and sent to me a few days before. He then said that the feelings evinced by the sepoys towards the *Dewan* when he visited me in cantonments made his going there impossible; for with his life, in fact, was imperilled our great object to avoid giving to the leaders of the revolt the least pretext for forcing on an outbreak while we expected the fall of Delhi to change the whole aspect of things.

SCINDIA OFFERS HELP TO THE ENGLISH

He asked that as essential to the security of our intercourse I should live at the residency or anywhere else I pleased save in cantonments beyond his jurisdiction. When I of course told him that I had anticipated his wishes. He then asked that to enable him to afford to my office the protection due to it, I would allow the residency to be guarded by *durbar* instead of Contingent troops, "when", also he added "the residency may become, as you desire, a place of refuge for the ladies of the cantonments, such as has been provided in Agra and Jhansi, and is most essential here". I agreed willingly that the residency should be guarded by His Highness' troops alone.

With respect to the Contingent, I then observed that as His Highness knew, my view of its state agreed generally with his; but that its officers still confided very strongly in their men. He said that their confidence was to him wholly incomprehensible, and added emphatically, "The Contingent sepoys

have entirely ceased to be servants of your government, and this I say expressly with a view to acquit myself of responsibility".

CAUSES OF THE DISAFFECTION AT GWALIOR

The situation was in fact rapidly becoming that which I have said in my preliminary remarks it became, with respect to the Contingent, to Scindia's troops, and to the general population, before the middle of June. But Scindia still maintained that his troops from our provinces were and would remain true to him. *As to the cause of the revolt, general hostility to our rule was ever broadly alleged; the cartridge grievance being declared to be merely its pretext, enquiry as to the sources of hostility producing reference only, first to the religious grievance, declared at once to have produced true panic amongst the troops, and to be their pretext for rebellion, and, secondly, to the familiar causes of the unpopularity of our rule in the mouths of all.* But the *durbar's* views as to the relative force and precedence of the political and the religious elements of the movement were, I thought, very confused, while I believed the latter to be the most important.

Scindia and the *Dewan*, however, said most confidently, that, as no reigning prince of influence had joined the revolt, and as its leaders at Delhi were plainly unequal to their great enterprise, but especially as Benares, Gya (Gaya), and the other centres of Hindu opinion, to which all had looked, had abstained from sanctioning any religious pretext alleged for it, when Delhi should be crushed, the belief in our ascendancy would at once return, and the revolt be arrested. Meanwhile, however, said Scindia earnestly, "The time for reasoning with, or professing confidence in your sepoys is past, and any attempt to do either must be ascribed by them to false motives alone".

I at once informed Brigadier Ramsay of the *durbar's* view of the actual state of the Contingent, and of my own impressions, nearly coincident with theirs, summed up in Scindia's formal warning, "That the Contingent had ceased to be servants of our Government".

The Brigadier said to the effect, that while there were certainly mutinously disposed men amongst the troops, his convictions respecting them, as a body were nearly the reverse

of those held by the *durbar* and myself, he placing as much confidence in the sepoys themselves as I in my information from the Maharajah and other sources, liable to be tainted by Mahratta intrigue.

And the Brigadier expressed the views of every commanding officer at Gwalior, and especially of Major Blake of the 2d (2nd) Regiment, an officer who, beyond most, well informed, experienced, and beloved by his corps, was called on to advise.

These officers, in truth, like the other officers of the Bengal Army, perceiving in their men little evidence of change from the old discipline, manners, and show of personal devotion, could not believe, upon evidence which they were not accustomed to appreciate, that our army had combined to destroy our rule and race; could not conceive the transformation which they had undergone, or their power to make it; and resented the imputation of their treachery, until they were shot down upon their own parade grounds.

But the high sacrifice by which, standing upon their views of duty, those officers illustrated their error, must command admiration for ever.

RESIDENCY GUARD RELIEVED BY SCINDIA'S TROOPS

I arranged with the Brigadier that the Contingent guard should be at once withdrawn from the residency, and that it should be considered the place of refuge for the ladies. I thought, moreover, that these could not too soon resort quietly thither, but the Brigadier objected to the families of officers present doing so, lest it should show want of confidence in the troops; and, therefore, while I invited the families of two absent officers, it was left to him exclusively even to inform the others of the arrangement made. The Maharajah came that evening to welcome me back to the residency, and himself carefully posted and instructed his guards over it.

A RISING THREATENED

Next evening, of the 28th of May, saw the ladies and children of the cantonments, by order of the Brigadier, in flight for their lives to the residency, a message being brought to me that he expected the troops to rise that night, the 4th Infantry and the few Horse being most suspected.

SCINDIA'S CONDUCT

The *Dewan*, who chanced to be with me when the fugitives came, instantly rode off to inform His Highness. He came straight at speed, with a strong body of Horse, and posted parties of it and of Foot so as to make secure the residency and the roads from cantonments both to it and to his palace, lest the officers should need either.

Scindia now confessed with great pain that, while he still believed his sepoys from our provinces true to him, he suspected them to be so far possessed with the ideas of our army that he could rely implicitly for our defence upon his Mahrattas and Gwalior men alone, the best part of the former, the body-guard, being at Agra. Wherefore he begged me to bring the ladies at daybreak for full security to a large English mansion attached to his palace. He said further, with the *Dewan's* earnest concurrence, that this measure must avail greatly to demonstrate his oneness with us, and the falsehood of the assertion of the incendiaries, which I had pressed on his notice, that, should our sepoys hazard an outbreak, he would not act personally against them.

I acknowledged warmly his proposal, and promised to arrange as he suggested.

In the night, the Brigadier regained confidence in his men; he and his officer displaying it by sleeping in their lines. The part taken by the Maharajah was soon known. There was no outbreak; but this uniform preliminary symptom appeared, the sepoys of the 4th Regiment declared that if *durbar* troops were ordered to receive from them a lac of treasure in their keeping it should not go, the imputation on their fidelity would be intolerable.

EUROPEAN LADIES TAKEN TO SCINDIA'S PALACE

Early on the 29th I took the ladies to the palace in Scindia's carriages; escorted by his best troops. To prevent a crowd, no notice of our coming was given; but Scindia soon met us, while the Baiza Baee and the Maharanee sent kind messages and dishes from their kitchen.

The Brigadier now became so highly confident of his men that two of the ladies returned to cantonments that evening; the remainder next day. Scindia expressed intense concern

on hearing that they were not to remain with him, at least "until Delhi fell".

He made the very utmost of this opportunity to show that he was one with us, as by arraying round the palace a mass of troops of every arm, himself planting guards everywhere, and visiting them during the night.

INDIAN CORPS AT AGRA DISARMED

The disaffected were much discouraged; and, on the 31st, their dejection was increased, while Scindia was delighted by the news that the Lieutenant-Governor had disarmed the two native corps at Agra, through whose treachery the rebels hoped that the fort might fall.

The Maharajah, on the 29th, had begged that his body-guard might return at once as indispensable to his position, but the leaders of the movement were so plainly cast down, that, at the Lieutenant-Governor's request, he agreed to its farther detention for a week.

The sepoys protested boundless affection for their officers, devotion to the state, and execration of the murderous traitors of Meerut and Delhi. The 4th Regiment, most suspected, formally petitioned the Brigadier to be led anywhere against the rebels. They earnestly claimed sympathy of their officers on account of the stigma I had cast on them by their removal from the guard of the residency. Their sensitiveness rose still higher with respect to their rumoured deprivation of the charge of the treasure, and even, perhaps, of the Magazine. But they protested with tears that their honour was irreparably touched when their own officers removed their families from their guardianship. And those officers still believed them.

FIRST GROUP OF SCINDIA'S TROOPS DESERT FOR DELHI

But on the 1st of June, of the Maharajah's chosen Mahomedan guard at the residency, an officer and six men deserted for Delhi, and thenceforth parties of his men from our provinces followed them daily. This deeply startled Scindia, and he became again most anxious for the return of his body-guard.

On the 4th of June the 7th Contingent Infantry revolted at Neemuch, with the Bengal Brigade there, and, I may add,

marched with it to Agra, fought Brigadier Polewhele there on the 5th of July, and proceeded to Delhi.

On the 5th, the Maharajah, believing erroneously that the Lieutenant-Governor intended to disarm Pearson's Battery at Agra, advised to refrain in the belief that Delhi would fall so immediately that the mass of the Contingent might still be saved. That Battery revolted with the Cavalry on the 2nd of July.

OUTBREAK AT VARIOUS PLACES

The outbreak at Jhansi on the 7th of June brought the revolt, in its most malignant form, home to Gwalior. On that day, the Officer Commanding Jhansi requested, from Gwalior, aid merely to reduce 50 men of the 12th N. I., who had seized the treasure, while the rest of the troops were considered loyal.

A wing of the 4th Contingent Infantry, whose petition I have noticed, and Stuart's Battery, were despatched under Captain Murray towards Jhansi. When the revolt there was found to be general, the Officiating Agent in Central India directed that if the officers felt confidence in their men, troops should move upon Jhansi at once from Gwalior, Seepree[1] and Lullutpore (Lalitpur).

But at Seepree, the 3rd Regiment was far gone, and the Battery still farther. Both rose on the 17th or 18th of June.

At Lullutpore the wing of the 6th was gone. Moreover, it could not be communicated with. It revolted on the 13th.

Captain Murray having learnt the massacre at Jhansi, on the 7th or 8th of every Christian man, woman, and child, returned to Gwalior on the 13th.

THE FALL OF JHANSI DEEPLY STIRRED GWALIOR

Early upon the 11th, Scindia, excited and distracted,

[1] *Sipri*, Pargana *Sipri*, Zila *Narwar* (*Gwalior State*)—Headquarters of the Narwar Zila, situated 1,315 feet above sea-level in 25° 26′ N. and 77° 41′ E., on a branch of the Gwalior Light Railway. On June 17, 1857, the troops, consisting of part of the 2nd Cavalry and the 3rd Regiment of Infantry, Gwalior Contingent, mutinied, and the Europeans were obliged to retire. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 290).

visited me with the *Dewan*. They said that from the nearness of Jhansi, *and the intimacy between its population and that of Gwalior*, the atrocity of the massacre, *and the amount of treasure seized*, the Contingent and all in Gwalior were stirred to the very utmost. *All, save a very few, believed that our empire was in its last hour.* But we expected momentarily news of the fall of Delhi, after Wilson's first victory, and hoped that all might still be retrieved.

SCINDIA DESIRED TO ASK LEAVE TO OCCUPY THE ASSIGNED DISTRICTS OF KACHHWAGARH AND BHANDER

The Maharajah now desired to submit to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council this proposal—As our authority had ceased for the time in the districts of Kuchwaghur and Bandeir (Bhander) near Jhansi, assigned for the payment of the Contingent and loss of revenue, and anarchy must arise unless order were maintained, Scindia desired to propose that he should be permitted to take charge of those districts until our authority were re-established. I told him that I would gladly submit his proposal, with a recommendation to Government to accede to it, when the communication, then interrupted, should re-open.

Up to this point Scindia had done his utmost to co-operate with us, by demonstrating that he did not share the belief in the religious grievance and pretext of the revolt, or the belief in our overthrow, which formed, in combination, the master fact of the movement in Gwalior, and that he aided in the hope of sharing our final triumph, and he co-operated chiefly by despatching his body-guard to Agra, by sending his personal Mahratta troops to Etawah, by warning me, on the 26th, of the defection of the Contingent, by then arranging personally for the security of the residency as a place of refuge, by providing, further, on the 27th, for its security and that of the fugitive families, by inviting them to his palace for full security, and in order to demonstrate that he would act personally with us. But to neighbouring chiefs, to the soldiery, and to his people and like, by far the most generally appreciated and unequivocal of his acts was, his giving to his *Dewan*, regarded by all as the prime enemy of the revolt, his full confidence and the highest powers; while with the *Dewan* acted his Commander-in-Chief, Baba Mohurghur, and the second in command,

Baba Balwant Rao Jhuseewallah, whose earnest co-operation was indispensable to the management of the troops for a day. Moreover, the Mahratta and other officers, survivors of the old wars, and the commanding officers of Scindia's regiments, and some of his chief *sirdars*, all yet believed that we should triumph.

To understand the full meaning of the *Dewan's* ascendancy, it must be remembered that there existed, ever at Scindia's ear, and especially at his revels, a party composed of the remnant of that which brought on the fight of Maharajpore in 1843, and of the corrupt intriguers whose great aim is the overthrow of the *Dewan*, with a view of restoring the system of farming the revenue. Scindia listened as usual to this party; and it thought its opportunity come, but he met all my views with the utmost heartiness and candour, and acted thoroughly with the *Dewan*.

I was able on the 12th to bring in four and a quarter lacs of rupees, remitted from Orai, by sending a detachment of the 2nd Regiment and one of Scindia's Horse to relieve, two marches off, its escort under Lieutenant Tomkinson, a part of the 53rd N. I., then in mutiny at Cawnpore and as the sole chance of safety for it, I placed the treasure in Scindia's treasury.

On the 13th, at the *durbar's* urgent desire, I requested the Brigadier to despatch half a regiment and 2 guns to the Porsa and Sekurwaree districts near the Chumbul.

THE 2ND REGIMENT REFUSES TO MARCH TO THE DISTRICTS

On the 14th the Brigadier informed me that Major Blake, commanding the 2nd Regiment, to which the duty fell, reported that it would not move, though he still hoped that it would come right.

Since the threatened outbreak on the 28th the convulsion had nearly enveloped Gwalior. The Contingent had mutinied at Neemuch and Lullutpore (Lalitpur), besides at Hatras[1]. Nussecrabad was gone. At Cawnpore, Lucknow, Bareilly, Moradabad, Shahjehanpore, and other points had been fierce and

[1] Apparently spelt for *Hathras* in *Aligarh* District.

murderous risings. *From Jhansi came maddening contagion. Delhi pressed hard its besiegers. In Gwalior, the manner of all, full of insolence, of exaggerated deference, or of pity, showed the ripe conviction that our rule was over.* The only question to the soldiery and people was, when Scindia, blinded by me and the *Dewan*, would accept and act upon that conviction. The situation was now fully that which I have stated in my preliminary remarks, that it became before the middle of June.

14TH OF JUNE, THE OUTBREAK AT GWALIOR

Upon the afternoon of the 14th the mess-house and a bungalow in cantonments were burnt down, the 4th Regiment working with good-humoured alacrity to extinguish the flames.

At about 11 P. M. a Horseman whom I had despatched to the Brigadier rushed back to say that he had met on the road some flying Europeans who said that the sepoys had murdered their officers, and ere long the signallers of the telegraph appeared.

The rising happened thus :—

At about 9 P. M. a sergeant reported that the Artillery had loaded their guns. Their officers, Hawkins and Stewart, went immediately to their lines, but brought back word that it was a false alarm, the men having imagined that "Europeans were upon them".

Then commenced the outbreak, with loud shouts, tumult, and bugling in the lines, through which men rushed calling, "to arms", for "the Europeans had come", the cry of that night. The Brigadier ordered the officers who were with him to their lines. There firing began and gradually extended to the whole station, while bungalows blazed up.

Every commanding officer, Major Blake of the 2nd and Sheriff of the 4th Regiment, and Captains Hawkins and Stewart of the two Batteries, fell.

Blake went to his lines on the first alarm, and was shot at (by) his main guard. His men, amidst whom Dr. Mackellar found him dying, professed deep sorrow, and declared strongly, but falsely, that the 4th had killed him. They themselves, at least, gave him burial, savagely denied to all others. How Sheriff fell amidst the volleys which flew everywhere is unknown. Hawkins, who had with him his sick wife on a litter and five children, besides Mrs. Stewart with her two children, was killed

in the Cavalry lines, it is said by the Infantry, while two of his children also perished. When he fell wounded in front of a hut where the ladies were sheltered Mrs. Stewart went and took his hand, and the volley which killed him, killed her also with a child. Stewart was wounded that night, but nursed through it by two of his men, and deliberately shot the next day. Dr. Kirk, superintending surgeon, was sought out and murdered in an outhouse. The chaplain, Mr. Coopland, wholly unknown to the troops, was pursued with volleys through cantonments, and cut down. Lieutenant Procter of the 4th, who had in his care the sick wife of an absent brother officer, and did not attempt to escape, was searched out after concealment through the night, and murdered before his wife by Infantry and Horsemen. Four sergeants and two pensioners also fell; as did Mrs. Burrows, widow of a conductor, and Mrs. Pike, a sergeant's wife.

So that there were killed seven officers, six sergeants and pensioners, three women, and three children, 19 in all; while there escaped, of the men of the Contingent, some under showers of bullets, but, favoured by a moonless night, seven officers, one sergeant, and two medical subordinates, besides women and children.

The surviving officers made either for the Maharajah's palace, or for the residency, where, under the guard of His Highness' troops, they were safe. Two officers rode straight for Dholepore and Agra.

The cantonment guards favoured or aided actively in escaping several officers and families. Thus, of the 2d (2nd) Regiment, 3 men escorted Lieutenant Pierson and carried his wife in a litter 7 miles to the residency. And the guards of the 1st Regiment over the family of its absent commandant behaved admirably. The rear guard of the 4th Regiment protected most faithfully Captains Murray and Meade and their families while a party of the 2d (2nd) came to destroy them.

CONTINGENT BROKE OUT AS ONE MAN

Against our rule the Contingent apparently acted as one man. They were so much divided as to the slaughter of their officers, that 4 *out of* 7 *Infantry Regiments,* 2 *out of* 4 *Batteries of Artillery, and the* 2 *Regiments of Cavalry, excepting a party at Gwalior, killed none.*

REVOLUTIONARIES SPARED WOMEN AND CHILDREN

It does not appear to have been of their plan to murder the women and children. At least next day they sent off, after very insulting treatment, those who survived, to the Maharajah. He forwarded them to the Chumbul in carts. To have attempted more had been their certain destruction, he being very hardly pressed to save the lives even of the Christian families in his hereditary service, furiously demanded by the fanatics.

On hearing of the outbreak I immediately proceeded to join the Maharajah. My carriage, which contained also a lady of my family and an officer just escaped from cantonments, was soon arrested by the levelled muskets of a party of 5 or 6 sepoys. They belonged to a band of *ghazees* bound to Delhi, under Jehangeer Khan (Jahangir Khan), once a *havildar* in the Contingent, then a favourite captain of Scindia's, now a *ghazee* leader of highest pretensions to sanctity. They vehemently demanded our lives. Besides a Mahomedan escort, some 40 Mahratta Horsemen were with us. The Mahratta captain of the bodyguard told me at the time that they had yielded, on his threatening destruction to all who should oppose us; but I learnt afterwards, that he had said he was conveying me by Scindia's express order a prisoner to him whereupon the *ghazees* expressed satisfaction and drew back, and we passed on.

I found Scindia at his palace, the Phoolbagh, surrounded by his troops under arms. There had already arrived the Brigadier and several other officers with their families, and they believed that all who were left in cantonments had perished. Patrols of the Maharajah's troops, most likely to save them, were however, looking for them in all directions.

SCINDIA HELPLESS

The Maharajah and the Dewan were deeply agitated; but they held it so perfectly clear, from the attitude of the rebels, and the feeling of Scindia's troops, that he could not protect us for an hour; that he had already ordered for us carriages, palanquins, and an escort of the bodyguard, to the Chumbul or to Agra, if desired.

That point settled, Scindia, deeply bewildered expressed infinite anxiety as to his course. Of the rebels, he knew generally that they contemplated either his enrolling and leading

them against Agra, or his giving them a large mass of treasure, while, if he refused these alternatives, they would bombard his city. He feared deeply that his troops would coalesce with them, and, with their Artillery and Magazine, he was certainly at their mercy.

PLAN TO DETAIN THE CONTINGENT FROM MOVING OUT

So far as I could discern his mind, in the confusion of the scene, it seemed plain that Scindia would purchase the departure of the rebels from his territory. But I asked of him, at whatever cost, to detain them within Gwalior until we could assemble an European force to crush them, which might perhaps, not be before the *Dusserah*, or the 29th of September, while I assured him that the Government would consider this a most friendly service.

The *Dewan* inquired, if it should appear that, for the detention of these rebels against both Governments, no course could avail save that of giving them service; would the Governor General approve of that ? I said that the difficulty was obvious; but that if no other means might avail, Scindia should detain the rebels by service until we were ready to deal with them. The Maharajah, through the *Dewan*, proposed that the wishes of the Government should be executed, if possible.

The risks incurred by my party, consisting of 30 men, women, and children, on its march to Kentree Ghat on the Chumbul, may be mentioned, to illustrate the difference in feeling towards us of Scindia's corps most devoted to him and the Hindu population.

MACPHERSON THREATENED AT HIRGORAH

In Hirgorah, a village 12 miles from the Chumbul, we found posted Jehangeer Khan, with (the) band of which I have spoken, consisting of some 200 *ghazees*, mostly from our and Scindia's ranks. After long parley he protested that he did not wish to injure us, and came to visit us arrayed in green, with beads fingered in ceaseless prayer; but in concert with him a body of plunderers were assembled to attack us in the ravines fringing the river.

THE BODY-GUARD DESERTS MACPHERSON

The captain of the bodyguard said he was deeply alarmed

by the double danger, from which he saw no way of escape, while his men refused to move forward that night. In the hope of avoiding one peril, I resolved to abandon the carriages, and start the ladies and children on horseback, after midnight, by a bridle path towards Rajghat, lower down the Chumbul. But the *Dewan* had summoned to aid us Thakoor Buldeo Sing (Thakur Baldev Singh) chief of the Dundowteeah (Dandautia) Brahmins, a robust and warlike tribe of that quarter and at midnight the chief happily appeared with a strong body of followers. He declared warmly that he had not forgotten that I had interceded with the *Dewan* for certain tanks and wells for his people when I visited them, and that they would defend us with their lives. He placed one body of men to watch Jehangeer Khan, and with another conducted us towards the river. At the edge of the ravines the bodyguard despite of remonstrances and reproaches turned their backs upon us. With them went the *Paegah* horse, and the palanquin bearers, while we forced on the coachmen. These soldiers could not, against the feeling of the whole soldiery, strike for us whom they would never see again.

On the further bank of the Chumbul, opposite one of two paths which strike in at Kaintree[1] Ghat, the elephants and escort of the Ranee of Dholepore awaited us; but in the ravines over that path a party of Jehangeer Khan's band had taken post during the night. As we proceeded along it, however, Buldeo Sing learnt their presence in time to change our route, and we crossed in safety.

While to Thakoor Buldeo Sing of Tharro and his stout tribe, which on this occasion forgot its bitter fraternal feuds to defend us, our safety is thus due, I beg to add that in November he, through great skill and management, brought safely in to Agra two sergeants of the Contingent, with the family of one of them, who, since the revolt at Seepree in June had been concealed by Scindia's officers in the Nurwur[2] Jungles.

Scindia, to show his high appreciation of the Thakoor's services, announced, when lately here, at the Chief Commis-

[1] Spelt as '*Kentree Ghat*' also, in the preceding pages.

[2] *Narwar Town*, Pargana and Zila *Narwar* (*Gwalior State*)—Town in the Zila of the same name, situated in 25° 39′ N. and 77° 56′ E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 272).

sioner's *durbar*, his intention to bestow upon the Thakoor a handsome village in *jagheer* (*jagir*).

I humbly submit that the British Government should mark, as distinctly at least as an appropriate gift of honour may do, its equal appreciation of those services.

The Rana of Dholepore loaded us with kindness, and gave us safe escort along the highly disturbed route to Agra, which we reached on the 17th. He extended equal care to the large party of ladies and children who a few days afterwards followed us from Gwalior in the extremity of distress. These services the Government, in compliance with my suggestion, have been pleased to acknowledge by a letter.

I beg to mention here, by way of apology for the imperfections of my reports about this time, that, from great exposure in passing my party over the Chumbul, I received a slight sun stroke, which, in consequence of the extreme strain of anxiety which I had endured, produced severe illness.

My information respecting what has occurred at Gwalior since I left it, is derived from the annexed series of letters, written twice or thrice a week in English, for secrecy, by the agency *vakeel;* by an almost daily scrap of news in Persian cipher from the *Dewan;* from the two annexed letters from Scindia; from the regular communication to me by the Dholepore *durbar* of the news sent by their *vakeel* at Gwalior; from the constant reports of spies and *cossids* (*qasids*); and latterly, of course, from conversation with Scindia, his officers and chiefs, and many other persons. My letters to Scindia and his *vakeel* are also annexed. Besides them, I sent almost daily to the *Dewan* a note in Persian cipher or a verbal message.

It were not easy to over-estimate the difficulty of the part which I had imposed on Scindia.

REVOLUTIONARIES' DEMAND FROM SCINDIA

The rebels offered their services to him, but, as masters; they demanded that he should at once make over to them the 4½ lacs of treasure deposited by me, which they styled "their own", and enrol and lead them against Agra, which they would make over to him, with such provinces as he desired, and then proceed to Delhi; or that he should give to them, with the 4½ lacs, 12 or 15 lacs more, and supplies and carriage to move whither they pleased. If he declined either alternative, they would bombard and plunder his palace and city, empty

his treasury, seize his fort, and place himself in confinement or at their head. If he attempted to protect British officers or any Christians they would recognise no difference between him and them.

His great apprehension was lest his troops should coalesce with the rebels. He found that he could hope to restrain these from moving at once upon Agra only by, first a donation of three months' pay, and the promise of service, "which", wrote His Highness to me on the 17th of July, "I was obliged to give them, instead of a destructive volley"; secondly by summoning to his capital the chiefs, with from 6,000 to 11,000 men, of the most warlike tribes of the country—Rajpoots, Goojars, and Brahmins,—whom it had been the chief office of the Contingent to keep in subjection; and, lastly, by sweeping the Chumbul of its boats, as I suggested in a letter of 3d (3rd) June. His own force clamoured loudly for the donation given to the rebels. From the Mahrattas and the Gwalior Hindus alone could he hope for obedience.

REVOLUTIONARIES DETERMINED TO ATTACK AGRA

The rebels declared it to be their resolution to join, to capture Agra, the Neemuch rebel Brigade, including the 7th Contingent Infantry immediately expected there.

FIGHT AT AGRA

On the 5th of July that Brigade reached Agra, and being reinforced by the Kotah Contingent, fought Brigadier Polewhele's force.

The rebels held the field, and claimed the victory; while we retired into the fort, and abandoned, without an effort, our capital station, to be burnt and plundered during two days, *the blood of at least* 20 *Christians being shed, not by the enemy, who withdrew on the night of the action, but by the ruffians of the city and villages, the police and the broken gaol.*

It was believed that we were entirely broken and paralyzed. The Neemuch rebels by a deputation conjured those of Gwalior to join them for certain victory; and these demanded vehemently of the Maharajah treasure and supplies for their march, while his troops from our provinces joined in the demand.

SCINDIA AND THE CHARACTER OF THE REVOLT

I may observe that, had Scindia, in this the dark hour of the storm,

supported by the Dewan alone with the two chiefs of his troops, yielded to the pressure of the opinions and temptations which impelled him to strike against us, the character o the revolt had been entirely changed.

With his mania for military pursuits, with a name round which Hinduism had rallied, with the influence inseparable from his territory, touching states or provinces almost numberless between the Chumbul and the Godavery, between Bundelkund (Bundelkhand) and Guzerat (Gujrat) with 10,000 men, besides the Contingent, 6,000 more, with siege-train and ample magazine,—while the *durbar* party, strongly opposed to our rule, conjured him to seize the hour,—*while the Nana Sahib, with strong claims on Mahratta feeling, and the wealth of the ex-Peishwa, and a large host, triumphed at Cawnpore,*—while of Oude we held but our beleaguered position in Lucknow, while the chiefs of Bundelkund, at least, hung upon Scindia's example, and who had then limited its force against us,—while the Bhopal and Malwa Contingents and most of Holkar's troops were on the verge of revolt,—while at Delhi we but held our ground,—while no man was sure of Seikh (Sikh) aid or the China force, but, above all while the fort of Agra stood nearly unprepared, and overcrowded as it did, had Scindia, I say then struck against us, the character of the rebellion had been changed almost beyond the scope of speculation. *But he believed in our final triumph, and that it was his true policy to strain his power to contribute to it.*

HOW SCINDIA RESTRAINED THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The rebels called to be (*sic,*) their general Amanut Ali, Soobadar-Major of the 1st Regiment, which, sparing officers, moved on Gwalior immediately after the revolt but the most violent sepoys in fact commanded. These troops spent their whole time in councils, *punchayets* (*panchayets*), courts, and deputations; and the Maharajah was compelled to receive daily, "to report", one of the latter, composed of officers from every corps with privates delegated to watch them, bodies of from 30 or 40 to 100 men. They menaced, beseeched, dictated, wheedled, and insulted Scindia by turns, until they planted their Batteries against him. For four months he confronted, defied, flattered, deceived them, above all through endless arts, kept them at loggerheads, until he finally baffled and despatched them to rout by our arms.

I may observe that for his first object,—to divide them—he bribed their officers, mostly venal, their priests, every man who could suggest or fan a discord. Thus he led the *Poorbeeahs* to press a movement upon Cawnpore against the demand of the men of Gwalior and the north to move on Agra and Delhi. He acted upon the Artillery officers who were natives of Gwalior, through their village interests so effectually as to make them refuse to march until after the rains, paralysing the whole force. The two Cavalry corps which mutinied near Agra on the 3d (3rd) of July reached Gwalior on or about the 29th July. They had not murdered their officers although some of them were engaged in the Gwalior revolt. Their native officers desired strongly to secure Scindia's good-will and he was able to separate a large portion of them from the rest of the Contingent. He ordered the removal of the wheels of carts within the range of the rebels, and sent all elephants and camels to distant jungles. He maintained that field operations were folly in the monsoon. After it, his course and that of all would be clear.

THE NIMACH BRIGADE MOVED ON TO DELHI

By the 17th of July the Neemuch Brigade, despairing of co-operation from Gwalior, moved on from Muttra (Mathura), to Delhi.

From Gwalior no man of name or character, nor any soldier of Scindia's service, joined the Nana Sahib, but many worthless pundits and some 300 *Mahratta Horsemen joined him.*

EFFECT OF HAVELOCK'S VICTORIES AT CAWNPORE (KANPUR)

The victories of Havelock over the Nana Sahib at Futtehpore (Fatehpur), Cawnpore, and Bithore, known at Gwalior on about the 20th of July, turned the tide and gave to Scindia fresh strength and confidence. He was also aided by the wing of the 6th Contingent Infantry, which, on revolt at Lullutpore (Lalitpur) had joined the Nana and now came back half slaughtered, to Gwalior, declaring that it was madness to face Europeans.

The rebel officers now nearly all sought to secure, in case of need, Scindia's intercession with us. But the offer of a gratuity of six or even twelve months' pay failed to induce a single sepoy to lay down his arms.

REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS AGRA

Upon the 31st of July there arrived at Gwalior the rebel force from Mhow and Indore, moving resolutely upon Agra. "It excited the Contingent afresh", said the *Dewan*, "like oil thrown on fire". It consisted of the 23rd N. I., a wing of the 1st Light Cavalry, 600 men of Holkar's, with 7 guns and 1,000 *ghazees* led at first by Saadut Khan, a *sirdar* of Holkar's, *then by a person styling himself Feroz Shah, prince of Delhi.*

The 5th Contingent Infantry then also came in from Augor[1], where they had mutinied on about the 3d (3rd) July, killing one officer. A Battery which had mutinied with the Cavalry on the 3d (3rd) of July, sparing its officers, had arrived shortly before, as had another which mutinied at Seepree on the 17th of June, also sparing its officers. All demanded to move with the Mhow and Indore rebels on Agra; Scindia's troops from our provinces, as before, joining in the demand. Their united pressure seemed irresistible.

Scindia was, moreover, much distracted, on about the 18th of August, by hearing from his *vakeel* with the officiating Agent to the Governor General, that he regarded his conduct unfavourably. I at once assured him, on the 24th, that the approbation of the Agent and of the Government was certain when they should be fully informed of the circumstances; and on the 31st Scindia replied, that he knew British friendship and justice, and was at ease. Upon the 11th of September the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council was pleased, in compliance with my suggestion, to strengthen my hands by a reassuring message to Scindia, which afforded him the highest satisfaction.

SCINDIA HELPLESS IN CHECKING MOVEMENT ON AGRA

In my letter to the Government of 7th August, I submitted the opinion, that while Scindia might restrain the Contingent until the end of September, he could not hope to restrain the

[1] *Agar Town*, Pargana *Agar*, Zila *Shajapur* (*Gwalior State*)—A town and British military station situated in 23° 42′ N. and 76° 3′ E., 1,765 feet above the level of the sea, 41 miles by metalled road from Ujjain. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 192).

Mhow and Indore rebels; but on 25th of August he intimated that he could not prevent beyond the 10th of September, the united bodies from moving against Agra.

The only hope of restraining the Contingent lay in permitting the Mhow and Indore body to march, while with them would certainly break away the hottest and most uncontrollable of the Contingent and Scindia's soldiery and of the fanatics. Scindia told the Contingent that the departure of the Mhow and Indore troops must precede his communication to themselves his future plans. And between the 5th and 7th of September those rebels crossed the Chumbul to Dholepore towards Agra, accompanied by 800 of Scindia's Mahomedan Horse from our provinces, about 200 Contingent Cavalry, a strong party from every Infantry corps, several hundred *Wilayatees* in the service of the Baiza Baee, and a large body of fanatics and plunderers; when Scindia, by a secret movement, swept in a night both banks of the river of its boats.

CONTINGENT DEMANDED THE PLANS OF THE SCINDIA

The Contingent now demanded peremptorily of the Maharajah his final plans, and to hear them their officers attended on the 7th with 300 men in his palace garden. Scindia asked what their wishes were. The officers began to reply, but the sepoys thrust them aside, and said that they had resolved immediately to take Agra, and destroy the Christians there when they would carry Scindia's banner where he pleased. He replied, that they did not therefore await his orders; that their movement until after the rains would be against his will, and they should receive from him neither pay nor supplies.

PREPARATIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The sepoys declared indignantly that they had been betrayed, and returning to their camp planted a green flag for Mahomedans, a white flag for Hindoos. Deputations invited Scindia's troops to join them for their common objects. They wrote to pray the rebel force at Banda to come to crush him, and they prepared their Batteries.

SCINDIA'S TROOPS THREATENED TO JOIN THEM

Scindia was in despair. One of his corps was certainly

with the rebels, and all, save the Mahrattas, seemed about to join the green and white standards. Then he would have no alternative save to become a puppet in their hands, or to fly to us. Had but a bugle sounded or an alarm gun fired in his lines that night, his troops had (*sic,*) risen uncontrollably. He had every bugle brought to his palace, and every gun watched, and passed the night in sleepless anxiety. At daybreak he paraded his whole force. He appealed to them, corps by corps, it is said, very touchingly, against the insulting coercion which the rebels threatened. Beginning with the best affected Regiment of Gwalior men, they declared enthusiastically for him; then another corps, mainly of Gwalior men, did so. Of his two corps from our provinces, one was fully, one far committed to the rebels; but both had Mahratta officers and they also professed obedience. Scindia required that in proof of it, one should give up the ring-leaders of the defection to the green and white flags, and they gave up 20 men, whom he instantly placed in irons and in gaol. His troops, although one with the Contingent in their objects towards us, did not desire his insulting coercion by them. Moreover, he promised them daily *batta*, and increased the *Thakoor* levies from 6,000 to 11,000 men.

BATTERIES PLANTED AGAINST SCINDIA

The rebels at once planted their Batteries against Scindia's palace and city. The Maharajah moved out his whole force, and himself placed every Battery and picket and arranged his *Thakoor* force. His spirit and the adhesion of his troops surprised the rebels. The portion of the Contingent Cavalry quiescent with him joined his ranks. He cut off the supplies of the rebels, and doubled his guards on the Chumbul, to prevent the threatened return of the Mhow and Indore body from Dholepore. His emissaries sowed fresh dissensions. The 5th Regiment, with which the rest had quarrelled, on account of its killing some of the native officers who had led it to mutiny, and the men of the 6th Regiment, offered to fight for him. The Banda force would not come to Gwalior. The Contingent lost heart; professed to be satisfied, after examining accounts, that they had received nearly all "their own" money deposited by me, and within six days withdrew their guns, while Scindia maintained his posts.

VAKILS FROM JHANSI AND THE NANA SAHIB INVITE THE REVOLUTIONARIES TO JHANSI AND KANPUR AND SCINDIA PROMISES TO LET THEM GO THITHER

The appearance of vakeels from the Ranee of Jhansi and the Nana Sahib bidding high for the services of the Contingent and for their Magazine, now introduced amongst them fresh distractions, which Scindia turned to instant account. If they would join the Nana Sahib at Cawnpore, settling Jhansi and Jaloun for him by the way, his *vakeel* promised to all high pay, while he conferred brigadierships and *ensigncies* by the dozen; and, finally, the rebels asked leave of Scindia to go to Bundelkund and Cawnpore, instead of to Agra, which he could but promise, on about the 23rd of September.

They demanded with ceaseless violence the performance of that promise; and great indeed was Scindia's difficulty in carrying out our desire, at once to guard against the risk of their precipitating themselves from some new impulse upon Agra, and to delay their march upon Cawnpore.

NEWS OF THE FALL OF DELHI

By the news of the fall of Delhi, on about the 20th of September, Scindia's situation was of course, entirely changed. The delusion, that he must at length place himself at the head of the rebels, which had served so well to baffle them, was at an end, although many still believed that our empire must fall. Oppressed and insulted by the rebels, even while they held that delusion, he exulted in our triumph and in his own foresight. His letter to me of the 25th of September tells his feelings and the position of affairs.

CAMP AT AGRA ATTACKED

Meanwhile the Mhow and Indore rebels, having taken seven guns from the Ranee of Dholepore, and been reinforced by several bodies driven from Delhi, attacked, on the 10th of October, our camp at Agra, in ignorance that it had been reinforced an hour before by Colonel Greathead's Column from Delhi. They suffered total rout and dispersion. The effect of this blow at Gwalior was great; but, as I had the honour to explain to the Government, in my letter dated the 2nd of

November 1857, it was not in Scindia's power longer to detain the rebels from moving upon Cawnpore, save at the immediate risk of their turning against Agra, to which the party whose object was war and the compromise of Scindia with us at all hazards still urged them.

REVOLUTIONARIES LEAVE GWALIOR WITH NANA'S VAKIL

I wrote to Scindia on the 13th October, that every day's farther detention of them was important; but they had moved on the 15th. Upon the 14th, however, I advised Scindia to let them go to Cawnpore, as Greathead's Column was ordered to press thither, and a powerful force was rapidly assembling there. I submitted the opinion that the rebels would not reach Cawnpore before the 12th or 15th of November, while Greathead would arrive on the 26th of October. The rebels did not reach it until about the 1st of December.

THE CONTINGENT DESTROY THEIR CANTONMENTS AND WASTE SCINDIA'S COUNTRY

In a spirit of bitter malignity, they utterly destroyed and defaced, as by cutting down every tree, the cantonments at Gwalior, and then on their route wasted fiercely Scindia's country, denouncing him as the great enemy and betrayer of their cause.

PART OF THE CONTINGENT REMAINS BEHIND AT GWALIOR

When the main body of the Contingent left Gwalior, the 5th Infantry and two guns of the Malwa Contingent, which had accompanied it from Augor, remained behind; but they followed upon the 4th of November.

REVOLUTIONARIES SEIZE JALAUN AND KACHHWAGARH AND REACH KALPI AND KANPUR

The rebels under the Nana's vakeel, Tantia Topee, took possession in his name of Jaloun and of Scindia's assigned district of Kuchwaghar where he had placed an agent in anticipation of the Governor General's sanction given under date the 14th of November 1857. Another agent, supported by *zumeendars*, prevented

their seizure of the district of Bandeir. The rebels seized the chief of Rampoora and the chief of Goolserai (Gursarai), whom the Superintendent of Orai had placed in charge of Jaloun and extorted money from the latter, by destroying his son's eyes with boiling oil. Leaving a detachment at Jaloun, and eight guns wth 400 men, and a seventh part of their Magazine, at Calpee (Kalpi), they crossed the Jumna there on about the 15th of November, and reached Cawnpore on the 1st of December. Reinforced from Banda and from Oude, they pressed General Windham's force into their entrenchments, and occupied most of Cawnpore until the 6th of December, when, and on the 10th, they were finally routed by the force under the Commander-in-Chief. A remnant of their and of the Banda and other forces, with plunderers, amounting to 5,000 men with 13 guns, have rallied at Calpee under Tantia Topee.

During these six months of extreme trial, the civil administration of Gwalior has worked so well that the peace has been seriously disturbed only at three points.

The Rajah of Nurwar, a reduced Rajpoot chief, rebelled in July. In September commenced an outbreak in Mundisore of the Merjwaties[1] and other Mahomedans, with the *Wilaytees* and *Mekranees*, entertained by the chiefs of Western Malwa, afterwards joined by the Infantry and Artillery of the Malwa Contingent.

RAJA OF SHEOPUR IN REVOLT

Hearing, on the 27th of October, that the Raja Bampore[2] had repulsed our Saugor Garrison, I suggested to Scindia to create a diversion in his rear. He prepared instantly to do his best; but on hearing of the outbreak in Gwalior of a Jat chief, Bohorun Sing (Bahoran Sing) I advised him to let Bampore alone. Then broke out the Raja of Sheopore[3], a Rajpoot chief in the same position as the chief of Nurwur.

[1] Apparently spelt for 'Mewatis'.

[2] Apparently spelt for *Banpur*.

[3] *Sheopur*, Pargana and Zila *Sheopur* (*Gwalior State*)—Town situated in 25° 40′ N. and 76° 44′ E., on the right bank of the Sip river, 959 feet above the sea-level. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 287).

Our troops have quelled the Mundisore revolt and those of Gwalior have just struck a blow at Sheopore, killing, say the *durbar*, some 600 men, and driving the Rajah into Kotah[1]. This success will I trust so avail that on the appearance of our force at last all will submit.

On the 25th of December Scindia visited me at Agra. He narrated all that had occurred in Gwalior since my departure, and asked my advice respecting the future. He prayed that a British force might be sent as soon as possible, of strength sufficient to re-establish fully the belief in our supremacy through enabling him to assert authority by the punishment of every rebel, and showing European troops, wherever necessary, to a population now very slow to believe more of our strength than it saw. To these objects he thought necessary an European force of 2,000 Infantry, a Regiment of Horse, and three or four Batteries of Artillery, and also that a native force as strong and variously composed as possible should be shown; but his special request to the Government was that he might be permitted, at whatever cost, to display an European force wherever necessary.

He said that I should not incur danger at Gwalior from his troops, but that the ruffian population was uncontrollable, and would remain so until he could thoroughly overawe, and if necessary, disarm it. He considered, therefore, that I could not appear there without an European escort of 200 Infantry and 100 Cavalry, with some Seikhs (Sikhs) and a couple of guns; while he thought, moreover, that I should not move through the country to Gwalior without such an escort. I considered it plain, as did Scindia, that it would be impolitic for me to appear at Gwalior until a British force should give

[1] *Kotah State*—State in the south-east of *Rajputana*, lying between 24° 7′ and 25° 1′ N. and 75° 37′ and 77° 26′ E., with an area of about 5684 square miles. It is bounded on the north by Jaipur and the Aligarh district of Tonk; on the west by Bundi and Udaipur; on the south-west by the Rampura-Bhanpura district of Indore, Jhalasar, and the Agar tahsil of Gwalior; on the south by Khilchipur & Rajgarh; & on the east by Gwalior & the Chhabra district of Tonk. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV, 1908, p. 410).

Kotah City—Capital of the State of the same name in *Rajputana*, situated on the right bank of the Chambal in 25° 11′ N.&75° 51′ E., about 45 miles by metalled road west of Baran station on the Bina-Baran branch of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and about 120 miles south-east of Ajmer. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV, 1908, p. 424).

to us full command there; and, it is, I conceive, necessary that I should have the escort suggested, when I shall move to meet the force which expects to come from Saugor to Gwalior on about the 1st of March.

Scindia makes it a point of honour to maintain that his troops are faithful to himself, but I know that he mistrusts those from our provinces as well as the city mob; he is not, in fact, their master. They form two and a half Regiments of Infantry, about 250 Artillery-men, and a few hundred Horse. His whole force at Gwalior amounts to 6,000 men, while he has in the districts about 5,000 men and 2,000 or more *najeibs* (*najibs*), and there remain at Gwalior, besides, some 600 Cavalry and 400 Infantry of the Contingent, and a considerable fluctuating body of disorganized and half-armed men of it.

IMMEDIATE MEASURES SUGGESTED FOR GWALIOR

To efface and reverse the idea of our broken power, and to carry out our other objects in the presence of these troops, I conceive that no smaller force than that proposed by the *durbar* will suffice.

With respect to immediate measures in Gwalior I beg to submit these views.

The Government have not done me the honour to express their views respecting the policy pursued in Gwalior and its results, since I took charge of this office under circumstances of considerable difficulty, in July 1854. The principle of that policy, as detailed in my reports of 13th November 1854 and 13th December 1856, was, as I have said, to lead Scindia to make in its completion and development his own the plan of administration which we initiated during his minority while we left to him the utmost freedom of action compatible with political subordination and the stable maintenance of his administration, guarding only against infractions by him of private rights or public engagements fatal to order.

I humbly submit that recent events have tested by the severest strain the soundness and the efficiency of that course.

In my report of December 1856 I submitted this conclusion:—"that if our policy should be firmly maintained, Gwalior had, subject to plain risks, a fair promise of higher prosperity than that enjoyed by any other state in Hindoostan; but

that if our firm and kindly support should be withdrawn before Scindia's character became more stable, its affairs must relapse, by stages of ruinous disorder, to the point from which we had retrieved them".

Scindia has since advanced very considerably and hopefully in intelligence and firmness; but his character, his personal habits, and his ideas, remain so far unaltered that I may but repeat the view above expressed. The one boon which, to my mind, we can confer upon Scindia and on his people is firmly to require of him, while in the spirit of kindly guardianship we continue to aid him to maintain the fair administration which he has established; and, in my humble judgement, the great facts of this convulsion conspire to make this course indispensable to the tranquillity of Hindoostan.

Respecting military arrangements in Gwalior, the strength, constitution, and location of our own and of Scindia's forces, being uninformed of the views of the Government as to arrangements upon many points inseparably connected with them, I may but submit these impressions.

Assuming that our military stations near the Gwalior frontier shall be all occupied by European and reliable native troops, and that the Government shall not object to Scindia's force being increased beyond the number fixed by treaty*, I conceive that the Contingent might be replaced by an European force of not less than from 1,500 to 2,000 men of all arms, as noted in margin†, and a separate native force of 800 Infantry and 400 Cavalry, Seikhs (Sikhs), Jats, etc. for guards and escorts, and for district service beyond the power of Scindia's troops, but not requiring the movement of Europeans; while the rest of the force required might be Scindia's. The Government are aware that Scindia's passion for troops can scarcely be exaggerated. Every man conceded to him he counts a prodigious gain. Under the suggested arrangement, two more Infantry corps would probably be necessary, his Cavalry being abundant. The last thing I desire is to propose an

* Marginal note in the original—6,000 Horse, 3,000 Foot, 30 guns Enlarged to 34.

† Say, Infantry 1,400+Artillery 400+Cavalry 200=2,000.
Or, Infantry 1,000+Artillery 400+Cavalry 100=1,500.

additional gun; but such is Scindia's mania on this subject, that unless a few guns be given he will consider his co-operation with us all in vain. The Government's giving to him 12 new guns, in lieu, merely, of as many old ones, has done more than can be imagined to make him flexible for these two years; and, but for his force as a plaything, the results of his administration had been very different. My hope is that steam machinery for a mint and other purposes may divide his attention with his troops. An exact limit would still of course be fixed to them while I conceive it should be arranged that he should not keep more than about 5,000 men at Gwalior. From all I have lately seen I am disposed to think that the proposed European force, at least, should be located exclusively there.

Such a force would cost about 10 or 11 lacs a year. Whence the way would be opened, should the Government think fit, to a new arrangement respecting Scindia's assigned districts, which might be advantageously combined with the adoption of his proposals submitted by me, to cede them in full sovereignty, and also to make certain exchanges of territory.

RESPECTING SCINDIA'S FORCE

With respect to the constitution of Scindia's troops, it is plain that those from our provinces partly joined, while the rest were restrained with extreme difficulty from joining the insurrection; that the Mahrattas and Gwalior men remained quiescent, looking to Scindia's will; but that none of them would, at Scindia's command, have struck for us, and this I am certain we may never depend upon their doing. The amount, then, of gain from one point of view which would arise from Scindia's substituting Mahrattas, with some men of Gwalior, as he would really do, for his men from our provinces, is plain. On the other hand, a force formed of a single race is undesirable, and Mahratta troops are unpopular in Scindia's country; but I think that there would be on the whole a balance of present advantage in their employment. We may ask Scindia to dismiss his men of our provinces, either at once or gradually. As he holds that they have been faithful to him, the latter course would be by far the most acceptable, and their discharge might be effected within the year.

RESPECTING THE CONTINGENT SEPOYS WHO MAY BE FOUND AT GWALIOR

With respect to the course to be adopted towards the Contingent sepoys who may be found at Gwalior, I trust that the principle will be, to make every man feel the hand of the Government in his condemnation, his acquittal, or his pardon. Few or none of the Infantry who have nearly all borne arms against us, will probably abide (*sic*,) our coming. The portion of the Cavalry which remains, treated their officers with respect to the last, and had since remained quiescent with Scindia, or have assisted in keeping the peace, and hope for pardon. Their object was, of course, our overthrow, but to serve under Scindia's banner. When the rest of the Contingent, finding that he was one with us, turned their Batteries against him, they sided with him. It may accord with the general policy of the Government to disarm and pardon these men, but I conceive that Scindia should be precluded from entertaining any of them.

RESPECTING SCINDIA'S CONDUCT, AND THAT OF HIS DIWAN AND OTHER CHIEF SERVANTS

Should the Government consider that I have not misappreciated the spirit, the difficulties, and the results of Scindia's co-operation throughout this crisis, should they consider that he did his part with great firmness, courage, earnestness, and intelligence, I humbly trust that they will deem it just and politic, in fulfilment of my assurance that such conduct would obtain their honourable and advantageous recognition, to acknowledge it signally. I need scarcely observe, that no allusion passed between Scindia and myself as to the form in which in any possible event the Government might think fit to acknowledge devoted co-operation by him; and that he knows that the Government have not yet expressed any judgement respecting his course; but I am well informed as to the distinctions or gratifications and the solid advantages which he covets from the Government.

However highly the Government may estimate the services of Scindia's *Dewan* or of his two chief military officers, it may be difficult publicly to mark their recognition of them.

I beg that the Government may be pleased to pass an

order respecting the sum of about 4½ lacs of rupees which, to give it a chance of safety, I deposited, as I have said, mostly on the 12th of June, in Scindia's treasury. The rebels, on revolt, made its delivery to them by him their first demand, when he was at their mercy. Had he negotiated, as he proposed, their departure from his territory, he must have delivered it up. In detaining the rebels at our request he necessarily expended it, they considering expressly that they received it from him in the form of pay and donation. *The detention of the rebels cost Scindia, I am assured, nearly* 12 *lacs besides.* I venture to presume that the Government will desire that no question be raised respecting this deposit.

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT

The sum of this statement is this :—

The situation in Gwalior up to the outbreak in May 1857 is indicated in my report, No. 93, of the 13th of December 1856 (*sic*,).

From the outbreak up to the middle of June the *durbar* gradually indicated my views respecting the revolt, and the situation in Gwalior, and now hold most of them, and express them more fully.

I merely indicate their direction; that the army were predisposed to revolt, by sharing with the people of Hindoostan their feeling of dissatisfaction with our rule; thought success certain, from the smallness of our European force, and from popular aid; and made the cartridge grievance their pretext and occasion to rise. The foremost malcontents instigated, the King of Delhi headed the revolt and all doubted deeply the stability of our power.

With great limitations and exceptions, the Mahomedans co-operated with the revolt; the Hindus wished it well, but, having no religious grievance, while their civil grievances were inadequate to move them to arms unled (*sic*,) by their chiefs, they did not rise, and protected the lives of defenceless Europeans. The princes, chiefs and best informed men generally expected that we should triumph, and took part more or less earnestly with us, or held aloof.

In Gwalior, the Contingent was one with the Bengal Army. Scindia's troops from our provinces shared its views. His Mahratta and Gwalior troops also shared them, but looked to his will. The Hindu and Mahomedan population shared the general ideas

of those of our provinces. All expected that on our downfall Scindia must enrol the Contingent to grasp his share of our territory. Scindia discredited the religious pretext for the revolt, believed that we must triumph, and unhesitatingly took part with us. I differed at many points from the *durbar's* views of the causes of the revolt.

I reserve the statement of my impressions, which wholly exclude few of theirs. From the *durbar's* views of the situation within Gwalior I also differed, but finally considered them nearly correct. My policy was to lead the Maharajah to make, as heretofore, my plan of action for him in its execution his own; to influence by his example the surrounding princes; and to counteract the movement of the Contingent and his own troops towards the revolt, by demonstrating his antagonism to it by every possible act. This he did earnestly; and the outbreak of the Contingent at Gwalior was postponed until the 14th of June.

The Contingent rose in the usual manner, and murdered 18 men, women, and children, of whom 7 were officers. The rest escaped to the protection of Scindia or of his troops guarding the residency.

The Contingent, upon revolt, demanded of Scindia that he should deliver to them four and a half lacs of treasure deposited with him by me, and that he should enrol and lead them against Agra, or should give them treasure and supplies to enable them to go where they would, threatening, if he refused, the bombardment of his city and seizure of his person. *He looked to purchasing their departure; but I asked him, at whatever cost, to detain them within Gwalior until we were prepared to crush them.*

From the attitude of the Contingent and his own force, Scindia could not protect any British officer for an hour, and I proceeded at once, with 30 officers, their families, and others, to Agra. My party, deserted by Scindia's bodyguard, was saved from attack by Thakoor Buldeo Sing, chief of the Dundowteeah (Dandautia) Brahmins. That *Thakoor* afterwards brought in two serjeants and their families, and Scindia, in acknowledgment of his services, will bestow on him a village in *jagheer* (*jagir*). I have suggested to the Government to confer due honour upon him.

Scindia, through the utmost personal exertions, aided by the devoted services of his *Dewan*, and by Baba Mohurghur, the chief, and Bulwant Rao Jhusecwallah, second in command

of his troops,—through giving to the Contingent a donation, and promise of service,—through levying 11,000 warlike *Thakoors*,—by sweeping the Chumbul in a night of its boats, by addressing every form of influence and of artifice both to the Contingent and to his own troops, which were ever on the point of coalescing, through such measures was Scindia enabled to detain the Contingent, notwithstanding deputations to it from the Neemuch rebels after the battle of the 5th of July at Agra, the arrival at Gwalior of the Mhow and Indore rebels, the movement of these upon Agra, although delayed by Scindia for two months; and, lastly, although the Contingent, considering that Scindia had deceived them, planted their Batteries against him, with the pledged support of a portion of his troops, Scindia, on the 15*th of November, was constrained to allow the Contingent to proceed with the vakeel of the Nana Sahib towards Cawnpore*. It was routed and dispersed there in the beginning of December.

Scindia's territory has been seriously disturbed only at three points; Mundisore, Nurwar (Narwar), and Sheopore, and slightly by Thakoor Bohorun Sing. The disturbance is to a great extent put down, and will cease, I hope, on the appearance of our troops.

The civil administration has worked well.

I beg to submit the request, that before the final adoption of the proposed appointment of a Political Agent for Western Malwa to reside at Mundisore, the *durbar's* views be considered by the Government.

On the 25th of December Scindia visited me at Agra. He considered, with me, that I should not return to Gwalior until a force of 2,000 Europeans, with some native troops, should appear there, for the restoration of the belief in our supremacy, through the assertion of authority over his people, his troops, and the remnant of the Contingent.

I suggest the continuance of our past policy; that Scindia be firmly required, and aided as heretofore, to maintain the fair Government he has established.

That for the late Contingent may be substituted a European force of from 1,600 to 2,000 men, with a native force of 1,200 men, the other troops required being Scindia's, increased by, perhaps, two Infantry Regiments and a few guns, to please him.

The cost of this force would be 10 or 11 lacs of rupees, leaving the Government free to make a new arrangement

respecting Scindia's assigned districts, perhaps in combination with his proposed cession of their sovereignty, and exchanges of territory.

The Contingent sepoys, now to be dealt with at Gwalior as the Government may desire, will probably consist of only 600 Cavalry, who have not injured their officers but remained quiescent with Scindia. They may perhaps be disarmed and pardoned.

Should the Government consider I have not misappreciated Scindia's conduct, I trust they may think it just and politic in fulfilment of my assurances to him, signally to acknowledge it.

I beg the Government to pass an order respecting the 4½ lacs of treasure deposited by me in Scindia's treasury and necessarily disbursed by him in detaining the mutineers[1].

[1] Parliamentary Papers : "*The Native Princes of India—Scindia*", No.6 of 1858, Pp. 94 to 112.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PESHWA IN ACTION

RAO SAHEB AT KALPI

Deposition of Pandurang Rao alias Rao Saheb, dated June 27, 1862, in the court of the Magistrate of Kanpur.

Question—Why did Nana send you to Tatya Tope at Kalpi?

Answer—I do not know. All that he said was, "Go to Tatya", and I went to him at Kalpi, and stayed there for about 3 months.

Question—When you went to Kalpi, what was the announcement made there ?

Answer—When I went to Kalpi, no announcement of my arrival there was made at that place.

Question—Was a mendicant hanged at Kalpi ?

Answer—I do not know.

Question—When you went to Kalpi, what was the strength of the army ? What strength was kept up for 3 months ?

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

Question—Which *Paltans* were there ?

Answer—There were *Paltan* Morar, *Paltan* Gaytri and one more *Paltan* the name of which I do not remember. When the Nawab of Banda fled to Kalpi, he had one *Risala* and 200 or 300 *Tilangas*.

Question—Was any one killed at Kalpi on the charge of being a so-called spy ?

Answer—At Jhansi there was one Chhetta Singh[1], an officer of the Morar[2] Army through whom such sentences were executed by Tatya Tope's orders. Tatya Tope went through

[1] The correct name appears to be "Chhattr Singh".

[2] *Morar* (*Murar*) (*Gwalior State*)—State Cantonment, situated in 26° 14′ N. and 78° 18′ E., two miles from the Morar Road station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, and on the banks of the Morar river, a small stream tributary to the Vaisali.

Morar was founded in 1844 as a cantonment for the Gwalior Contingent, the Brigadier in command and a force of all three arms being stationed here. In 1857 the most serious rising in Central India took place at this station. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 268).

Charkhari to help the Rani at Jhansi when she was fighting there and I remained at Kalpi. Tatya Tope, after his defeat against the English army at Jhansi, fled and never returned to Kalpi. The mother of the Nawab of Banda wrote a letter from Banda calling me there and I was going to her with Tatya Tope's permission when on the way, 7 *kos* from Kalpi, the Nawab of Banda and her mother met me and I learnt that they had fled from Banda.

Question—You have deposed that you were entrusted with no duties at Kalpi. Why then did the mother of the Nawab of Banda call you if you were entrusted with no office ?

Answer– The mother of the Nawab was my kinswoman and belonged to our family. She had cherished a desire for a long time to meet all the members of my family, and because I was at that time so near, she called me. The Nawab stayed for 3 or 4 days at the place where we met, 7 *kos* from Kalpi and then he sent his family to Kalpi. The Nawab and myself continued to stay at the same place. After 8 days we also went to Kalpi. During my absence from Kalpi, Tatya Tope had gone to help the Rani of Jhansi and then, after his defeat against the English army, had taken to flight, and returned. Seven or eight days after, the English army entered Kalpi. Tatya Topi, Nawab of Banda and myself then left for Gwalior[1].

BALWANT RAO HARI OFFERS HIS SERVICES TO REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

Translation of a letter No. 2 *in Mahratta* (*Marathi*), *from Bulwant Rao Hurree* (*Balwant Rao Hari*) *to the brother of Raja Nana Peshwa, dated Tirohan,* 12*th Buddee of Poos* (*Badi of Pus*), *corresponding with* 13*th December* 1857.

After compliments—I feel most anxious to render services to our *Malik* (or Master) according to the best of my ability. I addressed a letter to you on the subject and received (in reply) an order from you, to the effect that on your arrival at Cawnpore, you would wish me to call on you. I am extremely desirous of obtaining an interview with you. As I am entirely attached to you, I beg your acceptance of my services. The delay in rendering services is only owing to the

[1] Trial Proceedings in the Case "*Government vs.-RaoSaheb*". Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

non-receipt of an order. The want of an interview with you, has made me uneasy. I will act up to whatever orders may be received from you.[1]

MUHAMMAD ISHAQ AT KALPI

Translation of a Circular letter from Tantia (Tatya), dated 15th Soodee (Sudi) of Poos (Pus), 1914 Sumbut (Samvat), corresponding with 31st December 1857, addressed to Raja Bahadoor Bukht Bulee (Bakht Bali), Raja Nurput Sing (Narpat Singh), The Ranee of Jhansee (Rani of Jhansi), Raja Hindooput (Hindupat), Raja Bahadoor Murdun Singh (Raja Bahadur Mardan Singh), Kunwur Nirunjun Sing (Kunwar Niranjan Singh), Raja Bahadoor Ruttun Sing (Raja Bahadur Ratan Singh).

After compliments it runs thus:—

Syud Mahomud Ishaq, an *aide-de-camp* of the Maharaja Peshwa having been appointed by His Highness to manage the affairs of this kingdom has arrived at that place; a letter, which the said Syud has written under his orders is herewith sent to you. I request that you will be good enough to send an answer thereof to the Syud and not to flinch from the execution of the instructions contained in that letter.[2]

APPEAL FOR CONCERTED ACTION

Translation of a Circular letter addressed to the Chiefs of Bundelcund (Bundelkhand) by an individual styling himself Mahomed Esak (Muhammad Ishaq), Aide-de-Camp to Maharaja Sreemunt (Srimant) Peshwa, dated 15th Jumadee-ul-Awwal (Jamadi-ul-Awwal), 1274 A. H., corresponding with 2nd January 1858.

After compliments—My master, Sreemunt Maharajah Peshwa Bahadoor at the sacrifice of every ease and comfort as well as of his wealth, property etc., has for the purpose of defending the religion both of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, prepared himself to slaughter the followers of Christ as they are the enemies of the faith of the Mussulmans and Hindoos. The

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 618, p. 38. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 619, p. 39. National Archives, New Delhi.

said Maharajah has, by waging a war with the Christians put several of them to the sword and has resolved not to refrain himself from killing them as long as he breathes his vital air, and to annihilate at once the people of this race now in India. The object which the Maharajah has in view to expel all the Christians from Hindoostan, is not to take possession of the territories and property of the Rajahs and Chiefs of India, or to assume the supreme command of the country, but on the other hand, it is his sole desire that after a victory shall have been obtained over the enemy, all the Chiefs may in peace enjoy the possession of the territories which they at present hold as well as those which they formerly possessed, and pass their days in the enjoyment of ease and happiness. Those provinces which are now exclusively in the British possession, shall after a due consultation, be distributed to such Chiefs as will by exhibiting cordial spirit offer their services in slaughtering the followers of Christ. If all the Chiefs for the purpose of defending their religion and faith, join together and be of one mind, and render as much assistance as they respectively can, it will not be difficult to annihilate through the divine favor (favour), all the remaining Christians. Under the orders of the aforesaid Sreemunt Peshwa Bahadoor, I beg to inform you all that in a recent war at Cawnpore, our force has for some reasons, retreated, and that troops are now being assembled at Calpee (Kalpi) for the purpose of opposing the enemies at Cawnpore. It will be a friendly act on your part, if you now render assistance by sending troops and guns without loss of time. My employer warmly hopes that all the Chiefs of Bundelcund will be of one mind to assist him in the undertaking as formerly the Peshwa of Poona, when he was in power, rendered assistance to the Chiefs of this country and paid every regard to their honor (honour) and dignity. Under these circumstances it is hoped that you should as soon as possible despatch to Calpee in charge of a trustworthy person such number of men and guns as you may be able to furnish. An early reply to this, is solicited, inasmuch as the above Maharajah is daily expected at Calpee. You shall also inform me whatever you think advisable.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 31st December 1858, No. 2132. National Archives, New Delhi.

TATYA TOPE'S LETTER TO BUNDELKHAND CHIEFS TO JOIN HANDS AGAINST THE ENGLISH

Translation of a letter from Ramchunder Pandoorrung Tantea Topee (Ramchandra Pandurang Tatya Tope) to the Maharajahs of . . . . ., dated 15th Jumadee-ul-awul (Jamadi-ul-awwal), 1274 A. H., corresponding with 2nd January 1858.

After address—I take the liberty to state that my master Sreemunt Maharajah Sahib Peshwa Bahadoor with the view of defending the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions, has, at the sacrifice of all his interests and comforts of life, determined on destroying the Christians, enemies to the faith of the people of India. He fought several battles against that evil disposed nation and put thousands of them to the sword. He is still resolved not to refrain up to his last breath from fighting against them but to expel them from India or annihilate them through the divine favor. His object in coming to such determination is not to take possession of the territories of the other powerful Rajahs and Chiefs of India, and establish a personal paramount authority over them; but on the contrary to restore them positively (after having gained a complete victory over the said enemies of our faith) to their respective dominions which were formerly in their possession, and also to divide among them the other territories of the British Government on condition of their zealously co-operating with him in the extermination of the Christians in order to restore public peace and general tranquillity in India. It is obvious that, if all the Chiefs, with the view of securing comfort for the people and defending their faith and also promoting their interest, unite together and render aid according to their ability, the remaining Christians will by God's blessing be easily expelled. I am directed by Sreemunt Peshwa Bahadoor to inform you that recently, an engagement taking place at Cawnpoor, our troops retreated under certain circumstances and that consequently the troops are now being concentrated at Calpee to oppose the enemy at Cawnpoor, and I am to request that you will be pleased to afford aid in troops and guns as early as possible. My master has every reason to entertain the most confident hope that all the Chiefs of this country, more especially those of Bundelcund, will positively unite together to render aid to him, inasmuch as the Peshwa, when he was in power at Poona, afforded every assis-

tance within his means to every Chief of this country, and treated him in a manner due to his honour and dignity. My master therefore requests that the Chiefs will lose no time in sending to Calpee under charge of their confidential Agents, troops and guns according as their means may permit them.

An early reply to this is requested, as the Maharajah wishes to be at Calpee in a short time.

I beg of you to write whatever you may deem proper with reference to the times.

Pundit Baba Devee Geer (Pandit Baba Devi Gir) will wait upon you with this letter and verbally communicate to you all other particulars.[1]

EVENTS AT KALPI

TATYA TOPE AND BALA BHAT NEAR KALPI

Telegraphic Message from Lieutenant-Governor, Allahabad, to the Governor General, Calcutta, dated Allahabad, the 12th January 1858, 7.58 P. M.

The Commissioner of Cawnpore reports that Bala Bhut (Bhat) the brother and Paoois, the nephew of the Nana are on the right bank of Jumna, as well as Tatea Topee. A trustworthy spy just arrived gives five thousand as the number of the mutinous sepoys at Kalpee, and says that many have joined them from Fattehghur (Fatehgarh); they have two heavy guns besides the 6 field guns.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES ASSEMBLE AT KALPI

Narrative of Events, dated Fort William, Jan. 23, 1858.

Banda (Calpee)—The mutineers at Calpee muster, it is said, about 5000 men, having been joined by many fugitives from Futtehghur (Fatehgarh). They are also said to have two heavy guns, besides six field pieces. The Raja of Cheekane[3]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 620, Pp. 40-41, Letter No. C. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 29th January 1858, Part I, Cons. No. 75, Pp. 99-101. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Apparently wrongly spelt for *'Charkhari'*.

has detached a force of 1600 men, with four guns, to attack a body of 500 of these mutineers, who have taken possession of Julapore[1], on the Betwa, near Calpee.

The brother and nephew of the Nana are said to be on the right bank of the Jumna. A considerable force, consisting, it is said, of seven regiments and fourteen guns, has gone from the Banda direction to Chilla Tora Ghat[2], on the Jumna, and was reported to be still in that vicinity on the 14th January.[3]

FERRIES FROM HAMIRPUR TO JAGMANPUR IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

Abstract of Intelligence from Bundelkhand, dated 26th Jan. 1858.

KALPEE (KALPI)

The remnant of the Moorar (Morar) and other mutineers are still encamped at Calpee. Some force having been represented to have reached the other bank of the Ganges, great consternation is produced among the rebels; some of them are represented to have bolted. All the boats on the different ferries from Humeerpore to Jugmunpore[4] (Jagmanpur) have been taken possession of by the mutineers. Travellers find it very difficult to cross the river. All the Mews[5] of Dawlutpoora (Daulatpura) or other places in the Cawnpore district who

[1] Apparently misspelt for *Jalalpur*.

[2] *Chilla Tara Ghat* or *Chilla*, Tahsil *Pailani*, District *Banda*—A village with a population of 833 persons, in 25° 47′ N. and 80° 34′ E., situated on the Jumna bank, in the north of tahsil Pailani, close to the junction of the Ken and Jumna rivers. It lies on the provincial road from Banda to Fatehpur and is the most important ferry in the district. In the dry weather the ferry is replaced by a bridge of boats. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, Vol. XXI, 1909, p. 223).

[3] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 1 in No. 2, p. 31.

[4] *Jagamanpur*, Tahsil *Jalaun*, District *Jalaun*—The capital of the jagir of the same name lies in 26° 25′ N. and 79° 15′ E., not far from the junction of the Sindh river with the Jumna in the extreme north-west of the district. It is distant 32 miles from Orai and 19 miles from Jalaun, with the latter of which it is connected by an unmetalled road : it is also connected with Madhogarh by an unmetalled road *via* Rampura. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 150).

[5] Apparently the abbreviated form of 'Mewatis'.

formerly plundered the country have now joined the mutineers. Their number amounts to 1000 men. Some *Ellakadars* like the Raja of Jughra have come to the village of Bujkhara in the Humeerpore district. It is rumoured that Tantia Topey, Nana's man, has been put under arrest by the mutineers, because he does not pay them money but this is merely a rumour and is not traced to any authentic source.[1]

JALALPUR REVOLUTIONARIES REPULSED CHARKHARI FORCES

Abstract of Intelligence.

CALPEE (KALPI)

It is reported that there are only about 1500 Morar insurgents and about 1000 men newly levied or raised by Tantia Topey. Some of the rebels that were at Jalalpore[2] attacked and repulsed the Chirkharee force with great loss, stated to be about 400 men and 4 guns, at a place called Bulgong.[3]

BAUNPOOR (BANPUR)

When the chief of Baunpoor heard of the advance of the British force on Raatghur[4], he himself with about 3000 followers moved to Naraowlee[5].*

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1858, Nos. 32-33. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Jalalpur*, Pargana *Jalalpur*, Tahsil *Rath*—This place, which gives its name to a pargana, lies in 25° 53′ N. and 79° 47′ E. and is an old and decayed town on the right bank of the Betwa river, at a distance of 30 miles from Hamirpur, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road *via* Kurara. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, p. 180).

[3] Apparently *Bilgaon*, Pargana *Jalalpur*, Tahsil *Rath*—A large village lying in 25° 44′ N. and 79° 49′ E., on the banks of the Barma river, 19 miles north-east of Rath and six miles due north of Muskira, with which it is connected by a village track. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, p. 168).

[4] Apparently *Rahatgarh*.

[5] Apparently *Nariaoli*—A village in the *Saugor* Tahsil, 12 miles from Saugor on the Khurai road and the first railway station from Saugor on the line towards Bina. (*Central Provinces District Gazetteers*, Saugor District, 1907, p. 243).

* Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1858, No. 42. National Archives, New Delhi.

EVENTS AT JHANSI

REVOLUTIONARIES CONVERGE ON JHANSI

News from Bundelcund (Bundelkhand), dated 5th January 1858.

The Rani of Jhansee continues to rule over Jhansee. All disaffected and mutinous men that go to Jhansee are kept by the Ranee; Bukshishalli (Bakhshish Ali) the late *Daroga* of Jhansee who was at the bottom of the whole mutiny at the place, with about 50 sowars and as many footmen (all mutineers) has taken refuge with the lady. The brother and the whole family of this *Daroga* have been for some time protected by the Ranee. Those sowars about 100 or 135 in number from the Mehidpoor Contingent that had taken service with the Ranee, have since the receipt of the news of the total defeat of the Morrur[1] rebels at Cawnpoor left Jhansee; their destination is not known. There are still about 400 rebels said to be with the Ranee at Jhansee. The rest of the Jhansee force is composed of the retainers of the surrounding *Thakoors*. Fighting is going on at Mow Raneepoor between the forces of Tehree and the followers of the Ranee of Jhansee; about four days ago a great action occurred at this place in which the Ranee of Jhansee suffered a defeat. Raja Bahadoor Soneput[2], the *Jageerdar* of Kotra[3], who was on the side of Tehree was wounded. The Ranee had sent other reinforcements with guns under Thakoor Dola. Although the news of the total defeat of the rebels at Cawnpoor, and that of the advancing of the British forces has been received by the Ranee, *she seems to entertain no fears*. The *Thakoors* all persuade her that Europeans are not to be found in India and by giving out such reports they serve their own ends and make the lady pay them thousands of Rupees. The Ryots are plundered. It is said that the runaways from Cawnpoor have collected at Kalpee, Tantia Topey, Nana's Agent is with them; new men are being enlisted;

[1] Apparently spelt for *Morar*.

[2] Probably spelt for 'Sonpat'.

[3] Apparently *Kotra*, Tahsil *Orai*, District *Jalaun*—An old decayed town in 25° 48′ N. and 79° 19′ E., lying 15 miles south-south-east of Orai on the banks of the Betwa river. Unmetalled roads connect it with Orai and with Ait, the latter distant eight miles. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 171).

it is also rumoured that the British forces in pursuit of those rebels have gained the other bank of Ganges. British *Thanas* have been established at Rijohan and other places. The districts of Jaloun and Khajwaya Khan (*sic,*) are in the possession of *Taee Baee who professes to hold them for Peshwa.* But Raja Man Singh of Bampoora is said to have collected some force to recover these districts. The Powars of the Jhansee district continue to plunder with impunity. The Maharaja Scindia returned to Gwalior from Agra. All is quiet at Duttia (Datia). The native officials of Jhansee being plundered and turned out of Jhansee have come to Duttia; the Ranee here has given them shelter. My *own man coming from Kalpee states*, that the bridge over the Jumna was broken by the rebels. The *Ghat on the Cawnpoor road is guarded by the rebels, and guns are placed to protect it; another Battery is to be erected on the Humeerpoor road.* The rebels themselves are within the fort; but it is reported that some of them are deserting by twos and threes. The Banpoor Chief is still at Jhansee. It is also said that the men of the Saugor Garrison have dispersed the rebels that were stationed at Koorye[1] (Khurai) and Kimlasa[2]; some troops are said to start from Saugor to Jhansee on the 7th January.

8TH JANUARY 1858, BAKHSHISH ALI TAKES SERVICE WITH BANPUR CHIEF

It is reported that Bukshish Alli, Daroga of the Jhansee Jail asking the Ranee whether she would fight or not with the English forces, was informed by the Ranee that she would not; but will return all the districts under her to the British Officers when they come to Jhansee. On getting this information, the *Daroga* did not take service with the Ranee. He and his brother Wazir Alli, who was a writer in the Lullutpoor *Sharista*, have been employed by the Banpoor Chief.

[1] *Khurai Tahsil*—The north-western tahsil of the District adjoining Banda tahsil on the north-east, Saugor on the east and south-east, Gwalior State on the west, and Lalitpur on the north. (*Central Provinces District Gazetteers,* Saugor District, 1907, p. 237).

[2] *Khimlasa*—A village in the *Khurai* Tahsil 41 miles north-west of *Saugor.* (*Central Provinces District Gazetteers,* Saugor District, 1907, p. 237).

THE CHIEF OF BANPUR PREPARES TO FIGHT UNTO DEATH

The Chief of Banpoor left Jhansee for Banpoor on the 6th January. He could not settle the *Punchayet* for which he had gone to Jhansee. He is prepared to fight and die. He seems to have stored some ammunition (*Saman*) in the fort of Chindaree (Chanderi). Preparations are also said to be in progress in the fort of Bala Bhut[1]. If arrested he does not expect to escape hanging. This being his impression, he says it is much better to die than to be hanged by the hands of a sweeper. He seems to be desirous of surrendering, should his life be spared and a promise given to that effect. In the late action at Mhow the success remained on the side of the Tehree force, the casualties on both sides amounted to about 150 men. Rao Soneput[2], the *Jageerdar* of Kotra, was wounded.

THE RANI OF JHANSI SENDS SUCCOUR TO MOW

The Ranee of Jhansee has sent reinforcement to Mow and continues plundering the subjects. She has turned out the native officials from Jhansee as per margin* (given in the Foot-note); these have taken refuge at Duttia and are under the protection of the Ranee. The Powars continue to give trouble and plunder the country all round, the village of Tilor[3] in the north

[1] Apparently *Balabehat*, Pargana *Balabehat*, Tahsil *Lalitpur*, District *Jhansi*—A considerable village lying on the Vindhyan plateau, 28 miles south of Lalitpur in 24° 18′ N. and 78° 28′ E. It gives its name to a pargana, and has a population of 904 persons. With Lalitpur it is connected by two roads, one *via* Pali, which, however, south of Bamori Bansa is only a bridle path impassable to wheeled traffic, while the other leaves the Lalitpur-Saugor road at Betna and runs *via* Dongra and Maholi. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, Pp. 232-33).

[2] Apparently spelt for 'Son pat' or 'Senapat'.

* Note in the Margin of the original—

1. Trumbuk (Trambak) Rao, *Sharistadar.*
2. Roshun Lall, Naib ditto
3. Unundee (Anandi Lal) Lall, Record-keeper.
4. Mitho Singh, *Jamadar.*
5. Gopal Rao, *Sharistadar.*
6. Ahssan Ali, ditto.
4. Writers.....
11. Baboo Khoman Sing.
12. Baboo Ramdhun.
13. Baboo Shewdeen.

[3] Apparently spelt for *Talaur*, District *Jhansi*.

district was from the commencement of the mutiny in the possession of the Powars.

ACTIVITIES OF POWAR REVOLUTIONARIES

Boodh Sing *Jamadar* from Jaloun coming with some followers placed a *Thana* in the village, and the Powars collecting their own men from different places completely burnt down the villages. Fighting still continues, the men at Jaloun are said to have made themselves strong in the Fort. All the Powars who formerly gave out that the English were not to be found in the world, have now commenced saying that if they are not treated with kindness they will retire to the jungle. Nuthey Khan *Kamdar* of Tehree is still at Oorcha, and does not go back to Tehree, the Ranee being displeased with him for his inability to take Jhansee.

ACTIVITIES AT KALPI

A man who returned from Kalpee on the 6th instant states that he saw about 3000 mutinous sepoys with 12 large and small guns at Kalpee. This ammunition is kept within the Fort while the mutineers live within as well as without the Fort. Tantia Topey, Peshwa's man, is also with them and has collected about 2000 men from Khujwagarh[1] district. They seem to have no intention of acting on the offensive. They have erected Batteries on the *Ghat* of the Jumna, and on the Humeerpoor road, and have placed guns on the Fort. Half of the bridge over the Jumna is broken, and all the boats are in the possession of the mutineers. The Goosaines of Rujdhan who gave trouble at the time of the Cawnpoor disturbance have now fallen back on Ooraee (Orai) with about 400 followers, they may also join the Kalpee rebels, Ooraee being now under Kalpee *with the aid and assistance of the mutineers, and Tantia Topey, the Taee Baee continues in possession of the Jaloun district.*

PREPARATIONS AT BANDA

A man who came in here from Banda in 7 days states,

[1] Apparently spelt for *Kachhwagarh.*

that the British Forces have reached the *Ghat* at Banda, and a bridge is in the course of construction over the river, which when completed Banda will be attacked. The *Nawab of Banda is prepared to fight.* Besides, his old forces and the new levies about 700 Foot, and 700 Horse, have collected under him and other runaways come to his standard.[1]

WAR PREPARATIONS AT JHANSI

Abstract of Intelligence from Bundelkund (Bundelkhand), dated 26th January 1858.

JHANSEE (JHANSI)

The Ranee daily sends troops and guns to Mow Raneepore where an action is soon expected to take place between her and Oorcha troops. Money is continually exacted from the people to meet the expenses of the force. The name of the *Wakeel* sent to the Commissioner turns out to be Bhaeea *Dewan* and not Gopal Row as stated before. *It is given out that should this Wakeel who has gone towards Seepree be treated kindly, the Ranee will in no way oppose the British forces. She will pay obedience to our Govt. and return all the districts now in her possession while on the contrary* should the British officer show displeasure she will fight to the last. 3 *or* 4 *maunds of gunpowder are daily manufactured and stored in the fort. About* 1000 *Foot and Horse from the mutineers* from different quarters are now stated to be in the service of the Ranee. Four or five new guns have been manufactured. There are four old guns with a few small pieces.[2]

JHANSI PREPARES FOR DEFENCE UNDER THE RANI

Abstract of Intelligence from Bundelcund (Bundelkhand), dated Duttiah (Datia), 4th February 1858.

JHANSEE (JHANSI)

The Ranee is said to have no intention of fighting with the

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supp., Cons. No. 265. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1858, Nos. 32-33. National Archives, New Delhi.

English, and has sent Bhaeca *Dewan* to the authorities at Saugor. But a few of the *Thakoors* and some *Pundits*, that have profited during the late troubles, advise her to adopt a contrary course of conduct. *Gunpowder is daily manufactured and other military arrangements remain just the same as before.* Her real intention seems to be to shape her conduct according to the success of our arms at Shahghur (Shahgarh) and Baunpoor (Banpur). *She is in alliance with the Baunpoor Chief*, whose confidential servant, Chowdree Khait Singh, left Jhansee for Baunpoor only a few days ago. The Lady sent some jewelry and clothes to the son of the Chief, lately born. The population is deserting Jhansee but with great difficulty. About 1000 insurgents from different quarters are in the service of the Rance. Ten Gunners from the Morar rebels have lately taken service with the Ranee who continually sends her force to Mhow Raneepore (Mau Ranipur) to fight with the Tehree Detachment.[1]

LARGE QUANTITY OF AMMUNITION PREPARED AT JHANSI

Abstract of Intelligence, dated Dutliah (Datia), February 7, 1858.

JHANSEE (JHANSI)

Although the Ranee professes not to fight with the British Government, yet she makes every hostile arrangement. 6 new large guns have been manufactured, carriages for these and old guns are in the course of construction. About 200 maunds of saltpetre being purchased in the Gwalior district has been brought into the Fort. Gunpowder is daily made within the Fort. 8 Gunners from the Moorar rebels were sent for from Kalpee and have been taken into service. They superintend the manufacturing of brass balls. 4 days ago Gungadhur (Gangadhar) Bhaeea, son of Dewan Luchmun Rao with 3 Companies, 2 *Rissalahs*, all mutineers, in the service of the Ranee went towards Ahar[2]; but will ultimately proceed

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1858, Nos. 41-42. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ahar*—A village in Pargana *Pichhor* of Zila *Narwar* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 25° 4′ latitude N. and 78° 9′ longitude E. with an area of 3,310 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 89).

to the assistance of the Baunpore Chief. A servant of Ranee returning from Baunpore reported that the forces of the Baunpore Chief were defeated somewhere near Saugor with heavy loss amounting to about 400 men and that the Chief having withdrawn his men from Narawlee[1] and other places, had fortified the pass of Malthone[2]. No one is allowed to leave Jhansee, strict watch is kept since the last four days. The Rance has issued order to withdraw her forces from Mow Ranee-pore.[3]

JHANSI RANI HELPS RAJA OF BANPUR

Abstract of Intelligence, dated Tehree (Tehri), 9th February 1858.

The Jaloun mutineers have surrounded Rahut. Since the receipt of the news of the fall of Raatghur and of the defeat of the Rajah of Baunpore the Ranee of Jhansee is much vexed and dejected. *It is reported that Laloo Buxee (Lalu Bakhshi)* with 2000 *men and two guns left Jhansee for Baunpore and has reached Bichor*[4].

The Chief of Baunpore and Lalla Doolary (Lala Dularey) are both alive, the latter is at Malthone and the former at Bala Beth[5]. The eldest son of the Chief of Baunpore is at Baunpore; Gurrakotah has been made very strong. Choudre (Chaudhri) Khait Singh is trying to remove his family. The Lallutpore *Moonshee*, the chief adviser of the Chief, is reported to have left him since his defeat at Raatghur. The troops of Sareela

[1] *Naraoli*—A village in Pargana *Pichhor* of Zila *Gird Gwalior* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 26° 9′ latitude N. and 78° 27′ longitude E. with an area of 2127 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 13).

If it stands for *Nariaoli*, See it in Saugor District, p. 243.(*Central Provinces District Gazetteers*).

[2] Apparently *Malthone*—A village in the *Khurai* Tahsil in the extreme north of the District, 40 miles from Saugor on the Jhansi road. (*Central Provintces District Gazetteers*, Saugor District, 1907, p. 242).

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1858, Nos. 41-42. National Archives, New Delhi.

[4] Apparently *Pichhor*, Pargana *Pichhor*, Zila *Narwar* (*Gwalior State*)—A large village situated in 25° 11′ N. and 78° 13′ E. Up to 1769 A. D. it was held by the Orchha Chief. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 281).

[5] Apparently spelt for *Bala Benat*.

are at Jaloun and were engaged in the action which took place near Chirkharee.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES POURING INTO JHANSI

Abstract of Intelligence from Duttiah (Datia), dated 13th February 1858.

JHANSEE (JHANSI)

Gungadhur Bhacea, who was reported to have gone to Baunpoor, returned to Jhansee from Bichore with all his followers and with one gun (dug out of the earth). 500 maunds of gunpowder has been stored in the Fort of Jhansee, and since last ten or twelve days great exertion is made to get supplies within the Fort. Laloo Buxee (Lalu Bakhshi) with his detachment is still encamped at Bichore with a view to check the advance of the British troops reported to be moving from Seepree. The Ranee sent for Pundit Ajoodia Pershaud (Pandit Ayodhya Prasad) her *Vakeel* who has from the commencement of the disturbance retired to Gwalior, but he is said to have written to her in reply that (as) her advisers give her bad advice which she follows he will not go to Jhansee. *Since yesterday it is reported here that about* 2000 *men from Raatghur and Baunpoor reached Jhansee and are encamped outside the city.*

BHANDAIR (BHANDER)

Three days ago *Soobadar* Oomrao Singh with 500 men commenced firing upon the village of Bhandair. The *Kamasdar* attacked the rebel who was forced to retire. The loss on both sides amounted to 5 men both killed and wounded. He is still encamped in the vicinity of Bhandair.[2]

* * *

Abstract of Intelligence from Duttia (Datia), dated 14th February 58.

JHANSEE (JHANSI)

It is reported on trustworthy authority that about 500

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1858, Nos. 41-42. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858. Nos. 130-33. National Archives, New Delhi.



Rani of Jhansi
(From Savarkar: "*The Indian War of Independence*")

Wilayutees, Meyavatees (Mewatis) and other Mahomedans that escaped from Raatghur came in here and have put (up) in the garden outside the city. Nawab Adil Mahomed Khan is also soon expected to join them. These men give out that they are going to the Peishwa which leads us to think that they will go to Kalpee. In short all the rebels after being beaten by the British troops now go to Kalpee. Great many *Moofsids* and *Thakoors* that during the late troubles plundered the districts lying on the other bank of the Ganges have also joined these rebels. *In short there is a great assemblage of insurgents at Kalpee where they will stand. Jhansee is supposed to be under Peishwa and every one going to join him passes through that place without molestation and is furnished with supplies.*[1]

PROCLAMATION OF RANI OF JHANSI

Abstract translation of a Circular letter regarding the "Victory of Religion", 14th Feb. 1858.

(Engraved on Seal), "To God only belongs the world, and the command of it rests with Him".

"Oh Rajas! Be ye religious, virtuous, benevolent and brave, and the protectors of your own and of the religion of others; desiring you prosperity, I speak as follows :

"God has provided you with bodies for the performance of His sacred rites, these are revealed to all by their religion and are stringently enjoined upon all. God has created you, Oh Rajahs, for the destruction of the destroyers of your creed; for the same purpose, He has given you power; therefore it behoveth these, who have the power to fight, to fight those who possessed of strength endeavour to procure other means to effect their purpose, and to protect their creed. The *Shastra* declares that it is best to follow one's own religion and not to adopt another's, and God himself has so declared; but it is evident to all men that these English are perverters of all men's religion. From time immemorial have they endeavoured to contaminate the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions by the production and circulation of religious books through the

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, Nos. 130-33. National Archives, New Delhi.

medium of missionaries, and by extirpating such books as afford arguments against them. Have heard from creditable sources the various endeavours they have made to contaminate our creed.

1st. The forcible re-marriage of Hindoo widows.

2nd. The abolition of the ancient rite of "*Suttee*".

3rd. The exaltation of those who may embrace the Christian faith, so also succession to the thrones of Hindoo princes is only permitted to the legitimate sons, the adopted sons are prohibited from succession, while the *Shastra* gives him the same privileges as the legitimate heir:—*these are the stratagems by which the Europeans deprive us of our thrones and wealth, for instance I refer to Nagpore and Lucknow.* They have forced the prisoners to eat their (Europeans') bread. Some of them (the prisoners) starved themselves to death and so preserved their religion, and others lost their faith by eating it. Finding that these measures still proved to be ineffectual they powdered bones and mixed them with flour, sugar etc. and exposed it for sale; in every way they tried their best to destroy our creeds. At least a Bengalee thus intimated to them, "If your army will embrace your religion there will be no objection with us to do the same". This assertion of the Bengalee was much admired by them, consequently they ordered the Brahmins and others attached to the army to bite greased cartridges. The Mahomedans refused to use them although they were sensible that the use of these cartridges would only affect the religion of Hindoos. The Europeans determined to destroy the religion of both and in spite commenced blowing from guns those in any regiments who refused to use the cartridges. The sepoys finding them thus maltreated tried to defend their religion and began to kill them wherever they found them, and still they intend to pursue the same course and are determined to destroy them. Be it known to you that as long as these Europeans may remain in Hindostan, they will continue to destroy us; yet some of our countrymen are giving assistance to them. I believe even as to them that the Europeans will not permit their religion to be inviolated. Further let me ask them what measures have they adopted to secure their faith and lives ? If you and me all agree with slight trouble and exertion we can destroy them (the Europeans) all and therefore I have hit upon this contrivance, to save our religion and lives. I conjure the Hindoos in the name of Gunga, Tollsee (Tulsi) and *Salikram*,

and the Mahomedans by the name of God and the *Koran* and entreat them to join us, in destroying the English, for their mutual welfare. The killing of cows being esteemed one of the greatest of sins amongst the Hindoos, the Mahomedan chiefs have agreed to abolish that custom from the day the Hindoos come forward to kill the Europeans. If any Mahomedan acts contrary to this engagement he is to be considered as guilty of a heinous crime before God, and should he eat Beef, it shall be deemed as pig, and if the Hindoos do not exert themselves to destroy the Europeans, they will be considered in the sight of God as responsible for the crime of cow killing and eating the flesh of cows. Perhaps Europeans for their own ends may stipulate with the Hindoos not to kill cows if they will join them; I assure the Hindoos that no man of sense will be deceived by this pretence, as they have notoriously violated their promises. Great and small are well aware that they are habitually treacherous and have done nothing but practise deceit on the inhabitants of Hindostan. Let not this opportunity pass away. Know Oh people ! you will never have such another. Since letters are considered to be the half of a meeting it is hoped that the contents of this letter may be considered and replied to.

"This letter calling for the joint alliance of Hindoo and Mahomedan is published by Moulvie Syud Kootub Shah at the Bahadurce Press in the city of Bareilly".[1]

RANI OF JHANSI PREPARES TO FIGHT THE ENGLISH

Intelligence from Guneshee Lall (Ganeshi Lal) at Duttia (Datia) of 22nd Feby. 1858.

The Baee of Jhansi no doubt is preparing herself to fight against us. She has kept Nawab Adil Khan and Feeroz Shah of Mundisore in her service. She has filled the Jhansi fort with supplies, ammunition, good large old and new (newly) made

[1] N. W. P. Narrative, Foreign Department. Imperial Record Department 1858. Narrative of Events in the North-Western Provinces for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. *Jhansi Sub-division :*

Nothing has been heard from these districts of recent date..... Sir R. N. C. Hamilton has forwarded a translation of a letter to his address from the rebel Ranee of Jhansi professing her loyalty in general terms..... (Abstract translation of a Circular letter regarding the Victory of Religion):

"Having regard to the part which the Ranee has played, it is not the intention of the Governor General to notice this letter at present".

guns etc. She is very bold since the return of Tehree forces from Jhansi without success. She is clearing and cutting down all the trees etc. around the fort and around the walls of the town. I think these, her preparations, will become of very great use to us but I am sorry that the notorious woman does not allow a single soul of the poor subjects to go out and therefore all of them will suffer for nothing. The troops here, about 2000 men in number with 4 guns, have been made to station outside the wall of Duttiah town. I do not place much faith in many of them as they are connected with some others who are employed in Jhansi; however, the old army and their officers are fit to place confidence.

The survey people say in reply to your question that all survey records and instruments were in the fort and since the mutiny broke out the fort was in the hands of Jhansi Baee; they do not know whether they are kept in the same way by the Baee or destroyed. Mrs. Mutlow, after all, has agreed to come here and I sent some people to bring her out in some disguise and the other day I hope they will succeed; but I am sorry to learn from Dowlut Ram who came back here from Saugor last evening that the letters in his hands for her from Saugor were caught by Banpoor Rajah and are (*sic*, were) sent to the Baee of Jhansi with his letter and very likely an enquiry is (being) made for her in Jhansi and for me. My men have not returned as yet from Jhansi till this time (*sic*,) since 3 days last nor have I heard of anything from them. I shall let you know as soon as I hear further from them.[1]

VICTORY OVER CHARKHARI

TATYA TOPE MEETS OPPOSITION FROM RAJA OF CHARKHARI

Translation of a letter from Tanteea Topie (Tatya Tope), alias Ramchund Pandoorung (Ramchand Pandurang) to the Peshwa Sahib, dated Chirkaree (Charkhari), 1st Budee of Fagoon (Badi of Phagun), 1914 Sumbut (Samvat), corresponding with 31st January 1858.

It is very difficult to capture this fort, inasmuch as the

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, No. 136. National Archives, New Delhi.

place is hilly and I have only a small body of men with me. The Rajah does not wish to side with us, as he relies very much on the strength of the English. When such is the case, whatever services[1] may be achieved by me will of course have its origin in your good fortune.

The sepoys boast very much now but in the time of difficulty they will desert us. God does whatever is good. In the battle fought day before yesterday, our troops fled before the enemy. I hope therefore that you will be pleased to send *Vilayetee* men (Mahomedans)[2] to our assistance and one hundred pieces of cloth which I will distribute among the troops here as an inducement to them to take the field. You will also be pleased to send *Karinda* and the munitions for which I had already written to you.[3]

GWALIOR REVOLUTIONARIES APPEAL TO THE SARDARS OF CHARKHARI TO REVOLT

Translation of a Hindee (Hindi) letter from Icha Sing, Chatta Sing, Shumshere Khan (Shamsher Khan) and Sheodeen Sing (Shiv Din Singh) Subadars and other Officers in the Gwalior Contingent, to the address of the Subadars and other Officers in the service of the Rajah of Churkuree (Charkhari), dated Raut (Rath), 2nd Budee of Fagoon (Badi of Phagun), 1914 Sumbut (Samvat), corresponding with 31st January 1858.

We are all well and wish to know your welfare. For a long time we have received no news from you. Pray write to us from time to time.

For the sake of our faith, we and our subordinate sepoys have mutinied and have encountered various difficulties. Our lives are at stake.

It was not becoming in your master to oppose us in our recent outbreak being regardless of the next world. His disagreement with the troops however will be visited with proper punishment. Considering you as our brother, we write this to you in order that you may have no ground for complaint, in case anything should befal (*sic*, befall) you. It is therefore

[1] It should be 'Success'.

[2] Stands for 'Afghans' who were called 'Vilaytis' then.

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 627, p. 50. National Archives, New Delhi.

incumbent on you to join us with your sepoys and arms. We do not force you to side with us; but come over forthwith having a regard for your faith and your spiritual welfare. We write this to you as it concerns our religion but you are at liberty to do as you like. If you do not come, we will through the divine assistance do our best to defend our faith. Consider this short statement as sufficient and reflect on the remarks above alluded to.

The pay of each sepoy here is ten Rupees and that of a *Subadar* or other Officer of course higher according to his rank.

Send an answer to this as early as possible.[1]

RAJA OF CHARKHARI TRIES TO BLUFF TATYA TOPE

Translation of a letter from Ramchund Pandoorung Topee (Ramchand Pandurang Tope) to....., dated Chirkaree (Charkhari), 3rd Budee of Fagoon (Badi of Phagun), corresponding with 1st February 1858.

Your letter dated 14th *Rujub* reached me and made me acquainted with its contents.

I beg to send a reply thereto stating the following circumstances viz.: That Bulwant Rao Baba Jeo Joosee (Joshi) has this morning taken his departure from this place for Calpee. I have verbally communicated my sentiments regarding Chitterkote[2]. He will intimate the same to you.

A Company of troops is gone to Jaloun to bring money. This is well.

That two letters have this morning been received from the Rajah to the effect that I am for the faith with you and am ready to conform to your wish. I see, however, no sign of his siding with us. He is trying to gain time by stratagem.

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Cons. Nos. 1365-66. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Chitrakot*, Tahsil *Karwi*, District *Banda*—A celebrated place of pilgrimage, lying in 25° 10′ N. and 80° 53′ E., some six miles by road from Karwi, and 42 miles from Banda. The hill, which is the object of pilgrimage, is known as Kamta Nath, and the name Chitrakot is applied to the hill, the 'paikarma' and the locality generally. The hill is about 1½ miles in circumference at the base, and is situated half in British territory and half in the Chaube jagir of Kamta Rajaola. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, Vol. XXI, 1909, p. 223).

He has planted 18-Pounders at the Gate of the fort near the hills.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES CAPTURE CHARKHARI TOWN

Abstract Translation of a letter from Pandoorung Rao Saddasheo (Pandurang Rao Sadashiv) to Ramchund Pandoorung Topee (Ramchand Pandurang Tope), dated 4th Badee of Fagoon (Badi of Phagun), 1914 Sumbut (Samvat), corresponding with 2nd February 1858.

Officers[2] congratulations on the fall of Chirkari (Charkhari) and the capture of guns. Suggests the inexpediency of allowing the Raja of Chirkari to remain in the fort, and requests that such arrangements may be made with him as may prove beneficial to the interests of the *Sircar* and desires him to state where the "*Sahiblog*" who were at Chirkari have gone.[3]

RAJA OF CHARKHARI OFFERS RS. ONE LAKH TO TATYA TOPE

Translation of a letter from Ramchund Pandoorung Topee (Ramchand Pandurang Tope), to....., dated Chirkaree (Charkhari), 4th Badee of Fagoon (Badi of Phagun), 1914 Sumbut (Samvat), corresponding with 2nd February 1858.

Anagowree[4], the Rajah's spiritual Guide, the *Lala* and another person, in all four individuals, have arrived here this morning to hold a conference with me on the part of the Rajah and the Ranee on a (pecuniary) subject.

With reference to the letter sent by the Rajah and Ranee, I conferred with those four individuals. The Rajah agrees to pay one Lakh of Rupees. As the Commanding Officers of the troops and I considered that sum as not suitable amount from him, we wished the above persons to go back.

The letter, potatoes and betel-nuts sent by you have reached me.

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 628, p. 51. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] It should be 'offers' and not 'Officers.'

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 629, Pp. 51-2. National Archives, New Delhi.

[4] This name may have been spelt for 'Anguri' or 'Anagauri'.

What else shall I write ?[1]

CHARKHARI FORCES DEFEATED AT BHOWEL BY THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from Punjab Sing (Panjab Singh) to Dhir Sing, dated Phagoon Budi (Phagun Badi) 4, Samvat 1914, corresponding to the English date, 2nd February 1858.

Abstract :

Calls on him to come and make arrangements for the pay of the sepoys and sowars. Reports a victory over the Chirkaree forces at the village of "Bhowel"* in Chirkaree, and the capture of their guns (4 guns); reckons his own force at 2000 sepoys, 1000 "*Desees*", and 2 guns. Tantia Topee was present and commanded the Army. Urges him again to pay a month's pay, as they are 3 months in arrears; has written to Baboo Anunt Sing (Babu Anant Singh) in the Nabab's household, Dhiraj Sing is to read it, and be advised by it. He cannot move his things as his men are all scattered here and there.

A *P. S.* (addressed to Duljit Sing)†. You have acted towards me as a friend should act ! I was coming, so you would not let me come. Your letter reached me at Barigurh; the *Peshwae* power is established. I am amazed. You said you would come in 15 days, it is now six weeks. The Regiments× obey the Peshwa who is a friend of yours. If any great man comes from any place where the *Sahebs* are, he is looked on with much suspicion in the Regiments. I barely escaped; they first were civil, but now behave harshly (the such people) (*sic*,). There is a flying report that the *Saheb* at Rewah is killed; this news comes from the Rewah force; I do not say so. I say that all the rest may desert the *Saheb*, I am his servant. (There comes a doubtful passage[2], which seems to say that certain sepoys going from Regiment to Regiment prevented the

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 630, p. 52. National Archives, New Delhi.

Notes in the Original—

* 9 Koss from Chirkaree.

† A Rewah Sirdar.

× i.e. the mutineer Regiments.

[2] The correct word would be 'Message'.

others); concludes with directions where to write, and urges him to send money.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT CHARKHARI REQUIRE PECUNIARY HELP

Letter from Baboo Subadar General Chutter Sing (Chhattra Singh), dated Phagoon Budi (Phagun Badi) 4th, Samvat 1914, *corresponding to English date, 2nd February* 1858.

Abstract :

A. C. (after compliments)—If possible, come along and settle the country in your way. In consequence of what you have written, Punjab Sing (since the last 40 days arrived) has been esteemed as a commander, and is much favoured on your account; if you pay attention to your interest now, you can forward them effectually; but this is the only exact time, if you delay you will regret it hereafter. Your own people will tell you of Chirkaree there is yet a little to do, but you will hear of that on your way here. Pay for the Army is required. You shall govern the country; the business of the Army is to fight, but I have no money, and I require only authority, men, guns, ammunition; I want, besides, no money for anything else. I do not assume to govern, nor do I plunder the population. It would be excellent, if while I am conquering Chirkaree and Adjeygurh, you could subdue Kallinjur[2] (Kalinjar)

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1239, Pp. 537-9. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[2] *Kalinjar*, Tahsil *Girwan*, District *Banda*—The celebrated hill-fort and town of Kalinjar is situated in south-east corner of Girwan tahsil, distant 35 miles from Banda on the old highroad to Nagode. The nearest railway station is Atarra, which is 24 miles distant, 10 miles of the road from the station being metalled as far as Naraini, and the remainder being raised and bridged except at the Bagain where a causeway has been provided. The town is locally known as Tarahti; the name is derived from *tars* signifying below, and refers to the town's situation at the foot of the hill. Adjoining Tarahti is a village called Katra, which is also generally included under the name Kalinjar, although constituting a distinct village site. Beyond the immediate neighbourhood Kalinjar is applied indiscriminately to the hill and town at its foot. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, Vol. XXI, 1909, p. 234).

and Pannah[1]; only, if you wish to keep well with me, have nothing to do with the English.[2]

NAWAB OF BANDA SENDS TROOPS

Abstract Translation of a letter from Ramchand Pandurang Tope to....., dated Chirkari (Charkhari), 9th Buddee of Fagoon (Badi of Phagun), or 7th February 1858.

Intimating that the European soldiers and the Sikhs came on the Surwallee[3] Ghat, that the battle was fought, that

[1] *Panna* was a sanad State in the *Bundelkhand* Political Charge of the *Central India Agency*, lying principally between north latitude 23° 50′ and 25° 2′ and east longitude 79° 45′ and 80° 42′.

The chief town of the State, was situated in 24° 43′ north latitude, and 80° 12′ east longitude. It is 44 miles by metalled road from Satna station on the East Indian Railway, and 75 miles from Harpalpur on the Jhansi-Manikpur Section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway.

Nirpat Singh proved most staunch in his support of the British Government, in spite of much opposition among his own people. He wrote constantly to Mr. Erskine, Commissioner of Jabalpur, offering assistance. When the rebel Rani of the lapsed state of Jaitpur seized the Damoh District, Mr. Erskine asked the Panna chief to drive her out. He at once sent his brother-in-law, Kunwar Shamle-ju-dev with the State forces, and compelled her to evacuate the district which Shamle-ju-dev then managed for the British till February 1858, when it was handed over. Major Ellis was given asylum in Panna at this time. The fort of Kalinjar was also held by Nirpat Singh who proceeded there personally, being later on joined by Lieutenant Remington with a small detachment of Native Infantry. Lieutenant Remington, writing in November, 1857, remarks :—"This fort is surrounded by a rebellious and disorderly population, except in the Panna direction where everything is conducted most admirably by the Raja, who deserves the greatest credit, he being the only Raja in these parts who has openly declared his intention to stand or fall by us, and has not been afraid to appear constantly in public in our company, which has had a great effect in keeping the mutineers from attacking this force...." (*Eastern States*—Bundelkhand—*Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, 1907, pp. 163, 176-77, 198).

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1239, Pp. 539-41. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[3] *Surauli Buzurg*, Pargana *Sumarpur*, Tahsil and District *Hamirpur*—Is a large village in 25° 53′ N. and 80° 18′ E. on the banks of the Jumna, which is here crossed by a ferry leading to the Fatehpur district, at a distance

the Nawab of Banda sent troops to assist, that three lakhs of rupees have been received from the Raja of Chirkari, that a moiety of that sum is remitted to the addressee and the other moiety kept for the payment of the wages of the sepoys, that the *Vakeels* of the Chiefs of Banpore and Shahgarh are in attendance on the writer, and that a Battery had been constructed by the writer in the direction of Humeerpore.[1]

TATYA TOPE COMMITS MONEY TO THE CHARGE OF VAMAN RAO

Translation of a letter from Tantea Topee (Tatya Tope) alias Ramchund Pandoorung (Ramchand Pandurang) to the Peshwa Sahib, dated Chirkaree (Charkhari), 10th Baddee of Fagoon(Badi of Phagun), Sumbut (Samvat) 1914, corresponding with 8th February 1858.

I received your letter dated 7th *Buddee* of *Fagoon* and sent a reply thereto by *Dawk*.

I have committed to the charge of Bamun (Vaman) Rao Josee (Joshi) for conveyance to Calpee the sum of 1½ lakhs of Rupees out of the three lakhs sent by the Rajah and also the articles which exceeded our wants, laden in carts. I intend to send Raja Bhao of Sikendurah[2] in company with the said Ramun Rao[3], that the former may go to Itwa[4] near the *Sirkar*, but this intention should be carried into effect with reference to the answer expected to-day from the Chief of Chirkaree.[5]

of about ten miles from Hamirpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, p. 234).

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 633, Pp. 53-4. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Sikandra* (Tantea)—A village in Pargana *Isagarh*, Zila *Isagarh* of Old *Gwalior State* at 24° 31′ latitude N. and 77° 47′ longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 177).

[3] It appears to be wrongly written for 'Bamun Rao'.

[4] Apparently *Itawa*—A village in Pargana *Barnagar*, Zila *Ujjain* of Old *Gwalior State* at 23° 9′ latitude N. and 75° 27′ longitude E. with an area of 3797 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 213).

[5] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 634, p. 54. National Archives, New Delhi.

CHARKHARI FORT CAPTURED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from Punjab Sing[1] *(Panjab Singh) to Dhir Sing*[1]*, dated Phagoon Budi (Phagun Badi) 11th, Sl. (Samvat)* 1914*, corresponding to English date, 9th February* 1858.

Abstract : The Commanding Officer of our camp is *Soobadar* Chutter Sing (Chhattra Singh) to whom I have read your letter; as to the Chirkharee matter* he says "do what youl ike"; the whole country and forts of Chirkharee are taken excepting only Chirkharee itself. You'll hear of that within 15 days; and whatever you are doing explain in all both to the *Soobadar* and to Tantia Topee. Write to them by their full titles. If you want a Regiment join yourself to Runmust Sing (Ranmast Singh); a Regiment is coming to assist Runmust Sing. This much of myself. When you went away you told me to remain here. So I have done. Who is to pay me ? To whom else shall I write except you ? My .....† expenses are 20 Rupees; when you get to Punnah (Panna), settle with the Rewah people, for it is intended to besiege Allahabad; I am ready to help you. Manage for the country in your own neighbourhood. Runmust Sing and I stop the road in this direction. Be of good heart, no one can come this way. Make as much haste as possible in settling the country. Here are the Nowab, the Peshwa and the sepoys. The country is worth 3 crores (of revenue) and there are 200,000 soldiers including the sepoys. All are with you. Keep clear of the *Sahibs* only. Don't try to keep fair with both sides; Tantia Sahib's order is that whoever is for the faith should give to, and receive from us, assistance and he says as to yourself—'When Dhir Sing comes we can decide all'; so it is best you should come quickly. But provide for the expenses of the men you bring with you beforehand. The letter which the *Kotwal* of Maudhogurh has taken to you, attend to. You ought to come; think over it; you must come; you will learn everything else from the letters of the Tantia and *Soobadar.* I have made all arrangements, we are only waiting for you. Please God, all will turn out to your advantage.

[1]Rewa Sardars.

Notes in the Original—

*"Probably means regarding your coming or not to Chirkharee".

†"Word illegible—probably "daily" or "weekly".

P. S. Pay the *Hurkara* 2 Rupees, and answer quickly. The Furuckabad (Farrukhabad) Nowab had fled, but came back, defeated the Europeans, and is reseated. Cawnpore is again besieged, they say. The Nana came from Lucknow and besieged it. A cannonade was going on (when the news came away). Ten Regiments more are coming from the south, through Gwalior and 6 Artillery guns and 1400 sowars have joined the Gwalior Regiments and all are at Calpee (Kalpi). The sepoys are very well inclined towards Rewah, for the house is one noted for its attachment to the faith. It should assist those who stand by the faith. The Nana and the sepoys are still at issue with Narain Rao.[1]

NAWABS OF BANDA AND RAHATGARH ASSIST TATYA TOPE AT CHARKHARI

*Abstract Translation of a letter from Ramchund Pandoorung Topee (Ramchand Pandurang Tope) to....., dated Chirkari (Charkhari), 13th Buddee of Fagoon (Badi of Phagun)*1914, *corresponding with* 11*th February* 1858.

States that a fire was opened on the Fort of Chirkari and that the Nawab of Banda and the Nawab of Ratgurh[2] sent sowars etc. to the assistance of the writer and also that he (the writer) has sent to the addressee a reply regarding the arrangements of affairs.[3]

BANDA NAWAB APPROACHED FOR HELP AGAINST CHARKHARI

*Abstract Translation of a letter from Pandoorung Rao Sadasheo (Pandurang Rao Sadashiv) to Alee Bahadoor(Ali Bahadur), dated Calpee (Kalpi), 8th Soodee of Fagoon (Sudi of Phagun)*1914, *or* 21*st February* 1858.

Requesting to be supplied with four 'nine pounders' and

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, Pp. 528-32. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[2] *Rahatgarh.*

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 636, p. 57. National Archives, New Delhi.

twenty 'four-pounder' guns, and other munitions as well as 1,000 sepoys for the action at Chirkari.[1]

TATYA TOPE PROPOSES NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHITRAKOT CHIEF

Translation of a letter from Tanteea Topee (Tatya Tope) alias Ramchund Pundoorung (Ramchand Pandurang) to the Peshwa, dated Chirkaree (Charkhari), 12th Soodee of Fagoon (Sudi of Phagun), 1914 Sumbut (Samvat), corresponding with 22nd February 1858.

One Ramjee Choubey was sent to Chitturkote, the particulars of which place are as follows : That Sreemant Raj Sree Narain Rao Sahib is fully inclined to side with the English. His *Karpurdaz* (or factotum) is a *Baboo* who wishes that I should address a letter to the Chief of Chitturkote to the effect that "My Maharaj has a certain proposal to make. You are therefore requested to depute your *Karindah*, the *Baboo*, to Calpee to hear it, so that whenever that *Baboo* shall come over to you, you will be pleased to make that proposal to him and he will explain it to the Chief of Chitturkote and then all will be right". A consideration of these things makes me anxious to send for the said *Baboo*.[2]

NAWAB OF BANDA HELPED TATYA TOPE IN THE SIEGE OF CHARKHARI

Translation of a letter from Ali Bahadoor (Ali Bahadur) to Nana Sahib, dated Banda, 8th Rujuub (Rajab), corresponding with 23rd February 1858.

Your letter dated 2nd *Buddee* of *Fagoon* reached me. As it states that conflicts are going on at Churkharee and that Tanteea Topie might have sent a letter to my address requesting me to render aid to you I beg to say that soon after the receipt of that letter I sent four guns (9 and 24-pounders), munitions and one thousand sepoys to the Battery at Churkharee.

I beg to state further that, before the receipt of that letter

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 640, p. 60. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 641, Pp. 60-1. National Archives, New Delhi.

I had sent troops and guns to the assistance of our men at Churkharee.

I have of late made arrangements to guard the ferries. I have sent for a number of the persons out of those stationed there. On their arrival here, I will despatch them to Churkharee.

As it is further stated in your letter that Bundelas are on the side of the enemy and that nothing else but the infliction of signal punishment on them would overawe Bundelcund (Bundelkhand) I beg to say that I concur with you on this point. Before I received your letter I had expressed the same sentiments to you in writing through Tanteea Topie. It is absolutely necessary to arrange the affairs of that country. The *Sirkar* also wishes that such arrangement should be made. I have therefore determined on giving up the management of the ferries etc. and the sending of troops (exclusively) to Churkharee.

The 24-pounders which are required are not available here. The other guns will be sent to that place.[1]

DHIR SINGH ASKED TO REACH CHARKHARI

Letter from Tantia Tope (Tatya Tope) to Dhir Singh, dated Chyt Budi (Chait Badi) 2nd, St. (Samvat) 1914 from Chirkharee (Charkhari), corresponding to English date, 1st March 1858, No. 10.

Abstract :

Your letter has arrived. We have gained a victory to-day, and taken 7 guns. Come immediately on receiving this; make no delay; you will see all from Punjub Singh's letter. Prevent the agent from communicating with the Rajah. The town of Chirkharee has been burnt.

Remarks :

Square seal on Envelope small.
Do (?) round, on the letter.
itself.[2]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 643, Pp. 61-2. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement,

Letter from Tantia Topee (Tatya Tope) to Dhir Singh, dated Cheyt Budi (Chait Badi) 2nd, Samvat 1914 from Chirkharee (Charkhari), corresponding to English date, 1st March 1858, No. 11.

Abstract :

"Pass a *Rahdaree Purwannah*".

Remarks :

In no one's name, but enclosed in same Envelope as the above. (in letter No. 10).[1]

TROOPS OF RAJA OF CHARKHARI JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from Punjab Singh to Dhir Singh, dated Cheyt Budi (Chait Badi) 2nd, St. (Samvat) 1914 from Chirkharee (Charkhari), corresponding to English date, 1st March 1858, No. 12.

Abstract :

News as above (in No. 11); begs him to write *via* Banda, that his letters may not fall into the hands of the British Govt. and goes on to say: "as Kampta refused to bring the money, send it by some man of your own; lay a *Dak* of *Hurkaras*. The Banda Nawab has been written to hence, so write to him. 7 guns, no end of arms, taken to-day. 2,000 of the Rajah's assemblage have deserted him, and joined us, but our sepoys do not like them. If the agent come[2] from Saugor don't have any interviews with him, he will deceive you, we have lots of recruits, all Kabul full of *Villayaties*, 30 Regiments (victorious over the Europeans) from Delhi have joined us.

P. S. (the Rewah *Secpahees* all falling from the faith.)[3]

Cons. No. 1237, Pp. 515-6. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 517. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[2] The word here should be 'comes'.

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 517. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

INVESTMENT OF CHARKHARI

Letter from J. H. Carne, Assistant Magistrate on duty at Chirkaree (Charkhari), to the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Allahabad, 4th March 1858, *No.* 18.

In continuation of my letter No. 17 dated Ist instant, I have the honour to state, for the information of Government, that the city of Chirkaree fell entirely into the possession of the rebels on the evening of the Ist instant.

2*nd*—During the last three days every habitation has been plundered and then set fire to. The Rajah's own residence has also been rifled of every particle of property which could be carried away, while costly mirrors, chandeliers, carpets, and other valuable fittings up and furniture of English fashion were smashed to pieces and otherwise destroyed by the rebel mob.

CATTLE ETC. IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

3*rd*—Elephants and horses with their trappings, carriages of various kinds, palanquins and other conveyances, camels and draught bullocks, all the cattle belonging to the inhabitants, besides (12) twelve pieces of ordnance, the majority of which had been brought away from the field, but could not be conveyed up to the fort, in the confusion of the fray, have all fallen into the hands of the enemy.

4*th*—A large brick-built mansion, one of the Rajah's residences, but principally made use of by and reserved for English visitors, was set on fire last night, and every article of furniture destroyed.

5*th*—It would occupy too much of your valuable time were I to enumerate all the mischief that has been done; suffice it to say that the total loss is estimated to be not less than from fourteen to fifteen lakhs of rupees.

JUJHAR SINGH JOINS THE REVOLUTIONARIES

6*th*—The city was taken through the treachery of a mercenary *Thakoor* named Joojhar Sing (Jujhar Singh). He had a large band of men who occupied one of the most important (in fact they were all most important) defensive posts. On the approach of their assailants they fled without offering any

resistance, and are now in the ranks of the enemy. This opening gave the rebels the entree (entry) into the city, which they at once commenced setting on fire. Having become masters of this position, they were enabled to make a diversion in favour of another party who were attacking its neighbouring position, by taking them in the right flank and rear. The gallant defenders of this post fought bravely, but being surrounded they were overpowered. They managed, however, to effect their retreat, even under such difficulties, in an orderly manner.

7th—The men at all the other posts maintained their ground unflinchingly, though hotly pressed by a strong and determined enemy, but as numbers came pouring in through those positions which had been carried it was thought advisable to order these brave men to retire into the fort, because it became every moment more and more evident that their retreat would quickly be cut off.

RAJA'S TROOPS DESERT

8th—As evening closed in it was ascertained that more than one half of the Rajah's troops had decamped towards their own homes, and during the last two or three days of truce numbers of others have also fled. In short, almost all the temporarily hired troops have vanished.

SYSTEMATIC FIGHT BY REVOLUTIONARIES

9th—The enemy conducted all their operations very systematically. They latterly received reinforcements from Calpee of from 500 *to* 800 *sepoys. They could afford their relief parties; while some fought, others rested; as one set was observed going away, another was seen coming to take their places, even during the continuance of the conflict. They had their bugle calls during the last grand assault, and each separate band of matchlock-men was led on and performed its assigned task under the tuition evidently of some of the smartest sepoys who had been instructed by us in the art of war. They had their hospital doolies, and they appeared to have a large and well-regulated bazar with abundance of supplies.* They, in short, displayed all the active energies of the battle-field, while their opponents were the personification of brave but comparatively dull, bulky, dead-weight resistance.

RAJA FORSAKEN EVEN BY HIS OWN SERVANTS

10*th*—Many of the Rajah's old servants, men whose ancestors had served his house during many generations, have forsaken him, and gone over to the rebels.

These were men who had been conversant with every nook and corner, and from whom there had been no concealments. They pointed out all the various places where valuable property had been concealed; places which no eye could have detected as likely to conceal anything. Large quantities of costly property have thus been destroyed.

DISAFFECTION AMONG RAJA'S TROOPS IN THE FORT

11*th*—When the enemy had gained entire possession of the city, and the few troops remaining to the Rajah had found their way into the fort, it became evident that a strong spirit of disaffection prevailed amongst them. They were extremely morose and irritable, bluntly declining to fight any more, and insolent to their officers. It became necessary to gain time in order to soothe down such feelings, and therefore a flag of truce was displayed. Up to this day, however, although every effort has been made by the Rajah and his officers to reassure them, and prevail on them to resume their duties, they preserve in turning a deaf ear to all reasonings and remonstrances. They persist in declaring they neither can nor will do any more. They will not even undertake the ordinary routine duties of guard and watch. If the garrison will not defend the fort, the Rajah, as a matter of course, becomes perfectly helpless. He has about (200) two hundred men on whom he can confidently reckon, ready to die in defending him; but what are they in a large rambling place like this, which the enemy can easily surround, and plant their guns with their muzzles at any convenient distance they please from the walls? Even could they undertake all the laborious duties which would devolve on them, they cannot at the same time successfully contend against and frustrate the designs of treachery. The gates may be thrown open at any time by the discontented grumblers.

RAJA PRESSED INTO OPENING PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

12*th*—Such being the actual state of affairs, the Rajah has

deemed it absolutely necessary, for the preservation of himself, his only son, and family, and what remains of his property brought up to the fort, to enter into negotiations with the rebels, with the view of purchasing of them, by the payment of a certain sum of money, the amount of which has not yet been decided, their rescue from perils out of which there appears to be no other possible mode of deliverance. Knowing all the circumstances of the case as I do, and as I have herein described them, I could not advise the Rajah against taking the only step open to him, by which to evade that further indignity which must overtake him in the event of further hopeless and irritating opposition. I have told him that under the distressing circumstances surrounding him I consider that he has no alternative left him. He has ever been extremely solicitous to avoid doing anything which might thereafter reflect on the sincerity of his loyalty to the British Government, and has always openly and candidly disclosed to me whatever has come to his knowledge, and has on no occasion, that I am aware of, acted without seeking my advice. With his city and his surrounding villages plundered and lying in ashes before his eyes, his own personal property, and that of his relations, friends, and dependents, destroyed or lost to them, his troops annihilated and dispersed, and those remaining faithless, with a triumphant and formidable foe ready and anxious to destroy him and all that is left, with the certainty staring him in the face of their power to put the finishing stroke to life and liberty, with no expectation of aid from British troops to save him from ills incurred on account of his active loyalty to the British Government, can any man, be he actuated by the strictest notions of what is due to the duties of allegiance, blame him for yielding to a stern necessity?

RAJA VAINLY HOPED FOR BRITISH HELP

13*th*—I must here beg, with the greatest submission and deference, to express, in behalf of the Rajah, my very great surprise at the unaccountable silence maintained both by the Agent Governor General for Central India and the Commissioner of Jubbulpore. No message has been received from either, indicative of their sympathising with him, or expressive of their willingness to support him. No replies even to letters despatched to them by Major Ellis or myself communicating

passing events. To this day we are not aware where the troops accompanying the Commissioner of Jubbulpore are, although we have been informed that they have been directed by the Agent to move towards Chirkaree. No direct information, however, of such orders having been issued, have reached us from the Agent himself. Surely some words of encouragement might have been addressed to the Rajah, some hope held out of speedy succour or some probable day named by which the aid of British troops might be looked forward to with some degree of certainty. Everything has unfortunately tended to create a distrustful feeling, if not in the Rajah himself, assuredly in the minds of his troops, that the high functionaries of the Government were indifferent to the fate of the Rajah, and would not put themselves in the least out of their way to assist him in the struggles encountered by him in the service of the British Government. Surely, if British troops were not available, the political authorities might have insisted on aid being rendered by the neighbouring Chiefs of Chutterpore[1], Bijawar, Punnah, Tehree, or Duttiah (Datia). They had all been warned some time ago by the political authorities to have troops in readiness to co-operate with the British force. Surely those levies might have been employed on an occasion such as this with great advantage to the Government interests in aiding the Rajah of Chirkaree (Charkhari). Even had one regiment under British officers been detached, it would have amply sufficed to have saved the Chirkaree Chief from the ruin in which he has now been involved.

14*th*—The negotiations are still pending, and much

[1] *Chhatarpur* was one of the principal sanad States in the *Bundelkhand* Political Charge of the *Central India Agency*. It had an area of 1,118 square miles, lying between latitude 24° 20′ and 25° 15′ N., and longitude 79° 25′ and 80° 15′ E.

The chief town is situated in 24° 55′ N. and 79° 36′ E., at the junction of the roads from Banda to Saugor and Satna to Nowgong, being 64 miles from Banda, 120 from Saugor, 15 from Nowgong and 85 from Satna. It is called after Maharaja Chhatarsal by whom it was founded in 1707.

The Rani was at the head of the administration in 1857 and gave asylum and assistance to refugees from Nowgong. She, however, maintained peace in her territories by countenancing Diwan Deshpat, a notorious rebel leader, on whose head a price had been fixed, and even gave him asylum in Chhatarpur. (*Eastern States*—Bundelkhand—*Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, 1907, Pp. 309, 314, 361).

difficulty has arisen to retard an arrangement owing to the rebels having received information of my being here. They persisted in declining to enter upon the discussion of any terms until I was given up. They had been told by many persons who have recently joined them, and who had seen me, that I was here, and the Rajah's principal men have beeen obliged to swear that there was no European in the fort. The Rajah has indeed treated me in every way more like a brother than merely a European whom he was bound to protect. I am now residing in a place where none but near relatives of his are admitted.

15*th*—There is one circumstance, however, of which I have been cognizant for some time, but which I have carefully refrained from telling the Rajah, as I felt convinced, had he been made acquainted with the fact, Chirkaree would never have held out for eleven days against the rebels, and probably there would have been no fighting at all. This circumstance is the approach of the Nana with a large force. Major Ellis communicated to me the fact of his having crossed the Ganges, and of his intended advance into Bundlecund. The rebels have now here given out that he has crossed the Jumna at the Shergurh Ghat, and is *en route* to Calpee, through Jalaon (Jalaun), with a force of 36,000 men (an exaggerated number no doubt) and proposes moving on Saugor. If I escape the present dilemma I am in fear it will only be to fall into a still greater peril.

PROPOSAL TO COMPENSATE RAJA'S LOSSES

16*th*—As life is uncertain, and I may not have an opportunity of writing again, I will close this letter by apologizing for its length, and by submissively taking the liberty of offering a suggestion on which future inquiry might be based with reference to the restitution to be made to the Rajah for the loss sustained by him. I think it would be an act of justice, if the other Chiefs of Bundlecund (who may not have yet suffered, or may not hereafter suffer, a similar loss on a similar account), should be called on, when the supremacy of the British Government shall have been restored, to refund these losses. Some of the Chiefs (the fact will no doubt be proved sooner or later) actually had troops aiding the rebels in their attack on Chirkaree. Others aided and abetted in its overthrow in so far

as when called upon to furnish aid they purposely kept aloof that the overthrow might be effectual. The amount of property actually lost might be estimated by arbitrators appointed by Government or by the Chiefs themselves.

17*th*—I trust that whatever may befall me the British Government will not forget that the Rajah of Chirkaree has treated both Mr. Stuart and myself, their European servants, with much kindness and hospitality.[1]

TATYA GAINS VICTORY AT CHARKHARI

Translation of a Circular letter from Pandoorung Rao Sudu Sheo (Pandurang Rao Sadashiv) to Taee Baee (Tai Bai) of Jaloun (Jalaun), Luckmee Bace (Lakshmi Bai) of Jhansi, Ali Bahadoor (Bahadur) of Banda, dated Calpee (Kalpi), 17th Rujjab (Rajab), corresponding with 4th March 1858.

On Friday the 2nd *Budee* of *Fagoon* (*Badi* of *Phagun*) a battle was fought at Churkharee, so that Raj Sree Ramchund Pandoorung Topee rushed in and gained a victory on that date. In honor of this victory a salute of 22 guns was fired. You are also requested to fire a salute on this happy event.[2]

BANDA NAWAB TAKES DEFENSIVE MEASURES AGAINST THE ENGLISH

Translation of a letter in Mahratta (Marathi) from Ali Buhadoor (Ali Bahadur), Nawab of Banda, to . . . . . , dated Banda 20th Rujub (Rajab), corresponding with 7th March 1858.

After compliments—I received a letter of Sreemunt Nana Sahib Bahadoor to the address of Sreemunt Raj Sree Narain Rao and sent it through a *Hurkurnah* to Tirohan.

I will furnish you with an answer thereto, when received. It may be presumed that instructions regarding the arrangements of the Rajapore[3] Ghat are contained in the above letter as requested in my *Urzee*.

[1] Parliamentary Papers : "*The Native Princes of India*: 1860, *Chirkaree*," No. 18, Pp. 73-4.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 644, Pp. 62-3. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] *Rajapur*, Tahsil *Mau*, District *Banda*—Also called *Majhgawan*, a town on the banks of the Jumna, lying in 25° 23′ N. and 81° 12′ E, distant

I am so well aware of the transactions of Nana Sahib that I can write to you his sentiments. I hope you have taken into consideration the representations of Rao Jee Chowdha *Jamadar*. As great disturbances may occur in making arrangements relating to Rajapore and Mow without the receipt of orders, it has become necessary for me to take such steps as may prevent such occurrence. Settlements regarding Chilla Tara and other *Ghats* have been satisfactorily made by me, I feel most anxious for an interview with the Maharaj, but as the Rajahs and Chiefs of this place suggest that there is every probability of the coming of the Europeans in the day-time or at night by the roads of Rajapore etc., I do not think it advisable for me to leave my place of residence even for a moment.

Tanteea Topee has distinguished himself in the battle of Churkharee under the auspices of the Sreemunt Maharaj—a fact which promises a speedy reduction of the fort—so that I hope that amongst the *Sirdars* I shall be reckoned by the *Sirkar* as victorious, brave and effective. The conquest of Churkharee will place the *Sirkar* in early possession of all the states in Bundelkund.

I am constantly offering up prayers to God for the *Sirkar's* prosperity in which my welfare consists.

You are always kind to this family. I owe my prosperity and honor to the *Sirkar*. An order of the *Sirkar* issued to me under date the 8th *Fagoon* is to the effect that whatever I should have to do, I must do according to its instructions; that I need not be sorry in my respect as all will be right, under the auspices of the Maharajah's ancestors and that I should keep up the arrangements which I have made of this place. This order has set my mind at ease. I have communicated to you, as above, whatever I had to say relating to this place.

I am ready to act up to whatever instructions may be received from *Sirkar*.[1]

55 miles from Banda and 18 miles from Karwi, with both of which it is connected by unmetalled roads. It lies close to the Kamasin border. Rajapur was once one of the largest commercial marts in Bundelkhand, especially for cotton and stone, which used to be conveyed by boat to Allahabad, Mirzapur and Patna. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, Vol. XXI, 1909, p. 284).

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Cons. No. 645, Pp. 63-5. National Archives, New Delhi.

BISWAS RAO LACHHMAN TO PAY 40,000 RUPEES

Translation of a letter from Tantea Topee (Tatya Tope) to the Peshwa Sahib, dated Chirkaree (Charkhari), 23rd Rujub (Rajab), corresponding with 10th March 1858.

Your letter of the 27th* reached me and made me acquainted with its contents.

In reply, I beg to state that three lakhs of Rupees should be demanded from the Rajah of Chirkharee. I have written in my former letter to you that I had received an *Urzee* from him.

I solicit orders of the *Sirkar* to make arrangements of the fort etc. I have sent guns etc. under the charge of Baman Rao Josee (Vaman Rao Joshi).

I had determined on sending Raja Bhao of Sikenderah with Raja Roop Sing, Nirunjun Sing(Niranjan Singh), Mouhur Sing (Mauhar Singh), a circumstance about which I formerly wrote to you, but now I am sending him with Josee (Joshi).

The fact that the *Sirkar* has caused Biswas Rao Luchmun of Jaloun to enter into an engagement to pay forty thousand Rupees, has been very satisfactory.

A saddle horse is required by the Maharaja, but no suitable one can be found here.

The Phalkeewala Elephant has been sent with the 18-pounders. As I have already stated to you I am ready to act up to whatever orders may be issued to me.[1]

CHARKHARI RAJA IMPRISONED AND TOWN BURNT

Translation of a letter from the Peshwa Sahib, i.e., Pandoorung Rao Suda Sheo (Pandurang Rao Sadashiv) to Tantea Topee (Tatya Tope), dated 16th Chyte (Chait), 1914 Sumbut (Samvat), corresponding with 17th March 1858.

A letter of Balwunt Rao Josee (Balwant Rao Joshi) has arrived here to-night from Jalalpore. It states that Chirkaree has been conquered, the Raja imprisoned and the Town sacked and burnt. I have heard with much gratification of these events. You have displayed such gallantry that I cannot adequately praise it.

*"N. B. The month (*sic*,—name) of the month not given". Note in the original.

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 646, Pp. 65-6. National Archives, New Delhi.

As no letter from you announcing the victory above alluded to, has been received no salute has been fired. If the services of Luchmun Rao Bhao, who has come to you, be not required, send him here, as he will have to render accounts which I cannot understand in his absence; the transaction to which those accounts relate have been done by him. Do not fail to write the particulars about the victory.[1]

BANPUR AND SHAHGARH

BANPUR RAJA PREPARES FOR DEFENCE

Abstract of Intelligence, 10th February 1858.

The *Bazaar* of Lullutpore (Lalitpur) has been plundered. The Chief of Baunpore (Banpur) is reported to have secured all the corn within his *Eltaka* and to have removed it to Tall Baihut (Tal Behat) and Chundeyree. All the corn that was stored in Maholee[2] has also been removed. The Chief collected all his *Thakoors* and told them that he was their well-wisher. If they wished to deliver him to the British authorities he was ready to meet their wishes. All the *Thakoors* took oaths to side with him and expressed their readiness to fight to the last. Maheyput Singh (Mahipat Singh), the *Thakoor* of Jaklon, immediately went to Malthone with about 1200 men. The Chief himself is at Balee[3] with 5 or 6 thousand men.

The Chief of Shahgurh is still in his Capital.

The authorities at Tehree have made every arrangement regarding the *Dawk* and have sent some supplies for the British Camp to Buragong[4] (Baragaon).[5]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 647, p. 66. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Maholi*—A village in Pargana *Basoda*, Zila *Bhilsa* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 23° 56′ latitude N. and 77° 51′ longitude E. with an area of 2108 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 195).

[3] This place may be *Palee*, near *Isagarh* in the Old *Gwalior State*.

[4] Apparently *Baragaon*, Tahsil *Jhansi*, District *Jhansi*—A small town in 25° 28′ and 78° 47′ on the high-road from Jhansi to Cawnpore, at a distance of nine miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 240).

[5] Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1858, No. 42. National Archives, New Delhi.

ACTIVITIES OF CHIEFS OF BANPUR AND SHAHGARH

Abstract of Intelligence from Tehree (*Tehri*), 11*th February* 1858.

The Rajah of Banpoor is at Palee, regrets of what he has done. Extremely desirous of being pardoned; being driven to despair resolves to fight. Chowdree Khait Singh left Jhansie for Banpoor. Lalloo Buxee (Lalu Bakhshi) with 2,000 men and two guns left Jhansie and is encamped at Bichore to retard the progress of British force moving towards Seepree (Sipri). The family of the Rajah of Banpoor and the two elephants taken near Raatgurh are at Tal Bhait (Tal Behat).

The Chief of Banpoor gave Khanilasa[1] in *Jaghir* to Maheep Singh who plundered it. It is rumoured here that Gudda Kotta[2] has been reoccupied by the British forces. Shagurh (Shahgarh) is evacuated. The Chief of Shagurh (Shahgarh) has gone to Seraee to meet the Chief of Banpoor. *Hurkaras* from Tehree were arrested at Seraee, letters were taken and returned after being read. The *Hurkaras* on being released were told that all the passes from Narait to Heerapoor[3] were watched and none will be allowed to carry letters to Saugor. There are about 3,000 men at this place; two *Hurkaras* going from Saugor were murdered.

CHIEFS OF BANPUR AND SHAHGARH CONFER

Hurkaras from Duttia (Datia) saw the Chief of Shagurh and Banpoor at Seraee consulting together. The *Thakoors* of Cholaira with 50 men were watching the pass of Kokurgong (Kukargaon). A strong party of Jhansie troops attacked them and killed about two or three men, then they went to Bharrupoora under Orcha and plundered the house of the *Zemindar*. On the receipt of this information, Dalput Singh proceeded to the village and succeeded in turning out the rebels. The casualties on both sides amount to 12 men. A strong party of the insurgents under Junnoo Bhave and other

[1] Appears to have been spelt for *Khimlasa*.
[2] Apparently spelt for *Garhakota*.
[3] *Hirapur*—A village in the *Banda* Tahsil, 47 miles north of *Saugor* on the Cawnpore road. (*Central Provinces District Gazetteers*, Saugor District, 1907, p. 234).

Pundits have left Garotha with the intention of plundering Mhow. The villages of Seeansared, Chokara, Bahmoree, and Dhamakur (or Dhooakur) bordering on Mhow are surrounded by the rebels. Two men from Mhow were arrested by the insurgents and their noses slit.

PESHWA (RAO SAHIB) AT NAIGOVAN ?

Lalla Duleep Singh commander of Tehrolee[1] reports on the 13th that the insurgents under Peshwa have reached Naigovan[2]. The detachments of these insurgents are seen in the following villages viz., Ooldun[3], Bijehgurh, Baitha, Mhow, Baunda Seraee, Surssinda Garotha, Dhamakur, Lachna, Seeawaree[4]. Pundit Junnoo Bhaeea (Bhave) with some guns is encamped at the village of Kovra, which is quite close to Tehrolee; an action is soon expected to take place with them.

Lalla Bholey reports on the same day from Baitha *Chowkies* that about 4,000 men have been collected at Seeawaree. 4,000 men with four guns are at Dhamakur; one by name Gunput (Ganpat) Rao under the Peshwa has also come in with 2 *Pultuns* and the guns yesterday; they were encamped at Luchora[5]. The *Thakoor* of Baitha and the sons of the *Jaghirdar* of Alleepoora[6] have joined the rebels at Dhamakur. The former has one gun and the latter two guns with 500 Footmen ; the whole force amounts to about 12,000 men with 12 guns. The insurgents at Dhamakur intend attacking Mhow on the 15th instant.

[1] Apparently *Taraoli*—A village in Pargana *Aron Jagir*, Zila *Isagarh* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 24° 28′ Latitude N. and 77° 35′ Longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, Village list, p. 179).

[2] Apparently in old *Panna State* near *Chhatarpur*.

[3] *Uldan*, Tahsil *Mau*, District *Jhansi*—A village in 24° 23′ N. and 79° 3′ E., 14 miles north-west of Mau. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 322).

[4] Apparently *Siawari*—A village in Pargana *Gird Gwalior*, Zila *Gird Gwalior* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 25° 13′ latitude N. and 78° 26′ longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 16).

[5] *Lahchura*, Tahsil *Mau*, District *Jhansi*—Lahchura Ghat or the Ghat Lahchura is a village lying in 25° 19′ N. and 79° 18′ E., on the banks of the Dhasan river, distant 50 miles from Jhansi and ten miles from Mau. It is connected with Mau on one side and with the town of Rath on the other by an unmetalled road; and over the river there is a public ferry managed by the District Board. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 286).

[6] *Alipura* between *Naugaon* and *Harpalpur*.

TATYA TOPE ASKS FOR SUBMISSION FROM TEHRI OFFICIALS

Rajdhur Bhola Nath submits a letter received from the insurgents to the following effect viz.

"You have established your *Thanas* within the Jhansie, Mhow and Saugor districts which is highly improper; you are requested to make over those places to the Jhansie authorities on the very receipt of this letter. Should you delay in doing so measures will be undertaken to effect what you are requested to do. Answer this letter soon". This letter is written by Tantia Ramchund Pandoorung Topey to Rajdhur Bholanath a functionary of Tehree and is dated 9th February 1858.

15*th February* :—The news of the fall of Gudra Nath[1] is confirmed; a letter received from Mahrolee[2] states that insurgents stationed at Malthone bolted from that place on hearing that the British forces were advancing towards them. But the following villages were plundered by them viz.

Baitha, Bungunja, Kaithrion, Bithora, all under Mahrolee and Lullutpoor districts. The Chief of Banpoor left Seraee, but his destination is not known.

ATTACK ON MHOW

Dabee Row *Hurkara* (Devi Rao *Harkara*) who was sent to collect information regarding the movement of the insurgents states that he saw near Chakaree (probably Charkhari) about six or seven thousand rebels with four guns. Two of these guns are at Bahmoree one at Chakaree and one at Pirthipoor[3]. Two Regiments are soon expected, Kaseenath Bhaeea was reported to have gone to bring them in. Lalla Doorgpurshaud (Durga Prasad) of Jhansie, Jumoo Bhaeea and Bala Bhow are at the head of

[1] Apparently *Gadra*—A village in Pargana *Gohad*, Zila *Tomwarghat* at 26° 28′ Latitude N. and 78° 20′ Longitude E. with an area of 602 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 50).

[2] Apparently *Mahroni*, Pargana and Tahsil *Mahroni*, District *Jhansi*—The headquarters of the tahsil of the same name lies in 24° 35′ N. and 78° 45′ E. It is connected by unmetalled roads with Banpur, 9 miles, Sonjna, 10 miles and Narhat, 18 miles; and with Madaora, 17 miles, by a metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 296).

[3] Apparently *Pirthipura*—A village in Pargana *Nimach*, Zila *Mandasor* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 24° 15′ Latitude N. and 74° 54′ Longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 295).

the rebels, great many Pooars (Powars) have also joined the rebels; an attack on Mhow is said to take place without delay. Peshwa's troops are reported to be encamped at Rath and Punwaree. The following notice dated 27th *Jamadeeool Sanee* (*Jamadi-us-Sani*) has been sent to the people of Mhow by Tantia Topey.

NOTICE

Be it known to all the *Zemindars* of Mhow that on the 16th Feby. the force under me will halt at your village. You are thereby requested to collect supplies sufficient for 25,000 men and four Batteries; should you fail in this you will be punished.

The *Zemindars* of the village of Jewara[1] reported that the forces of the Mahrattas have reached Magurdora one *Kos* from this; some of them came to our village to lift cattle but proving (*sic*,) to their absence did not succeed. Now they intend plundering the village.[2]

TATYA TOPE SENDING TROOPS TO TEHRI TO OPPOSE THE ENGLISH

Abstract Translation of a letter from Ramchund Pandoorung Topee (*Ramchand Pandurang Tope*) *to.....dated Chirkari* (*Charkhari*), *14th Buddee of Fagoon* (*Badi of Phagun*), *or 12th February* 1858.

Stating that a conflict has been going on at Chirkari, that the troops of the Political Agent have arrived at Tehree and that the writer has determined on sending to the latter place the troops of the *Sircar* as well as of the Chiefs of Shahgurh and Banpore.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES APPROACHING TEHRI

Extract of a private letter dated Tehree (*Tehri*), *15th February* 1858.

The insurgents are daily gaining ground and proceeding

[1] Apparently *Jewara*, Zila *Gird Gwalior* 26° 14′ N., 78° 10′ E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 8).

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, Nos. 130-33. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 637, p. 57. National Archives, New Delhi.

towards this place. Every one here is much disheartened on account of the approaching storm which will burst on them, none here can check its progress. We are all in danger.[1]

CHIEFS OF SHAHGARH AND BANPUR NEAR DHAMONI

Abstract of Intelligence from Tehree (Tehri), dated 21st Feby. 1858.

Just now Lalla Daleep Singh an inhabitant of Tehree who was at Dhamonee[2] came to me and stated that he left Dhamonee day before yesterday at 9 A. M.; till then the Chiefs of Shahgurh and Banpoor were in a village about 6 miles to this side of Dhamonee, and had with them about 20,000 men and 6 guns. The Rajah of Shahgurh being disheartened was anxious to proceed to Saugor and to ask (for) forgiveness. But the *Thakoors* and other people round him and the Chief of Banpoor advised him not to do so. *The Thakoors of Chunderee, Shahgurh, and some from the Bijawar*[3] *district have taken an Oath to fight to the last.* Some of the Loodhies and Gonds that fled from Ghurrakota with the *Poorbeea* mutineers have also joined the Chiefs. The Banpoor Chief supplied them with gun caps, and cartridges which they were in want of. My informant also states that the Jhansee troops have also joined them. The elder son of the Rajah of Banpoor is in the capital with Choudree Khait Singh, his *Kamdar*.

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, Nos. 130-33. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Apparently *Dhamoni*—A village in the *Banda* Tahsil, 29 miles north of Saugor. (*Central Provinces District Gazetteers*, Saugor District, 1907, p. 224).

[3] The State of *Bijawar* was a sanad State under the Political Agent in *Bundelkhand*. It was situated, roughly speaking, between 24° 18′ and 25° 1′ N., and 79° 0′ and 79° 57′ E.

Bijawar Town, Tahsil *Bijawar*—The chief town is situated in north latitude 24° 39′ and east longitude 79° 32′ at 1,200 feet above sea-level.

It is connected by a metalled road with the Banda-Saugor high road which it meets at Mahatgaon, 12 miles from the town. It is 40 miles from Harpalpur station on the Jhansi-Manikpur branch of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. It lies at the foot of a spur of the Panna range in rough hilly country.

In 1857 the widow of Khet Singh ruled as a regent to Bhan Pratap Singh who was then a minor. (*Eastern States*—Bundelkhand—*Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, 1907, Pp. 273, 277, 304).

SHAHGARH RAJA APPEALS FOR HELP TO TATYA TOPE

The Shahgurh Chief has ordered his *Soobadar* to go to Tantia Topey to ask for aid. The mutinous Chiefs wish to be pardoned or if not, they intend to fight to the last. If totally defeated at Dhamonee they intend to go to Jhansee. After the above was written another person came from Banpoor and stated that the Chiefs of Banpoor, Shahgurh, and Bijeyraghoghur yesterday left Dhamonee for Narhut[1]. I learn from Alipoora that Jeitpoor is in the possession of the Rebels. *Rao Bukhut Singh (Rao Bakht Singh) and his uncle Johar Singh joined the insurgents.* He has one gun. The *Pundit* of Kasheepoor[2] after paying 12,000 Rupees was released by the insurgents. One by name Gunput Rao with some troops from Jhansee has joined the insurgents in the vicinity of Chirkharee. On hearing that some of the British troops had advanced to the village of Parol, the Chiefs of Banpoor, Shahgurh and Bijeyraghoghur with their followers went out to meet them; an action took place in which 6 men from the British force were killed. The Chiefs had 4 men wounded. The Chiefs ordered their troops to retire to their encamping ground, they themselves remained encamped near the Lake of Dhamonee.[3]

DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER AREAS

MARTAND RAO TATYA ACTING FOR THE NANA

Telegraphic Message from the Political Assistant for Bundlecund (Bundelkhand) to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, dated Panna, the 16th January 1858.

Martand Rao Tanda[4] *Sabah*, supposed to be the nephew

[1] *Narhat*, Pargana *Madaora*, Tahsil *Mahroni*, District *Jhansi*—A large, village, lying in 24° 25′ N. and 78° 33′ E., immediately at the foot of the Vindhyan Hills, 22 miles south of Lalitpur and two miles from Guna on the Lalitpur-Saugor road, with which it is connected by a branch metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 312).

[2] *Kashipur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Rath*—A considerable village lying on the banks of the Dhasan river in 25° 22′ N. and 79° 20′ E. It is 18 miles distant from Rath on the unmetalled road from that place to Mau-Ranipur in the Jhansi district, and four miles from Lahchura-ghat where the Dhasan is crossed by a ferry. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, p. 186).

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, No. 135. National Archives, New Delhi.

[4] Spelt for 'Tatya'.

of the blood-thirsty Nana, and Jonwardan Rao[1], have addressed a letter to Sirdar Singh, *Jageerdar* or[2] Lagassee, calling upon him to send supplies of money and men for the Nana's troops in course of collection at Calpee, the latter (*sic*,-letter) dated Calpee, *Magh Buddie* (*Magh Badi*) 4th, or 3rd January, containing two inclosures from Sucha Singh, Shamsee Khan, Subdhars[3], and Mirza Rahemit (Rahmat) Beg *Subah*, to the Jagriditen[4], all of which, on receipt, were duly made over to Mr. Carnegy, Chirkarie (Charkhari).[5]

ENGLISH FORCES ARRIVE AT GHATAMPUR AND APPEAR IN THE DIRECTION OF HAMIRPUR

Abstract Translation of a letter from Naroo Ramchund Atowlee (Naru Ramchandra Athavle) (The name of the Addressee not traceable), dated Humeerpoor (Hamirpur), 2nd Soodee of Maugh (Sudi of Magh), 1914 Sumbut (Samvat), corresponding with 17th January 1858.

States that European soldiers and the Sikhs have arrived at Ghatumpore at the request of the *Tehsildar* of that place; that the European soldiers have appeared also in the direction of Hummeerpore, that he (the writer) heard from his sowars etc., that they had met at midnight at the Ghat (of Hummeerpore) Sree Jee Rao, a Brahmin, and Gobind Rao (who were present there as Agents of the Chief of Chuttercote[6]) and had been given to understand by the said Sree Jee Rao and Gobind Rao that the European soldiers would come at night to Hummeerpore.[7]

REWARDS FOR THE CAPTURE OF MARTAND RAO TATYA AND OTHERS

Telegraphic Message from the Political Assistant for Bundlecund (Bundelkhand), to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, dated Panna, January 19, 1858.

In continuation of telegram of day before yesterday,

[1] Appears to have been spelt for 'Janardan Rao'.
[2] 'or' has been wrongly written for 'of'.
[3] Apparently spelt for 'Subahdars'.
[4] Appears a wrong spelling of some name.
[5] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 3 in No. 3, p. 73.
[6] Apparently spelt for *Chitrakut* in *Banda* District.
[7] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 623, p. 44. National Archives, New Delhi.

reports having offered rewards as follows, for the arrest of the undermentioned rebels, the papers regarding which have been forwarded by *dawk*—Martand Rao Tanda (Tatya), supposed to be the nephew of the Nana, styling himself *Soobah*, in the service of the Peshwa Tanardin[1], Rao Amree, styling himself *Soobah*, in the service of the Peshwa, Miohern Begg[2], *Soubahdar* Shamshere Khan[3], *Soubahdar* Jacha Singh[4], *Soubahdar* of the late Mehidpore Contingent Mahomed Irak Meer in the service of the Tanda (Tatya).[5]

REQUISITION OF HELP FROM KOTA SENT TO NANA SAHIB

Translation of a letter from Heera Sing (Hira Singh) inhabitant of Mohul residing at Kotah, Tilla Hurwuttee[6], to Nana Sahib Peishwa, dated 15th Soodee (Sudi) of Maugh (Magh) (without year), corresponding with 29th January 1858.

The European soldiers who are in Malwa etc., are to the number of about one hundred and fifty or one hundred and seventy five and those who are in Jeypore, Ajmere etc., do not exceed the number of one hundred and fifty.

If you cause the Rajas etc., to side with you and to afford me assistance, the affairs of this place will be arranged in a short time, and I will obtain reward. There is every hope of this country being cleared of the Europeans.

If the troops of the *Sircar* come to this country where there are very few Europeans, the settlement of its affairs will be easily effected.

I have therefore to state that if a small body of troops be sent here, this country will be conquered under the auspices of the *Sircar*. I beg to inform you that the troops of the Cantonment at Morar are desirous of joining us with their guns.

List of the names of the Officers, Bankers, etc., who are desirous of joining the Peishwa :—

[1] Correct name appears to be 'Janardin'.

[2] Appears a wrong spelling of some 'name'.

[3] This name has been spelt as 'Shamsee Khan' in Inclo. 3 in No. 3. p. 73, Further Papers (No. 8).

[4] 'Jacha Singh' has been spelt as 'Sacha Singh' in Inclo. 3 in No. 3. p. 73, Further Papers (No. 8).

[5] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 4 in No. 3, p. 74.

[6] Apparently spelt for *Tila Harwati*.

Ressaldars etc., of the Regiments of Cavalry at Morar viz.

Of the 1st Regiment

Kurreamoollah Khan (Karimullah Khan).
Hindoo Sing.
Bhorejee Naik.
Soobah Sing[1].
Daveepersaud (Devi Prasad), *Jemadar.*

Of the 2nd Regiment

Sahib Khan.
Osman Khan (Usman Khan).
Purshad.

Native Officers of the Regiments of Infantry

Loll Pandey, *Soobedar* (Lal Pandey *Subedar*).
Bugroo, *Soobadar.*
Doorga Singh, *Jemadar* (Durga Singh *Jamadar*).
Bhubanee Sing, *Soobadar* (Bhawani Singh *Subedar*).

Majors viz.

Oodee Patuck (Udai Pathak).
Oordee[2] (or drum major) of the Regiment.

Bankers etc.

Byas (Vyas) Jeo, the *Gomashta* or agent of Saroop Chund Soodh Hurrun at Jhansi.
Lalchund Not (Nath) Kurrun.

Ihabitants (Inhabitants) of Jalaon residing in the Cantonments viz.

Damoodur Parusram (Damodar Parsuram).
Sooruthram Nathram (Suratram Nathram).
Sheonath Buldeo.
Unoop Chund Moolchund (Anup Chand Mulchand).
Gunneshee das Krishna Jee (Ganeshi Das Krishna Ji).

REVOLUTIONARIES RAISE MONEY

I beg to inform you that three lakhs of rupees have been

[1] Appears to have been spelt for 'Shobha Singh'.
[2] Perhaps stands for 'wardi' (Dress).

raised here from the individuals who have invested the same in your promissory notes (of hand) for the sake of interest so that all the affairs will be arranged in the course of eight days. It is desirable that the troops should come by the low road of Mahoona[1], so that I request you will be pleased to depute an Officer, or any of your confidential men to the troops that he may instruct them to march through that road. Your presence here is also desirable. The inmates of the fort and all the workmen etc., are ready at your service.[2]

BAGHELAS OFFER SUPPORT TO NANA SAHEB

Translation of a letter from Maha Raj Kowur Lall Dhurey Sing to Nana Sahib, dated 3rd Soodee of Fagoon (Sudi of Phagun), 1914 Sumbut (Samvat), corresponding with the 16th February 1858.

After compliments—I fell out with the Political Agent on account of my religion. You are now the defender of the faith. We, i.e. all the Bughalas, are on your side to defend the religion.

If you summon us, holding out assurances we will all wait upon you and execute whatever orders may be issued to us.

I beg you will consider the representations which Sree Chundail Pulwen Sing will make to you as made by me.

I hope you will be pleased to furnish me with accounts of your good health from time to time.

The affairs of this place are of the same nature as before.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES GUARD BUNDELKHAND FERRIES

Abstract of a letter from Alee Bahadoor (Ali Bahadur) to Rao Sahib, the nephew of the Nana Peishwa, dated 4th Rujub (Rajab), 1274 A. H. from Beuha, corresponding with 19th February 1858.

After reporting that all is well and that the Chilla Tara Ghat and other Ferries are properly protected add as follows:

[1] *Mahona*—A village in Pargana *Pichhor*, Zila *Gird Gwalior* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 26° 4′ Latitude N. and 78° 26′ Longitude E. with an area of 787 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part III, 1908, p. 12).

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 625, Pp. 45-7. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 639, Pp. 59-60. National Archives, New Delhi.

For the protection of Alejapoor and other Ferries to the East ward I have written to the Bhao Sahib and Rao Sahib of Tirohan, and an answer has been received saying that they have made arrangements for watching the Ferries.[1]

GWALIOR FORCES OFFER TO JOIN THE PESHWA

Abstract Translation of a letter from Naroo Puthel (Naru Patel or Patil) a Mahratta, to.....,dated Madhowgarh (Madhogarh), 9th Soodee of Fagoon (Sudi of Phagun), Sumbut (Samvat) 1914, or 22nd February 1858.

States that he has come to Madhowgurh and that the troops at Gwalior have sent a message expressing their wish to join the Force of the Maharaja (Peishwa).[2]

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN REWA

Letter from Sreekrishen Chunder (Shri Krishna Chandra) to Kakajee, No. 13, this day only (Chait Badi 2nd, Samvat 1914, corresponding with 1st March 1858).

Abstract:

The connection with Peshwa is a very important matter. I like it well. I have *Pundit* to write a letter; you are my master for victory and defeat, and I agree to whatever you fix, but recollect whatever your ancestors got they got from the Dukhnis (Dakhinies) (i. e. the Peshwas); hence you are not trusted; therefore, whatever you do, do carefully. Ensure yourself this way, get six lakhs now, two lakhs keep yourself, give 4 to me. I will entertain men here; you do so where you are; Ajoodhia Sing and Dulthumnson (Dal Thummun) Sing I send only on this account to you; think over this; this is the only trustworthy way; the money and treasure can be placed at Sumurreea[3] or Setuluta[4] or Bandhogurh[5] I am firm; only

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 618, p. 39. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ibid.*, Cons. No. 642, p. 61. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Apparently *Umaria*, Tahsil *Sohagpur*, Old *Rewah State*—Town and centre of the coal fields, situated in 23° 31′ N. and 80° 55′ E., 1,500 feet above the sea. (*Rewah State Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, 1907, p. 104).

[4] Apparently *Sitlaha*, Tahsil *Teonthar*, Old *Rewah State*—A village on the right bank of the river Tons, 20 miles east of Dabhaura on the Teonthar road, situated in 24° 57′ N., and 81° 36′ E. (*Rewah State Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, 1907, p. 103).

[5] *Bandhogarh*, Tahsil *Ramnagar*, Old *Rewah State*—The old capital situa-

once give me confidence and I am firm; you have decided you say; on what can you confide, except the money down (*sic*,). Do you not know these Dukhnis? I will write as you say, but keep the letter by you, and when you are satisfied send it on. I am going to Bandhogurh; within 15 days Banda will be taken (*Banda Chutega*); a force will then probably come to Chittercote; wherefore I will provide for this matter thence. If a force does not come that way I will write to you from Govindgurh[1]. Do you do as I tell you. I trust to you to manage everything. If any body speak[2] ill of me to you, do not believe him, I write by the advice of all.

Remarks :

The *Pundit* at first thought this was from the Bijeyraghogurh Rajah, but on reading the subsequent correspondence, there can be no doubt that Sreekrishen Chunder, one of the Rewah Rajah's received names, is the cant name by which he is indicated in these letters. This will be more clearly seen from the letters below, also bearing the name of Sreekrishen Chunder, which the internal evidence, or the full length address, leaves no doubt were addressed to the Rewah Rajah, or written by him.

"Bandhogurh" is, I am told, the family stronghold of the Rewah Rajahs; it is singularly difficult of access and very jealously guarded. No one is allowed to go there who is not in the Rajah's confidence. I believe it has not been visited by any European, but I am not sure that one of

ted in the south-east of the State in 23° and 40′ N., and 81° and 3′ E. It is a place of considerable archaeological and historical importance. The fort stands on a hill 2,632 feet above sea-level, and consists in fact of two hills, the Bamnia hill close by being also enclosed by a rampart and considered as part of the fort. (*Rewah State Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, 1907, p. 90).

[1] *Govindgarh* Town, Tahsil *Huzur*, Old *Rewah State*—Situated on the edge of the Kaimur scarp, 1,200 feet above sea-level in 24° 22′ N., and 81° 23′ E. Govindgarh is a favourite summer resort of the chief on account of its fine position on the edge of the range, affording a magnificent view over the forest-clad region below, and the sport to be had in the adjoining forest reserve. The surroundings are most picturesque. The chief has a palace in the town. A large lake is situated here. (*Rewah State Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, 1907, p. 94).

[2] The correct word should have been 'Speaks'.

Messrs.[1] Schlazenthwart[2] did not succeed in obtaining admission.[3]

BRITISH FORCES DEFEATED AT MADANPUR

Abstract of Intelligence.

DUTTIAH (DATIA)

A man who had gone to Jhansee from Duttiah, reports that Chowdree Khait Singh of Banpoor, reports that the Shahgurh Chief defeated the British forces at Muddunpore[4]; did not allow them to cross the Pass. The Scindiah's troops that were advancing upon Chunderee adopted the cause of religion. And the British Column proceeding *via* Eesagurh was repulsed and driven back. The authorities at Duttiah have been written to by the rebels to make over the districts of Damoh and Moth to them.[5]

BRITISH TROOPS ARRIVE AT CHANDERI

Abstract Translation of a letter from Gunnesh Murtand (Ganesh Martand) to Gopal Rao, dated Esagurh (Isagarh), 6th Buddee of Fagoon (Badi of Phagun), or 4th February 1858.

States that the British troops in two separate Divisions have arrived at Lullutpore (Lalitpur) and Chundeyree (Chanderi), and that a battle has been commenced,—and that the said troops will shortly march on Jhansi and Calpee.[6]

[1] Perhaps the abbreviated form of 'messengers'.

[2] Name not clearly decipherable.

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, Pp. 517-8. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[4] *Madanpur*, Pargana *Madaora*, Tahsil *Lalitpur*, District *Jhansi*—A village lying in 24° 15′ N. and 78° 43′ E., 39 miles south—south-east of Lalitpur with which it is connected by an unmetalled road which branches off the Saugor road at Guna : it is also connected by an unmetalled road with Madaora. The village is most picturesquely situated at the narrowest point of one of the easiest passes through the Vindhyans, and close to a large tank of Chandel origin which covers 67 acres. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 293).

[5] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, No. 145. National Archives, New Delhi.

[6] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 631, p. 53. National Archives, New Delhi.

BRITISH ADVANCE ON CHANDERI

Translation of a letter from Tanteea Topee (Tatya Tope) alias Ramchund Pandurung (Ramchand Pandurang) to the Peshwa Saheb, dated Chirkaree (Charkhari), 12th Buddee of Fagoon (Badi of Phagun), 1914 Sumbut (Samvat), corresponding with 10th February 1858.

A camel-rider brought your letter dated 23rd *Rujub*, and I learnt its contents.

In reply, I beg to intimate to you the following circumstances viz.

1*st*—That the news-writer having ascertained the state of affairs at Saugor, writes, that a letter under date the 9th *Buddee* of *Fagoon* (7th February) received from Jhansie, states that the people of Banpore and Shahgurh, having erected Batteries, fought against the enemy, and that the European soldiers carried those Batteries and advanced as far as Chundeyree (Chanderi), from which place they are coming in this direction. I have deputed to Etawa, Rajah Bhao of Sikendurah, who was ordered to that place by the *Sirkar*. He will sound the disposition of the people thereof. Proper arrangements should be made for the reception of the person whom he will conduct to this place.

2*nd*—I have sent ten guns under the charge of Bamun (Vaman) Rao Josee (Joshi). The carriages for those guns require to be repaired. I hope therefore that you will issue orders for their repairs.

3*rd*—According to the orders of the *Sirkar* I have, through the *Vakeel*, issued instructions to the chiefs and sepoys regarding the Rajah of Chirkaric, but as the chiefs and sepoys are at variance with each other, I will, according to the instructions of the *Sirkar*, issue orders to them to-day, or to-morrow morning.

PLANS OF TATYA TOPE TO CHECK EUROPEANS

4*th*—After arranging the affairs of Chirkaric, I will proceed quickly from this side with troops and guns, while you should, after rendering assistance to the people of Banpore and Shahgurh, make such arrangements as may put a stop to the progress of the European soldiers.

5*th*—It is stated in the letter from Jhansie, that the Europeans have come as far as Chundeyree; but Rao

Doondurce the *Vakeel* of the Chief of Banpore on being asked, said that no such information had been received by him.

TATYA TOPE SEEKS MONETARY HELP

6*th*—The sepoys are in great distress, being short of money. I beg therefore that you will be pleased to re-issue orders for their pay, and remit such kind of Rupees that they (the sepoys) may not incur a loss in exchanging them. I also beg of you to send treasure, as early as possible, laden in carts, under the charge of Bamun Rao Josee.

7*th*—The 18-pounders cannot be drawn by any other elephants, but the Phalkiawala; I have therefore kept the latter here. The guns etc., which exceeded our wants, have been sent under the care of Bamun Rao Josee.

8*th*—I have learnt whatever you have written regarding Lucknow. As you have stated that your troops will march on Etawa, and that the troops of the Chiefs of Bareilly are coming to Furruckabad, and that I should therefore assist their followers etc., in crossing the river at the Jugmunpore[1] Ghat, and depute to the district of Etawa, Nirunjun Singh (Niranjan Singh), Rana Mahinder Singh and Rajah Roop Singh with two Companies of troops, a gun and sowars, I beg to say that I have already intimated to you that I will depute Nirunjun Singh and Roop Singh who are here; the result of the adoption of a measure determined on by all parties must be good.

9*th*—I have already stated that Chutta[2] Singh seems biassed (*sic*, biased) in favor (favour) of the Rajah. I request therefore that such a strict *Purwana* may be addressed to me that I may by virtue of that *Purwana* issue positive injunction to him that he may not pursue any course against us.

10*th*—I deputed, yesterday, Marootee Haojrah (Probably

[1] *Jagamanpur*, Tahsil *Jalaun*, District *Jalaun*—The capital of the jagir of the same name lies in 26° 25′ N. and 79° 15′ E., not far from the junction of the Sindh river with Jumna in the extreme north-west of the district. It is distant 32 miles from Orai and 19 miles from Jalaun, with the latter of which it is connected by an unmetalled road: it is also connected with Madhogarh by an unmetalled road *via* Rampura. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 150).

[2] Correct name appears to be 'Chhattra Singh'.

Hazuria) to you. He will verbally communicate all other particulars to ycu.

11*th*—I have written whatever is noticeable, and omitted, of course, whatever is useless. All our affairs will brighten under your auspices.

REVOLUTIONARIES DIFFER AS REGARDS MEASURES AGAINST CHARKHARI FORT

12*th*—The troops here are at variance with each other. Some arc of opinion that the fort should be caused to be evacuated, while Chutta Singh and others say, that, "as the Rajah solicits our protection by putting a straw between his teeth, we will not storm the fort". The refusal of these persons to attack the fort, withholds the Rajah from siding with us. Under these circumstances, I wished the troops to return to Calpee (Kalpi), but they do not conform to my wish.

In consequence of the different opinions of the troops, I shall be obliged first to try to make them all unanimous, and then to write to you that (*sic*, what) measures may be adopted.[1]

Letter from C. A. Stuart, Brigadier, Commanding, 1st Brigade Central India Field Force, to the Asstt. Adjutant General C. I. F. F., Camp Muszid Ghat en route to Jhansi, dated 21st March 1858 along with 4 enclosures :—

For the information of the Major-General Commanding C. I. F. F., I have the honor to *forward the documents as per margin* (given below) and to report the proceedings of this Brigade in connection with the capture of the Fort of Chandairee.*

2*nd*—The 1st Brigade C. I. F. F. strength as per

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 635, Pp. 54-7. National Archives, New Delhi.

* [1] Journal of the siege of Chandairee and Memo descriptive of the Fort with sketch and plan.

[2] Nominal Roll of officers and men killed and wounded during siege operations.

[3] List of ordnance and stores found in Fort.

[4] Report of Capt. Little, Commdg. left attack.

margin* (given below) reached Koorasee on the left bank of the river . . . . (illegible) and about 8 miles distant from the Fort of Chandairee on the 5th March and having crossed the river without opposition encamped there. In the course of that afternoon Major Gall Commanding L. W., H. M.'s 14 L. D. accompanied by Captain Fenwick, Field Engineer and Captain Keatinge, Political Assistant, having proceeded in a reconnaissance was fired at by a picquet of the enemy at the Khooshee Ka Mahul, an old palace about a mile distant from the Fort of Chandairee. In the morning of the 6th March the Brigade marched and on arriving at the palace in question found that the picquet which occupied it the preceding day had fallen back upon a strong line of masonry defences which cover the Futtiabad outskirt of the town and having been reinforced held the same in strength, immediately attacked them having previously detached 2 bodies of Infantry, to turn both flanks of their works, the left flank attached, though made over most difficult ground, succeeded admirably and the enemy commenced to retreat. On moving up the main body of the Brigade to the Futtiabad Gate which was about the centre of the position I found that the enemy had all fled precipitately to the Fort. Accordingly I encamped the Brigade near to the Gate in question, until a plan of operation against the Fort should be determined on. In the afternoon of that day Captain Fenwick in company with Captain Keatinge, P. A., made a further reconnaissance and their reports determined me on moving the Brigade the next morning near to the village of Ramnugger, possession of which they had already secured. On the morning of the 7th March the Brigade marched in two columns, dislodging the Kutty Ghatty outpost of the enemy and clearing the whole approach to that part of the Fort against which the Field Engineer re-

	Rank and file.	
* L. W. H. M. 14 L. D.	110	
3d Regt. C. H. C.	183	
No. 6, F. B. R. A.	109	
No. 4, L. F. B.	40	
21 Coy. R. E.	103	
2 Coy. B. I. and M.	50	
H. M.'s 86 Regt.	517	of these 318 joined with Hdqr.
Det. 3d Ens. Regt.	64	on 16th March.
25 Regt. N. I.	813	including 150 recruits.
Total	1989	

commending (*sic*,) that trenching operations should be commenced. The description of the Fort of Chandairee and the Field Engineer's Journal of the siege herewith transmitted will explain to the Major-General the difficulties we had to encounter, not the least of which was experienced in conveying the siege pieces to the Batteries. From the 8th to the 16th March siege operations were steadily carried on, particulars of which will be found in the Journal already referred to. These operations extended over a longer period than was at first anticipated, but I beg to assure the Major-General that the delay in bringing matters to an issue was quite unavoidable. On the afternoon of the 16th March I received a favourable report of the trench from Field Engineer and immediately ordered that the assault should take place at day-break the follg. (following) morning 17th March; and that the troops should attack in the order named in the margin (here omitted). I also engaged that another attack to our left by escalade should be at the same time made by the troops marginally noted * (given in the footnote, under command of Captain Little 25 Regiment N. I. at the re-entering Angle of the Fort opposite to the Kutty Ghutty Pass. Captain Little I should mention had been in command of an outpost at this Pass from the time of our arrival before the Fort and had therefore had good opportunities of studying the ground and making his arrangements. I also caused another division in our favor to be made by a small body of Cavalry under command of Lieutenant Gowan H. M.'s 14th L. D. who moved out to the eastward of the Fort. I

* Marginal note in Original—

Advance party.

50 R. and F., H. M.'s 86 Regt. under an officer; 50 R. and F. 25 Regt. N. I. under an officer the senior to command the whole.

Column of Assault.

50 R. and F. 21 Company 7th R. E. under an officer carrying ladders and various implements H. M.'s 86 Regt. Column of Section R. in front. 25 Regt. N. I. Column of section R. in front.

Reserve.

50 R. and F. 21 Coy R. E.

2 Coy B. S. and M.

30 R. and F., H. M.'s 86 Regt. under an officer; 70 R. and F. 25 Regt. do—the senior to command Capt. Little's Columns.

100 R. and F., H. M.'s 86 Regt. under Lt. Lewis.

100 R. and F. 25 Regt. N. I. under Lieutt. Miles.

13 R. and F. 2 Coy. B. S. and M. under Lieutt. Gordon A. F. E.

opened a brisk fire when the assault took place shortly after 5 A. M. of the 17th March. The troops having formed up near the Breaching Battery with steadiness and silence which no one could fail to appreciate I gave the preconcerted signal for the assault viz. a salvo from all the siege pieces in position, which had been carefully laid for the head of the breach and the enemy's bastions. The storming party commanded by Lieutenant Germe, H. M.'s 86 Regiment, and accompanied by Lieutenant Forbes 25 Regt. N. I., Lieutenant Gossett Asstt. Field Engineer, and Captain Keatinge, P. A., moved steadily to the front, received a volley at the foot of the trench and with a cheer only for a reply dashed gallantly up 'A'. They were warmly received by the enemy but resolutely driving all before them at the point of the bayonet they made good the assault and their cheers soon told the whole Brigade how their brave conduct had been rewarded. The Column of assault quickly followed them and moving steadily across the Fort completely cleared that part of it, of the enemy who fled most precipitately throwing themselves headlong from the walls in many instances. Line was then formed to the left with three Companies of H. M.'s 86 Regiment in skirmishing order. Their line being prolonged to the right flank beyond skirmishers 25 Regt. N. I. also three Companies H. M.'s 86 Regiment as supports and the 25 Regt. N. I. as reserve, the Brigade swept down the plateau of the Fort which is of some extent. On nearing the palace where it was expected some stand would be made a gun opened on the line but the Grenadiers of H. M.'s 86 Regiment rushed to the front and instantly took the remainder of (them). The enemy then retreated from the Fort in precipitate flight in the direction by which I had every reason to believe they would encounter Captain Abbott's Cavalry. The miscarriage however of my letter to Captain Abbott in the previous evening admitted of their escape by that road to my very great regret as the Major-General is aware. The small body of Cavalry at my disposal, and the difficult nature of the country round Chandairee for Cavalry enabled me only to hold them in readiness to pursue as might be practicable. As however the enemy scattered in every direction mostly by twos and threes into thick jungle and hilly ground except in the direction by which I anticipated Captain Abbott would fall in with them I had no opportunity of using my Cavalry in pursuit.

3*rd*—I am happy to be able to state that the left attack

on the Fort of Chandairee under the Command of Captain Little 25th Regt. N. I. supported by Lieutenant Lewis H. M.'s 86 Regiment, Lieutenant Miles 25 Regiment N.I. and Lieutenant Gordon Asstt. Field Engr. was admirably carried out and I beg to forward Captain Little's report by which the Major-General will be able to see, how gallantly it was conducted and how well the troops concerned in it behaved.

4*th*— I regret to have to report the death of Lieutenant Monsley (not clearly decipherable), Royal Artillery, a most promising young officer, who was killed at the Breaching Battery on the 11th March whilst most gallantly performing his duty. The loss of H. M.'s 86 Regiment as the Major-General will perceive, has been severe. Seven men of this Regiment were unfortunately killed or wounded by the enemy exploding a Magazine regardless of their own fate. It has not been in my power to ascertain the loss of the enemy during these operations; after the Fort came into our possession 87 of their bodies were found and buried. Many newly made graves were also observable. I am therefore of opinion that their losses were much heavier than I at first anticipated.

5*th*— According to instructions received the Fort of Chandairee has been as much as possible dismantled, the guns and munitions of war have been disposed of as directed; also the stores of grain etc. and I have made over the Fort to the charge of the *Sir Sooba* of H. H. Scindia.

6*th*— I beg in conclusion to place on record how much I have been indebted to Captain Keatinge, Bombay Artillery and Asstt. to the Agent of the Governor General for Central India, throughout these operations. This officer joined me at Ragooghur (Raghogarh) and proved of the very greatest assistance to me in gaining information as to the enemy's movements and also in making me acquainted with all particulars as to the defences of the Fort of Chandairee. So anxious was he to verify his information that on two occasions immediately before the assault he examined the intermediate ground which is of a very difficult nature, from the Breaching Battery to the very foot of the breach; the knowledge thus gained led him to volunteer to assist in guiding the storming party and I deeply grieve to add that he fell dangerously wounded, at the head of the trench foremost amongst the foremost of the stormers. To the officers of my staff my best thanks are due. Captain Fenwick, Field Engineer, carried out the envious duties entrusted

to him with the greatest skill and with the most untiring zeal, and energy; he was ably seconded by his Asstt. Lieutenants Gossett, Webber, Forting and Gordon, Captain Coley Major Brigade, Captain Baem, Deputy Asstt. Quarter Master General, Lieutenant Laury, Deputy Commanding of Ordnance and Lieutenant Henry, S. Asst. Comg. (Commanding)[1] General were most unremitting in their exertions in their several Departments. Surgeon Mackenzie, Staff Surgeon, displayed his usual care and attention in the arrangements as to the Field Hospital and with the greatest success for the prompt and ready aid afforded to the wounded was remarked by all. The Reverend W. H. Schwalee, Field Chaplain, also availed himself of every opportunity most earnestly to discharge his duties. I beg also to bring to the notice of the Major-General the excellent and gallant conduct of all the officers and men of this Brigade. Captain Ommanney, R. A. Commandant of Artillery and Captain Woollcomte[2] Commanding 4/2 Artillery, distinguished themselves on all occasions by the capital Artillery practice directed against the Fort. These officers and the officers and men under their command were most unwearied in their exertions which extended over a protracted period. Lieutenant Edwards Commanding 21 Company R. E., Lieutenant Micklejohn Commanding 2nd Company B. S. & M. (Bengal Sappers and Miners) and their men carried out the works entrusted to them in the most indefatigable manner. Major Gall Commanding L. W., H.'s M. 14 Light Dragoons and his officers and men were continually employed in reconnaissance in the neighbourhood of Chandairee. During the time this Brigade was before the Fort, these were most ably conducted by Major Gall with whom D. Clerk, Commanding 3 Regiment C. H. C. and his men most zealously co-operated. On the occasion of the assault on the Fort of Chandairee nothing could exceed the brilliant courage displayed by both officers and men of H. M.'s 86 Regiment and 25 Regiment N. I. Colonel Low the Commander of the former and Major Robertson (of) the latter Regiment led their men in the most gallant manner and I felt that with such Troops and so commanded, success, however we might be

[1] It can be read as Cavy. (Cavalry) also.
[2] 'Woollcomte' has been spelt as 'Woolcombe', also elsewhere

opposed, was certain. I cannot conclude this despatch without bringing to the notice of the Major-General how much I am indebted to Captain Little 25 Regt. N. I. and the officers and men who accompanied him for the very spirited and successful assault by escalade on the Fort of Chandairee which I have called the left attack. On this occasion Lieutenant Lewis reports that Private Sheakan, H. M.'s. 86 Regiment saved his life by bayoneting one of the enemy who took the Lieutenant at a disadvantage. Captain Little also reports that *Havildar* Ramhiz Khan and Private Sheik Lall of the 25 Regiment N. I. accompanied him on a reconnaissance on the evening preceding the assault and, behaving with great coolness and daring, greatly assisted him in discovering the best point at which to make his attack.

P. S. I beg to be allowed to add to my report that on the morning of the assault on the Fort Captain Dum, Commanding Detachment 3d Europeans' Regiment with his men was placed in charge of the Kutty Ghutty outpost and performed the duty entrusted to him in a most satisfactory manner.[1]

ENCLOSURE NO. 1

Memorandum from P. Fenwick, Captain, Commanding Field Engineers C. I. F. F. and Field Engineer, dated Chandairee (Chanderi), March the 17th, 1858.

MEMORANDUM

The fort of Chandairee stands on an isolated hill in the midst of a hilly and jungly (*sic*, Jungle) country the natural defences of which are very great. These have been strengthened by a loopholed wall of about 10 feet in height, along which a number of tower bastions are placed at intervals.

From a range of hills, called the Cutty Ghatty lying to the south, a spur of land approaches to within 300 yards of one of the strongest of these towers and is connected with it by a natural causeway of solid rock through[2] a ditch 30 feet in breadth and 12 in depth is cut.

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 10th Sept. 1858, Cons. No. 25. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] The word 'which' after 'through' is missing in the text.

On the west end of the hill stands an old Palace consisting of a quadrangular sandstone building with a courtyard inside and a few outhouses. This overlooks the town of Chandairee which lies 300 feet below surrounded by wooded and well cultivated environs.

There are two entrances one on the south side facing the Cutty Ghatty, being little more than a sally post, the other a large arched gateway on the west face flanked on each side by a strong tower and communicating by a covered road with the town below.

The Tower Bastions, five in number, are very strongly built, fenced with cut stone and averaging 30 feet in diameter. That all the south-east corner defending the causeway has two towers one square the other circular with a short curtain between and as will be seen by the accompanying sketch is of great height and thickness.

The wall is irregularly built in some places of dry masonry, in others with lime and in two instances where the cliff offers an insurmountable impediment to villagers has been pulled down and well constructed, and the wall is in most places flanked.

The continuation of the Journal of the siege from the 14th March is enclosed.[1]

JOURNAL OF SIEGE OF CHANDERI

From J. Fenwick, Captain, Commanding Royal Engineers, 1st Brigade C. I. F. F.

March 5— The Brigade marched from Amrode and having crossed the river without opposition encamped on its bank at a place called Khoorassa. A reconnoitering party under the command of Major Gall with Captain Fenwick Field Engr. went out towards Chandairee and reached the old Palace near Fattyabad when they were fired at by the enemy's picket.

March 6—The Brigade marched to Futtyabad and took the strong line of masonry defences which extends across the valley by a *coup de main*, the enemy retreating in haste to the Fort. The Brigade then encamped outside the walls. A

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 10th September 1858, Cons. No. 25. National Archives, New Delhi.

reconnoitering party went out in the afternoon to the eastward and took possession of the valley of Ramnuggur, leaving 50 men in a defensible stone house to occupy.

March 7—Camp removed to the plain west of Ramnuggur H. M.'s 86 Regiment, 25 Bombay N. I. advanced up the valley in skirmishing order supported by 4 guns of the 4/2 Field Battery, and took possession of the Cutty Ghatty picket house at the head of the valley from which the enemy's picket retreated firing. At night the Artillery brought up 28–inch mortars and placed them on the ridge of the hill to the left of the Cutty Ghatty tunnel 1450 yards from the nearest point of the Fort. Working parties were employed in throwing up a small breast-work in front of one of these mortars and in making an old wall on the right defensible by forming loopholes for an advanced picket.

March 8—Party of Royal Engrs. employed in making Gabions. A road up to the Cutty Ghatty commenced. The mortars opened fire at S. W. Bastion of the Fort and at the place which was found to be over 2000 yards from the Battery.

Party making Gabions all day and cutting road of approach through the jungle to the east end of the Fort concealing as much as possible by throwing the branches towards the enemy. Battery for two 8-inch mortars and one 8-inch Howitzer with Magazine commenced at sunset by 40 men of the 21 Company Royal Engineers.

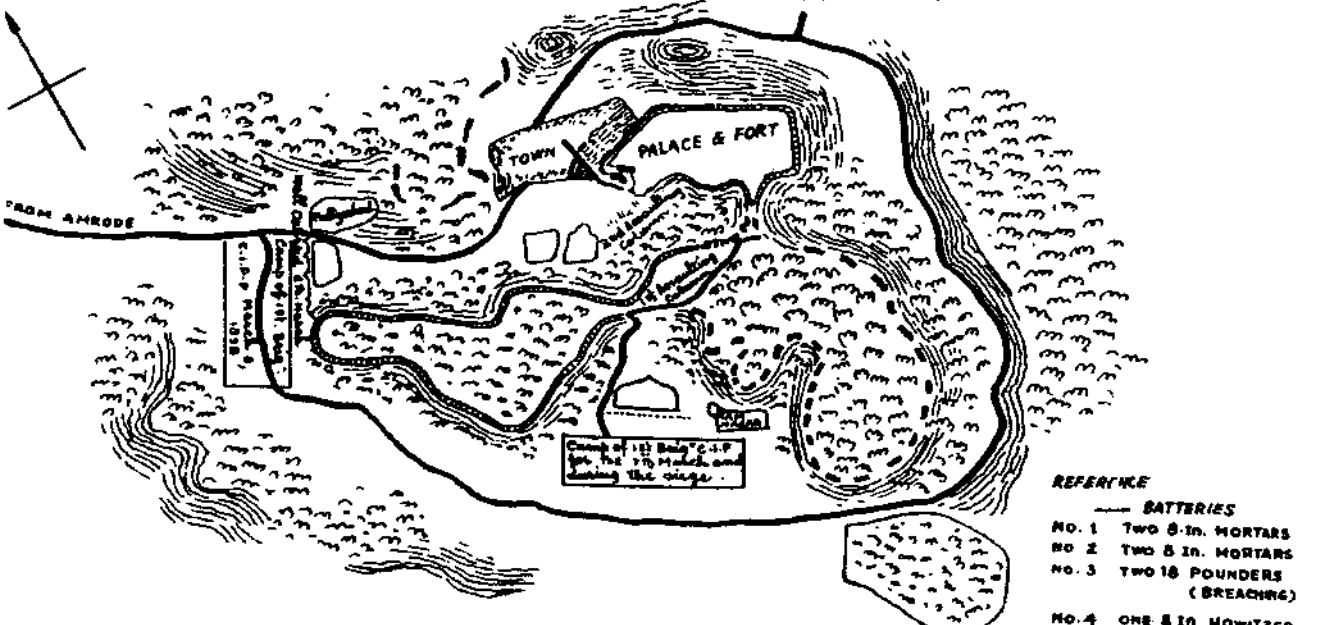
March 9—Commenced Breaching Battery at sunset in the loopholed wall 400 yards from the tower along the spur which connects the Fort with the Cutty Ghatty range of Hills, and across which a trench has been cut in the solid rock. Road of approach completed sufficiently to get up the mortar and Howitzer.

March 10—The two mortars opened fire. Men employed in laying platform for the Howitzers and for the guns in breaching Battery. The guns were brought up and got into the Battery during the night. Great difficulty experienced in coiling a place for the platform on account of the rocky nature of the ground and the extreme friability of the little earth that could be obtained.

March 11—Breaching Battery opened. Lieutenant Monsley, R. A., unfortunately killed whilst standing just outside the Battery. The fire of the enemy sharp at intervals from 4 or 5 guns and several gingals. Battery for 8-inch Howitzer

SKETCH OF THE FORT OF CHANDAIREE

TAKEN BY ASSAULT BY THE 1st BRIG°. Cl. In Fd. Fee MARCH 17, 1858.



FOREIGN CONSULTATIONS D/ 10th, SEPTEMBER 1858 NATIONAL ARCHIVES, NEW DELHI.

commenced at sunset to the right of Breaching Battery to enfilade the enemy's extreme east line where they had got up a gun and established a curs[1] fire in the Breaching Battery.

March 12—Howitzer Battery finished and armed Howitzer opened at Jhuria com[2]. Subdued the enemy's fire. Excellent practice at 900 yards. The 18-PN. (pounder) charged at night from Travelling to Garrison Carriages as the wall appeared to be 12 or 14 feet thick and the embrasures of the Battery were constantly being damaged from the gun not[3] running out far enough.

March 13—Platforms of the Breaching Battery taken up and relaid; embrasures repaired during the day as required. Progress of the breach satisfactory.[4]

CONTINUATION OF THE JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF CHANDERI

March 14.—Breaching Battery firing steadily and only a slight fire from the enemy. Parapet made for an 8-inch mortar at night to the left of the Breaching Battery and the mortar placed in position.

March 15—Breaching Battery firing steadily; sharp fire from the enemy about 8 P. M.

March 16—Breaching Battery continued firing until noon; when the breach assumed a favourable appearance. The Headquarters of H. M.'s 86 Regiment joint (*sic*,) this morning. It was decided to assault the following morning. The Principal Column at the breach and a second at the entering angle opposite to the Cutty Ghatty Tunnel.

March 17—The assault took place at 5 A. M. The enemy were surprised and the Columns entering at the separate points at the same time, they retired precipitately from the Fort throwing themseves over the walls; their loss was 50 killed. Ours about 4 killed and 20 wounded.

One expence (*sic*,) magazine was deliberately blown up by one of the enemy by which several of the 86th were burnt and wounded.

[1] Word not clearly decipherable.
[2] Word not clearly decipherable.
[3] The word can be read as 'hot' also.
[4] Foreign Political Proceedings, 10th September 1858, Cons. No. 25. National Archives, New Delhi.

Lieutenant Gosset, R. E., led the storming party and received 2 balls through his hat. Lieutenant Edwards, R. E., had command of the party conveying ladders.

Captain Keatinge, Bengal Artillery, most gallantly volunteered to point out the path; he was the first to mount the breach and fell severely wounded in three places.

Lieutenant Wibber, R. E., seeing some of the enemy in the act of escaping attacked them with a party of 10 men of the R. Engineers and succeeded in destroying 10 or 12 of them. The troops moved so steadily to the attack as to command success.

I enclose a report from Lieutenant Gordon, M. E., of the advance of the left Column of assault.[1]

Duplicate of Memo, given to Brigadier, dated 14 *March* 1858 *from Captain Fenwick, Commanding Royal Engineers,* 1*st Battery, Central India Field Force.*

The fort of Chandairee is situated on a high hill in the midst of a hilly and jungly (*sic*, Jungle) country with precipitous sides, flanked by circular towers. The parapets generally appear to have been rebuilt so as to have12 or 14 feet escarps (scarps) on the top of the rugged sides of the hill. The only point of approach is where the hill is connected with the Cutty Ghatty range of hills by a spur of rock; here a tower of from 35 to 40 feet high has been rebuilt, and as the old Palace and buildings at the west end of the Fort appears (*sic*,) to be in a good state of defence, and we cannot get a mortar Battery nearer to it than 1600 yards, it has become imperative orders (*sic*,) to breach this tower to enable us to effect a lodgment and get guns into the Fort to assist in the further attack on the Palace.[2]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 10th September 1858, Cons. No. 25. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ibid.*

ENCLOSURE NO. 2

To Captain Francis Ommanney, R. A., Commanding Artillery 2nd Brigade, C.I.F.F.

NOMINAL ROLL OF OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE 1ST BRIGADE, CENTRAL INDIA FIELD FORCE, KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE OPERATIONS BEFORE AND DURING THE DAY OF ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF CHANDAIREE (CHANDERI).

Corps and Dept.	Rank	Names	Date	Remarks
Staff.	Poll. Agent and Captain By. Arty.	R. H. Keatinge.	17 March 1858	Dangerously wounded
Royal Artillery	Lieutenant	Richard Monsley	11 March 1858	Killed
	Gunner	William Powen.	12 March 1858	Slightly wounded
21st Company Royal Engineers	Sapper	General Elcock	17 March 1858	Severely wounded.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 10th September 1858. Cons. No. 25. National Archives, New Delhi.

ENCLOSURE NO. 3

LIST OF ORDNANCE AND STORES FOUND IN THE FORT OF CHANDAIREE (CHANDERI) ON THE 17TH OF MARCH 1858.

From J. C. I. Lowry, Lieutenant, R. N., Deputy Commissioner of Brigade Ordnance, dated Camp before Chandairee (Chanderi), the 18 March 1858.

NAMES OF STORES	
Bags Saltpetre amounting to about 2000 Lbs.	4
Bundles musketry ammunition Europe (*sic*, European) manufacture.	99
Cartridges empty Lungaree gun of sizes.	230
Country Rockets.	12
Gun Cartridges of sizes a number of which are shotted.	160
Powder Cannon.	lbs. 600
'V' shot round loose 9 (Pounder).	11
Shot country of sizes.	200
Species[1] of country slow match.	50
Brass 31st Field Gun Carriage.	1
Brass 2nd Field Gun Carriage.	1
Iron 16 P. N. country Carriage.	1
Iron 9 P. N. Field Guns Carriage.	1
Iron 3 P. N. Field Guns Carriage.	1
Iron 2 P. N. Field Guns Carriage.	1
Iron 1 P. N. Field Guns Carriage.	1
Iron 1 P. N. Field Guns Carriage.	1
Iron 8-ozs P. N. Field Guns.	1
Powder tumbril Europe manufacture.	1
Powder tumbril Country manufacture.	1

The article marked thus'V'are useful for ordnance purposes.

Sd/- J. C. J. Lowry Lt., R. N.
Dy. Commissioner of Ordnance Brigade[2]

ENCLOSURE NO. 4

From Captain A.B. Little, 25th Regt. N.I., Comdg. Left Attack on Fort of Chandairee (Chanderi), to Brigade Major, 1st Brigade, C. I. F. F., Camp before Chandairee (Chanderi), dated the 17th March 1858.

I do myself the honor to report for the information of the

[1] Not clearly decipherable.
[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 10th September 1858, No. 25. National Archives, New Delhi.

Brigadier Commanding Ist Brigade, C. I. F. F., that agreeably to his instruction I proceeded with my detachment as per margin* (given below) through the Kattee Ghattee shortly after the Brigade had moved past my post. This morning I led my men as quietly as possible towards the point I had decided on attacking but had not reached to the lower wall between the Round Bastion at the 'Corner' one opposite our mortar Battery, when we were challenged by the Sentry of the enemy on the Round Bastion and fire immediatley opened from the guns and matchlocks. We however continued to advance steadily and had just reached the wall when the signal for assault was fired. I saw to my joy that the wall was broken down and no impediment except very rugged and bushy ground was between us and the walls of the Fort itself and hearing the cheers of the Columns assaulting at the breach with a yell we charged and in a few minutes many of us had with each other's assistance and without the aid of ladders scaled the wall. The ladders were however torn up (or thrown up) and the remainder of my detachment all gained the Fort. The Round Bastion having been taken on our left we swept to our right and driving the enemy before us carried with slight opposition the next (Square) Bastion. We here fell in with some of the enemy (who were flying before our troops who had entered at the Breach) many of whom were killed. Seeing (that) the next or Corner Bastion as I have above designated it, had not been taken by our men I could not resist the temptation of taking it also though exceeding the orders I had received in getting some men together with a rush. The object was soon gained. We then advanced towards the Palace (taking the gateway on our left) and were then joined by the whole assaulting Column etc.

The conduct of all under my command both Europeans and Natives was admirable and when all behaved so well (it) would be difficult to bring any one prominently to notice. I cannot however conclude my report without saying I consider Havildar Ramhaz Khan and Private Shaik Lall, Light Company

* Marginal Note in Original—
100 Rank and File H. M.'s 86 Regt. under Command of Lt. Lewis.
13 Bombay Sappers and Miners under Lt. Gordon Asstt. Field Engineer.
100 Rank and File 25 Regt. N. I. under Lieutenant Miles.

25th Regiment N. I. are deserving of much praise as by their aid I was in a great measure guided to the point I was anxious to gain. These two men had on the night of the 15 Instant attended me on a reconnaissance in the same direction and did good service. I trust they will meet with some mark of approval of the good service done by them.

Our loss this morning was I am sorry to say 1 Private 86th killed and 8 wounded.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 10th September 1858, Cons. No. 25. National Archives, New Delhi.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEFENCE OF JHANSI

REVOLUTIONARIES BESIEGE ORCHHA AND BARWA SAGAR

Intelligence from Tehree (Tehri), dated 6th March 1858.

All English goods were burnt at Banpoor (Banpur). There is only one large gun with some men at this place the rest have bolted. Allipoora (Alipura) was attacked by the rebels day before yesterday and firing commenced. Orcha is besieged by the Jhansee (Jhansi) rebels so is Burwa-Saugor (Barwa Sagar). The Orcha or Tehree troops were completely defeated at Mhow-Ranecpoor, losing great many men, all ammunition supplies. Flag, Drum, Records and Carriage and those that escaped have fallen.... (illegible) on Bumbhora[1]. The rebels burn and plunder villages in the Tehree districts and intend to take all the principal forts. Deserters from Shahghur (Shahgarh) and Banpoor, and mutinous sowars and sepoys with guns daily join these rebels. Some insurgents are coming to their help from Chirkaree (Charkhari). Supplies for British Camp have been collected in almost all the principal stations in this state. Should the rebels further advance and get hold of the strongholds it will be difficult to dislodge them and all the supplies will fall into their hands. There is very little force at Tehree and even it is actually starving.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES CAPTURE BARWA SAGAR

Abstract of Intelligence, Jhansi, dated 6th March 1858.

A salute of 5 guns was fired on the receipt of the news of the fall of Burwasaugor (Barwa Sagar). The eldest son of the Rajah of Banpoor (Banpur) with about 1,600 men is expected here to-morrow. It was reported that the British forces had gained the Narhut Pass. The total number of Horse and Foot

[1] Apparently *Bamhori* in *Jhansi* District.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th Dec. 1859, Supp., Cons. No. 1480. National Archives, New Delhi.

in the service of the Ranee is estimated at 15,000 as per margin (given below):

6,000 under Janoo Bhut Pundit, Superintendent of Gurotha Bundwah and under Dowla Jeo, and Gonaih Jeo (Ganesh Jeo), *Thakoors* of Kairwa.

1,200 under Munsaram Goojur (Mansaram Gujar) at Kairwa.

800 under Oodeet Singh (Udit Singh) at Pichore.

1,000 doing duty at different *Chowkies.*

2,000 at Jhansee.

4,000 sent to Burwasaugor, under Mama Sahib, Rani's father.

Dewan Jawahir Singh[1] of Khulla, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ranee's troops, is at Jhansee with his brother. 5 large and 7 small guns that escaped destruction at the time of the annexation of Jhansee, have been repaired by the Ranee. She has manufactured 8 new guns making a total of 20. Out of these 4 are sent to Burwasaugor, the rest are at Jhansee.

TEHRI TROOPS DEFEATED

7th March 1858.

It was reported to the Ranee that Mow Raneepoor (Mau Ranipur) was taken and the Tehree troops beaten at that place. The number of guns taken at Mow Raneepoor amounted to 5. There are 5 guns in the fort of Karaira but they cannot be moved. The Jhansee news-writer who was at Banpoor returned to Jhansee. 500 sepoys that were sent to afford assistance to the Rajah of Banpoor returned. The family of the elder son of the Rajah of Banpoor is reported to have gone to the village of Hunivanteea in the Duttiah (Datia)* district. The elder son of the Rajah of Banpoor, Dewan Shei. (Sher) Singh by name, came into Jhansee with 1,600 Horse and Foot, and 6 guns—2 of these guns belong to the Rajah of Shahgurh. Lalloo Buxee (Lalu Bakhshi) went out to receive him. Meer Amanut Ali (Mir Amanat Ali) who was sent with a *Khureetah* (*Kharita*) to the Commissioner of Jubbulpoor (Jabal-

[1] Spelt as Johar Singh also, in this document.

* "The Duttiah authorities have sent men to make enquiries about the party".—Marginal note in the Original.

pur) returned and stated that he could not effect his journey, the Shahgurh Chief being defeated at Mudunpore (Madanpur) and the son of Banpoor Chief forced to fall back on Jhansee.

PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONARIES OF RANI OF JHANSI

8th March 1858.

The principal parties in the confidence of the Ranee are the following:

1. Mama Sahib, the father of the Rance.
2. Dewan Luchmun Rao (Diwan Lachman or Lakshman Rao).
3. Gungadhur (Gangadhar) son of the above.
4. Kashee Nath Haree (Kashi Nath Hari).
5. Lalloo Buxee (Lalu Bakhshi).
6. Dewan Johar Singh, Commander-in-Chief.
7. Munjhley Rao (Manjhley Rao) the brother of the above.
8. Dewan Rooghnath Singh (Raghunath Singh) of Nonair.
9. Dowlajeo. } of Kairwa. | Military
10. Gonaishjeo (Ganesh Jeo). } of Kairwa. / Officer
11. Koowur Zalim Singh (Kunwar Zalim Singh) of Soktee.
12. Bhooj Bul (Bhujbal) Singh. } *Thakoors* of
13. Mungul (Mangal) Singh. } Korakhera.
14. Bhaoo Powar.
15. Jadoo Koowur (Jadu Kunwar).
16. Chain Singh.
17. Munsaram (Mansa Ram).
18. Phoolchund (Phul Chand).
19. Bodh Singh.
20. Gooman *Jamdar* (Guman *Jamdar*) etc.

CHARKHARI TAKEN BY TATYA TOPE

Koorshaid Ali (Khurshed Ali) the brother of Buxess Allee (Bakhshish Ali), Jail *Darogah*, came with the son of the Banpoor Chief, and reported that the British forces had reached Chunderee (Chanderi) which will soon fall. A camel man from Tanteea Topey (Tatya Tope) came in and reported that Chirkharee (Charkhari) was taken, the Chief arrested

and the Peshwa's force intended to proceed towards Tehree. Dewan Luchmun Rao (Diwan Lachhman Rao), asking the Ranee what was to be done, as the Banpoor and Shahgurh Chiefs were defeated and the British army was advancing, was directed to send for Gungadhur and Kasheenath from Burwa Saugor. About 400 mutinous sepoys, that had taken service with the Shahgurh Chief including about 50 wounded men have come to Jhansee, and given out in every street of the town, that they had to fight with the English, that thousands of the Boondelahs, that were present in the action, deserted, and gave them no support. That they will no longer take service with the Boondelah Chiefs should they even propose to give us (*sic*,) one Rupee per day per man. That they will go to Kalpee or to any other place where there is an assemblage of men of their own stamp. These representations have put the town's people in great dismay. If they can get permission to get out of the town they are willing to desert in a body.[1]

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES MARCH TOWARDS PANNA

Letter from Punjab Sing (Panjab Singh) to Dhir Sing, dated Cheyt Budi (Chait Badi) 8, Samvat 1915, *corresponding to the English date, 8th March* 1858.

Abstract :

After compliments—I have sent three letters to beg you to come here. The Rewa force is going to Punnah (Panna), and Tantia Topee and the *Subadar* and all of us are going there. You must come too. The Banda Nawab has been several times addressed, to let all the forces pass (by Banda). The sepoys are all satisfied; "*the Goras*"* only are the enemies. The Rajah of Chirkharee's affair is settled; he has paid 3 lakhs of Rs. (and we have got) besides many lakhs worth of plunder of all kinds. The Rajah has been deceived by the *Saheb*†, and by the belief of the advance of an European force; we have

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, Nos. 144-145. National Archives, New Delhi.

* "Europeans"—Note in the Original.

† "Mr. Carne"—Note in the Original.

sworn to the sepoys and satisfied them by swearing to have nothing to do with the Europeans.[1]

CHARKHARI TAKEN BY TATYA TOPE

Letter from Tantia Topi (Tatya Tope) to Dhir Sing, dated Cheyt Budie (Chait Badi) 4, Samvat 1914, *corresponding to English date,* 14*th March* 1858.

Abstract :

Announces the destruction of the city of Chirkharee, and the capture of 17 guns in it; hopes shortly to take the fort, and will then move towards Dhir Sing.[2]

THE SAHEB OF REWA EXPELLED

Letter from Lutchmon Sing (Lachhman Singh) to Dhir Sing, dated Chait Budi (Chait Badi) 4, Samvat 1914, *corresponding to* 14*th March* 1858.

A. C. (after compliments)—You ought to march at once; so let me know 4 days before you start, and I will give you 2000 Rs. and letters to the Nana, Tantia Topi, Punjab Sing and Chutter Sing (Chhattra Singh) to take with you. They are not to be committed to any one else's hand. Our force has not yet gone to Nagode, but it is intended to send it and to keep it there. When it goes there, do you send for it to yourself. Your former counsel was good and your name has been included in the letter. It appears to me right.

I have sent 2500 *Rs. You take* 2000 *and Punjab Sing* 500. Pray don't delay a moment, march at once; do not (only) talk to us but go on, and as far as possible assist us, and when the force arrives at Punnah (Panna) send to our force at Nagode to announce your arrival. I have humbugged ("*Jhuk*[3] *mar ke nikal diya*") the *Sahib* of Rewah, as you and Punjab Sing desired me.

The *Sahib* said on leaving Rewah, "Now Dhir Sing will

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 523. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[2] *Ibid.* p. 524.

[3] It should be read as 'Jhak'.

be destroyed, and I shall look after both you and Dhir Sing from Nagode".

My determination is fully set upon "the faith"; we go to Bandogurh (Bandhogarh) in five or six days, so when you send for me I will come. I have written and sent off the letters to Tantia Topi, the Nana, and the *Sirdar* Chutter Sing. I have also said that whatever the man who brings the letter may say is trust-worthy; so mind you deliver it yourself.[1]

RANI STATIONS TROOPS AT BARWA SAGAR

Abstract of Intelligence from Tehree (Tehri).

The Ranee of Jhansee's troops that are stationed at Burwa Saugor (Barwa Sagar) plundered the following villages viz. : Moorar (or Mooraro), Gurkahnee, Nirwanee, Beypoor, Baghot, Oogeaen, Asattee and Bunwaro. They cut down the flag staff at Niwaree, pulled down the Government buildings and burnt the village. All the supplies collected for the British camp have been taken by them. The cattle in the village of Jewra have been lifted. Kashee Nath, Kooar Roognath Sing (Kunwar Raghunath Singh) and Mama Sahib the Ranee's father are all stationed at Burwa Saugor.

RAJA OF CHARKHARI SURRENDERS

It is reported that the Chirkharee (Charkhari) Chief paid two lacs of Rupees to the rebels and promised to pay one lac more, provided the rebels retired to some distance from Chirkharee. This they refused to do and commenced firing on the fort. The balance was in consequence paid; all the guns have been taken down from the fort, and the rebels insist on planting their flag on the fort, and wish the Rajah to join and accompany them. A detachment of the rebels that was at Jaitpoor, came to Maheywa[2] and planted their standard at that place

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, Pp. 525-6. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[2] Apparently *Mahegawan*—A village in Pargana *Mastura*, Zila *Gird Gwalior* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 25° 55′ Latitude N. and 78° 7′ Longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, Village list, 1908, p. 12).

on the 10th of March, and intend to proceed to Esanuggur. The Rajah of Shahgurh reached Maheywa on the 13th Instant, and after seeing the Nana's Agent intends to proceed to Tehree. The informant advises the Tehree authorities to keep strict watch on the *ghats* in the Dhussan Dasan river; the Ranee of Jhansee's force is reported to have fallen back on Jhansee from Burwa Saugor, and it is rumoured that this force together with that at Mow will attack Oorcha. The *Killadar* of Bumboree reports on the 14th March that there are about 8,000 insurgents at Mow, exclusive of all the *Thakoors* of Punwaree[1]. They intend to attack this place on the 18th of March. The insurgents are concentrating their forces at the village of Boda near Bumboree. (Perhaps Bamhri) The Peishwa's force is encamped at Nayagong and the fort of Gudrolee[2] is being repaired.

BANPUR CHIEF AT MAU

The son of the Chief of Banpoor reached Mow on the 14th and has put up in the temple of Dhanuk Dharee. On the march Rajah Murdun (Mardan) Singh of Banpoor, with 1,000 men, and two elephants was seen near the village of Kotra on the river Sonda in the Chunderee district. Armed men are reported to be infesting the jungle, round Banpoor.[3]

MAMA SAHIB AND KASHI NATH REACH JHANSI

Abstract of Intelligence.

Jhansee 13th March 1858—The Chief of Banpoor wrote to the Ranee to make terms with the English as her forces would not succeed in opposing them. Mama Sahub and Kashee Nath (Kashi Nath) after leaving 1200 Horse and Foot at Burwa

[1] Apparently *Panwari*—A village in Pargana *Shajapur*, Zila *Shajapur*, of the Old *Gwalior State* at 23° 30′ Latitude N. and 76° 29′ Longitude E. with an area of 3162 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, Village List, 1908, p. 260).

[2] *Gadroli*—A village in Pargana *Isagarh*, Zila *Isagarh* of Old *Gwalior State* at 24° 38′ Latitude N. and 77° 54′ Longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, Village list, 1908, p. 149).

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, No. 141. National Archives, New Delhi.

Saugur (Barwa Sagar) returned to Jhansee (Jhansi). It was reported to the Ranee, that Tal Baihut, was burnt by the Orcha and Madras troops. The son of the Chief of Nurwar was reported to have fallen back upon Pichore owing to the advance of the Gwalior troops. It was reported that the fort of Chunderee was taken by the British. Some ammunition was taken to the fort from the Magazine.

LALU BAKHSHI ADVISES RECONCILIATION WITH BRITISH

15*th March*—A council of consultation was held by the functionaries of the Ranee. Kashee Nath Huree (Hari) and Laloo Buxee (Lalu Bakhshi) proposed to make terms with the English. Mama Sahub and Gungadhur were of opinion that it was not proper to give up the state which was recovered after much difficulty without fighting. The Buxee and Kashee Nath opposed stating that the state was made over to the English by the late Chief himself. Orders were issued to prevent men escaping from the town.

Jawahir Singh, *Killadar* of Tal Baihut, who came in here yesterday was ordered to leave Jhansee with the baggage of the son of the Banpoor Chief. Military Officers of the Ranee ask (for) two months' pay. The people in the town are taxed to pay up the troops. Murdun Singh's men reported that their master had reached Taijgong (Tejgaon) and intends going to Tantia Topey.

SON OF RAJA OF NARWAR AT JHANSI

The son of the Rajah of Nurwar with 1000 Horse and Foot came in here yesterday, and was supplied by the Ranee with provisions. He also expresses his desire of going to Tantia Topey. A news-writer with six *Hurkaras* has been sent to Seerus[1]. Six guns were placed on the walls of the city and several houses close to the wall have been ordered to be put in order to give accommodation to the troops.

[1] *Siras*—A village in Pargana *Pichhor*, Zila *Narwar* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 25° 7 Latitude N. and 78° 20 Longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, Village list, 1908, p. 131).

BANPUR RAJA COMES TO JHANSI

16*th March*—Yesterday about mid-night Murdun Singh with 2500 Horse and Foot, and two guns came in here; provisions were sent to him by the Ranee whom he paid a visit this morning. All Military Officers were told that they "will have to fight with the English; those who hesitate to do so, may leave the station". All unanimously expressed their willingness to fight. The son of the Rajah of Nurwar is still here. It was reported to the Ranee that a portion of the British troops had reached Tal Baihut and the rest was soon expected. The Ranee took her quarters in the fort. The family of Adil Mahomed Khan of Raatghur (Rahatgarh) was sent to Tantia Topey. No one is allowed here to report the achievement of the British troops. The news of the fall of Chunderee is confirmed. A flag was put up on the gateway of the fort by the order of the Ranee, some force is to be sent to Seerus to check the progress of the British arms.[1]

RANI'S OFFICERS COME TO JHANSI

Abstract of Intelligence.

Jhansee. 14*th March* 1858—Bala Bhaoo Pundit, Doolajeo and Guneshjeo (*Thakoors* of Kairwa) in the service of the Ranee, who since the last month were at Mow, have returned to Jhansee with two guns and two thousand Horse and Foot. Jowahir Singh, *Killadar* of Talbehet, with sixty followers coming back to Jhansee, reported that Talbehet was occupied by the British Force. One *Hurkara* came in from the village of Khajoorahoo (Khajuraho) in the Pichore district, and reported that the son of the Rajah of Nurwur with 1,500 men had come to the village of Madayra[2] and intends going to Tanteea Topey (Tatya Tope),

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, No. 147. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Apparently *Madaora*, Pargana, Tahsil *Mahroni*, District *Jhansi*—Madaora pargana forms the southern portion of Mahroni tahsil. In the south and east it marches with the Saugor district, except at one point where it touches Bijawar territory : to the north it borders on the Orchha state and on parganas Banpur and Mahroni, and on the west on parganas Lalitpur and Balabehat. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 295).

the Nana's Agent. The *Kamdars* of the Ranee sent word that he should proceed to his destination without passing through Jhansee. All the inhabitants of the town wish to get out of it, but the Ranee does not allow them to do so acting upon the Hindee Proverb. "A dying Leper wishes to have companions".

BANPUR CHIEF REACHES JHANSI

A Camel-man from Duttiah came into Camp this morning, the 17th March, and stated that yesterday morning he saw about 200 Horse and Foot of the Ranee of Jhansee at the village of Lohar; asking them what was going on at Jhansee, he was informed that Murdun Sing (Mardan Singh) of Banpoor reached Jhansee on the 15th Instant; the same news was confirmed by the inhabitants of the Khairar village. He stated to have seen about 400 Horse and Foot at the village of Babeena (Babina). No one on the part of the Ranee of Jhansee was seen by the Camel-man on this side of Babeena.[1]

RANI ADVISED TO COME TO TERMS

Abstract of Intelligence.

Jhansee. 15th March 1858—Yesterday night the Ranee's Officers sat in Council for 3 hours. It appears that Kushi Nath (Kashi Nath) Hurree (Hari) and Lallo Bukshi advised that "the English are masters of the country; no one ever made any thing of fighting with them. To our mind, fighting with them, will be totally useless. Submission will be better". Then Baba Sahib and Gungadhur Punt (Gangadhar Pant) said—"Our lost kingdom has been recovered with infinite difficulty; it were now unbecoming to surrender it save upon death in fight". Then the two former councillors replied—"The kingdom passed into the possession of the English by the will of the late Rajah Gungadhur Rao. Where then was your kingdom ? We will never advise fighting. We shall see which counsel

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, No. 143. National Archives, New Delhi.

will prevail". To-day the *Kotwal* of the city placed sepoys at the gates to prevent any of the inhabitants from going out. The baggage of Sher Sing, son of the Banpore Rajah, was placed in Jhansi under care of Kayet. Yesterday Jawahur Sing *Kelidar* (*Qiledar*) of Talbete (Tal Behat) arrived in flight but to-day he left again by the Ranee's order. He did not say where he was going. The officers of the Ranee's sepoys demand two months' pay; but there is no money in the Treasury, because all the money left by the late Rajah is expended, and very little indeed comes in from the wasted country. For three or 4 months the sepoys have been paid by contributions levied on the city people, and so they must be paid in future. The servants of Murdan Sing, mutineer, who have fled from Banpore say that Murdan Sing with a few sepoys has reached Rajapore 5 *Coss* from Jhansi and wishes to come to Jhansi on his way to Tantia Topi—the Peshwa's officer. Chundeyri (Chanderi) is not yet evacuated. To-day the *Koour* (*Knuwar*) who says he is the heir of the Nirwar Rajah, who is in rebellion against Scindia and the British Government, and whom, the *Koour*, the Ranee ordered not to come to Jhansi, has arrived and pitched near the Lutchmun Gate with 1000 Horse and Foot and asked from the Ranee provisions and leave to remain. The Ranee sent provisions saying 'you have come without permission'. Then he said "I will go to Tantia Topi the Peshwa's Officer." An officer of the Ranee is sent to write news of the English force. Six guns were placed on the walls in the evening. The *Kotwal* ordered that the houses near the walls be given up to the sepoys engaged in their defence, and they are given up. It appears from this as if they were going to fight. On the 14th of March Sir R. Hamilton reached Talbete (Tal Behat).

Was Deo Bhow[1] Commanding Scindia's force keeping open the Bombay and Agra road is at Suttunwara[2].*

[1] Apparently spelt for 'Basdeo Bhao'.

[2] Apparently *Satanwara Kalan*—A village in Pargana *Sipri*, Zila *Narwar* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 25° 35' Latitude N. and 77°49' Longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, Village list, 1908, p. 129).

* Foreign Political Proceedings 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1762. National Archives, New Delhi.

MAHEYWA PLUNDERED BY KUNWAR PARICHHAT

Abstract of Intelligence from Tehree (Tehri)

Pursotum Ghur[1], *dated 18th March*—The Rajah of Shahghur with his wife has gone to Chirkaree (Charkhari). Koor Parce Chut (Kunwar Parichhat) with one thousand men, is encamped at Maheywa which was complety (*sic*, completely) plundered by him. These insurgents intend going to Eesanuggur where there are about 1000 men with two guns from Chirkaree. The Chief of Banpoor is reported to have gone to Chirkaree *via* Ageet (Ajit)[2] and Mhow; Chirkaree is still fighting with the rebels. After taking Chirkaree the rebels propose going to Tehree. The Peshwa wishes to escape, but the *Thakoors* persuade him to make a stand.

CHARKHARI REVOLUTIONARIES ON WAY TO GUR SARAI

Tahrolee (Tehroli), dated 18th March—It is reported that the insurgents left Chirkaree and are expected at Goorsaray (Gur Sarai) on the 20th. This news is correct; about 800 Foot-men from the force of the Marhatas have reached Bijey Gurh. Kummod Singh reports from Oorcha that the Chiefs of Banpoor, and Nurwur have gone to Chirkaree to persuade the insurgents to attack Tehree, and to lay it waste. They themselves having lost all hopes and being completely ruined intend to see Tehree brought to ruin.

Nahir Sing of Allipoora reports on the 19th that news has been received here, that the insurgents after taking 18 guns, and six lacs of Rs. and some troops from the Chirkaree Chief have come to-day to Kool Pahar[3], thence they intend to proceed to Jaitpoor and Nayagong. From this it is not certain where

[1] Correct name of the place appears to be *Purshotamgarh*.

[2] *Ajita*—A village in Pargana *Mahgaon*, Zila *Bhind* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 26° 22′ Latitude N. and 78° 54 Longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 19).

[3] *Kulpahar*, Pargana *Panwari-Jaitpur*, Tahsil *Kulpahar*.—The headquarters of the tahsil lies in 25° 19′ N. and 79° 39 E. on the unmetalled road from Mahoba to Panwari, at a distance of sixty miles from Hamirpur. Through the town another road leads from Charkhari to Jaitpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, p. 188).

they will go. Some say they will go to Jhansee, others give out that they will move on Tehree. Shahghur Chief as well as the son of the Banpoor Chief have joined the rebels. Ram Hindooput (Rao Hindupat) of Allipoora also confirms the above news on the same date.

CHIEF OF SHAHGARH INTENDS ATTACKING TEHRI

The *Killadar* of Banhoree[1] writes on the 20th March that a sowar came from Mhow to the village of Khanora[2] under Tehree guns with the Chief of Shahghur. Deisput (Desh Pat), and the son of the Banpoor Chief are expected to be at Mhow on the 23d (23rd) instant. It is reported that when the British forces commence firing on Jhansee, these insurgents intend attacking the Tehree district. Some force has been collected at Goorsaray to devastate Tahrolee. All the insurgents will gather at Mhow, they will then form two divisions, one will move to Jhansee, and the other to Tehree *via* Banhora.[3]

REPORTED DESIRE OF RANI OF JHANSI NOT TO FIGHT WITH THE ENGLISH

Abstract of Intelligence dated Aleepore (Alipur) 16th March (sic,) 1858.

17th March—Laloo Buxee and Tantia Topey advised the Ranee to make terms with the English, and stated that it is highly improper to keep Murdun Singh and the son of the Rajah of Nurwur at Jhansee. This advice was taken; *Khareeta* (*Kharita*) has been, in consequence, sent to the Agent; and the Chiefs of Banpoor, and Nurwur, have been ordered to leave Jhansee. They have done so, and are said to have gone to Tantia Topey. Kishun Purshaud (Kishan Prasad), Ranee's Agent, wrote to her that he will soon see the Agent and deliver the *Khareeta*. Landlords refused to give their houses for the accommodation of the troops. Murdun Singh of Banpoor

[1] Apparently spelt for *Bamhori or Banhora mentioned below.*

[2] May be *Khanota*—A village in Pargana *Susner*, Zila *Shajapur* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 23°53′ Latitude N. and 76°8′ Longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, Village List, p. 249).

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, Nos. 146/147. National Archives, New Delhi.

sent word to the Ranee's functionaries that he had written to his men at Chundairee (Chanderi) to evacuate the fort. It was reported to the Ranee that her *Khareeta* was sent to the Agent through a *Hurkara*. The *Jemadar* of the *Thana* of Babeena reported that the British troops had reached Tal Behut. A *Khareeta* was sent to the *Jemadar* for delivery to the General Commanding the British troops. Hussun Alli Khan (Hasan Ali Khan) *Ressaldar* and other military officers represented to the functionaries of the Ranee that they had taken service with her because they supposed her to be inimical to the British. *If she wishes to make terms with the English, she may dismiss them by paying them their arrears of pay.* The functionaries gave them assurances that their wishes will be carried out.

18*th March*—It was reported that the British troops had advanced from the Seerus Ghat. The people in the town are in great distress. Some troops from Dutya (Datia) were reported to have reached Charda. A *Hurkara* who had gone to the Agent returning after a long time told the Ranee that he had delivered the *Khareeta* to the Agent who did not give any reply.

RANI PREPARES TO FIGHT

The Ranee is disposed both to fight, and to make terms, to fight from the fear of mutineers in her service, to make terms by the advice of some of her functionaries. But preparations are being made to fight; most of the citizens deserted the town and some of the functionaries have removed their goods to Gwalior. One gun was on the wall of the town near Chumar Khirkee. The intention of sending out some troops to oppose the British force was not carried out.

BANPUR CHIEF REACHES BARAGAON

20*th March*—Rajah Murdun Singh (Mardan Singh) and the Chief of Nurwur reached Baragong (Baragaon). It may be that they have been sent to that place to attack the British force when a fitting opportunity may occur. The *Kotwall* of the town made an attempt to escape, was arrested by the *Wilaytees*, and badly treated. The total number of men within the town does not exceed 7000, out of these men about 1,500 are Horse and Footmen from Government Regiment, and well trained. The

rest are Boondailas (Bundelas) and other fighting men. Gungadhur Bhaeea on the strength of a letter said to be received from Tantia Topey reported that 4 Companies had left Calpee (Kalpi), for Jhansee, and a large force was soon to follow them. Kashee Nath observing that if this was correct why the *Wakeel* sent to wait upon the Agent was not recalled. The Rajahs of Banpoor and Nurwur were reported to have reached Chirgong[1], and propose going to the Agent of Peshwa. *Tehseeldar* of Pichore reported that Chundairee (Chanderi) had fallen, and the British force had advanced to Achronee[2]. Gungadhur Bhaeea stated that Tantia Topey was advancing to assist the Ranee with 30,000 men. These functionaries give out false reports, 2000 pieces of cloth are being bought for making powder bags for guns.

List of the Ranee's Functionaries and Military Officers.

FUNCTIONARIES

Mama Sahib, Ranee's father
Dewan Luchmun Rao
Gungadhur Bhaeea
Kashee Nath
Bala Bhaoo
Lalloo Buxee (Lalu Bakhshi)
Bhola Nath, *Moonshrif*
Nana Sahib, Brother of the *Dewan*
Jamoo Bhaeea (correct name is Jannu Bhave)[3].

DID ROBERT HAMILTON DIRECT HUGH ROSE TO 'PROCEED WITH THE OPERATIONS AGAINST JHANSI' ?

Sir Owen Burne writes (Clyde and Strathnairn: "*Rulers*

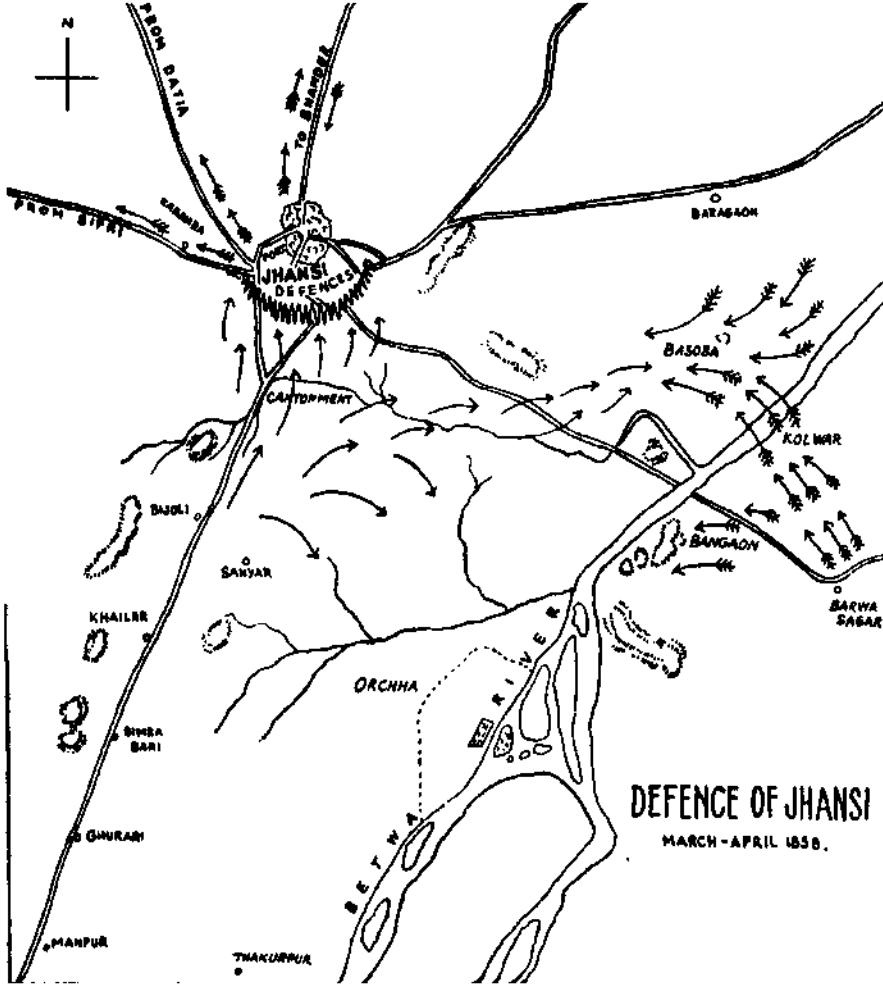
[1] *Chirgaon*, Tahsil *Moth*, District *Jhansi*—A small town in 25° 35′ N. and 78° 50′ E. on the high road from Jhansi to Cawnpore at a distance of 18 miles from Jhansi and 14 miles from Moth. Unmetalled roads run eastwards from Chirgaon to Baghaira and Gursarai and north-westwards to Simthari. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 247).

[2] *Achhroni*—A village in Pargana *Pichhor*, Zila *Narwar* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 25° 1′ Latitude N. and 78° 17′ Longitude E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, Village list, p. 89).

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, No. 147. National Archives, New Delhi.

of India" Series, p. 112 note): "Sir Robert Hamilton, in a memorandum written four years afterwards (March 20, 1862), averred that Sir Hugh Rose hesitated to disobey the orders received, and that he (Sir R. Hamilton) took on himself the responsibility of 'proceeding with the operations against Jhansi'. As this assertion has obtained for him the credit of having saved the campaign, it is right to state that it has no foundation, and was evidently made from memory. It is hardly likely to say the least of it, that the military commander would have allowed the political officer to supersede his authority in so momentous a military decision.....Sir Hugh Rose never thought it worth-while to challenge a statement contradicted by the correspondence which passed". Whether Sir R. Hamilton's memory failed him or not, I cannot say; but his statement is not contradicted by the correspondence. Sir Owen Burne mentions the despatch, dated March 13, 1858 which Sir Robert received on March 20 from the Government of India; but he says nothing about the despatch which Sir Hugh received on the same day from the Commander-in-Chief. Sir R. Hamilton says in the memorandum (Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XI, 1863, p. 426) to which Sir Owen Burne refers. "There came also a despatch from the Commander-in-Chief....to Sir Hugh Rose, ordering him to proceed to Chirkaree (Charkhari), to save the loyal rajah of that state. Sir Hugh Rose considered the order of the Commander-in-Chief imperative", etc. There is nothing in the correspondence which passed, to show that Sir R. Hamilton invented the above statement. In a despatch which he wrote on March 20 (Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XIII, 1864, p. 208) to the Secretary to the Government of India, in reply to the Secretary's of March 13, he says, "In conclusion I beg to state that Sir Hugh Rose desires me to express his entire concurrence in the views and reasoning above expressed, and his hope that they will be considered sufficient to allow of a slight delay in giving effect to His Lordship's wishes." But this does not prove that Sir Hugh had not hesitated to disobey the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. Therefore, unless and until it is proved that Sir Hugh did not so hesitate, I shall let the passage in the text:—

"Suddenly a despatch from the Commander-in-Chief was put into his hands. He found that it contained an order to march at once to the aid of a loyal chief, the Raja of



REFERENCE —

INDICATES MOVEMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

INDICATES MOVEMENT OF BRITISH FORCES UNDER HUGH ROSE

ADAPTED FROM — LOWE : ' REVOLT IN CENTRAL INDIA

Charkhari, who was besieged in his fort by the Gwalior Contingent under Tantia Topi. He saw that the Commander-in-Chief had made a great mistake. If he were to retire from Jhansi, the Rani and her people would feel that they had won a moral victory; and eleven thousand rebels and mutineers would be let loose upon his line of operations and upon that of Whitlock. Moreover, if Sir Robert Hamilton's spies were to be trusted, it would be impossible to relieve Charkhari in time. On the other hand, a bold attack on Jhansi would probably lead Tantia to abandon the siege of Charkhari, and hasten to the relief of the Rani. Yet what would Sir Hugh do but obey the order of his military superior ? Fortunately Sir Robert Hamilton had the wisdom and the courage to help him out of his difficulty. He was not a soldier, but a political officer, and, as such, might venture to use his own discretion. Though he had received from the Governor General an order similar to that sent by the Commander-in-Chief, he took upon himself the responsibility of directing Sir Hugh to go on with his operations against Jhansi".—stand.[1]

DEFENCE OF JHANSI

On the 20th March the Ranee sent out all her men in the districts to repair to the town. The same day two small guns were placed on the city wall and ammunition was distributed among the troops. On the 21st the city being besieged, the Rance and her advisers wrote a *Khurreeta* (*Kharita*) to the Agent stating that they were ready to pay obedience to the British Government. Before the *Khurreeta* was finished the Ranee and Gungadhur Bhaeea (*sic*,) seeing some sowars surrounding the town ordered them to be fired at. The *Khurreeta* was not in consequence despatched. On the 28th many shells falling into Fort blew up 5 maunds of gunpowder and the building in which it was contained, 40 men were killed; the Ranee did not take her meals till evening and was much distressed and distracted. She took up her quarters in an under-ground house in the Fort; on the 29th, 30th, 31st, much damage was done to the buildings in the town. About 400

[1] T. Rice Holmes : "*A History of the Indian Mutiny*". Pp. 508-9 and Appendix Q, p. 622.

men were killed and wounded. On the Ist Tantia Topey having attacked the British Camp the Ranee was going to send out her men to his assistance but fearing that they would desert, she did not send them out on the 1st. About 100 men were killed including Goolam Ghose Khan (Ghulam Ghaus Khan), an old and reputed Gunner.

On the 3rd the town was taken by assault; most of the Ranee's troops were killed; the rest fled to Duttia (Datia) and Kuraira, were followed by the British troops; most of them cut up.

2000 of the Kota insurgents came to Kolarus[1] and demanded supplies from the *Kumasdar* who fired at them. They fell back; 4000 more insurgents are soon expected to reach Kolarus. The Indore and Agra *Dawk* has been stopped the east two day (*sic*,) by the *Thakoor* of Paron.[2]

PANJAB SINGH CALLED TO PANNA

Letter from Rajah of Bijeraghogurh (Bijairaghogarh) to Panjab Singh, dated Chayt Sudee (Chait Sudi) 7th, Samvat 1914, *corresponding to English date, 21st March* 1858.

Abstract :

Says that Dhir Sing has taken leave, and tells him to procure interview for Dhir Sing with Tantia Topee; advises him to come to Punnah; says he has sent him 100 Rs. for expense (expenses)[3].

[1] *Kolaras*, Pargana *Kolaras*, Zila *Narwar* (Old *Gwalior state*)—A large village and the headquarter town of the pargana of the same name, situated 14 miles south of Sipri in 25° 13′ N. and 77° 39′ E. on the Agra-Bombay road. The Gunjari and Paran flow near this village. The Ain-i-Akbari mentions it as the headquarters of a mahal in the Narwar sarkar. It was also a stage on the route from the Deccan to Delhi and is constantly mentioned by historians and travellers. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 254).

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th May 1858, Nos. 127/28. National Archives, New Delhi. For further details regarding defence of Jhansi see Foreign Department Proceedings (Supplement) dated the 30th December 1859, Consultation Nos. 1760—1772, Pp. 46-59. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 578. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

TATYA TOPE ASKED TO GO TO PANNA

Letter from Rajah of Bijeyraghogurh (Bijairaghogarh) to Tantia Topee (Tatya Tope), dated Cheyt Sudi (Chait Sudi) 7th, Sambut (Samvat) 1915, corresponding to the English date, 21st March 1858.

Abstract :

Says that Dhir Sing will tell him all he has to say; begs him to come quickly to Punnah and excuses himself from writing to the Nana, by saying he does not know his title.

Remarks :

Writer's name not given in the letter, but seal on the envelope, seems to be that of the Bijeyraghogurh Rajah. I feel somewhat doubtful however of the identification.[1]

FRATERNITY AMONG THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from Rajah of Bijeyraghogurh (Bijairaghogarh) to Sobadar Bahadoor (Subedar Bahadur) General Chuttur Sing (Chhattra Singh), dated Cheyt Sudi (Chait Sudi) 7th, Samvat 1915, corresponding to the English date, 21st March 1858.

Abstract :

Says Dhiraj Sing has told him the news. Says every one, who girds his loins for the faith (*Dhurum*) is his (the writer's) brother; begs him not to doubt him, but to come himself to Punnah at once, and to take whatever Dhiraj Sing writes, as the writers also.

Remarks :

Writer's name not given in the letter, but seal on the envelope, seems to be that of the Bijeyraghogurh Rajah. I feel somewhat doubtful however of the identification.[2]

RANI DEFENDS JHANSI FORT

Summary of Weekly report letter No. 2 of 1858 to Captain Pinkney, Jhansi, dated 27th March 1858.

The officer concerned says that as he was ordered by

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 513. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[2] *Ibid.*

Captain Pinkney, he assumed the charge of Jhansi district on 17th of that month. On British troops entering the district on the 20th they (officers with troops) marched to a village situated 8 or 9 miles south of Jhansi Khas and troops were sent to Jhansi direction on the same afternoon to surround the city and fort. On 21st whole force consisting of the 1 Brigade under Sir H. Rose moved on and encamped at Jhansi and were fired upon by the rebel Ranee and her forces. The fire was not returned by British troops until the 24th but on the 25th our large guns opened on the fort on the left with round shot and shell and had continued firing upto the present date. No communication had been permitted with the inhabitants of Jhansi, who from what the officer could gather were closely watched by the Ranee and confined within the walls of the city. Administration of the district was not taken over by the officer reporting because without taking the fort nothing was possible.[1]

DEFENCE OF MADANPUR PASS

Letter from Major-General Hugh Rose, to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, Cawnpore (Kanpur), dated Camp before Jhansi, 26th March 1858.

I have the honor to report to you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the operations of the 2nd Brigade of the Central India Field Force, under my orders, since the capture of the Fort of Garrakota (Garhkota).

A halt of four days at Saugor was necessary for the repair of my siege guns; I therefore marched back to Saugor in two days, leaving Major Boileau with the Sappers and Miners, at Garrakota, to demolish all he could of its defences.....

REVOLUTIONARIES STRENGTHEN POSITION IN SHAHGARH

The rebels not seeing any further operations, or movements to the front, against them, regained courage and occupied again in force the strong positions in the Shaghur (Shahgarh) and adjoining districts, such as the forts of Serai and

[1] Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny Records, Bundle No. XIII, File No. 77, year 1855-80.

Murowra, and the difficult passes in the mountainous ridges which separate the Shaghur and Saugor districts.....

I anticipated resistance to my advance on Jhansie, the passes, the forts of Serai, Murowra and Thal-Behut, at which latter place, it was said, that the Rajah of Banpore intended to make his last stand.....

DEFENCE OF NARUT[1] PASS

The Pass of Narut was by far the most difficult; and the enemy, having taken it into their head that I must pass through it, had increased its natural difficulties, by barricading the road with abatis and parapets made of large boulders of rock, fifteen feet thick; all passage by the sides of the road being made impracticable by the almost precipitous hills, covered with jungle, which came down to the edge of the road. The Rajah of Banpore, who is both enterprising and courageous, defended this Pass with 8 (8000) or 10,000 men.

RAJA OF SHAHGARH DEFENDS MADANPUR

In order to deceive the enemy as to my intention, and prevent the Rajah of Banpore from coming from the Pass of Narut to the assistance of the Rajah of Shaghur, who defended Mudinpore[2] I made a serious feint against Narut by sending Major Scudamore, Commanding H. M.'s 14th Light Dragoons, with the force stated in the margin (not included here) with their tents and baggage, to the fort, and town of Malthone, just above the Pass of Narut, whilst I made the real attack on the Pass of Mudinpore. Having taken the ruined little fort of Barodia[3] and left a small garrison in it, to keep up my communications, I marched, on the 3rd instant, against the Pass of Mudinpore with the force stated in the margin (omitted here). As the column approached the pass, the enemy's skirmishers fired on the advanced guard, from a ridge of hills on our right,

[1] Apparently '*Narhat*'.

[2] Apparently spelt for '*Madanpur*'.

[3] *Barodia*, Pargana *Sonkach*, Zila *Shajapur* (*Gwalior State*)—A village of some size, situated in 23° 9' N. and 76° 38' E., 20 miles north-east of Sonkach and 18 miles south-west of Shujalpur on the banks of the Dudinewaj. *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 201).

near the village of Noonee; I sent up a party of the salt customs, under Mr. Bartie who, advancing, drove them back.

At about 800 yards from the entrance of the Pass we saw the enemy in force on the hills, on the left of the Pass. Major Orr made some good practice at them with round shot and spherical case.

The Pass was formed by a sudden descent of the road into a deep glen thickly wooded. To the right, farther on, the road ran along the side of a lake. The left of the road was lined by rocky and precipitous hills.

INITIAL SUCCESS OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The ardour of an excellent officer induced him, at this time, to make an incautious movement with his guns to his right front, with the view to pour an enfilading fire into the enemy. But he had not taken into consideration that this movement brought him to within fifty or sixty yards of the edge of the glen, in which lay concealed some hundred sepoys, who, before he could unlimber, opened a very heavy fire on his guns which he was unable to depress on them. The sepoys fortunately fired too quick, and too high, and the officer retired his guns out of the range of their musketry, with only a few casualties. The sepoys hailed this little reverse with shouts. But their success had only brought on them more rapid defeat. For knowing now their exact position, and seeing the necessity of shewing them that a calm retreat was only the prelude of a rapid offensive I advanced 100 of the Hydrabad Contingent Infantry under Captain Sinclair.....

The enemy, repulsed in flank and front, retired to the village of Mudinpore, in rear of the end of the lake. The village was fortified by a formidable work, in the shape of a *bund* of great thickness of earth and solid masonry, which dammed up the lake. The enemy had placed the few guns they had in rear of the *bund* and had been firing with them on the 3rd Europeans on the hill.....

Mudinpore, it is true, was the weakest of the passes; but on the other hand, it had been defended by the sepoys of the 52nd and other regiments, and by 7000 picked Bundeelas (Bundelas). The sepoys and the Bundeelas quarrelled, the former declaring that the latter had run away and left them

to fight at the Pass; general mistrust, and a panic ensued in the rebel camp.

ENGLISH CAPTURE FORT OF SARAI

The fort of Serai, or Soyrage, a fortified palace of Rajah of Shaghur, perfect in architecture, now used as an arsenal for the manufacture of powder and shot fell the next day into the hands of my troops. The dyes of the old Saugor Mint, from which the rebels were making balls, were found here in quantities.

In fact, the whole country between Saugor and Jhansie to the east of the River Betwa, which since the outbreak of rebellion had been in the hands of the insurgents, was now, with the exception of Thal-Behut (Tal Behat), restored to the Government.....[1]

TATYA TOPE TOWARDS JHANSI

Abstract of Intelligence.

26*th March* 1858—On the 25th Tantia Topey and other mutineers intended to march from Jeitpore and to halt at Chirwaree; from this place they propose to go to Jhansi *via* Mhow. The Tantia has under him about 25,000 men, among these there are about 2000 mutinous sepoys. The rest of the force is composed of the followers of the Chiefs of Shahgurh and Banpore, of Deisput .(Desh Pat), Adil Mahomud Khan and the Chief of Nurwur. They have 4 English guns, one of these is 18-pounder. They have other guns 18 in number which they took from Chirkharee, exclusive of the 5 guns brought in by the Chief of Banpore. The total number of guns large and small is 27. At Kalpee there are about 2000 mutinous sepoys with 1000 matchlockmen and 4 guns, one of these is 18-pounder. ? Row Sahib (Rao Saheb), Nana's brother, had gone from Kalpee to Jeitpoor to see Tantia. 100 sowars escorted him. He went back to Kalpee by the same route. The Chiefs of Shahgurh, Banpore, Nurwur and Adil Maho-

[1] *Government Gazette, North-Western Provinces*, Vol. I, No. XV, Allahabad, Tuesday, June 1, 1858, Pp. 154-60. *cf.* Forrest; "*State Papers*", Vol. IV, Pp. 19-25.

mud are with Tantia. These Chiefs have very little ammunition, but Tantia and the sepoys at Kalpee have an abundance.)

TATYA HALTS AT MHOW

27*th March*—To-day Tantia with his force halted at Mhow. There seems to be a difference of opinion as to their further movements. The mutinous sepoys make out plans; some say they should attack Tehree because there is little force now at that place and this move will prevent reinforcements coming to the British force from Sauger (Sagar). Others advise to relieve Jhansi. It appears that they may form two Divisions, one might go to Tehree and the other to Jhansi. Out of the 27,000 men that compose this mutinous force only the sepoys might offer resistance to the British force. The rest are not able to cope with the English.....

28*th March*—To-day Tantia Topey remained encamped at Mhow. To-morrow he will go to Jukooan (Perhaps Jakhlaun) and thence to Burwa Sauger and Jhansi. The rebels have not yet gone towards Tehree.

ADVANCE FROM BARWA SAGAR

31*st March*—The *Killadar* of Orcha wrote this morning, that the rebels were reported to have advanced from Burwa Sauger; their number is reported to be about 20,000 men.

Some Orcha sowars posted at the *Ghat* of the Baitwa (Betwa) came in and reported that a number of sowar mutineers, were seen crossing the river this afternoon.[1]

TATYA TOPE TO THE RESCUE OF JHANSI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 2nd April 1858.

".....*From Jaloun and Bundelkund to the* 29*th March.* Chirkaree wholly abandoned by the Rebels. Their force at Calpee (Kalpi) much reduced by Drafts sent to Humeerpoor

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 127. National Archives, New Delhi.

and Jhansie. Tantia Topie has three Regiments and 27 guns, about two hundred of the Banpore Raja's men, with another body of men commanded by Rao Sahib, nephew of the Nana. Tantia Topie's force was expected to reach Jhansie by the end of March. Judge of Cawp.[1] reports on the 1st April that the assault on Jhansie was to be made on the twenty-seventh. The Rebel Regiments have been defeated and have returned to Calpee; their leader, Tantia Topie was killed in action. The sepoys had to conceal this but it is believed certain. Maxwell's Column has moved from Hukerpore[2] towards Oorayh[3] and Sherghur.[4]

REVOLUTIONARIES NEAR NAUGAON

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 31st March, 8-30 P. M., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The Political Assistant in Bundelkund writes that General Whitlock's force was expected to arrive at Punnah (Panna) on the 29th March and they proposed moving against the rebels who are reported to have left Charkari on the 19th March and to be collected in force near Now Gong.[5]

TATYA TOPE CROSSES BETWA

Letter (No. 134 of 1858) from Robert Hamilton, Agent, Governor General for Central India, to C. Beadon, Offg. Under-Secretary to Govt. of India, dated Camp Jhansie (Jhansi), 31st March 1858.

I have the honor to forward the annexed paper of intelligence; the Rebels are reported to be now crossing the Betwah at the ford on the Burwa Sauger (Barwa Sagar) road.

[6]My dear Beadon,
They have been defeated—17 guns, 4 elephants, treasure

[1] Abbreviated form of '*Cawnpore*'.
[2] Appears to have been written for '*Umberpore*' (*Ambarpur*).
[3] Apparently spelt for '*Auraiya*' or '*Boryah*'.
[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Annexure to the letter No. 134 of 31st March 1858.

and lots of ammunition taken; more separately, 17 horses and saddle.[1]

TATYA TOPE AT BARWA SAGAR

Abstract Of Intelligence.

31*st March*—To-day Tantia Topey remained at Burwa Sauger. There are 2000 Horse and Foot with 2 large and 4 small guns at Jalaon; 2000 men from Konch, and 2,000 from Bhandair are on the point of going to the relief of Jhansie.[2]

REPORTED DEATH OF TATYA TOPE

Telegram from the Judge of Cawnpore (Kanpur) to Muir, dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), April 1, 1858.

Sir Hugh Rose opened fire on Jhansi on the 26th, the assault was to be made on the 27th. The rebel regiments have returned to Calpee, having suffered defeat, Tantia Topee, the Mahratta Commander-in-Chief, has been killed in action. The sepoys tried to conceal this fact, but it is, we believe, certain. Maxwell's Column moved from Umberpore (Ambarpur) towards Boryah and Sharghur[3]. Pergunnah Jaulumpore[4] still remains quite exposed. A large assemblage of sepoys, with guns, rumoured to be at Betwa, across the Ganges, opposite Bhilhaur, requires confirmation. *Our emissary arrived in Calpee with the proclamation*; but it is too late, as the rebels must now fight Sir Hugh Rose.[5]

TATYA'S ACTION REVITALISES DEFENCE OF JHANSI

Telegram from Major Macpherson to the Secretary to Govt. with the Governor General, dated Agra, April 2, 1858.

Scindia's news-writer writes from Jhansi on 1st April that

[1] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 25th June 1858, Cons. No. 76, p. 3758. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, Nos. 125-16. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Appears to have been spelt for *Shergarh.*

[4] Correct name of the place may be *Zalimpur.*

[5] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies,* Inclosure 11 in No. 11, p. 134.

on the night of the 31st, Tantia Topee's force advanced from Burwa Saugor to Lohut. The English force moved out from Jhansi, and encountered them two *coss* from it at about 4 A. M., while the Jhansi guns also began again to pour. Before 8 A.M., the rebels were completely routed, and pursued by the Cavalry towards Burragatta and Oorcha. Many were killed. Two other Divisions of the rebels had reached Kurrarce and Paloit near Jhansi.[1]

TATYA'S DESPERATE ATTACK OFF BETWA

Telegram from R. Hamilton to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Jhansi, April 1858.

I send you this hasty telegram. The rebels crossed the Betwa from Burwa Saugor in great force during the night; we had excellent information of their advance. Sir Hugh Rose moved out, and at daylight the enemy opened a very heavy fire from a strong position which they held, until their flank was turned, when they began to retreat. The Cavalry made a splendid charge, and captured a gun. The rebels were pursued across the river; they have lost eleven guns and an immense quantity of ammunition; one 18-pounder drawn by two elephants was captured in the river. The loss of the enemy must have been severe; many sepoys of the Gwalior Contingent were killed. No attempt was made to escape from the fort or town, which was surrounded by our troops, and fired into uninterruptedly during the fight, which lasted till near eleven o'clock. No officers killed.[2]

TATYA TOPE FIGHTS WITH ENGLISH AT BARWA SAGAR

From Major General Hugh Rose, Commanding Central India Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Pooch, 30th April 1858.

For some time past Sir Robert Hamilton had given me information, that Tantia Topee a relative and the Agent of Nana Sahab, had been collecting and organizing a large body

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 7 in No. 12, Pp. 137-38.

[2] *Ibid.* Inclosure 6 in No. 12, p. 137.

of troops in the neighbourhood of Mhow and Nowgong in Bundelkund which was called "*the army of the Peishwa*", and displayed the standard of that abolished authority.

REVOLUTIONARIES REINFORCED

After the fall of Chirkaree, this army was reinforced by the numerous rebel troops, sepoys from Calpee (Kalpi) and Bundcelas, who had besieged and taken it. Towards the end of last month, I received constantly reports that this force, estimated at 20 (20,000) or 25,000 men with 20 or 30 guns, was advancing against me. On the 30th ultimo, Sir Robert Hamilton informed me, that its main body had arrived at Burwa Saugor about 3 miles from the Betwa, would cross that river during the night, and attack me next morning.

In the hope of forcing the enemy to engage, with the river in his rear, I left the park and heavy baggage of the 2nd Brigade with which I was, with the 1st Brigade and marched at 9 P. M., on the 30th ultimo from Jhansie to the village of Bupoba, six miles from Jhansie, which commands the two fords at Rajpore and Kolwur[1], by which the enemy coming from Burra Sauger[2] must cross the Betwa.

At Bupoba I received reports from the two outposts which I had sent to watch the fords, that they had seen and heard nothing of the enemy. The next morning they made a similar report.....

I returned therefore to Camp, leaving the outposts to watch the fords. I was not mistaken; that same day the enemy crossed the upper ford, the Rajpore, in great numbers, proceeded by an advanced guard of *Vilaities*, and took up, after sunset, a position in order of battle, opposite the rear of the Camp of the 2nd Brigade.

REVOLUTIONARIES' ARRIVAL WELCOMED

At sunset, the enemy lit an immense bonfire, on a rising ground on this side of the Betwa, as a signal to Jhansie of their

[1] Spelt as *Kolwar* also in this document elsewhere.
[2] Apparently spelt for '*Barwa Sagar*'.

arrival; it was answered by salvos from all the Batteries of the fort and city, and shouts of joy from their defenders.

It was evident that the enemy sought a battle with my force; this self-confidence was explained afterwards by prisoners, who stated that Tantia Topee had been informed by his spies that nearly all my force was scattered and engaged in the siege and investment, and that he could easily destroy the few who guarded the Camp.

The fact is that Jhansie had proved so strong, and the ground to be watched by Cavalry was so extensive, that my force had actually enough on its hand. But I relied on the spirit of British soldiers, which rises with difficulties, and resolved whilst I fought a general action with the enemy not to relax either the siege or the investment.

CROSSING THE RIVER

A little after midnight, one of the Hydrabad Cavalry, left at the lower, the Kolwar ford, came in as hard as he could and reported that the enemy were crossing in great numbers. I thought it probable, that they would make this move, of which the object was to turn my left flank, and force their way along the Burra Gong (Baragaon) road, through Major Scudamore's flying Camp into Jhansie. I had therefore ordered the outpost at the Kolwar ford, to watch it with the utmost vigilance.....

THE BATTLE OF BARWA SAGAR

The best way with Indians for making up for numerical inferiority, is a determined attack on their weak points. I had therefore intended to commence the attack at daylight, advance in line, pour into the rebels the fire of all my guns, and then turn and double up their left flank. But the enemy, before daybreak, covered by a cloud of skirmishers, advanced against me.

My picquets and videttes retired steadily, closing to each flank, in order that I might open upon them the fire of my guns, and then turn his left flank from my right. Before my line was uncovered, the enemy took ground to his right. I confirmed, to prevent his outflanking my left, but very cautiously, lest he should draw me away too much to the left,

and then fall on my right flank. This was probably his intention; for a body of Horse was seen towards my right. I halted and fronted; the enemy did the same, and instantly opened a very heavy artillery, musket, and matchlock fire on my line from the whole of his front to which my Batteries answered steadily.

REVOLUTIONARIES TAKE UP ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION

The enemy had taken up an excellent position, a little in rear of a rising ground, which made it difficult to bring an effective fire on him. I ordered my front line of Infantry to lie down, the troop of Horse Artillery to take ground diagonally to the right, and enfilade the enemy's left flank. In this movement, a round shot broke the wheel of a Horse Artillery gun.....

Serious combats occurred between the pursuing Cavalry and the fugitives, who, singly, or standing back to back, always took up, like most Indians, the best position the ground admitted, and fought with the desperation which I have described on other occasions. One body wedged themselves so dexterously into the banks of a *nullah*, that neither musketry nor artillery fire, would destroy them. Lieutenant Armstrong, of the 3rd Bombay European Regiment, coming up with a few skirmishers, dashed at them, and bayoneted them all, but not without some loss. This officer is Post Master of the force, but his zeal always leads him into action, where he does good service on those occasions, which require bold decision.

The pursuit had now penetrated, and cleared away the first line. A cloud of dust about a mile and a half to our right, pointed out the line of retreat of another large body, the second line of the rebels, which, by a singular arrangement of the rebel General, Tantia Topee, must have been three miles in rear of his first line.

The whole force again went in immediate pursuit, and came up with the skirmishers in rocky and difficult ground covering the retreat of the 2nd line; driven in, they closed to their right, and uncovered the main body, which cannonaded the troops in pursuit with an 18-pounder and 8-inch mortar and other guns. Colonel Turnbull answered with a few rounds, which told. Captain Lightfoot who had come up, thinking that he could bring his guns to ground, from which he could

enfilade the enemy's left, I directed him to join the Hydrabad Cavalry, and a Troop of the 14th Light Dragoons, whom I had sent to turn their left flank, and take, if possible, their guns.....

EXCHANGE OF FIRE

The Troop and Battery, advantageously placed on two rising grounds, crossed their fire on the enemy, who rapidly left this, but kept up a heavy fire of musketry, and with a twelve-pounder from the opposite bank of the river; the twelve-pounder hit by a round shot, retired disabled.....

On going down the road to the river, we saw the stream crowded with the enemy' s Artillery, Ordnance Park, and quantities of stores, the 18-pounder and the 8-inch mortar, drawn by two elephants, ammunition waggons, and carts full of ammunition, of the Gwalior Contingent.

The enemy kept up a heavy fire on us as we crossed the ford, and ascended the steep road leading up the opposite bank. The 14th Light Dragoons and Hydrabad Cavalry, gallantly surmounted all opposition, and sabred the rebels who still held their ground.....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES' STUBBORN RESISTANCE AT KUNCH

From Major-General Hugh Rose, Commanding Central India Field Force, to Major-General William Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Goolowlee (Gulauli), 24th May 1858.

I have the honor to report to you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the approach of Brigadier Smith's Brigade from Rajpootana to Goonah, having secured Jhansi from attack by Kotah and Bundlecund Rebels, I recalled Lieutenant-Colonel Lowth, Commanding H. M.'s 86th Regiment, whom I had detached with a Column to watch the road from Jhansi to Goonah, and I marched with the 1st Brigade of my force from Jhansi on the 25th ultimo on Calpee.

[1] "*Government Gazette, North-Western Provinces*", Vol. I, XXII. Allahabad, Tuesday, July 20, 1858, Pp. 321-8.

I was still without the Wing of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, which I had sent to Goonah, to re-inforce the Right Wing of H. M.'s 71st Highland Light Infantry, on their march to join me, as encumbered with a very large convoy of treasure, and all sorts of stores, they had to cross the Sind River at a very difficult *ghat;* and I was not certain that they might not be exposed to a treacherous attack from the late Chandairee Garrison, and other Bundelas, who, as already reported, had made an incursion on the Jhansi and Goonah road, acting it was clear in concert with the Kotah Rebels, to the north of the Indore and Goonah road.

I left at Jhansi for its garrison the force forming part of the 2nd Brigade detailed in the margin[1]* I left there also Brigadier Steuart, with the remainder of his Brigade, with orders to bring up to me the 71st Regiment and two troops of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry.

I joined Major Gall's force at Pooch, 16 miles from Koonch on the 1st of May. I had the honor to report, on the 17th instant, the movements of this Officer's Moveable Column as well as those of Major Orr's Field Force.

I received information from Sir Robert Hamilton and Major Gall, whom I had detached along the road from Jhansi to Calpee, with a flying Column to watch the Enemy, and obtain information of their movements, that the Sepoy Garrison of Calpee, of all arms, re-inforced by five hundred *Velaities* under the Ranee of Jhansi, Cavalry from Kotah, and guns and troops from disaffected Rajahs, the whole under the Command of Tantia Topee, had occupied Koonch, and thrown up entrenchments which they had armed to defend the roads to the town from Jhansi, and that they were determined to make a vigorous opposition at Koonch to my advance against Calpee. All the accounts agreed that the Rebels were strong in Cavalry, Mutineers of Bengal Regular and Irregular Cavalry.

Koonch is an open Town; but it is difficult to attack, because it is surrounded by woods, gardens, and temples, with high walls round them, every one of which is a defence.

Marginal note in the Original—

* Head-Quarters Wing 3rd European Regiment. 8 Companies 24th Bombay Native Infantry. 100 Hyderabad Cavalry. 3 Guns, late Bhopal Artillery. 1/2 Company Bombay Sappers and Miners.

I had directed Major Orr, to do his utmost to prevent the Rajahs of Banpore and Shagur (Shahgarh), and anybody of Rebels crossing the Betwa, and doubling back southwards. The two Rajahs for the purpose of carrying out this very manoeuvre, separated from the Rebels at Koonch, and drove the troops of the Rajah (of) Goorserai, who held Kotra, commanding a ford across the Betwa, to the south bank of the river.

Major Orr crossed the Betwa, engaged the Rajahs, drove them from their position at Kotra, and took one of their guns; but he states that it was impossible to cut off the retreat of the Rajahs, who, whilst Major Orr was attacking one part of their force, retired precipitately with the remainder some distance down the river, where they crossed at a ford and took the road southwards, carriage and supplies being furnished them by the treacherous Rajah of Jignee. Major Orr, by my direction, marched to Koonch.

As nothing puts the Rebels out so much as turning their flank, or defences, and as the excessive heat of the day rendered it advisable that I should not undertake a long operation against Koonch, much less a siege, I made a flank march with my whole force to the north-west; my left, the 1st Brigade, resting its left flank in the village of Nagupoora; my centre, the 2nd Brigade, under Brigadier Steuart, was in the village of Chomair; my right, Major Orr's force, in front of the village of Oomree.

This position threatened seriously the Enemy's line of retreat from Koonch to Calpee; and it exposed the north-west of the Town, which was not protected by entrenchments, to attack.

I gave the order that as soon as the three Columns had taken up the positions which I have mentioned, they were to advance against the Town, and each effect a lodgment in it.

When we came within sight of Koonch, we perceived videttes and strong picquets of the Enemy's Cavalry outside the wood. They conformed to our flank movement, and posted themselves nearly opposite to Nagupoora.

A few rounds of shrapnel from Captain Lightfoot's guns emptied some of their saddles, and they disappeared into the wood. The Rebel Infantry now showed in force behind a long wall to our front, and in the wood to the left of it.

I had marched the 1st Brigade a distance of 14 miles from Loharee that morning, for the purpose of surprising the Enemy

by the flank movement, and not giving them time to alter their plan of defence. To rest and refresh the men, I ordered their dinners to be cooked for them, and in the meantime battered the wall with the two 18-pounders and the 8-inch howitzer.

The half Troop of Horse Artillery advancing diagonally to their left, shelled the Infantry to the left of the wall; the Enemy in return shelled the Troop and the siege guns from a Battery to our right. Two of our guns were turned on the Battery, and soon silenced it.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gall, Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, galloped gallantly into the wood to reconnoitre. The Enemy, although he was in easy musket range of them, did not fire at him, because the shelling from the Horse Artillery had caused confusion in their ranks; he ascertained that the Infantry to the left had retreated further into the wood having in their rear, a large body of Cavalry, that the siege guns had driven the Enemy from the cover of the wall, but that some way in rear of it was posted a large body of Infantry with elephants.

I determined to drive the Enemy out of the woods, gardens and temples, which surround Koonch, and then to storm the town, including a dilapidated mud Fort on a rising ground, a strong position, which was opposite to the right of the 1st Brigade.

Once in possession of this position in the Town, the Enemy on our left and in our front would be cut off from the rest of their force, in the entrenchments on our right which would be forced to retreat to the plain on the other side of the Town, pressed by the 2nd Brigade and Major Orr's force, the 1st Brigade passing through the Town, and pressing the Enemy with whom they had been engaged.

I effected this operation by throwing the Left Wing of Her Majesty's 86th Regiment under Major Steuart, and the whole of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, into skirmishing order, the 86th on the left, the 25th on the right, their flanks supported by the half Troop Horse Artillery, and a Troop of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, and Captain Ommaney's Battery, and two Troops of Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons. I left Captain Woolcombe's Battery, one Troop 14th Light Dragoons, and the Right Wing 86th Regiment, in a second line in reserve under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lowth. The rapidity and precision with which this formation was simultaneously made, must

have surprised the sepoys. The 25th skirmishers charged into the woods, temples, and walled gardens, and occupied them under a fire of Musketry and Artillery from the Battery on our right, which re-opened its fire, and after the guns of the Royal Artillery under Captain Field had effectually cannonaded the houses in the streets of Koonch in their front, took them also.

I expressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson and the 25th on the ground, my approbation of the gallantry with which they had gained this important position.

The 86th Regiment covered by the three Horse Artillery guns, under Captain Lightfoot, who throughout the day, made the most of their arm, and the Troop 14th Light Dragoons made a circuit to their left, took all the obstacles to their front, and then bringing their left shoulders forward, advanced, despite of Artillery and Musketry fire, through the whole north part of the Town, and took the Fort. The manner in which the 86th, ably led by Major Steuart, performed this movement, which completed the cutting of the Enemy's line in two, adds another claim to the obligations I owe this Regiment for their very distinguished conduct on all occasions in the field.

Just as the 86th and myself with the 25th were about to enter the Town, Brigadier Steuart, Commanding the 1st Brigade, observed that a large number of Rebel Infantry, strongly posted in cultivated ground, threatened the right of the line of attack of his Brigade. He moved up Captain Field's Battery with Captains Thompson's and Gordon's Troops of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, and a Troop of the 3rd Regiment Hyderabad Cavalry to dislodge them. The Enemy held the position obstinately, and it was not until a portion of the Infantry of the 2nd Brigade moved down on them from another direction, that they retreated, when Captain Gordon, whom I beg to recommend to His Excellency for his conduct on this occasion, with his Troop and the Cavalry above-mentioned, charged and broke the mass, cutting up several of them; topes of trees favoured the escape of the remainder.

The 2nd Brigade, under Brigadier Steuart, owing to some misconception on his part, did not effect a lodgment in the Town, but moving round the south of it, their Artillery and Cavalry joined in the pursuit.

I have the honor to enclose a copy of Major Orr's Report, which shows that he did his utmost to carry out my orders.

The Enemy's line of defence being now cut in two, and their right completely turned, they retired in masses from Koonch, to the extensive plains intersected by heavy ploughed land, stretching towards Orai and Calpee, forming an irregular and very long line, five or six deep in some places covered by skirmishers at close distances, who at intervals were in groups of small masses, a mode of skirmishing peculiar to Indians; these groups act as a sort of bastions to the line of skirmishers.

The 1st Brigade made their way through the Town, as quickly as its narrow and winding streets would allow them, and searched the plains in pursuit of the Enemy.

But the Infantry had already suffered so much during the morning's sun, twelve men of the weak Wing of Her Majesty's 71st having died from sunstroke, that it would have been a heartless and imprudent sacrifice of invaluable Infantry, to pursue with that arm. They were therefore halted, as well as the Infantry of the Second Brigade, and Major Orr's force, which had advanced through the wood round the Town to the plains.

The Cavalry of both Brigades, and of Major Orr's force (except a party which I had left to watch the Jaloun road and my rear), one Troop of Horse Artillery, Captain Field's guns, and the four guns of No. 18 Light Field Battery, went in pursuit.

If, on the one hand, the Enemy had retired from Koonch with too great precipitation, on the other, it is fair to say that they commenced their retreat across the plain with resolution and intelligence. The line of skirmishers fought well to protect the retreat of the main body, observing the rules of Light Infantry drill. When charged, they threw aside their muskets, and fought desperately with their swords.

The pursuit was commenced by Captains McMahon's Squadron and Blyth's Troop of Her Majesty's Light Dragoons charging, the first the right, and the latter the left of the Enemy's skirmishers.

A piece of very heavy plough caused a check in the pace, under a heavy fire of Captain McMahon's Squadron; but the heavy ground was not broad, the Squadron got through it, Captain McMahon leading the way, and cut to pieces the Enemy, who fought fiercely to the last. Captain McMahon

received three sabre-wounds, but he continued the pursuit to the last. I beg to recommend him for his gallant conduct and his unvarying zeal and attention to his duties.

On the centre, the Horse Artillery opened a hot fire on, and the Cavalry charged the skirmishers. The Enemy now threw back the extreme right of their skirmishers so as to enfilade our line of pursuit. I directed Captain Pretty John to form line to the left, charge, and cut off the enfilading skirmishers, which he did effectually. This officer, on the horses of his own Troop being knocked up, placed himself with well-timed zeal, at the head of a Troop with fresh horses which was without an officer, and continued the pursuit with them to the end. I beg to submit his name to the favorable consideration of His Excellency, as well as the names of Captain Blyth, Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, and Captain Abbott, Commanding 3rd Regiment Hyderabad Cavalry, who each very gallantly charged and captured a gun from the retreating Enemy under a heavy fire.

In the course of the pursuit, more guns and ammunition were captured by the Cavalry.

Captain Field, with the four 9-pounder guns of Captain Ommaney's Battery of Royal Artillery, notwithstanding the heavy plough he had frequently to go over, and the weight of his guns, continued to turn them to good account, and kept up well with them to the close of the pursuit.

The greater part of the Enemy's line of skirmishers being killed, the remainder driven in, and the Rebel Artillery captured, the main body, the first line got into confusion, lost their nerve, and crowded into the road to Calpee, a long and helpless Column of runaways. The Horse Artillery and Cavalry were now so beat by sun and fatigue, that they were reduced to a walk; the guns were only able to rake the Column in its depth with round shot and shell, but could not approach sufficiently close to give it grape. The Cavalry on their part had only strength to reach the numerous stragglers, who could not keep up with the Enemy's main body. On reaching some wood and broken ground, about a village, seven or eight miles from Koonch, profiting by this cover, they sought safety from attack by breaking into scattered flight across the country.

The scorching rays of the sun and the pace at which they retreated, told even on the sepoys; several fell dead on the road, struck by apoplexy; many exhausted, threw away their

arms, whilst others, to quench their thirst, rushed to the wells, regardless if our Cavalry were upon them.

But the sun, fatigue, and scarcity of water told still more on my Artillery and Cavalry, a great part of whom were Europeans, and had been marching, or engaged for sixteen hours. The Commanding Officers of Artillery and Cavalry having, on our arrival at the village, reported to me that they were not longer able to pursue, I halted, and having watered the horses as well as I could, marched them back at sunset to Koonch.

The Enemy must have lost about five or six hundred men in the action and pursuit; and according to their own account, the 52nd Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, or "*Henry ki Pultun*"* which covered the retreat, was nearly destroyed. Nine guns and quantities of good English ammunition and stores, furnished to the late Gwalior Contingent, were taken.

The defeat at Koonch gave rise to animosities and mistrust in the Rebel Army. The Infantry sepoys accused their brother Mutineers of the Cavalry with having pusillanimously abandoned them, and all three arms brought the same charge against their General, Tantia Topee, who had disappeared at Koonch as rapidly as he had done at the Betwa, leaving to its fate, at the most critical moment, the force which he had called into existence under the pompous title of the "Army of the Peishwa".

The *Vilaities* also were charged with not having exhibited, at Koonch, the stern courage on which they pride themselves; they were accused with having left the field too soon; and their excuse that they had felt it their duty to escort the Ranee of Jhansi to a place of safety, was not held to be a military one. It was said that the destruction of *Velaities* at Jhansi had made their countrymen less anxious than usual to try the fate of war.

These various causes created confusion in the councils of the Calpee Mutineers; my immediate advance towards that fortress made matters worse; a panic seized the sepoys in Calpee as well as those retreating towards it; they commenced to take different lines of retreat; and I was assured, and on good authority, that at one time there were only eleven sepoys in the town and fort.

The unexpected arrival of the Nawab of Banda, with a

* "Hindree-ka-Pultan"—Footnote in the Original.

large force of good sepoy Cavalry Mutineers, some guns and Infantry, and his energetic exertions, backed up by those of the Ranee of Jhansi, produced one of those sudden changes from despair to confidence, which mark the Indian character.

Their leaders again exhorted the sepoys, as I learnt from an intercepted letter, "to hold to the last, Calpee their only arsenal, and to win their right to Paradise by exterminating the Infidel English". The Rebels returned to Calpee and its environs, re-occupying the strong positions in the labyrinth of ravines, which surround it and the entrenchments, which they had thrown up and armed to arrest my advance a few miles in front of the Chowrani[1] (eighty-four) temples, which are two or three miles from Calpee. They had already cut deep trenches across the road near the entrenchments, and in several other places, which were serious obstacles, because the ravines on each side of the road rendered it very difficult to turn them. When driven out of the entrenchments, the Rebels could fall back on the eighty-four temples, built, as well as the walls round them, of most solid masonry; the outwork of ravines afforded them a third; the Town of Calpee a fourth; another chain of ravines between the Town and the Fort, a fifth; and finally, the Fort, a sixth and last line of defence.

The Fort of Calpee is wretched as a fortification, but as a position it is unusually strong, being protected on all sides by ravines; to its front by five lines of defence, and to its rear by the Jumna, from which rises the precipitous rock on which it stands.[2]

TOWN OF JHANSI TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH

Telegraphic Message from R. Hamilton, Jhansi, dated 3rd April, to the Governor General, Allahabad.

The town of Jhansie has been gallantly taken after a determined resistance. The Fort has almost ceased firing.[3]

[1] It is wrongly printed for 'Chowrasi'.

[2] Forrest : "*Selections from State Papers*", Vol. IV, "*Central India*", Pp. 64-72.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

SIEGE AND DEFENCE OF JHANSI

Letter (No. 83 of 1858) from Captain F. W. Pinkney, Superintendent of Jhansi etc., to W. Muir, Secretary to the Government of the N.W. P., dated Camp Jhansi, the 7th April 1858.

In continuation of my letter No. 69 dated 29th March 1858, I have the honor to inform you that on the 1st April, Tanteea Topee, having crossed the Betwa from Burwa Saugor, on the previous evening, marched to attack Sir H. Rose's force which was besieging Jhansie. He (Tatya) was accompanied by the Rajah (of) Banpore and other leading rebels and his force consisted of 27 guns, 2,000 mutineers*, 6 (6000) or 7000 Boondelahs, and *Villayaties*, and a large body of Cavalry.

H. ROSE PREPARED FOR DEFENCE

2*nd*—Sir H. Rose having got intelligence of Tanteea's movement during the night was fully prepared for him. He himself with the disposable portion of the 2nd Brigade was drawn in rear of his camp, and a portion of the 1st Brigade was sent to take Tanteea's force in flank, should opportunity offer.

HEAVY CANNONADING

3*rd*—The engagement opened (at) about 6 A.M. with a heavy cannonade on the part of the enemy which was replied to by the guns of the 2nd Brigade after which an advance was ordered, and the enemy was driven from his first position, losing five guns and many men in his retreat to a second position. One of our guns was disabled early in the day by a shot from the enemy's Artillery.

4*th*—The enemy after a short cannonade was driven from a second position with loss and retreated to third across the Betwa, losing six guns in his retreat. He was then driven from his third position, losing one gun, and was followed up by Cavalry and Artillery to within 2 miles from Burwa Saugor.

5*th*—The action on the part of the 2nd Brigade was

*"About 1/3 of them were the 3rd Infantry Gwalior Contingent".- Marginal note in the Original.

chiefly with Cavalry and Artillery; the enemy kept up a well sustained fire from his guns but his Cavalry never came fairly to the front. From the extended country, over which the action was fought, 14 miles long by 3 or 4 wide, it is impossible to say exactly what loss the enemy suffered, but I should think it certainly could not have been less than 6 (600) or 700 killed.

6*th*—In the meantime part of the Second Brigade fell in with a very large body of the enemy which had separated from Tanteea's main body, attacked and defeated them killing upwards of 200 and taking six guns making a total of 18.

7*th*—After his defeat, Tanteea's army fled in two bodies, one making for Kalpee and the other for Mow-raneepore (Mau Ranipur).

8*th*—During the fight the rebel Garrison of Jhansie manned the walls and kept up a rapid fire from all their guns but as Sir H. Rose still kept up the siege and investment with part of his force, they could not sally out.

9*th*—On the 2nd the force rested, the siege being carried on as usual.

ASSAULT ON JHANSI TOWN

10*th*—At daybreak on the 3rd April the Town of Jhansie was assaulted in three places and a false attack was also made near the Oonow Gate to the right of the 3 real ones.

11*th*—The left assault was made at the breach to the south of, and near to, the Fort walls. It was carried by the 86th Foot with little loss but the Regiment suffered in advancing beyond the breach under the Fort walls towards the Ranee's Palace in the Town, Dr. Stack being killed and three other officers wounded. The centre assault was an escalade by part of the 3rd Bombay Europeans who succeeded and carried the rampart with little loss, Lieutenant Fox, Madras Sappers and Miners, being dangerously wounded. The right attack was also an escalade but failed owing to the ladders breaking and being too short. Lieutenant Dirk and Mickle John of the Bombay Sappers, who succeeded in mounting to the top of the wall were killed and Lieutenant Bouns (can be read as 'Boners' or 'Bonus' also) wounded with a stone. The 3rd Bombay Europeans who were the assaulting party suffered severe loss but going round to the centre attack, also entered the Town.

BRITISH ATTACK ON RANI'S PALACE

12*th*—The different assaulting parties then pressed on through the Town under a heavy strict (*sic*, 'street') fire, Lt. Col. Tumbrill (perhaps Turnbull) of the Bombay Artillery being mortally wounded and they ultimately joined each other near the Ranee's Palace which was carried after a sharp resistance. At evening time above half the Town was in our possession, the enemy holding the Fort and the north-east of the Town.

13*th*—During the fight in the Town a large body of the enemy amounting to upwards of 400 broke out of the Town and tried to make off in a north-west direction but they were followed up by Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, surrounded on a hill and all killed. In this last affair Lieutenant Park, Bombay Infantry, was killed.

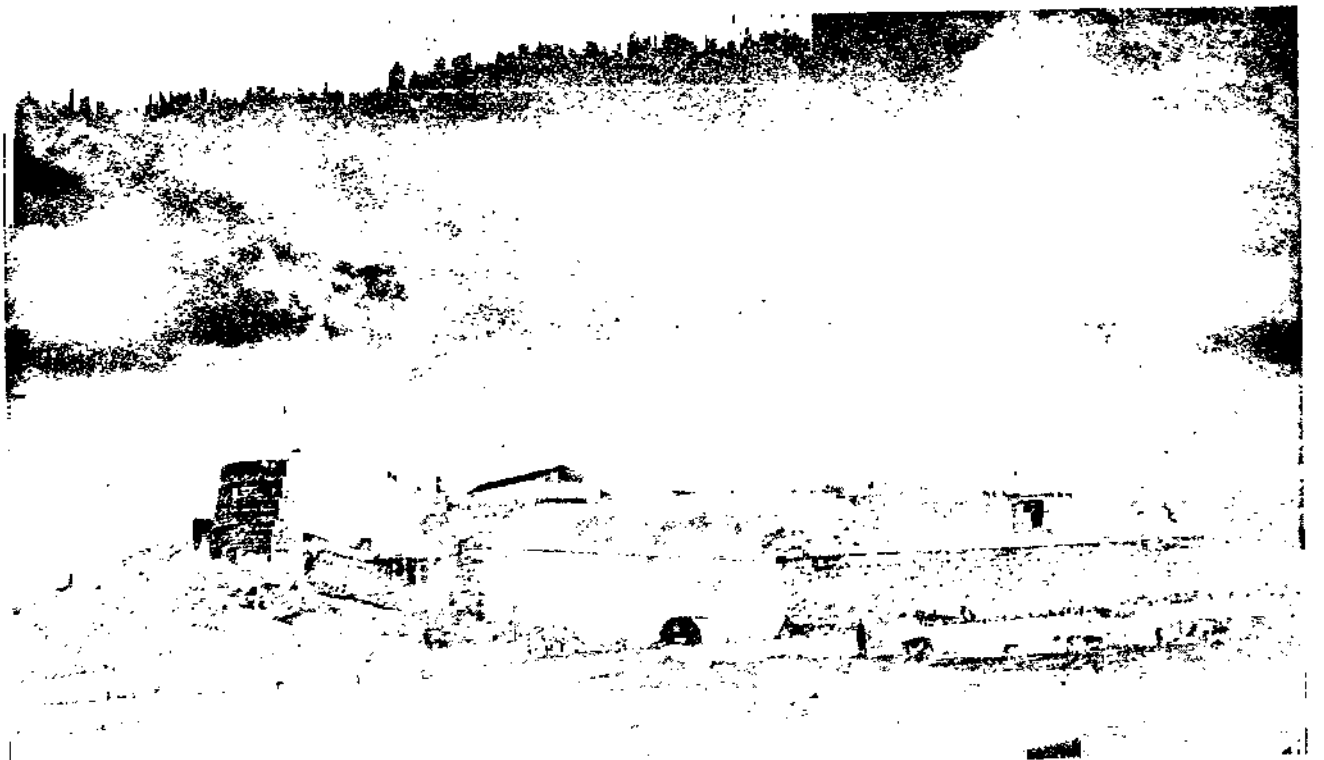
14*th*—On the 4th the remaining part of the Town was taken possession of, and very many of the rebels who attempted to escape were cut up by our pickets. The rebel Garrison now retreated to the Fort.

RANI'S BID TO ESCAPE

15*th*—On the night of the 4th the Ranee and a large body of rebels made a dash out of the Fort, but were driven back from the direction, they first took; they then changed their course and got through the picket towards Bhandere; they were followed up by Lieutenant Dowker, Madras Army of the Hydrabad Contingent with a small body of Cavalry who inflicted some loss on them, but the Ranee got off although her Fort etc. were captured. Lieutenant Dowker was beaten from his horse and cut down but his wounds are not dangerous.

JHANSI FORT IN BRITISH HANDS

16*th*—On the 5th the Fort was taken possession of and an attack made on parties of rebels, mostly Rohillas, who had taken up a position outside the wall in a suburb called the "Nya Bustee". These parties were entirely destroyed on the 6th, but I regret to say that Captain Sinclair, 39th Madras Native Infantry, was killed and Captain Lewis of 86th Foot and 2 other officers wounded, and several of the 86th Foot and Hydrabad Infantry killed and wounded.



Fort of Jhansi
(Photograph by Information Department, U. P.)

17*th*—The enemy's loss must have been about 3000 killed, several guns have been taken.

18*th*—Our loss from the morning of the 1st upto the evening of the 5th April inclusive was nearly as follows.

	European-Officers	Europeans	Natives	Total
Killed	6	34	15	55
Wounded	12	132	30	174
(Total)	18	166	45	229

19*th*—The example made at Jhansie, will, I have no doubt, have an excellent effect in facilitating the tranquillizing (of) Bundlecund (Bundelkhand).

20*th*—The city has not as yet been made over to the Civil Authorities. Sir H. Rose this day informed me that he did not consider it right to do so for some days yet, as there are still many rebels concealed singly in the Town who shoot down any European in the street, if occasion offers.[1]

HUGH ROSE'S OPERATIONS AGAINST JHANSI

From Major-General Hugh Rose, Commanding Central India Field Force to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Mote (Moth), the 30th April 1858.

I have the honor to report to you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the operations of my Force against the fortress and fortified city of Jhansie.

On the 20th ultimo, the 2nd Brigade under my Command arrived at Simra, one day's march from Jhansie. My Ist Brigade had not yet joined me from Chandeerie (Chanderi).

The same day I sent Brigadier Stewart, with the Cavalry and Artillery noted in the margin*,(given in footnote), to invest Jhansie.

The 20th ultimo was the day which, when at Saugor, I had named for my arrival before Jhansie. I should have reached it some days sooner, only for the delay occasioned by my waiting to see whether the 2nd Brigade would be required

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 15th October 1858, No. 55. National Archives, New Delhi.

* Marginal Note in the Original—

Horse Artillery, 6 Guns. 325 Rank and File. 14th Light Dragoons. 140 Rank and File. 3rd Light Cavalry. 476 Sabres, Hyderabad Cavalry.

to assist in taking Chandeerie. I arrived the following day, the 21st ultimo, with the remainder of my Brigade before Jhansie.

The picquets of the Cavalry sent on the day before had sabred about 100 armed men, Bundeelas, endeavouring to enter Jhansie, having been summoned by the Ranee to defend it.

Having no plan, or even correct description of the fortress and city, I had, together with the Officers Commanding the Artillery and Engineers, to make long and repeated reconnaissances, in order to ascertain the Enemy's defences; this delayed, for some days, the commencement of the siege operations.

JHANSI FORT

The great strength of the fort, natural as well as artificial, and its extent, entitles it to a place amongst fortresses. It stands on an elevated rock, rising out of a plain, and commands the city, and surrounding country; it is built of excellent and most massive masonry. The fort is difficult to breach, because composed of granite its walls vary in thickness from sixteen to twenty feet.

The fort has extensive and elaborate outworks of the same solid construction, with front and flanking embrasures for artillery-fire, and loop-holes, of which, in some places, there were five tiers, for musketry. Guns placed on the high towers of the fort commanded the country all around.

One tower called the "white turret" had been raised lately in height by the Rebels, and armed with heavy ordnance.

The fortress is surrounded by the city of Jhansie on all sides, except the west and part of the south face.

The steepness of the rock protects the west, the fortified city wall with bastions springing from the centre of its south face, running south, and ending in a high mound or mamelon, protects by a flanking fire its south face. The mound was fortified by a strong circular bastion for 5 guns, round part of which was drawn a ditch 12 feet deep and 15 feet broad of solid masonry. Quantities of men were always at work in the mound.

The city of Jhansie is about 4½ miles in circumference, and is surrounded by a fortified and massive wall, from 6 to 12 feet thick, and varying in height from 18 to 30 feet, with

numerous flanking bastions armed as Batteries with ordnance, and loop-holes, with a banquette for Infantry.

Outside the walls, the city is girt with woods, except some parts of the east and south fronts : on the former is a picturesque lake and water palace; to the south are the ruined cantonments and residences of the English. Temples with their gardens,—one the Jokun Bagh, the scene of the massacre of our lamented country-men and two rocky ridges, the eastmost called "Kapoo Tekri", both important positions, facing and threatening the south face of the city wall and fort.

I established seven flying Camps of Cavalry, as an investing Force round Jhansie, giving to Major Scudamore half a Troop of Horse Artillery, and later to Major Gall two 9-Pounders. These Camps detached to the front outposts and videttes, which watched and prevented all issue from the city, day and night; each Camp, on any attempt being made to force its line, was to call on the others for help. I gave directions also that the road from the city should be obstructed by trenches and abattis.

The attack of Jhansie offered serious difficulties. There were no means of breaching the fort, except from the south, but the south was flanked by the fortified city wall and mound just described.

The rocky ridge was excellent for a Breaching Battery, except that it was too far off, 640 yards, and that the fire from it would have been oblique.

The mound enfiladed two walls of the city, and commanded the whole of the south quarter of it, including the Palace.

It was evident that the capture of the mound was the first most important operation, because its occupation ensured, in all probability, that of the south of the city, and of the Palace, affording also the means of constructing, by approaches, an advanced Breaching Battery.

The desideratum, therefore, was to concentrate a heavy fire on the mound, and on the south of the city, in order to drive the Enemy out of them, and facilitate their capture, to breach the wall close to the mound, and to dismantle the Enemy's defences which protected the mound and opposed an attack. This was effected—firstly, by occupying and placing Batteries on a rocky knoll, the right attack, which I had found in my reconnaissance to the south of the lake

opposite the Aorcha (Orchha) Gate and south-east wall of the Town, which took in reverse the mound, and two walls running from it; secondly, on the rocky ridge the left attack.

These Batteries could not be completed till the arrival of the Ist Brigade with its siege guns on the 25th ultimo.

In the meantime, the right attack opened fire, from an 8-inch Howitzer, and two 8-inch Mortars on the rear of the mound and the south of the city, with the exception of the Palace, which I wished to preserve for the use of the troops.

A remarkable feature in the defence was that the Enemy had no works or posts outside the city. Sir Robert Hamilton estimated the number of the Garrison at 10,000 Bundeelas and *Velaties**, and 1,500 sepoys, of whom 400 were Cavalry, and the number of guns in the city and fort, at 30 or 40.

The fire of the right attack on the first day of the opening of the fire, the 28th ultimo, cleared the mound of the workmen and the Enemy. The Mortars, in consequence of information I had received, shelled and set on fire long rows of hayricks in the south of the city, which created an almost general conflagration in that quarter.

The Enemy had been firing actively from the white turret, the tree tower Battery in the fort, and the wheel tower, Saugor and Lutchmen-Gate Batteries in the town. About mid-day their fire ceased almost completely, but recommenced the next day with increased vigour.

The Chief of the Rebel Artillery was a first-rate Artillery-man; he had under him two Companies of Golundauze. The manner in which the Rebels served their guns, repaired their defences, and re-opened fire from Batteries and guns repeatedly shut up, was remarkable. From some Batteries they returned shot for shot. The women were seen working in the Batteries and carrying ammunition. The garden Battery was fought under the black flag of the Fakeers.

Everything indicated a general and determined resistance; this was not surprizing, as the inhabitants, from the Ranee downwards, were, more or less, concerned in the murder and plunder of the English. There was hardly a house in Jhansie which did not contain some article of English plunder and, politically speaking, the Rebel confederacy knew well that

* "Bundeelas, Natives of Bundelkhand. Velaities are Afghans or any people from the north, such as Persians etc."—Note in Original.

if Jhansie, the richest Hindoo city, and most important fortress in Central India, fell, the cause of the insurgents in this part of India fell also.

To silence the city wall Batteries to the south, and cannonade more effectually the town, two 24-Pounder guns were placed in Battery between the 8-inch Howitzer and the two 8-inch Mortars, and opened fire on the 25th ultimo. They produced a good effect, but not to the extent of silencing the town Batteries. Unfortunately on this day the 8-inch Howitzer was disabled by the breaking of its trunnion.

On the 24th ultimo I caused the rocky ridge, the left attack, to be occupied by a strong picquet under Captain Hare, with two 5½-inch Mortars, which played on the mound and the houses adjacent to it.

On the 25th ultimo the siege Train of the Ist Brigade having arrived, Batteries were constructed and opened fire, from the 26th to the 29th ultimo, on the rocky ridge, as follows, forming the left attack.

Two 18-Pounders to dismantle the defences of the fort.

Two 10-inch Mortars to destroy the fort.

Two 8-inch Mortars and one 8-inch Howitzer to act on the mound and adjacent wall and city.

One 18-Pounder to breach the wall near the bastion of the mound, which was thus exposed to a vertical and horizontal fire on its right face and left rear; the 18-Pounders were changed from travelling to garrison carriages.

In order to prevent delay and confusion, I gave names to all the Enemy's Batteries in the town, as well as in the fort; they were 13 in number.

The fire of the two 18-Pounders was so efficient, that towards sunset the parapets of the white turret, the black tower, and the tree tower, which faced our attack, were nearly destroyed.

The two 10-inch Mortars created great havoc in the fort, and having pointed out to Lieutenant Pettman, Bombay Horse Artillery, the position of a powder magazine respecting which I had information, he blew it up in the third shot, keeping up a well directed fire on the fort, for which good service I beg to recommend him to His Excellency.

The breaching gun, so solid was the wall, and so hard the masonry, did not produce the result contemplated on the second day, but on the 30th the breach was practicable. The

Enemy retrenched the breach with a double row of palisades filled with earth, on which I ordered every description of fire, including red-hot shot, to be directed upon it, and the result was : a considerable portion of the stockade was destroyed by fire. Riflemen to fire at the parapets and the embrasures, and loop-holes were placed in all the Batteries, with sand-bag loop-holes, and posts of Riflemen were distributed in the temples and gardens of the east and south sides of the city. I occupied also the Jokun Bagh nearly opposite the mound with a picquet of Rifles. The Riflemen caused numerous casualties amongst the Rebels in the town as well as in the parapets.

Two of the Enemy's defences, which annoyed the left attack the most, were the wheel-tower on the south, and the garden Battery on a rock in rear of the west wall of the city. To silence the former, a new Battery, called the 'Kahoo Tehree' or East Battery, was established on a ridge to the east of the rocky ridge, with two 5½-inch Mortars, which not proving sufficient, I substituted for them two 8-inch Mortars and a 9-Pounder. I afterwards added a 24-Pounder Howitzer to enfilade the wall running Eastwards from the mound.

Before the sand-bag Battery could be made for the 9-Pounder, acting Bombardier Brenna, of Captain Ommaney's Company, Royal Artillery, quite a lad, commanded and pointed the 9-Pounder in the open and silenced the Enemy's gun in Battery in the bastion, destroying besides its defences. I praised him for his good service on the ground, and promoted him.

The two 8-inch Mortars, and occasionally the two 10-inch Mortars of the left attack, answered the garden Battery shelling also the Nia Bustie (Naya Basti) and five wells where the sepoys had taken up their quarters on account of the good water.

After the capture of Jhansie we had proof of havoc caused by the shelling and cannonade in the fort and city. Besides, the damage done to the houses and buildings, the Rebels acknowledge to have lost from sixty to seventy men a day killed.

Our Batteries had by the 30th dismantled the defences of the fort and city, or disabled their guns. It is true that the Rebels had made on the white turret an excellent parapet of large sand-bags, which they kept always wet, and still ran up fresh in lieu of disabled guns : but their best guns had

been disabled, and their best Artillerymen killed; their fire was therefore no longer serious. However the obstinate defence of the Enemy, the breach, and the extent fired on, had caused a great consumption of ammunition, so much so that it was evident there would not be sufficient to multiply breaches in the town wall, or to establish a main breach in the south double wall of the fort.

Under these circumstances, the Officer Commanding the Artillery and Engineers, called to my notice the necessity of having recourse to escalade, to which I gave my consent, requiring however that the breach should form an important and principal point of attack. Both of these officers entertained a mistrust of the breach, thinking that it was mined, or not practicable.

Knowing the risk which generally attends escalades, I had recourse to every means in my power for facilitating an entry by the breach. In order to widen it, and destroy still more effectually the retrenchment and stockade which the Enemy had constructed in rear of the breach, I kept up a fire day and night on it from the 18-Pounder, and the 8-inch Howitzer, and with the view to prevent the Enemy working, and to render the mound too hot for them, I shelled it and the adjoining houses day and night from the Mortar Batteries in the centre and left attacks. Lieutenant Strutt, Bombay Artillery, made excellent practice, throwing the shells on the spots occupied by the guards of the city walls.

I had made arrangements on the 30th for storming, but the general action on the Ist instant, with the so-called Army of the Peshwa, which advanced across the Betwa to relieve it, caused the assault to be deferred.

With the view to acquire rapid information respecting the Enemy's movements, I established a telegraph on a hill commanding Jhansie and the suurrounding country. It was of great use, telegraphing the Ranee's flight, the approach of the Enemy from the Betwa, etc.

On the 2nd instant, Major Boileau reported to me that he had made all the necessary preparations for the escalade and that a 24-Pounder Howitzer had been placed in Battery in front of the Jokun Bagh for the purpose of enfilading, and clearing during the night the wall from the mound to the fort, and the rocket bastion which is on it.

I issued a division order for the assault of the defences of

the city wall, of which a copy, with a plan of attack, was furnished to the Officers in Command.....

The 86th on the road to the Palace from the mound sustained many casualties from their left flank being exposed, as they passed through an open space, to a flanking musketry fire from an outwork of the fort, and from houses, and the Palace itself to their front. I directed loopholes for Riflemen to be made through houses which brought a fire to bear on the outwork of the fort, a large house to be occupied close to the Palace, and covered communication to be made to the mound.

The skirmishers of the Regiment penetrated gallantly into the Palace. The few men who still held it made an obstinate resistance, setting fire to trains of gun-powder, from which several of the 86th received fatal injuries.

Having received no reports from the right attack, composed of the 3rd Europeans and Hyderabad Contingent, I made my way to them in the south-east quarter of the city. I found them engaged with the Enemy, and making their way to the Palace; the Rebels were firing at them from the houses, which the troops were breaking open, and clearing of their defenders.

I found Lieutenant Colonel Turnbull, commanding the Artillery here, wounded mortally, I deeply regret to say, by a musket shot from a house.

He had followed me through the breach into the streets, and having received directions from me to bring guns into the city to batter houses in which Rebels held out, he had gone round by the right to the east quarter of the city to fix the road by which they were to enter. The Auba Gate was the best for guns, but it was so barricaded by masses of stones, that it could not be opened for several hours.....

The right and left attacks being now concentrated in the Palace, I gained possession of a large portion of the city by advancing the 3rd Europeans to the north-east, and occupying the Burrahgong-Gate (Baragaon Gate), on which I rested their right flank, forming an oblique line from the Gate to the Palace with the 3rd Europeans and the 86th in the Palace, the two Regiments occupying with picquets commanding houses to their front. This line was a prolongation of the second line leading from the mound under the front to the Palace. This done, it was necessary to clear the large portion of the city in rear of this oblique line of the numerous armed Rebels who remained in the houses, and who were firing on the troops.

This was not effected without bloody, often hand-to-hand, combats; one of the most remarkable of them was between detachments of Her Majesty's 86th Regiment and 3rd Europeans and thirty or forty *Vilaities* sowars, the body-guard of the Ranee in the Palace Stables under the fire of the fort. The sowars, full of opium, defended their stables, firing with matchlocks and pistols from the windows and loop-holes, and cutting with their *tulwars*, and from behind the doors. When driven in they retreated behind their houses, still firing or fighting with their swords in both hands till they were shot or bayoneted struggling even when dying on the ground to strike again. A party of them remained in a room off the stables which was on fire till they were half burnt; their clothes in flames, they rushed out hacking at their assailants, and guarding their heads with their shields.

Captain Rose, my *Aide-de-Camp*, saved the life of a man of the 86th, who was down, by bayoneting his assailant.

All the sowars were killed, but not without several casualties on our side. The gallant soldiers captured in the quarters of the sowars the Ranee's standards, three standards of the body-guard, three kettle drums and horses, and an English Union Jack of silk, which Sir Robert Hamilton tells me Lord William Bentinck had given (to) the grandfather of the husband of the Ranee, with the permission to have it carried before him as a reward for his fidelity, a privilege granted to no other Indian Prince. I granted the soldiers their request to hoist on the Palace the flag of their country which they had so bravely won. Captain Sandwith, who was wounded, commanded with a spirit the Europeans on this occasion, and Serjeant Brown of the Commissariat Department, was the first to dash boldly into the stables.

Numerous incidents marked the desperate feeling which animated the defenders. A retainer of the Ranee tried to blow up himself and his wife; failing in the attempt, he endeavoured to cut her to pieces and then killed himself. Two *Vilaities*, attacked by the videttes, threw a woman who was with them into a well, and then jumped down it themselves.

Whilst engaged in the town, I received a report from the Officer Commanding one of the Hyderabad Cavalry Flying Camps, that a large body of the Enemy, flying from the town, had tried to force his picquet; that a few had succeeded, but that the main body from 350 to 500 strong, had been driven

back, and had occupied a high and rocky hill to the west of the fort; that he had surrounded the hill with Cavalry till reinforcements were sent. I immediately ordered out from the Camps of the two Brigades, the available troops of all arms against the hill. The enclosed Report from Major Gall shows how satisfactorily these Rebels were disposed of. Lieutenant Park was killed whilst gallantly leading on a party of the 24th Bombay Native Infantry along the ridge of the hill. The Ranee's father, Mamoo (Mama) Sahib, was amongst the Rebels; he was wounded on the hill, and captured some days afterwards and hanged at the Jokun Bagh.

After having cleared the quarter of the town in our possession of the Enemy, I had intended attacking the remainder of it, but deferred doing so till the next day on Brigadier Steuart's representation that the men were too much exhausted for any further operations that day.

Towards sunset it was telegraphed from the observatory that the Enemy were approaching from the east. I had therefore to re-occupy with all the force I could collect the field of action of the Betwa, the devoted troops marching to a fresh combat after thirteen hours' fighting in a burning sun with as much spirit as if they had not been engaged at all.

The alarm proved to be a false one, troops from Tehree having been mistaken for the Enemy.

The next day Brigadier Stuart[1] and myself occupied the rest of the city by a combined movement, assisted by Major Gall, who spiritedly scaled the bastion at the Onow Gate from his Flying Camp, and capturing the gun that was there, threw it down the rampart.

The following morning, a wounded Mahratta retainer of the Ranee was sent in to me from Captain Abbott's Flying Camp. He stated that the Ranee, accompanied by 300 *Vilaities* and 25 sowars fled that night from the fort; that after leaving it, they had been headed back by one of the picquets where the Ranee and her party separated, she herself taking to the right with a few sowars in the direction of her intended flight to Bandiri (probably Bhander). The observatory also telegraphed "*Enemy escaping to the north-east*". I immediately sent off strong detachments of Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons,

[1] 'Stuart' has been spelt as 'Steuart' and 'Stewart' also in this document.

3rd Light Cavalry and Hyderabad Cavalry to pursue, with guns to support them, as it was said that Tantia Topee had sent a force to meet her. I also sent Brigadier Steuart, with Cavalry, to watch the fords of the Betwa.

In the meantime detachments of the 86th and 3rd Europeans took possession of the fortress.

In sight of Bandiri, 21 miles from Jhansie, the Cavalry came in sight of the Irregular Horse, sent to meet the Ranee, which separated probably with the view to mislead her pursuers as to her real course. Lieutenant Dowker, Hyderabad Cavalry, was sent by Captain Forbes through the town of Bandiri, whilst he with the 3rd Light Cavalry and 14th Light Dragoons, passed it by the left. *In the town Lieutenant Dowker saw traces of the Ranee's hasty flight, and her tent in which was an unfinished breakfast;* on the other side of the town he came up with and cut up forty of the Enemy consisting of Rohillas and Bengal Irregular Cavalry. *Lieutenant Dowker was gaining fast on the Ranee, who with four attendants, was seen escaping on a grey horse, when he was dismounted by a severe wound, and obliged to give up the pursuit.*

From the time the troops took the Palace, the Rebels lost heart and began to leave the town and fort. Nothing could prove more the efficiency of the investment than the number of them cut up by the picquets of the Flying Camps; the woods, gardens and roads round the town were strewed with the corpses of fugitive Rebels. The Ranee's flight was the signal for a general retreat. Early in the morning, I caused the outskirts of the city to be scoured with Cavalry and Infantry; it will give some idea of the destruction of insurgents which ensued when a party of the 14th Dragoons alone killed two hundred in one patrol. The Rebels, who were chiefly *Vilaities* and Pathauns, generally sold their lives as dearly as they could, fighting to the last with their usual dexterity and firmness. A band of 40 of these desperadoes barricaded themselves in a spacious house with a courtyard, vaults, etc.; before they were aware of its strength, it was attacked by a detachment of Hyderabad Infantry under Captain Hare, with the loss of Captain Sinclair, of whose conduct it is my duty again to make honorable mention. Reinforcements and several pieces of siege Artillery were brought up by Major Orr, who commanded the attack against the house, but even when it had been breached and knocked to pieces the Rebels continued to resist in the ruined passages and vaults. They were

all as usual destroyed, but not without several casualties on our part. Major Orr expresses his obligations to Captains Woolcombe and Douglas, of the Bombay and Bengal Artillery Lieutenant Lewis, and Ensign Fowler, of Her Majesty's 86th Regiment, the first very severely wounded, who led the men, and also Lieutenant Simpson, 23rd Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, wounded.[1]

THE CAPTURE OF JHANSI

The Jhansi despatches have at last been published. They were forwarded to the Governor General on the 30th of April, and appeared in the Allahabad Gazette on the 4th June.....

Sir Hugh Rose arrived before Jhansi on the 20th April. He had no correct plans and therefore was compelled to gain all his local information on the spot. The siege operations were thus delayed for a few days and the reconnaissance afforded but very little hope that the place could be carried by a *coup de main* or indeed taken except by a protracted siege.

THE CITY OF JHANSI

The city itself was found to be about four and a half miles in circumference "surrounded by a fortified and massive wall, from six to twelve feet thick and varying in height from eighteen to thirty feet thick with numerous flanking bastions armed as Batteries with ordnance and loopholes with a banquette for infantry". In addition the city was commanded by the Fort, which is built on an elevated rock and has massive granite walls about sixteen to twenty feet in thickness and well-protected by Artillery.

FORT OF JHANSI

The fortress is surrounded on all sides by the city of Jhansi except on the west face and part of the south. The west face is protected by the steepness of the rock on which the fort stands, and the south by a portion of the city wall, ending in

[1] Forrest : "*Selections from State Papers*" : Vol. IV, "*Central India*' pp. 39-50.

a "high mound or mamelon" which the enemy were then busily engaged in strengthening. It became Sir Hugh Rose's first object to secure this mound. He therefore with his right attack occupied a rocky ridge which took the mound in reverse and with his left attack another rocky ridge that looked towards the south face of the city wall and fort. The enemy had no posts outside the city, though they had an army estimated by Sir R. Hamilton at about 12,000 strong, which might have taken field.

Sir Hugh Rose opened fire on the 25th of April and at first paralysed the enemy, clearing the mound and setting on fire long rows of hayricks caused a conflagration in the city. But the next day the enemy recovered and replied to the fire.

REVOLUTIONARIES' ARTILLERY EXCELLENT : UNITED DEFENCE

Their Artillery practice was remarkably good; from some Batteries they returned shot for shot, women were seen hurrying along with ammunition and even assisting in working the Batteries, *faqueers* (*faqirs*) and fanatics exhorting the combatants to behave like men and taking part themselves in the fight. One Battery was indeed entirely served by *faqueers* who fought as their custom is under a black flag.....

DESPERATE DEFENCE BY RANI'S BODYGUARDS

The bodyguards of Rance were conspicuous for their desperate defence. Maddened with opium they defended their stables until they were burnt out and then rushing on their assailants with their clothes in a blaze, they attempted not to cut their way through but to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Indeed escape was not for a time so much thought of, some even preferring to throw themselves down wells than to surrender, and one *Velaitie*, after an unsuccessful endeavour to blow himself and (his) wife up attempted to hew her in pieces so that she might not fall into our hands. And yet Sir Hugh Rose with just and honest pride can point to the humanity of the British troops who on every occasion shewed the most tender solicitude for the safety and honour of the women and children of the conquered town. It is impossible not to perceive from the despatches before us that other influences than *Bhang*, a love of plunder and a dread of death

must have instigated so determined a resistance. It should be our endeavour to find out against what grievances and with what hopes the enemies are really fighting that they should in many instances prefer death to surrender.....[1]

SACK OF JHANSI

.....Next day with the dawn began desolation. Everyone of Jhansi was feeling as if he was lying in a cemetery, bound in a litter. Thinking uselessly regarding ways and means to escape from this adversity, the man was perplexed. After my arrival at the house of Mandavgane, I was absorbed with great impatience in the perplexity of 'tomorrow'. On this topic a conversation took place with Kesho Bhatt Mandavgane as well. He said, "You do not worry, there is a '*Bakhar*' (hiding place) on the back side of the mansion which is in our front. It exists inside the wall. The front portion of it is filled with grain, straw etc. There is no entrance for a man or animal. At first there was a way through a tunnel for entrance into the mansion. Ten or fifteen years back one dyer had constructed a small house at the opening of the tunnel. Due to this now no one knows the way of that tunnel. Through that tunnel we shall go into the '*Bakhar*' constructed in the wall". I enquired from Mandavgane as to what that *Bakhar* meant. He told me, "There used to be a great danger of thieves in Bundelkhand and for that very reason the walls of the house were built quite thick and the place was left in between them for hiding persons and property. There is one such lurkhole in that mansion. There is no air in it and terrible darkness pervades it. But instead of sacrificing life outside it is better that we should bear such hardship". Hearing this I was comforted. I thought, "All this device of protection is the effect of penance and austerity, at the feet of God. Let it be so".

That night I could perform '*Sandhya*' and take meals with ease. Then I ventured to have a look at the condition of the city from the roof top. The whole city looked like fiendish burial-ground. Due to the dreadful conflagration in

[1] "*The Friend of India*", Vol. 24, 1858, June 10, 1858 issue, p. 533, Heading—"The Capture of Jhansi".

the city everything was clearly visible even in the darkness of the night. In the lanes near relations maddened with sorrow, were lamenting mercifully sitting by the side of the corpses of their kinsmen. Poor people were crying for food and going a-begging. Animals were also roaming about here and there in quest of food and water. In Halwaipura mansions of rich people were engulfed in the flames. The flames were almost touching the sky and there was no device to extinguish that fire. Neighbouring houses were also catching the contagion of the dreadful flames. I began to tremble and shiver at the sight of this terrible ruin and devastation of the city of Jhansi; I felt mortified and no words could describe the fear that enveloped the heart. The fear of life is always very terrible. I could not sleep in the night and passed that night wide awake.

In the night we returned home from the tunnel. Just at that very time the wife and daughter-in-law of Karkarey—my neighbour, began to lament at my place. Poor Brahmin Karkarey, aged 60 or 65 years and his young son—both had been shot dead by the cruel European soldiers. Throughout the day mother-in-law and daughter-in-law both were in hiding with the dead bodies of their husbands, but when night came they began to fear; and coming to my place started begging for the disposal of the corpses.

Though at that time all of us were hungry, even then we at once got up, collected seven or eight neighbours and went to Karkarey's house. In the courtyard near the canopy of "Tulsi" plant we prepared a pyre and cremated the corpses. Fire-wood were insufficient. Anyhow, pyre was prepared with the wooden-doors, planks, cradle etc. whatever wooden material could be found. After their cremation I brought those poor ladies to my house. In such an adversity no one feels impurity or repugnance.

Next day remembering the previous day's happenings, we hid ourselves in the *Bakhar* even before the dawn. Innumerable men were slaughtered on that day. Even if an European was seen from a distance, people hid themselves behind the heaps of grass to save their lives. Europeans used to set the grass on fire and compel the persons in hiding to die in the same. If, due to their (Europeans') fear anybody tried to save his life by jumping into the well, they pitched themselves at the well with loaded guns. Then, either the poor man had to

die in the water in utter suffocation or forced to fall a victim to the bullets of Europeans in case he raised his head above the water. Several men took shelter in the fields. They were also searched out and killed. As, my neighbour Agnihotri Ji was coming out after performing '*Hom*' (a sacrificial fire), two Europeans with four Indian sepoys entered his house. They went straight to the place of sacrificial fire, with a steel lid. They suspected some money there. When they removed the lid, they found underneath only ashes. Their hands got burnt from the sacrificial fire as soon as they thrust their hands into it suspecting some money therein. On it they got irritated and, after killing Agnihotri, his brother and sons, they took away gold and silver ornaments. Eleven persons were killed in Agnihotri's house including him. His whole family perished. Whenever the Europeans saw any Indian they quenched their thirst for blood by killing him. Persons, who were closetted in the Bhidey's garden, were restless due to hunger for the last two days. On the third day European guards ordered them to bring food from their respective homes and take meals in the garden. This made everybody happy and they brought ration from their homes. Other persons also came in there along with them and thus due to their good luck they were saved from desolation on the third day.

In this way the desolation continued for three days. All available gold, silver, diamonds, rubies, pearls and emeralds on which they could lay their hands on were looted by Europeans. They must have got at least more than a crore of rupees in booty. Amazing is the fortune of a man ! Third day when the Europeans went into the Royal residences in the city they got a large treasure there too. There they did not leave a single rag. They also took away the books after breaking open the almirahs of the Jhansi Library which was very big and nicely managed. The ruling house of Jhansi, took keen interest in the care of books. They comprised collection of all the four *Vedas*, Commentaries on the same; *Sutras* of all branches with annotations; Appendices with notes; *Puranas*, and books on *Ayurveda* and *Jyotish* and all such books of high standard written in any part of the world. If any new book was heard of even at a place far away from Jhansi, a good calligraphist was immediately sent to copy it out. In case of necessity even the *Pundits* from Kashi used to come and consult Jhansi Library. All books were bound nicely and

strongly and were well-preserved. After removing the wrappers and opening the binding, foolish Britishers began to throw the books quickly on the road from the third storey. Leaves of these invaluable books being thus strewn in the air were meeting destruction. Carpets from *Farrashkhana* (store rooms),cushion-pillows, tents were removed to their camps, and the war-drums were pierced into in the *Naqqar-khana.* Their brass corners were taken away. The wicked Britishers did not even spare the temple of 'Lakshmi'. They looted the ornaments, clothes etc. of the Goddess. It seemed to me that the Goddess herself having got infuriated became averse to her own grandeur and deprived herself of the same. As the desolation would stop next day, Europeans were busy on that day with greater enthusiasm and utmost speed. They slaughtered people after hunting them from the dark corners of the houses and cells. Even the *Dharmashalas* and temples were resounding with slaughter and carnage of the great sinners. The most dreadful massacre took place at Koshthipur. There, even the poor ladies were put to the sword mercilessly.[1]

[1] Godse, Vishnu Bhatta: "*Manjha Pravas*", Marathi version: Hindi translation by Amrit Lal Nagar. pp. 105-11.

CHAPTER FIVE

BATTLE OF KALPI

REVOLUTIONARIES NEAR KALPI

From E. C. Bayley, Offg. Deputy Secretary to the Government N. W. P.

NARRATIVE— BANDA AND HAMIRPUR

These districts are still in the Rebels' hands, but rumours of Sir H. Rose's approach from the south are very prevalent among them; they are therefore concentrating in considerable strength and have entrenched themselves near Calpee. They are said to procure sulphur from Mirzapoor; an enquiry has been instituted as to the truth of this assertion. It does not quite appear on what terms the Chirkharee Raja has been forced to make peace with the rebels; he has certainly however surrendered some of his guns.

Tantia Topey, and the Bala Rao, the Nana's brother are the leading men among the Calpee rebels; their forces are becoming very numerous, but made up of very heterogeneous material.....[1]

NANA SAHEB AT KALPI

Confidential Telegram from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 25th Feb. 1858, to the Chief of the Staff, Cawnpore (Kanpur).

We have to-day received private information believed to be trustworthy that the Nana is now at Calpee with four Regiments of Cavalry, eight Regiments of Infantry and sixteen guns.

He will not enter the fort there, but lives in the middle of his own camp surrounded by his men.[2]

[1] Abstract N. W. P. Narrative, Foreign Deptt. 1858. Narrative of Events upto 28th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, 26th March 1858, Cons. No. 295. National Archives, New Delhi.

RANI LAKSHMI BAI LEAVES JHANSI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 27th March, 7 A. M., Saturday, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

....There is reliable intelligence from Calpee (Kalpi) that the Ranee of Jhansie has deserted her Fort and taken refuge with Toorjee Topee[1] in the Chirkaree (Charkhari) territory. Toorjee it is said will oppose Sir H. Rose. The rebels who crossed below Humeerpore made a night march on Ghatrma and burnt the *Thana* and *Tehsilee* (at) about 3 A. M. of yesterday. They returned at day-break; six of our men were killed.

The above is sent for information and it is not to be given to the public.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Robert Hamilton, Jhansi, to Governor General, Allahabad, dated 7th April 1858.

The Fort of Jhansie was occupied this morning (fifth). The Ranee went off on horseback with five attendants towards Jaloun. Cavalry gone in pursuit.[3]

RANI ESCAPES CAPTURE BY BRITISHERS

The officer concerned reported that the British troops were then in possession of the fort of Jhansi,which was evacuated by the rebel Rani and her troops on the night of the 4th or morning of the 5th. She arrived at Bundare (probably Bhander) on morning of the 5th, dressed as a man and armed with two swords and a pair of pistols accompanied by an escort of 4 sowars and her adopted son Damodar. The Rani was met by the following persons at Bundare : Tatea Topie's brother (name not known) and Buroojoo, nephew of Jawahar

[1] Toorjee Topee : May be a reference to Tatya Tope or his brother.
[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Singh and Mulla Kojee (Mulla Qazi) Wilayat Khan, Phon Singh[1] and others. She remained in *Tehsil* for two hours, but on hearing that our troops were in pursuit, she again went off, (even without having time to eat the food that was being prepared for her), towards Kalpi.

Wilayat Khan was killed by some of our lads in the pursuit and from what the officer could gather, the Rani herself had a very narrow escape from falling in our hands.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES FLOCK TO KALPI

On the 6th April, Calpie was being filled with the wounded and defeated rebels from Jhansi.[3]

CONCENTRATION AT GUR SARAI

1*st April*—To-day 300 Sowars and 700 Foot have come to within 1 *koss* of Goorsurai and wish the Chief to make over to them his guns and ammunition. The Chief has refused to comply with this request.

The *Vakeel* of Duttia has received a letter from Moth dated 30th March stating that it is reported that one Regiment of mutineers is at Ait[4], and was expected at Konch on the 31st and that two more Regiments with ammunition were at Oraee (Orai).

It is reported that these mutineers intend proceeding to Jhansie. The informant states that he has sent two *Hurkaras* to get correct information regarding the insurgents.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT ARJAR LAKE

2*nd April*—One *Hurkara* from Chutterpore has just now

[1] This name is not comprehensible.

[2] Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny Records, Bundle No. XIII, File No. 77, year 1855-80.

[3] Further Papers (No. 11) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 2 in No. 11, p. 32.

[4] *Ait*, Tahsil *Orai*, District *Jalaun*—A large village lying in 25° 53′ N. and 79° 16′ E., on the Cawnpore-Jhansi trunk road. It is 15 miles south-west of Orai; and is connected with Kunch to the north-west by a metalled road, and with Kotra to the south-east by a second class unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 145).

come into our Camp and states that yesterday he met with great many insurgents who were running at Arjar[1] lake. These men were in much distress. There were some wounded men. In the meantime one Sowar and a *Hurkara* of Jhansie reached them and desired them not to proceed further as the Ranee had taken the 18-pounder gun from us. On hearing this they commenced retracing their steps and came to Saugor by 8 P. M. They could not get anything to eat. The *Hurkara* left Saugor this morning and the rebels were still there. They are stated by the *Hurkara* to be about 15,000 men with 4 guns.

PESHWA ORDERS CONCENTRATION

4th April—The *Killadar* of Tehrolee reports on the 29th March that 3 *Pultuns* of the Peshwa are reported to be advancing from Oraee to Moth and thence they may go to Jhansie, or to some other place.

The *Killadar* of Dhora writes on the 31st that all the Nidcelas (or Mudeelas)[2] that escaped from Chundeeree (Chanderi) and remained concealed in the jungle have now assembled at the Tankot Gubvia (name not comprehensible). They may either go to Jhansie or plunder the country all round.

TATYA TOPE AT BHANDER

The *Killadar* of Tehrolee reports on the 1st of April that 4 Regiments have come from Kalpee to Goorsurai. Tomorrow, they are reported to reach this place. The *Thakoors* of *Hosht Guddee* have received *Perwanahs* from the Peshwa directing them to attend with their followers and supplies. The Chirgong man reports on the 3rd April that Tantia Topey with 6000 Horse and Foot and 3 guns after crossing the Baitwah at Kudora has gone to Bhandair.

Gujadhur (Gajadhar), a servant of the *Jaghirdar* of Kutaira, writes on the 3rd instant from Ladhera that the Peshwa's force after being defeated at Jhansie came to Burwa Saugor

[1] *Arjar*, Tahsil *Mau*, District *Jhansi*—A small village, eighteen miles east of Jhansi 25° 19′ N. and 78° 55′ E., with a population of 440 souls. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 231).

[2] Apparently spelt for 'Bundelas'.

(Barwa Sagar) and thence to Mhow. Those, that have not bolted are at Mhow. 6 more Regiments are expected. When this reinforcement comes they intend to go to Jhansie, and to attack the British Camp.

A *Hurkara* from Chutterpore passed through Taherka[1] and saw the insurgents bolting. The Shahgurh and Banpore Chiefs with other insurgents had reached Mhow. The son of the Banpore Chief was missing. *Wyllaitees* and *Pandees* were reported to have gone to Kalpee.

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES OF BARWA SAGAR ASSEMBLE AT BHANDER

Roognath Singh (Raghunath Singh) *Jaghirdar* of Chirgong writes on the 4th April that about one thousand Horse and Foot passed through Chirgong. They were fired at and dispersed. After having been beaten they went to Bhandair *via* Paharn; most of them were killed and wounded. Two camels carrying *Dawks*, one of the Banpore Chief, and the other of Bukht Bullee (Bakht Bali) with 4 muskets and 3 swords and basins have been secured. Peshwa's force is reported to have collected at Bhandair. The *Killadar* of Patha reports on the 3rd instant (April) that the Peshwa's force after being defeated at Jhansie was dispersed. Some fled to Chirgong *via* Dhamobe Ghaut, some to Bijeyghur *via* Tareechur and Ahhora and others passed through Magurpore Taherka. Most of the villages were plundered. A *Hurkara* returning from Asair on the Bhandair road, states that the insurgents in small parties of 40 and 50 without arms were seen to be escaping from Jhansie. About 70 *Thakoors*, all armed, have gone to Baragong. It is reported that Oomrao Singh *Subadar* left Bhandair for Konch on the 3rd instant. About 150 Oodgowan *Thakoors* that had remained at Bhandair after the *Subadar* had left the station, have also gone to their villages, and Bhandair is completely empty.

POWARS OF KAREHRA IN ACTION

Another *Hurkara* who was sent to Kuraira[2] reports that

[1] *Taharka*—A railway station between *Niwari* and *Rani Pur Road*, on Jhansi-Banda line, 27 miles from Jhansi, Central Railway.

[2] Apparently spelt for *Karera*.

there are 4 large guns on the fort of Kuraira and 3 small pieces in city walls. These Pooars (Powars) that had collected at Dinara[1] intend going to Kuraira, now they have lost their spirits and are at a loss how to save their life (*sic*, lives).[2]

TATYA'S FORCES ASSEMBLE AT BHANDER

Abstract of Intelligence.

7th April 1858—The *Killadar* of Bumboree on the strength of the representations of informers reports on the 5th instant that a portion of the Insurgents that were defeated at Jhansi under Tantia Topey have gone to Bhandair *via* Chirgong (Chirgaon), while some under the Chiefs of Banpore and Shahghur with some mutinous Horse and Foot have come to Mow where Janow Bhaeea with Horse, Foot and guns has put up. Those that escaped from Jhansi have also joined the Mow force. It is reported that this force in conjunction with those that are expected from Calpee will march to Jhansi. Should the British force in the meantime move upon them they will resist. The strength of the rebels is daily increasing and the people of the place are prepared to side with them. Villages of the Tehree district greatly suffer at the hands of these mutineers.

BANPUR AND SHAHGARH CHIEFS AT MHOW

News from Goorsurai (Gur Sarai) is to the effect that the detachment of the Calpee rebels that threatened Goorsurai hearing that Tantia's force was defeated at Jhansi left Goorsurai for Calpee. About 500 other sepoys have also passed Garotha *en route* to Calpee, some of these were armed. The Chiefs of Banpore and Shahghur with 2,000 followers and two guns have reached Mow. These insurgents are weak at present and can be easily defeated and dispersed. The son of the Sareela Chief who was with Tantia, escaped to Goorsurai.[3]

[1] *Dinara*—A village in Pargana *Karera*, Zila *Narwar* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 25° 24′ Latitude N. and 78° 23′ Longitude E. with an area of 2521 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 103).

[2] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 25th June 1858, Cons. Nos. 125-26, Pp. 3760-63. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th May 1858. Nos. 127-28. National Archives, New Delhi.

TATYA'S INSTRUCTIONS TO DHIR SINGH

Letter from Tantia Topee (Tatya Tope) to Dhir Sing, dated Byskh (Baisakh) Badi 10 (year not given), corresponding to English date, 9th April 1858.

Your letter by Kamta Pershad arrived safely, in which you say, you have subjected all Bundlecund (Bundelkhand), and have 600 *Bundookchees* and 100 sowars. You have done well; march from Guronda to Bandeigr[1]. This force marches hence, towards Jhansi, to-morrow, write news from Bandbegr[2] too. The 14,000 caps you have, bring with you, and the 75,000 you took to Rewah, immediately send for and remit to Banda, and hence on by camel sowar.

Remarks :

Square seal on Envelope[3]

RANI OF JHANSI AND TATYA TOPE MOVE TO KUNCH VIA BHANDER

Abstract of Intelligence, 9th April 1858.

The Chief of Nurwur reached Bhandair on the 3rd instant. Tantia Topee with 500 sowars reached the same place on the 4th. Both these men with Oomrao Singh *Soobadar* left Bhandair on the morning of the 5th and reached Koonch the same day about 9 A. M. The same day the Rance of Jhansi with 16 horsemen and one female attendant reached Bhandair about 12 o'clock and put up with[4] *Kucheree*. While they were going to cook their meals information was given to them that the British troops were in pursuit. The Rance and her followers after taking a little milk immediately started for Koonch and joined Tantia Topee at midnight. The next morning all these insurgents with 4 guns and Tantia's property

[1] Name not clearly comprehensible. May have been spelt in an abbreviated form for *Bandhogarh* or *Bhander*.

[2] Ditto.

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 515. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra(which is in Allahabad)".

[4] This word should be 'within.'

worth 14 Lacs started for Calpee. Most of the inhabitants of the Bhandair district have gone to Native states. All the mutinous sepoys under Oomrao Singh *Soobadar* that were in the Bhandair district have gone to Calpee. It is also reported that the Chief of Nurwur has gone to Nurwur and not to Calpee as stated above.

KALPEE (KALPI)

About 10,000 rebels both Horse and Foot with 13 guns are reported to be at Kalpee at present.

KOONCH (KUNCH)

The inhabitants of Koonch and the people of the *Thana* have deserted the place.

KURAIRA (KARERA)

Reports from this place have reached to the effect that the Ranee's troops evacuated the place and all the *Thakoors* that were at Dinara have also run away.

Guneshjeo, one of the leaders under the Ranee of Jhansi, is reported to be in his village, Kairwa, in the Jhansi district. Jawahir Sing of Katailee who ran away from Jhansi with the Ranee, followed her to some distance, then departing from her has gone to some place with most of her property, his destination being not known.

Orcha authorities report that Mow is evacuated by the rebels.

The *Jaghirdar* of Kuraira reports on the 7th instant that the Mahratta army and the Chiefs of Banpore, Shahghur and Nurwur left Mow for Garotha.[1]

CHIEFS OF BANPUR AND SHAHGARH REOCCUPY MHOW

Abstract of Intelligence.

9th April— On last Tuesday the Mahratta Army left Mow.

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 9th April 1858, Nos. 151-55, National Archives, New Delhi.

A *Hurkara* from the Peshwa coming and finding that the station was not occupied went back to the place where the force had put up. The next day the insurgents and the Chiefs of Banpore and Shahghur returned to Mow and occupied it. 2 *Pulluns* are reported to have reached Kietea[1], 4 more with 6 guns are expected from Chirkharee, 3 more Regiments are reported to be moving on Mow *via* Goorsurai.

TATYA TOPE AND RANI OF JHANSI REACH KUNCH

News from Goorsurai dated 6th and 7th April are to the effect that Tantia Topey left Bhandair on the 5th at 12 noon, reached Konch the same evening and started again for Calpee the same day at 9 P. M. The Ranee of Jhansi with 5 sowars reached Konch on the 5th at 12 P. M.

RANI STARTS FOR KALPI

This morning, that is 6th April with Ram Row Govind *Sooba* of Konch and Topey's family, the Ranee started for Calpee. Konch is evacuated by Tantia's troops. At Jaloun there are about 2000 men, but the Taee Baee intends flying to Gwalior. Bhandair is completely evacuated. There are about 150 sepoys at Garotha and 50 at Nundavara. The Chiefs of Shahghur, Banpore and Nurwur with about 600 followers exclusive of the Ranee's troops which are reported to be about 2,000 men are at Mow, and have 4 guns. The *Mookhtar* of Goorsurai reports that about 700 men ran away from Jhansi, who were going to Calpee, were attacked by his master's troops at Saidnuggur[2] Kotra and were defeated.

10*th* (*April*)—Our news-writer at Sampthur furnishes the following news on the 8th instant.

CALPEE (KALPI)

The mutinous sepoys at Calpee have damaged all the

[1] Apparently *Kaitha*—A village in Pargana *Lahar* of Zila *Bhind* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 26° 8′ Latitude N. and 78° 59′ Longitude E. with an area of 2067 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 30).

[2] Apparently *Saiyid Nagar*, Tahsil *Orai*, District *Jalaun*, on the banks

roads round Calpee to a distance of one mile, viz. from Chourasee Goombuz (84 domes) to the bank of the Jumna and have dug ditches or trenches on all these roads. The bridges on the road have also been damaged, their object being to obstruct the progress of the British force. The following is a Memo of their posts each of which contains about 200 men :—

ON THE EAST AND SOUTH CORNER

1 Near Chourasee Goombuz.
2 At Murrya, Chourasee Goombuz.
1 At Mr. Garden(*sic*,).
1 At Khwaja Sundal's tank.

ON THE WEST

1 At old Suray (Sarai).
1 At Muchel Ray's (Machal Rai) Garden.

ON THE NORTH TOWARDS JAMNA

1 At Rajaghat.
1 At Bacc Ghat where there was a bridge.
1 At Baluwa Ghat.
1 At Tarikha Ghat.

ON THE EAST

1 At Russoolpoor (Rasulpur).
1 On the backside of the Godown.

There are a few other *Chowkees* or posts. Sowars continue patrolling all night. The insurgents have collected about 200 boats at the Rajaghat and the Baluwa Ghat. Egress and ingress is strictly prohibited without a strict search being made. It is reported that Europeans guard all the fords between Bhognee and Chilla Tara. The *Mahajans* or Bankers are forced to pay contributions. The strength of the rebels at Calpee was, previous to Tantia's joining them:

of the Betwa river lying in 25° 48′ N. and 79° 17′ E., 16 miles from Orai. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 190).

15 guns large and small
2000 mutinous sepoys from Moorar and other places
4000 men newly levied;
now total number might amount to 10,000 men.

JALOUN (JALAUN)

The same informant states that there are about one thousand men with 4 newly made guns at Jaloun under the Tace Baee. An equal number is reported to be on outpost duties and engaged in collecting the Revenue. There is a very little ammunition at Jaloun but abundance of supplies. It is reported that the Baee has paid one lac of rupees to the rebels—she having engaged to pay 20,000 Rs. a month, that the mutineers had asked for the balance but the lady put them off. At present there is no mutinous sepoys at Jaloun and the lady is extremely desirous of coming to terms with the British Government.

TAI BAI GOES TO KALPI

The jungle round Bhandair is infested by small parties of Pewars, and travellers are plundered. The informant in a P. S. adds that Tace Baee evacuated Jaloun. She is reported to have gone to Calpee with all her property.

CHIEF OF NARWAR AND TATYA AT BHANDER

Bunseedhur (Bansidhar), *Tehseeldar* of Bhandair, on the strength of the representations of men from Bhandair reports that the Chief of Nurwur was at Bhandair on the 30th March. The next day Tantia Topey came to the same place. On the 5th of April the Ranee of Jhansi with 5 sowars reached Bhandair about 9 A. M. and told the *Subadar* that she was fasting since last three days. The *Subadar* received her very kindly. After taking a little *Shurbut* she was going to rest when information was brought to her that the British force was in pursuit; she lost no time in mounting her horse and immediately started to Calpee *via* Jaloun. Her adopted son was with her on horse back with a sowar. She started about 3/4 of an hour before our troops reached Bhandair.

Praim Gir Goosaeen writes from Tahuraka on the 10th

instant that he had sent his men to Mow Raneepore to get information as to the strength and position of the insurgents. These men report that for the last 4 days all the shops are shut up. The inhabitants have deserted the place. There is no functionary to be seen at Mow or Raneepore. There are only 200 men insurgents at Mow. The *Thanadar* of the fort ran away. But the *Thanadars* of Mow and Raneepore are still at their posts. A detachment from the British as well as Tehree troops can easily occupy these two places. The Peshwa's troops, defeated at Jhansi, have gone to Calpee by the direct road, passing through the Garotha district. The Chiefs of Shahghur, Banpore and Nurwur went to Calpee on the 2nd instant, they took the Saigwa road.[1]

CALL TO JOIN REVOLUTIONARY ARMIES TO DEFEND THE FAITH

Translation of a Proclamation issued at the suggestion of Basdeo Punt (Vasudeva Pant), Bishnoo Pant (Vishnu Pant), Gungadhur Punt (Gangadhar Pant) and Bulwunt Rao (Balwant Rao), to all the Brahmins (of the Deccan) requesting their cooperation in defending their faith, dated Calpee (Kalpi), 26th Shaban, Chyte Budee (Chait Badi) 1780 Shaka, (11th April 1858).

Formerly we served the Peishwa with great zeal and alacrity in the hope that we might obtain *Jagheers* and donations, but now if all of us unite together in the present cause, we will please one Deity 'Maha Deo' and preserve our faith. We hope that all those who have attained the age of between 16 years and 23 and can use swords will serve as soldiers in the Regiments and thereby prosper. The *Sircar* re-requires the services of those Brahmins who have made up their minds to serve it. Those persons who wish to be appointed are enlisted in the house of Madaree Lall Bukhut (Madari Lal Bakht) in the vicinity of the Depot. Those who will come into that house and serve the *Sircar* to its satisfaction will prosper. With reference to this Proclamation, the Brahmins should unite together in defence of their faith, and act up to the orders which may be issued to them by the *Sircar*.[2]

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 128. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 651, Pp. 71-2. National Archives, New Delhi.

PESHWA'S INSTRUCTIONS TO RADHA KRISHNA CHAUBEY

To Radha Kishan Chowbey, dated 2nd Ramzan, 1274 A. H., corresponding with 17th April 1858.

At your request you are hereby directed to make night attacks and create disturbances in the territories of the Christians according to the best of your ability. Do not fail to do so.

Adopt such measures as may contribute to the satisfactory arrangement of the affairs of the *Sirkar* and enable you to destroy the infidels and send them to hell by making attack on them unawares. These acts will gain you prosperity.[1]

RADHA KISHAN CHOWBEY (RADHA KRISHNA CHAUBEY) AGREES TO CREATE DISTURBANCE IN BUNDELKHAND

Translation of an engagement entered into by Radhakishen Chowbey, Inhabitant of Muttra (Mathura), dated 2nd Ramzan, 1274 A. H., corresponding with 17th April 1858.

"Whereas a *Purwana* has been issued to me by the gracious *Sirkar* Sree Munth Punth Purdhan Maharajah Rao Sahib Peshwa Buhadoor (may he continue to prosper for ever) directing me to create disturbances and making night attacks in the territories of the Christians and whereas a few sowars, 19 in number have been appointed by the *Sirkar* to remain in attendance on me, I, in perfect health and sound understanding and of my own accord and free will do hereby agree to raise (after collecting a body of men) disturbances according to my ability in the territories above alluded to and to submit to the Maharajah for his inspection with the exception of the cash all the articles etc., which may be plundered such as arms, *sowaree* etc. The Maharajah will keep for his own use whatever out of them may be found to his liking and grant the remaining horses, arms etc., to the sowars in attendance on me. They will receive possession of them on the ground that I have no claim whatever on the *Sirkar* on account of the pay of the Horse and Foot employed by me, excepting the said 19 sowars lately appointed. If I assert at any time a claim on

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 649, Pp. 69-70. National Archives, New Delhi.

account of their pay, such claim shall be disallowed. I have therefore executed in writing these few lines in the form of a Deed that they may become of use in case of need".

As Radha Kishen Chowbey has this day appeared in person and attested this Deed with his signature, it is ordered that it be deposited among the records of this office.[1]

RAO SAHEB PRAISES BUNDELKHAND CHIEFS FOR THEIR GALLANTRY

Translation of a Parwana to Heera Sing (Hira Singh) Ressaldar (Risaldar), dated Calpee (Kalpi), 2nd Ramzan 1274, *corresponding with 17th April* 1858.

The *Sirkar* has only received your *Urzee* stating that you have been supplied with troops to accompanying (*sic*,) you to the field of battle at Jhansi and that you have come back to Mohna[2] from Calpee and praying that *Purwana* might be granted by the *Sirkar* to the Chiefs holding out assurance to them and also intimating, amongst other things, that the Chiefs are ready to wrest the munitions which are being sent from Agra (to Gwalior).

The gallantry displayed by the Chiefs has elicited great praises from the *Sirkar*.

The *Sirkar* is always ready to advance the interest of those Chiefs who evince their promptitude in defending their faith, a fact which is so well known that it need not be described.

In compliance with your request a *Purwana* holding out assurances to the Chiefs, is herewith sent to their address. It behoves them to act up to their representations. If they can perform valuable services to the *Sirkar* they will gain much credit and prosper.

As to your representations respecting the munitions, I have the pleasure to state that the more the Chiefs will use their exertions in the cause of the *Sirkar* the more they will be entitled to favor from it. You will adopt such measures as may tend

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 649, Pp. 66-7. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Mohana*, Tahsil *Orai*, District *Jalaun*—A large village lying in 25° 49′ N. and 79° 29′ E. on the banks of the Betwa, amid wild and broken ravine country. It is situated 14 miles to the south of Orai, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 182).

to the satisfactory arrangement of the affairs of the *Sirkar*. Whoever amongst the Chiefs will exert himself in its cause will undoubtedly prosper.

With regard to your request for assistance from the *Sirkar* I have to say that it is very desirable to comply with such request, but that as Lancers have been already sent to Jhansi for the purpose of expelling the infidels, no aid of them can now be afforded. It however matters nothing; you may rest assured that due aid will be immediately given to you by the *Sirkar* whenever required.[1]

PROCLAMATION OF RAO SAHEB TO CHIEFS OF BUNDELKHAND

To all the Chiefs and Talookdars (Taluqadars) of Kuchhovahghar (Kachhwagarh) etc., dated Calpee (Kalpi), 2nd Ramzan, 1274 A. H., corresponding with 17th April 1858.

Certain dependents of the Maharaja Peshwa have represented to him that you, the Chiefs of the districts above alluded to, are ready to take upon yourself the responsibility (for your proceedings in the present undertaking) but that you require a *Purwana* from the Maharaja holding out assurances to you. His Highness expressed his great satisfaction at the receipt of this welcome information, you are hereby assured that the more you will display your gallantry, on the present occasion the greater benefit will accrue to you. The first benefit is that (you) will be loved by the Supreme Being as you are defending the faith. The second that you will elicit praise from the *Sirkar*. It is the wish of the *Sirkar* that such steps as may regulate its affairs and lead to the extermination of the infidels, should be taken. Those who will perform meritorious services will in lieu of them obtain suitable *Jagheers*, situations and titles from the *Sirkar*. It has come to the knowledge of the Maharaja that you have determined on wresting the munitions which are being sent from Agra to Gwalior. You are desired to use your best exertions to take possession of the same; you may rest assured that the *Sirkar* is well-disposed to support you.

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 649, Pp. 67-8. National Archives, New Delhi.

It appears from the *Urzee* of Heera Singh *Ressaldar* that your valour has been well established. You are therefore directed to act immediately at your own discretion. A delay is not desirable with reference to the present circumstances. You will learn all other particulars from the *Purwana* to the address of Heera Singh.[1]

AMMUNITION PREPARED AT KALPI

Abstract Translation of an anonymous *Urzee* praying that the persons who can make Caps for muskets may be sent to the writer—and saying that the Caps are made at Kalpee, but that no one knows with what composition they are filled; begs that anybody who is acquainted with the nature of this composition may be sent (to Kalpee).

Without date.[2]

PESHWA'S CALL TO ZEMINDARS FOR ASSISTANCE

Translation of the Proclamation issued by Sreemunt Peshwa Bahadoor (Shrimant Peshwa Bahadur) (without date).

Be it known to all the *Zemindars*, Chiefs, Merchants, *Khundsarees* (dealers in sugar etc.,) and Bankers, that whoever amongst the *Zemindars* shall join me, accompanied by his men with provisions for them and ammunition, will receive credit for the price of those articles in the accounts relative to the revenue of his *Zemindaree*, and also a remission of the whole of the revenue for two years, and afterwards of 4 annas in the Rupee per annum for 8 years. That whoever amongst the *Zemindars* shall afford me aid, only in grain, bean etc. as well as in balls, bullets and gun-powder, will obtain credit for the same in the accounts relating to the revenue of his *Zemindaree*, and a remission of the rent for one year, and afterwards of 4 annas in the Rupee for four years; that whoever amongst the *Zemindars* from a feeling of regard for the English, upon whom the wrath of God has fallen for their evil intention of converting

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859., Supp., Cons. No. 649, Pp. 68-9. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supp., Cons. No. 650, p. 71. National Archives, New Delhi.

Hindoos and Mahomedans to Christianity, shall hesitate to render services to the *Sirkar* or shall oppose, or desert it, or shall not procure supplies will be visited with due punishment.

That, the Chief Ahmed Ali Khan alias Munwurooddowlah, who ate the salt of the Ruler of Oude, has been ruined, both in respect to this world and the next, owing to his attachment to the English. He was beaten by the *Telingas* and breathed his last. His house was pillaged and he lost his honor. That the *Zemindars* will henceforward be responsible for plunder or highway robbery, committed in their *Zemindarees*. That those Chiefs, or *Khundsarees*, who shall render assistance to the *Sirkar* will obtain *Khilluts* of distinction. That after my arrival (at Calpee) if a *Zemindar*, merchant, or a *Khundsaree* supply the English with provisions or afford them pecuniary aid, due punishment will be inflicted on him. That whoever amongst the bankers shall pay into my Treasury one Lakh of Rupees, will get interest thereon at the rate of 2 per cent(per mensem) until the liquidation of the principal, and whoever shall pay fifty thousand Rupees, shall receive interest at 1½ per cent, and whoever shall deposit twenty-five thousand Rupees shall obtain interest at 1 per cent—and that no sum under twenty-five thousand Rupees will be received in the Treasury. The said Bankers will also obtain from the King, *sunnud* of their good character and sincere attachment to the interest of the *Sirkar*. These certificates will contribute to the exaltation of their dignity and honor in the estimation of their compeers. That no demand of revenue will be made from the Bankers until debts due to them are liquidated. That whoever amongst the Chiefs or *Zemindars* shall fall into the hands of the English, will be made a Christian by them, like Narain Rao, son of the *Subedar*, Ramchund Rao. The treatise addressed to the royal troops, throws a light upon the nature of the fraudulent proceedings of the English. Whoever will offer himself a candidate for a situation, will (if his services be required) be appointed to a post; which he may be qualified to hold. Ten Regiments of *Nujeebs*, two thousand Artillery men, and 5 Regiments of *Telingas* will shortly be appointed.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 652, Pp. 72-74. National Archives, New Delhi.

INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING ASSISTANCE TO VAMAN RAO

Translation of a letter from.....to the Nawab Bahadoor (Bahadur), dated.....

It appears from the letter of Pundit Bamun (Vaman) Rao, Paymaster, employed at Humeerpore that he stands in need of a small sum of money in order to procure gun-powder and bullets for the sepoys armed with matchlocks and also to construct Batteries. I request therefore that you will be good enough to send to him fifty Rupees (*sic*,) out of the amount received from Humeerpore, to enable him to purchase gun-powder etc., collect workmen, and employ them in erecting Batteries.

No letter from Tanteea Topee, regarding the requisition made by Bamun Rao of the guns available at Kudoorah, has been received by me. I know nothing of this, but in my judgement it is proper that out of your two guns, the one of the larger calibre should be kept at Humeerpore and that of the smaller at Kudoorah. In case of emergency the latter one can be sent to Humeerpore.

It is very desirable that whatever number of the bullocks attached to the Artillery of the English, and which are marked with numbers, may be found in any places within the *Ilaqua* of Baonee and in Pergunnah Humeerpore, should be collected either at Kudoorah or at Humeerpore. If measures be adopted to bring about this object, I request you will have the goodness to issue positive injunctions to your officers employed in the villages and to send a copy of this letter to Bamun Rao for his information.[1]

Abstract Translation of the Urzees (Arzis), Purwannahs (Parwanas) etc.

NO. 1 :—THREE PAPERS VIZ.

1*st*— *Urzee* of Altaf Hossein *Jemadar* of the *Thannah* of Humeerpore stating that the sowars came from Calpee to Humeerpore and went back to the villages of Bhownee Kuttree etc. and that five or six *Zemindars* were ready to discharge the revenue of their *Zemindarees*.

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supp. Cons. No. 653, Pp. 74-5. National Archives, New Delhi.

2*nd*—*Urzee* from Khoda Buksh (Khuda Bakhsh) *Jemadar* stating that Tantea Pundit came to Humeerpore with the sowars of Calpee and felt displeased with him on the ground that he refused to supply him with the two men whom he (Tantea) had required from him(for the purpose of sending them to the Bijrowlee Ghat in order to ascertain whether the European soldiers had crossed the river at that *Ghat* or not) and representing that the circumstance of the guns under his charge lying in the jungles placed him under the necessity of making such refusal.

3*rd*—*Urzee* of Khadeen Hossein (Khadim Husain) communicating that the sowars came to Humeerpore, that an excessive ferry tax was levied from the persons who crossed the river and that Pundit Tantea accompanied by the sowars of Calpee arrived at Humeerpore.

NO. 2:—7 PAPERS VIZ.

Perwannah of Mahomed Eshaq directing the remittance of 50 rupees to Gopal Rao *Akhbarnavees* (news-writer) attached to the Chilla Tarra Ghat being the account of the wages of the *Hurkarahs*—several receipts for the sums received by the *Hurkarahs*—and an *Urzee* of Gopal Rao, the said news-writer, praying for a *sowaree* poney for himself and stating that he had sent a person to ascertain whether the intelligence received by him (Gopal Rao) to the effect that four hundred European soldiers and two Companies of the Sikh troops left Bendikur for the banks of the Jumna was correct or not.

No. 3—Rules fixed by Syud Mahomed Eshaq (Ishaq) relating to the appointment of 100 *dak Hurkarahs*.

No. 4—*Urzee* of Gopal Rao, news-writer, attached to the Chilla Tarra Ghat, stating that in compliance with his former request 5 rupees were fixed by the *Sircar* as the wages of the *Hurkarahs* under him, but that now four rupees were fixed, and representing further that the business was so heavy that its performance required the services of more that (*sic*,—than) 6 *Hurkarahs*.

A *Perwannah* was issued to him on the back of this *Urzee* relating to the *Hurkarahs* etc.

No. 5—*Urzee* of Gopal Rao, the news-writer, stating that he had received money to pay the *Hurkarahs*, and enclosing a list showing the sums paid by him to those *Hurkarahs*.

No. 6—*Perwannah* addressed to Gopal Rao in reply to his *Urzee* praying that *Perwannahs* might be issued granting the remission of revenue on account of *Zemindarees* of those *Zemindars* etc., who fought against the English. The *Perwannah* in question is to the effect that "as this case relates to the territories of the Nawab of Banda, no *Perwannahs* can be issued from this office".

No. 7—*Perwannah* issued to the *Akhbarnavees* (news-writer) at Chilla Tarra with reference to the application of Gopal Surun (Gopal Sharan) the *Dak* and *Akhbar* Superintendent to the effect that no news from the above news-writer was received for two days.

No. 8—A Proceeding held by Ramchund Pandoorung Tantea (Ramchand Pandurang Tatya) with reference to an *Urzee* from Syud Mahomed Eshaq.

The Proceeding is to the effect that "as you represent that no proper arrangements have been made regarding those *Ghats* of the Jumna the crossing of which has not been put a stop to, you are desired to furnish me with a list containing the names of the *Ghats* in question, together with your opinion respecting the arrangements to be made thereof. You are also directed to send here those men who have communicated to you the mismanagement of the affairs of the *Ghats* above referred to".

No. 9—Two *Urzees* of Sheik Aman Ali (Shaikh Aman Ali)—one to the effect that "I will wait upon the *Huzoor* tomorrow"; the other runs thus— "I have received your *Shoqua* according to which I have come to this place and am taking steps for procuring the things known to you. I have already written on the subject to you. I will wait upon you to-morrow".

No. 10—*Urzee* of Gopal Surun the *Dak* and *Akhbar* Superintendent stating that the *Mooktar* (*Mukhtar*) of the Nawab of Kudoorah had sent to him (the Superintendent) a list of the *Dak Chowkees* established as far as Kudoorah and praying for orders as to whether he should send the *Dak* letters through the *Hurkarahs* under him or through those under the *Mooktar*. The list in question is an enclosure of that *Urzee*.

No. 11—*Urzee* of Gowree Sunkur Sookul (Gauri Shankar Shukul) a Brigade-Major to the address of the Peishwa. It runs thus—"When you crossed the Ganges, you observed that the sepoys and sowars would be paid at Calpee. It is now 19

days since you reached Calpee but no payment has as yet been made".

No. 12—*Urzee* of Gowree Sunkur Abustee (Awasthi) a Brigade-Major stating that the want of conveyances for carrying his bogs[1] and the non-receipt of the Caps as well as the estrangement of the sepoys prevented him so long from taking his departure and that he would depart on the following day.

No. 13—Reports of Jankie Persad, a Report *Mohurrir*, and Beharilall, an acting Report *Mohurrir* to the effect that everything is quiet at the Ferry of Humeerpore. They state in one of their reports that they have heard *that a few Royal Regiments have entered the Fort of Allahabad, that* 300 *Sikhs have been killed and that the Nawab of Furruckabad* (*Farukhabad*) *also has gained a victory.*

No. 14—Fragments of an Index.

No. 15—Three *Urzee* (*sic*, *Urzees*) of Sheik Aman Ali, one to the effect that 2000 rupees have sent[2] to the Treasury at Jullalpore (Jalalpur)[3]. The second one stating that in accordance with the orders of the *Huzoor*, the sum of 400 rupees has been remitted to the Paymaster Bamun Rao. The third or last one, representing that the Paymaster pressed him (Sheik Aman Ali) very much for the money ordered to be paid to him and praying that orders may be issued to the Paymaster directing him not to press him so much on a future occasion.

No. 16—A Mahratta letter from *Pandoorung Rao Tantea Tope to Naunkee Rao, brother of Nana Sahib.* It runs thus: "Our troops sacked Chirkari; as the Rajah waved his handkerchief standing on the rampart of the fort, the conflict was discontinued. Our troops are lying now around the city and the fort". In this letter Bulwant Rao praised the gallantry displayed by Tantea.

No. 17—A Mahratta (Marathi) letter from Ali Bahadoor to the brother of Nana Sahib. It states that, "I have heard with much gratification of your arrival at Jaloun. I am making satisfactory arrangements regarding the Chilla Tarra and other *Ghats*. I have sent letters to Baboo Sahib and Rao

[1] The word is wrongly spelt for 'bags'.

[2] The phrase should have been written as 'have been sent' and not 'have sent'.

[3] Apparently *Jalalpur*—A village in Pargana *Isagarh*, Zila *Isagarh* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 24°31′ Latitude N. and 77°37′ Longitude E. with an area of 146 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 153).

Sahib of Tirohan, requesting them to make arrangements respecting the *Ghats* at Rajapore etc. They have stated in reply that they are arranging the affairs of the *Ghats* under their protection in a very satisfactory manner".[1]

Letter from Bukshi Maha Rao (Bakhshi Maha Rao) to Dhir Sing, dated Bysakh Sudi (Baisakh Sudi) 5th, Samvat 1915, *corresponding to the English date, 18th April* 1858.

Acknowledges a letter by the hand of "Kamptapershaud" sepoy. Explains the delay in answering it; says—Basudeo Pundit is gone to Calpee. When he returns I will send him. Ends with expressions of friendship.[2]

WARNING TO DHIR SINGH ABOUT THE APPROACH OF THE ENGLISH

Letter from Srikishn Chund (Sri Krishna Chand) to Dhir Singh.

Says 2000 Rupees have been sent to him, 500 to Punjab Sing. Letters have been received the day before yesterday announcing Runmust Sing's (Ranmast Singh) and Punjab Sing's approach. Bisheshur, whom I sent for news to Nagode, is now returned, and says that Runmust Sing and Punjab Sing are with you at Neeim, and that to day a *Hurkara* told the *Sahib* he had seen you all together. He (the *Sahib*) ordered a force to go out, to surround and arrest you all three; and it is moving against you, so be on your guard. What I have heard I write at once. The *Sahib* has set two *Munshis* to keep guard over me, wherefore don't come here, be very careful of that when the force comes to Punna (Panna); I shall have nothing more to fear. What else I have to say I will write hereafter, but I now write in haste.

Remarks :

Apparently from the Rewah Raja, for reasons explained in remarks on numbers 13, 16, and 17. The date has been omitted in the hurry of despatch; it must have been written, I

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 654, Pp. 75-8. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 527. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

think, some time in May probably towards the end of May, for it refers to the despatch of the 2500 Rupees, which from No. 21 clearly took place about the time Captain Osborne went from Rewah to Nagode which again from No. 13 it is evident was in May. Captain Osborne however will probably recollect the incident and be able to give the exact date, the letter is evidently written in hot haste.[1]

NANA SAHEB SOLICITS REWA RAJA'S SUPPORT

Letter from the Nana to Rugho Raj Sing (Raghuraj Singh) (the Raja of Rewa), dated Baisakh Sudi* 10, *Sambut (Samvat)* 1915, *corresponding to English date, 23rd April* 1858.

A. C. (after compliments)—Seeing the faith perishing I have girt my loins to defend it, and I have suffered much for it. But this is no man's doing. It is God's design; I have done my utmost; as I have already written to you, the faith is the faith of us all. I have endeavoured to support and defend it; all chiefs, and monarchs, Hindoo or Musulman who assist the English, the destroyers of the faith, destroy their religion with their own hands. You are not of such a disposition for I am much pleased by what Dhir Sing has written of you. There is an ancient friendship and regard existing between us. This[2] increased by joining with us for the faith. On reading this letter, at once send off your guns and forces and do not hold any intercourse with the other side. On reading this letter, hunt out any enemies wherever they are, put them to death.

Remarks :

*addressed at full length.[3]

NANA SAHEB EXHORTS DHIR SINGH TO JOIN HANDS WITH HIM IN DEFENCE OF THE FAITH

Letter from Nanah to Dhir Sing, dated Bysakh Sudi (Baisakh Sudi) 10, *Sambut (Samvat)* 1915, *corresponding to English date, 23rd April* 1858.

Says, your letter addressed through Tantia Topee has been

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th Dec. 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, Pp. 527-8. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[2] The words here should be, "This will be".

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement,

received expressing your devotion to the *Sirkar*, and saying that you have arrived at Chitturkote. Punjab Sing and Raja Gungadhur Narine (Narain) *Barndampayan* have always praised you, but your conduct had not borne out their words. Now Busdeo Bhut (Vasdeo Bhat) writes you have actually arrived with a force at Chitturkote, and we are much pleased. This is just what we wished. (The letter goes on to say,) this is a religious warfare, many Rajahs and Chiefs have joined in it, and are about to do so; but conceal their intention; when it is avowed the *Kafirs* will not have any place to stand on. Exhorts him to be faithful and to exhort the Rajah* to act honorably, this being a religious warfare, in which antecedents or consequences are not to be considered. Promises him greater rank; tells him to come and meet him from Chitturkote at Gajsutra.

Remarks :

*Probably the Rewa Rajah.[1]

Letter from Runmust Sing (Ranmast Singh) to Gundharwa Sing (Gandharva Singh), dated Bysakh Sudi (Baisakh Sudi) 11th, Sambut (Samvat) 1915, corresponding to the English date, 24th April 1858.

An agreement to entertain 18 men at an yearly salary, payment to be made in rupees current (in the force) to serve in any country; names of 16 men given, at various rates.

Remarks :

Gundharwa Sing I do not know. Captain Osborne, or Major Ellis may be able to identify him.[2]

RANI OF JHANSI, TATYA TOPE, SHAHGARH AND BANPUR CHIEFS TO OPPOSE HUGH ROSE'S ADVANCE

Letter from Governor General of India to the Court of Directors, East India Company, dated Allahabad, May 1, 1858, enclosing Narrative of Events.

Bundlecund—General Whitlock's force defeated the rebels

Cons. No. 1237; Pp. 532-3. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 519. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 513. National Archives, New Delhi.

after a severe engagement at Bhowraghur[1] on the 19th April. Captured four guns and three elephants. Banda had been evacuated, and the Nawab was reported to have gone to Tirohan. On the 28th April, Tantia Topee and the Ranee of Jhansi, with 4,000 men and five guns, and the Rajahs of Shahghur and Rampore (*sic*, Banpur), with 3,000 men, were at Koonah[2], to oppose Sir. H. Rose's advance, and the Rao Sahib, with 1,000 men, and the relics of the Banda Nawab's force, with three guns, were at Jullalpore to oppose General Whitlock. Only 2,000 men and three guns are reported to be at Calpee.[3]

RAO SAHEB AT JALALPUR TO OPPOSE WHITLOCK

Telegram from the Judge of Cawnpore (Kanpur), to Muir, dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), April 30, 1858.

Mr. Sherer has news of Calpee on 28th. Tantia Topee and the Rance of Jhansi, with 4,000 men and five guns and the Rajahs of Shahghur and Banpore, with 3,000 men, total, 7,000 with five guns, are encamped at Koonah[2], to oppose Sir H. Rose. The Rao Sahib, with 1,000 men, and the relics of the Banda Nawab's force, are at Jullalpore, with three guns, to oppose Whitlock. The rebels seized three guns of the Tehree Chief, and sent them to Calpee. Only 2,000 men and three guns at Calpee.[4]

REVOLUTIONARIES SEIZE GUNS OF TEHRI CHIEF

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra. dated 30th April 1858.

We have news from Calpee up to the 28th. Tantia Topee and the Ranee of Jhansee with four thousand men and five guns and the Rajahs of Shahghur and Banpore with three

[1] An important fort in *Banda*.
[2] Apparently spelt for *Kunch*.
[3] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 1 in No. 14, Pp. 146-7.
[4] *Ibid.*, Inclosure 24 in No. 14, p. 153.

thousand men, total seven thousand men with five guns are encamped at Koonch to oppose Hugh Rose. The Rao Shaib (Rao Saheb) with one thousand men and the relics of the Banda Nuwab's force is at Jellalpore with three guns to oppose General Whitlock. The rebels seized three guns from the Tehree Chief and sent them to Calpee. There are only two thousand men and three guns at Calpee. Sir Hugh Rose was at Jhansee and General Whitlock at Banda by the latest accounts.[1]

BATTLE OF KUNCH

Letter from Captain F. W. Pinkney, Superintendent, Camp Orai, dated 10th May 1858.

In continuation of my letter No. 138, dated the 30th April 1858, I have the honor to inform you that on the 7th May 1858, the force under Sir H. Rose attacked the mutineers etc. from Kalpee who had taken up a strong position at Koonch, and with whom were the Ranee of Jhansie and Tantia Topee. Sir H. Rose by a flank movement succeeded in turning their defences and took the old fort which rendered their position untenable and they retreated with precipitation followed up by our Cavalry and Field Artillery which killed about 350 or 400 mutineers of the 32d, 52d, 56th Bengal N. I. and of the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 6th Gwalior Contingent and took nine guns. We lost about 25 killed of whom 12 were by sun-stroke. The enemy's Cavalry behaved as usual very ill and fled early in the day as did the Ranee and Tantia Topee. On the 9th the force advanced to Hurdoree[2] in the fort of which place 4 more guns were found.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT KALPI

2*nd*—The mutineers are now concentrated at Kalpee with the Banda Nawab near Jellalpoor (Jalalpur). The Jaloun Ranee is at Jaloun and it is said wishes to come in.....

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently *Hardari*, two miles from Dhourra, Pargana *Balabehat*, Tahsil *Lalitpur*, District *Jhansi*.

4th—As yet the Chanderee district is quiet but as the Shahgurh and Banpoor Rajahs with 4000 followers have separated themselves from the Kalpee mutineers and have made south for their own territories I am afraid the Chanderee district will again become disordered as few or no troops can be spared to occupy it.[1]

TATYA TOPE AND JHANSI RANI REACH KALPI

Telegraphic Message sent by E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 13th May 1858.

Gwalior, 11th May 1858—All well at Gwalior.

The news-writer reports from Sir Hugh Rose's Camp, dated 9th instant.

The Camp reached Hurdoee[2] on the 9th instant.

The Chief of Goorserai paid his respects, and was entrusted with the charge of Koonch. 2 guns and 250 men were left for its protection. The inhabitants, who had fled, had been invited to return. Major Orr's Brigade had started for Orai.

Tantia Topee and the Ranee of Jhansee had fled to Calpee.

15 rebels were captured in a small fort at Hurdoee, and are to be hung.

The Koonch people reported that the Ranee of Jhansee dressed in manly attire and armed with sword and dagger rides at the head of 50 sowars and 100 matchlockmen. She wears a valuable pearl necklace at all times.

Nothing of the Kotah Brigade.[3]

DEFENCE OF KUNCH

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 11th May,

Sir Hugh Rose has obtained a decisive victory over the

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 80. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Spelt as '*Hurdoree*' in another document.

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 74. National Archives, New Delhi.

rebels at Koonch. They had thrown up entrenchments, but their defences were turned by a flank movement, and the town of Koonch was occupied after an hour's fighting. The enemy retired towards Calpee, were pursued with Horse Artillery and Cavalry for 8 miles. They lost 8 guns,quantities of ammunition and their tents. Few casualties on our side. This victory was obtained on the 7th instant. Sir Hugh Rose would resume his march towards Calpee on the 9th.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES DEFEATED AT KUNCH

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 12th May 1858, 9 *P. M.*

The rebels have been defeated at Koonch by Sir Hugh Rose, it is supposed losing four or five hundred men; they will make a stand it is said at Chaurassee Goombuz near Calpee...[2]

DHIRAJ SINGH CALLED TO BANDA

Letter from Subedar Chutter Sing (Chhattra Singh) to Dhiraj Singh, dated Bysakh (Baisakh) Sudi 13th, Sambut (no yr.), corresponding to the English date, 12th May 1858, No. 2.

Says the news you give of the "victory of faith" is excellent; tells him to come to Banda, *via* Chitturkot, and to write to him when he marches, and the writer will send a *sirdar* for "*Peshwai*" to bring him from Banda. Provisions prepared on the road. Punjab Sing has spoken most highly of Dhiraj Sing.

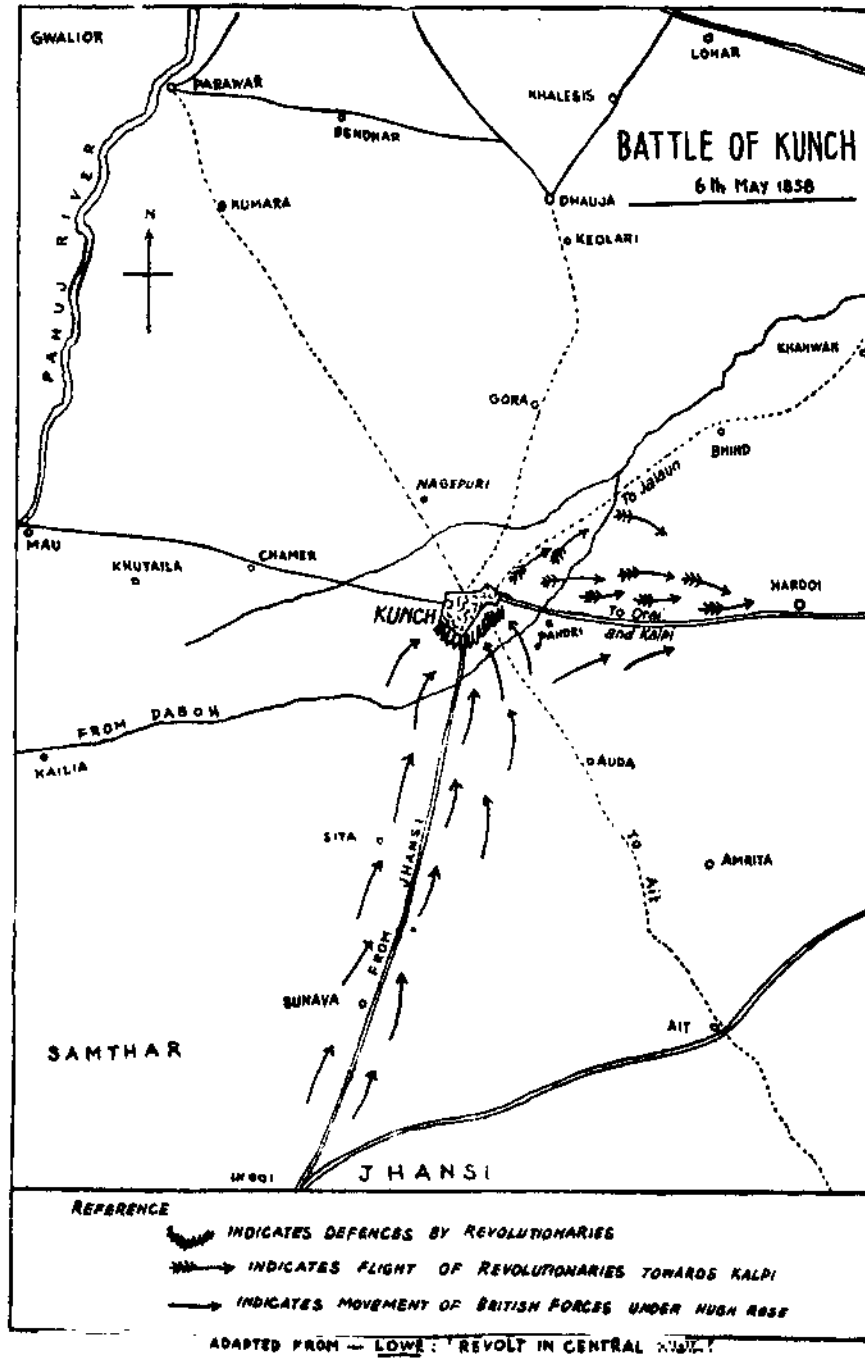
Remarks :

Writer's name not given in the letter, but Seal, on the envelope, seems to be that of the Bijey Raghogurh Rajah. I feel somewhat doubtful however of the identification.[3]

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 514. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".


GWALIOR
LOHAR
PAHAWAR
KHALESIS
BENDHAR
BATTLE OF KUNCH
6th May 1858
PANJU RIVER
KUMARA
DHAUJA
KEOLARI
KHANWAR
GORA
BHIND
NAGEPURI
To Jalaun
MAU
KHUTAILA
CHAMER
KUNCH
HARDOI
To Orai and Kalpi
PANDRI
FROM DABOH
KAILIA
AUDA
SITA
JHANSI
To Ait
Amrita
SUNAVA
FROM
AIT
SAMTHAR
JHANSI
REFERENCE
INDICATES DEFENCES BY REVOLUTIONARIES
INDICATES FLIGHT OF REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS KALPI
INDICATES MOVEMENT OF BRITISH FORCES UNDER HUGH ROSE
ADAPTED FROM — LOWE : REVOLT IN CENTRAL

FALL OF KUNCH

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 13th May 1858, 1/10 A. M., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

.....A message from Sir Robert Hamilton despatched by Telegraph from Agra to-day states that the rebels had been attacked and driven from their entrenchment and the town of Koonch occupied by Sir H. Rose's force. The rebels were pursued and suffered very severely, losing four guns altogether, eight guns of sizes have been taken. The rebels are said to be scattered and broken. Sir R. Hamilton's message is not dated, but from a telegram just received from the Judge at Cawnpore it would appear that the action at Koonch took place on the 8th instant; and that part of Sir H. Rose's force already advanced as far as Oorai towards Calpee. It is clear that the report mentioned in a former message of an action having taken place at Koonch was unfounded.[1]

RAJA OF BIJAIRAGHOGARH AFFIRMS LOYALTY TO REVOLUTIONARIES' CAUSE

Letter from Rajah of Bijeraghogurh (Bijairaghogarh), to the Nana, Jeyet (Jeth) Sudi 1st, Samvat 1915, corresponding to the English date, 14th May 1858, No. 4.

Abstract :

Expresses his attachment to the faith, and his consequent sympathy with those who fight for it; repeats his attachment to and confidence in Dhiraj Sing.

Remarks :

Writer's name not given in the letter, but seal, on the envelope, seems to be that of the Bijeyraghogurh Rajah. I feel somewhat doubtful however of the identification.[2]

* * *

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 514. National Archives, New Delhi, "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

Letter from Rajah of Bijeyraghogurh (Bijairaghogarh), to Subadar Chuttur Sing (Chattra Singh), dated Jeyet (Jeth) Sudi 1st, Sumbut (Samvat) 1915, corresponding to the English date, 14th May 1858.

Abstract :

To the same purport; nearly in the same words—save only "Punjab Sing Chundel" is inserted after Dhiraj Sing's name (in No. 5).

Remarks :

As above in (No. 4).[1]

DHIRAJ SINGH ASKED TO ASSIST THE REVOLUTIONARIES AT KUNCH AND BANDA

Letter from the Nana to Dhiraj Singh, dated Jeyet (Jeth) 1st, Sambut (Samvat) 1915, corresponding to the English date, 14th May 1858.

Abstract :

Says, since he has promised to go whenever ordered, he is now to march on Koonch, and expel the *Kaffirs*, who have got to Banda, that a force will be sent from the Nana's side also, and so surrounding Banda he is to put the enemy to the sword; his zeal will be tested by this. Chutturkot (Chitrakut), too, the Nana hears, is threatened by the *Kaffirs*. He is to assist him. This* nearly concerns himself—

That Pandit "Gungadhur" has been sent to him, who will verbally advise him, and give him details.

Remarks :

*The Chutturkot family are connected with Dhiraj Sing. Two Seals one public one private.[2]

RAJA OF REWA'S AFFIRMATION OF HIS REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

Letter from Chundra Ragho Raj Sing (Chandra Raghuraj Singh), dated Jet (Jeth) Sudi, Samvat 1915, corresponding to English date, May 1858.

Abstract :

I have sent off Dhir Sing, he will tell you everything.

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 514. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[2] *Ibid.*, Pp. 514-515. National Archives, New Delhi.

I have managed to beguile the *Saheb** out of Rewah; there is nothing of him left in Rewah, only his bungalow "full of emptiness". When your force comes to Punnah my force will join yours. I have sent 200 sowars to Nagode avowedly to guard the *Saheb;* I am going to Bandogurh and have sent you by Dhir Sing 500 Rs. It is very urgent your force should come to Punnah. 1000 *or* 2000 *Madrassees and* 1000 *Europeans etc., are at Nagode*, and if I stir in the least before your force has reached Punnah, this force will come at my head. I am in great straits, for the *Saheb* said when he was going, 'I will see when I come back from Nagode'.

Remarks :

This letter is signed at the beginning with the same name Shrikishen as in No. 13. The *Pandit* therefore thinks that (it) must be from the Rewah Rajah, whose name and ordinary titles, except the expression Shrikishen, (for which a conventional mark—S—is substituted) are given at full in the address.

*(ie. Captain Osborne, the Political Agent)[1].

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES OF THE DEWAN OF THE PESHWA NARAIN RAO

Letter from Dhir Sing to Raja Roghraj (Raghuraj) of Rewah addressed in full—probably a rough Copy.

Abstract :

A. C. (After compliments)—The state of Tirohan affairs is this : the late Peshwa's *Dewan* has taken all the money and property and guns, and forces, and secured them in the fort of "Parasin" and we are all with him. The *Feringees* from Banda came out as far as Bhadusa[2], but then returned it is said, from the fear of the sepoys. Narine (Narain) Rao's answer (to the English) is this that his *Dewan* is rebellious, but he has ordered his

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supplement, Cons. No. 1237, p. 520. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[2] *Badausa*, Tahsil *Badausa*, District *Banda*. The headquarters of the tahsil lies in 25° 14′ E. and 80° 34′ N., on the metalled road from Banda to Karvi, on the banks of the Bagain river. It is distant 26 miles from Banda, and gives its name to a railway station on the Jhansi-Manikpur section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, Vol. XXI, 1909, p. 203).

Dewan to act the rebel, while he openly joins (with the English). I trust Narine Rao and the *Dewan* hate each other, and both watch for an opportunity against each other. All the forces are with the *Dewan*. The places and *Purgunnahs* belonging to the *Feringees* are plundered right and left and it is openly said the *Feringees* have no leisure to attend to it, and the Peshwa makes no arrangements. *If you like to take the country there is now an excellent opportunity.* The *Dewan* will acknowledge you and give up all the treasure to you. 100 sepoys have been sent to escort him (to Narine Rao) and they are still here. As to Banda, the English are there, so we can't go there. As to Kalpi, the *Feringees* hem in the rebels there on three sides, and they are fighting now. *At Jhansie, I believe, there is a Thannah of the Nana's.* The 500 Rs., which you made a present of to Punjab Sing, through Sham Sahee (Sahai) have not yet arrived; pray take care it reaches us, for we are very much in want of money; he has some 25 men to provide for; they are in want and will very soon desert. You should not be careless in such a matter.[1]

ROSE ARRIVES NEAR KALPI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 15th May 1858, 10/25 P. M., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The news-writer from Gwalior reports that Sir H. Rose's force reached Sundlie (Sandli) close to Ottah[2] mentioned in my former message and ten miles from Calpee on the 11th instant. Three spies had been caught in camp and had been shot. Many rebels had fled to the ravines and the jungle. The Calpee rebels have made a bridge for escape across the Jumna.....[3]

NAWAB BANDA AT KALPI WITH HIS MEN

Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 16th May 1858.

Gwalior, 14th May 1858—The Maharajah was in the

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Supp., Cons. No. 1237, Pp. 521-3. National Archives, New Delhi. "List of Papers taken by Captain T. Dennehy, at Ghadamow, Pergunnah Barra".

[2] Apparently spelt for *Atta*.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

cantonment of his bodyguard. Orders had been issued to remit money to the Kota (Kotah) Brigade as soon as it arrives at or near Sepree (Sipri).

Koour Dowlut Sing (Kunwar Daulat Singh) is said to be committing atrocities with mutinous sepoys in the neighbourhood of Mahona.

A letter had been received from Rampoora[1] that the Serawon people had gone to Kunhose near the Jumna in the Jugmunpoor (Jagmanpur) *elaka.*

The news-writer from Sir Hugh Rose's camp dated 12th May from Sinda[2] near Atta, reports that the force had halted there on that date.

Information had been received that the Nawab of Banda and Mahomed Ishaq, his minister with 2(2000) or 3000 men, with some guns had gone to Calpee. Their junction had given the rebels there fresh heart. *Tanteea Topee and the Ranee of Jhansi were at Calpee.* The rebels had dug pits across the road to prevent the approach of our guns.

The Taee Baee of Jaloun had laid aside her purdah and proceeded to the Agent's tent. Enquiry was being made regarding her officials. Visvas Rao Bhow (Vishwas Rao Bhao) was strongly suspected.

Kolarus 12th (May 1858)—The Kota Brigade was expected to move shortly to Sepree. No account of any further operations against the Kota rebels in Shahabad.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES' FORCES AT KALPI

Letter (No. 209 *of* 1858) *from Sir Robert Hamilton, Agent Governor General for C. India, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, dated Camp Gooloolee (Gulauli), 17th May* 1858.

I have the honor to report that the First Brigade of the Central India Field Force under the Command of Major

[1] Apparently *Rampura,* Pargana *Rampura,* Zila *Rampura-Bhanpura*—A town and headquarters of the pargana of the same name in 24°28′ N. and 75° 30′ E., situated 1,300 feet above sea-level, at the foot of the branch of the Vindhyan range which strikes across from the west to east, north of Nimach. (*Indore State Gazetteer,* Vol. II, 1908, p. 321).

[2]. Apparently '*Sonda*'.

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 77. National Archives, New Delhi.

General Sir Hugh Rose K. C. B. arrived and encamped on the right bank of the Jumna on the 15th taking up a position about 4 miles below the Fort of Calpee. The 2nd Brigade arrived and took up its position on the 16th.

2nd—Communication has been opened with Brigadier Maxwell who came to our camp yesterday and left this morning for Bogulpore[1]; his force will take up its ground to-morrow (the 18th) and Colonel Riddell with the Etawah Column is at Oryah[2] and moving downwards.

3rd—The rebels are in some force, they have been joined by the Nowab of Banda, and some 3,000 fighting men; they showed yesterday and attempted to get at the baggage of the 2nd Brigade coming out with 2 Horse Artillery guns and one drawn by an elephant with Cavalry and Infantry; but were driven into their entrenchments suffering some loss.

4th—The following persons are in Calpee : the Jhansi Baee, Rao Sahib, nephew of Nana Sahib, and the Nowab of Banda; Tantia Topey left Calpee, and whether he has returned is rather doubtful.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 20th May 1858.

No news from the north. Report says Calpee is taken. Your daily epitiome (*sic*, epitome) of news has not arrived which is a great loss.[4]

REVOLUTIONARIES ATTACK SECOND BRIGADE FIELD FORCE

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 1/45 *P. M., to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 24th May* 1858.

A letter dated the 17th instant has just been received

[1] Apparently spelt for *Bhagalpur.*

[2] Apparently spelt for *Auraiya* in *Etawah* District.

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th June 1858, No. 89. National Archives, New Delhi.

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

from Sir Robert Hamilton who reports that on the 16th instant the whole of the Field Force under Sir Hugh Rose had taken up its position before Calpee. Brigadier Maxwell had visited Sir Hugh Rose and his Column was to take up its ground on the left bank of the Jumna. On the 18th Colonel Riddell with the Etawah Column was at Oryah and was moving downwards. As before reported the rebels have been joined by the Nawab of Banda with three thousand fighting men. They attacked the baggage of the Second Brigade Field Force on the sixteen, coming out with Cavalry and Infantry and two Horse Artillery guns, a third being drawn by elephants. They were however driven into their entrenchments with some loss. The Jhansi Ranee Sahib,[1] the nephew of the Nana, and the Nawab of Banda at Calpee, Tantia Topee left Calpee and it is doubtful if he has returned.[2]

SHELLING OF KALPI FORT

Narrative of Events dated May 25, 1858. *Allahabad, May* 26, 1858.

BUNDELKHAND

The rebels were attacked and driven out of their entrenchments, and the town of Koonch occupied by Sir H. Rose's force on the 8th May. The enemy suffered very severely, losing four guns, our force having taken altogether eight guns. On the 22nd May our Batteries on the left bank of the Jumna opened fire on the fort at Calpee : the practice was excellent. The enemy's fire was slack. On the same day the enemy attacked Sir H. Rose's force in great numbers, and with great determination, at Golowlie. The right flank of our force was hard pressed, but the Camel Corps was brought up, charged the rebels with the bayonet, and the rout soon became general. On the 23rd instant, Sir H. Rose moved forward, and took possession of the town and fort of Calpee. The rebels were panic-struck, and fled with precipitation towards Julaon (Jalaun), followed by Cavalry, Horse Artillery and Camel Corps, which soon overtook them, killed a great many, and

[1] In the Original Telegram it is written as "Jhansi Ranee Sahib" whereas it should be "Jhansi Ranee, Rao Sahib."

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

captured all their guns and ammunition. Colonel Maxwell had shelled the fort and town from the opposite side of the river with great effect. On the 21st May, the roads between Banda and Calpee were still closed, and a party of rebels were still at Mowdha (Maudaha)[1]. About 150 mutineers and thirty sowars had collected at Juspoora, and were inviting the attendance of the mutineers at Serolee Ghaut, with the intention of attacking the *Thannah* at Chilla Tarra Ghaut, and then to cross the Doab into Oude. Some troops of the Rajah of Chutterpore, with two guns, had been sent to Chilla Tarra.[2]

ATTACKS AND COUNTER-ATTACKS AT THE KALPI BATTLE

Letter No. 212 *of* 1858, *Genl. No.* 999 *A, from Robert Hamilton, Agent Governor General for C. India, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, dated Camp Calpee (Kalpi), 24th May* 1858.

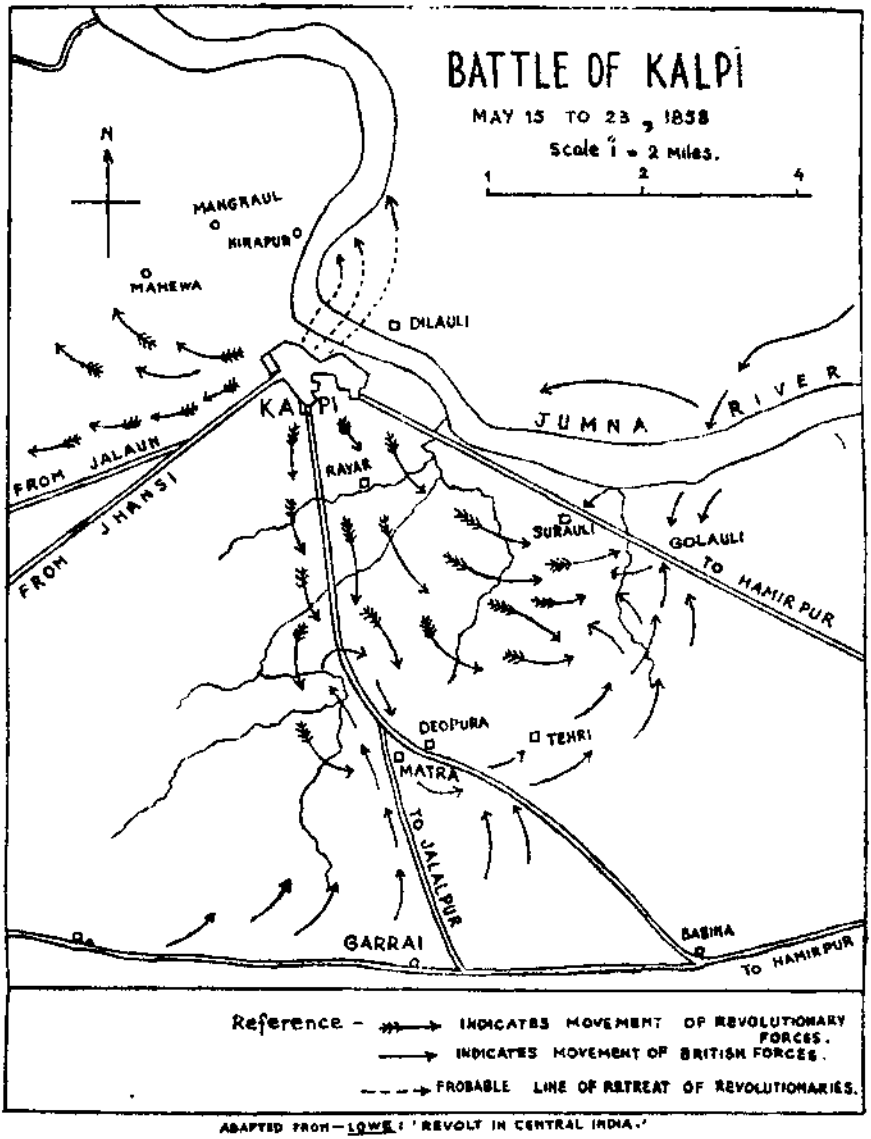
I have great satisfaction in reporting that the town of Calpee was yesterday re-occupied by British troops, the rebels having been driven out and totally dispersed with the loss of all their guns, ammunition, stores and baggage.

2*nd*—About 9 A. M., on the 22d the rebels made a most determined attack from the town on the outposts, pressing on with great boldness under cover of the ravines. They were however met and repulsed at all points. Their Cavalry, which they had brought out, a very considerable body, were routed, pursued and cut up. Our loss from the effects of the sun was severe but from the fire of the enemy trifling.

3*rd*—On the following dawn (the 23d) Major-General Sir Hugh Rose advanced on the town with his whole force, clearing the whole of the intermediate ravines; the rebels were soon seen streaming out in great numbers and disorder; they were evidently taken by surprise; a few rounds were fired from a two-gun Battery constructed across the Jullalpore road

[1] *Maudaha*, Pargana and Tahsil *Maudaha*, District *Hamirpur*—The headquarters of the tahsil is a considerable town lying about a mile east of the metalled road from Hamirpur to Mahoba, in 25° 40′ N. and 80° 7′ E., at an elevation of 400 feet above the level of the sea, and at a distance of 20 miles from Hamirpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, p. 208).

[2] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 1 No. 16, p. 156.



ADAPTED FROM—LOWE: 'REVOLT IN CENTRAL INDIA.'

but it was deserted before our troops could reach it. The pursuit of the rebels was kept up for some miles during which they lost all their guns, 6 elephants, camels, stores etc. and about 400 killed.

4*th*—The fort was evacuated; an 18-pounder which they had attempted to carry off was left at the entrance; the space within was covered with accoutrements, baggage, stores, cooking utensils in utmost confusion, everything indicated the precipitancy of their flight and their utter discomfiture.

5*th*—The fugitives proceeded by the Jalown road from which they have diverged towards *Choukee*, and will I think make for Jugmohunpore; no certain information has yet reached me, and all the pursuing detachments have not yet returned.

RANI OF JHANSI, RAO SAHEB AND NAWAB OF BANDA ESCAPE

6*th*—It is to be regretted that none of the Leaders have (*sic,*) on this occasion been arrested. Tantia Topey left Calpee some days ago after his return from Koonch, the Jhansee Baee went off before midnight of the 22nd having been driven out by the shelling from Brigadier Maxwell's Mortar Battery on the left bank of the river. The Rao Sahib and the Nawab of Banda fled on the morning of the 23rd. The nature of the country greatly favored their flight; our troops had to cross the heavy belt of ravines which encircle the town before they could get on the road by which the rebels were flying; however our success has been very great. We have full possession of their stronghold with its vast supplies of military stores, ammunition and the rebels are flying without guns or any organisation, driven from the country in which they have for months exercised uncontrolled authority and power; the confederacy between the Bundeela Rajahs and the Mahrattas broken up; and the mutinous sepoys divided, disheartened, and thoroughly routed, no longer acknowledge the Mahrattas as their chiefs.

BUNDELA AND MAHRATTA COMPACT DESTROYED

7*th*—I trust I may be permitted to congratulate His Lordship the Governor General on the completion of the operations chalked out for the Central India Field Force. I am satisfied, the conduct of all arms of the C. I. F. (Force)

since its formation at Indore on the 15th Decr. will meet its reward at the hands of the Governor General. I do not think one point has been left undone that we were expected to do; had the force had a reserve or any troops to hold the country, we had cleared, our work would have been more complete, but even with the small number of the force of which it was composed and the vast extent of the country over which it had to act all difficulties have been overcome; we have met with no check; we have relieved the Garrison of Saugor, taken every fort that offered any resistance, beaten the whole rebel force in the open field, and swept the country from the Nurbudda to the Jumna by the valley of the Betwah and opened up the communication between Agra and Bombay, *and destroyed the Compact between the Insurgent Bundeelas and the Mahratta party*. . . .[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES CLOSING IN ON MALTHAUN

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 24th May, 8/45 P. M., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

It is reported from Cawnpore that on the 22nd instant the Batteries of Maxwell's Column opened fire on Calpee from the left bank of the Jumna. The practice was excellent. The fire was to be kept up till 3 A. M. of the 23rd, after which Sir Hugh Rose would move forward to the attack. The rebels' fire was slack.

From Saugor under date the 21st instant we hear that the rebels near Shahghur are passive but those from Jutta Sunkhur (Jata Shankar) attacked a *Thannah* in Dumoh. The rebels from the Chundeeyree direction are closing in on Maltoun (Malthaun) in large number and the Company left there with two guns is said to be in peril. A portion of the Brigade detached from Kotah force which has been for some time at Goonah[2] has been ordered by Sir Hugh Rose to move towards Chundeeyree. . . . . .[3]

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 10th September 1858, No. 103, National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Guna*, Pargana *Bajranggarh*, Zila *Isagarh* (*Gwalior State*)—Town and British military station situated in 24° 39′ N. and 77° 21′ E., on the Agra-Bombay road, and on the Bina-Baran Branch of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 219).

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

GALLANT FIGHT AT KALPI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, 26th May 1858.

Calpee was entirely in our possession, both town and fort, on the evening of the 23rd instant. On the 22nd instant, the rebels attacked the front and right flank of Sir Hugh Rose's force at his camp Goolowlee, on the Jumna in large numbers, and with great determination. Sir Hugh Rose's right being hard pressed, the central corps was brought up and the rebels were charged with the bayonet and put to flight. Sir Hugh Rose's whole line then moved forward and the rout became general. Calpee being their last stand, the sepoys had sworn to die, or to destroy Sir Hugh Rose's force. On the morning of the 23rd, Sir Hugh Rose marched from Goolowlee against Calpee. The rebels were panic stricken, and fled with great precipitation, after firing a few shots, leaving Sir Hugh Rose master of the town and fort of Calpee. Cavalry and Horse Artillery were sent in pursuit; the officer commanding the pursuit reports that he quickly came up with the rebels, killed a great number, and took all their guns and ammunition. As stated in yesterday's message, Colonel Maxwell shelled the town and fort of Calpee from the left bank of the Jumna with great effect.....[1]

BRITISH FORCES OCCUPY KALPI

Telegraphic Message from R. Hamilton, Camp Calpee (Kalpi) via Cawnpore (Kanpur), to E. A. Reade, Agra, received at Agra on 26th May 1858.

We are in possession of Calpee. Rebels have lossed (*sic*, lost) guns, elephants and killed in pursuit.[2]

DISASTER AT KALPI

Narrative of Events dated May 31, 1858. *Allahabad, May* 31, 1858.

REVOLUTIONARIES' FOUNDRIES FOR CANNONS DISCOVERED

Bundlecund (*Bundelkhand*)—A flying Column from Sir H.

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

Rose's was sent on the 24th May in further pursuit of the Calpee rebels. On the 26th instant Sir H. Rose reports that large quantities of powder and ordnance has (*sic*,—have) been discovered in a subterraneous Magazine in the fort of Calpee. Four foundries for making cannon were also discovered in the town. Colonel Robertson, with a flying Column, is following up the rebels to Shurghur (Shergarh).

CHANDERI EVACUATED

Colonel Smith, commanding a Brigade of the Rajpootana Field Force, and who was sent to protect Jhansi, marched on the 21st May against Chunderee, which was evacuated by the rebels on the 27th.

On the 25th May, Major Middleton's force crossed the Jumna, and took possession of Humeerpore without resistance.

In a report dated 31st May, Sir. H. Rose reports, that the troops sent in pursuit of the Calpee rebels have taken eight guns, and killed about 500 or 600 men. The pursuit was checked in consequence of the very great heat. Sir H. Rose likewise mentions that fifteen guns were taken in the fort, and several standards belonging to the Gwalior Regiments and Kotah Contingents. *Also that a box had been found, containing important correspondence of the Ranee of Jhansi, and which throws great light on the principal authors of the revolt.* The rebels are said to be quite disheartened and disorganised.[1]

KALPI REVOLUTIONARIES RETREATING

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 26th May 1858.

It is reported that a large body of rebel fugitives from Calpee are at Sherajpore (Sheorajpur) endeavouring to cross the Ganges.[2]

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure No. 1 in No. 17, p. 161.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

SUBTERRANEOUS MAGAZINE AND MANUFACTORIES DISCOVERED AT KALPI

Telegraphic Message from H. Rose to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Calpee (Kalpi), May 26, 1858.

I think it would be very advisable for General Whitlock to send detachments to Humeerpore, which is evacuated, to hold it. Major Middleton is going to cross over to Humeerpore; but he thinks he has not troops enough to hold his own. A subterranean Magazine has been discovered in the fort, it contains 500 barrels of powder, and immense quantities of ordnance. We found in the town and fort four foundries and manufactories of cannon, and one 18-pounder brass gun, one brass 8-inch mortar, and two brass 9-pounder guns, all made in these manufactories : Colonel Robertson, with a flying Column, is following up the rebels to the fort of Sheerghur (Shergarh). I am trying to make a bridge of boats across the Jumna. The rebels tried to carry their iron 18-pounder gun, but we took it; the troops are getting much healthier.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 28th May 1858, 11 A. M. to E. A. Reade, Agra.

.....A subterraneous Magazine has been discovered in the Fort of Calpee. It contains 500 barrells (*sic*, barrels) of powder and immense quantities of Ordnance stores. In the Town and Fort four foundaries and manufactories of cannon were discovered and one eighteen-pounder brass gun, one brass eight-inch mortar and two brass nine-pounder guns, all made in the manufactory were found.

Colonel Robertson with a flying Column from Calpee is following up the rebels to the Fort of Shergurh. The troops at Calpee are getting much healthier.....[2]

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 8 in No. 17, p. 163.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES' LOSSES AT KALPI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 2nd June 1858, 1/15 *A. M.*

The troops sent by Sir Huge Rose in pursuit of the Calpee rebels took eight guns of which two are English nine-pounder Horse Artillery guns. Fifteen guns were taken in the Fort of which one is an eighteen-pounder of the Gwalior Contingent and two are mortars cast by the rebels. Twenty-four standards were taken, one of which is the colour of the Kotah and another a *Velietee* standard. Most of the rest are the colours of the different Regiments of the Gwalior Contingent. The subterraneous Magazine mentioned in a former message was found to contain ten thousand pounds of English powder in barrels, nine thousand shot and empty shells, a quantity of eight-inch filled with shrapnell, and case shot size and ball ammunition for small arms, entrenching tools of all kinds, tents, new and old, boxes of muskets, quite new, flint and percussion, all sorts of ordnance stores in great quantities. The contents of the Magazine are supposed to be worth two or three lacs. *A box has been found containing most important correspondence belonging to the Rance of Jhansie which it is said will throw great light on the revolt and its principal authors.* Everything proves that the rebels considered Calpee an Arsenal and a point of great importance which they intended to keep to the last and that they only abandoned it in consequence of the severe defeat which they sustained at Goolowlee on the twenty second ultimo and the panic caused by the unexpected appearance of Sir Hugh Rose's force before Calpee on the following morning. About five or six hundred rebels were killed in the pursuit which was checked as usual by the intense heat of the sun which knocked up men and horses. The sepoys are said to be quite disheartened and disorganized. They threw away their arms, have left their jackets and disguised themselves.[1]

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

DETAILS OF ENCOUNTER AT KALPI

From Major-General Hugh Rose, Commanding F. D. A. and Field Forces, to Major-General W. M. Mansfield, Chief of the Staff of the Army in India, dated Gwalior, 22nd June 1858.

VILLAGERS CO-OPERATE WITH REVOLUTIONARIES

....The inhabitants of the valley of the Jumna were the most disaffected my Force had yet met with. They had been under Rebel rule, and had never felt the influence of British Power since the commencement of the insurrection. Every village had its one or two Mahratta *Pundits*, who had made a most successful propaganda in favour of Nana Sahib as Peishwa. The villagers did good service to the Rebels, by betraying to them our *Daks* and movements, as well as some carts, when their drivers, on account of the exhausted state of their cattle, could not keep their place in the Column, or sought water at a distance from the road.

KALPI—A GREAT STRONGHOLD

The Rebels had another great source of strength. They fought their best because they were defending Culpee(Kalpi)—their best fortified stronghold in Central and Western India and only Arsenal full of warlike stores and ammunition. Culpee, on the right bank of the Jumna, in the hands of the Rebels, prevented the concentration of the British Armies of the West, with those of the East of India; exposed to attack, from the line of the Jumna, the Army engaged in operations against the insurgents in the Doab, the line of the Ganges, Oudh, and Rohilcund; and so long as Culpee (Kalpi) was Rebel, so long had it the enemy in their power to say that the East and West of India might be British, but that the pivot of its centre was theirs.

THE THREE DANGEROUS ADVERSARIES TO BRITISH

Whilst so many drawbacks weakened me, the enemy, physically speaking, was unusually strong. They were under three leaders of considerable influence, Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana Sahib, the Nawab of Banda, and the Ranee of Jhansi.

The high descent of the Ranee, her unbounded liberality to her troops and retainers, and her fortitude which no reverses could shake, rendered her an influential and dangerous adversary.

COMPOSITION OF REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

The Rebel Army was composed of the Gwalior Contingent, the finest men, best drilled and organized, Native Troops of all arms in India; other mutinous Bengal Infantry Regiments, such as the 52nd; Rebel Cavalry from Kotah; and a chosen band of *Valaitees*, the whole reinforced by the Force of all Arms of the Nawab of Banda, comprising a great deal of mutinous Bengal Cavalry, of which the 5th Irregulars, dressed in their red uniforms, formed a part. All the Sepoy Regiments kept up, carefully, their English equipment and organization; the words of command for drill, grand rounds, etc., were given, as we could hear, at night, in English.

The numerous difficulties of my situation above recited, were rendered more grave by a series of accidents which occurred in the 2nd Brigade, over which I had no control, and which embarrassed my operations.

I wished to follow up the enemy and attack him, as rapidly as possible, whilst still suffering under his reverse at Konch. For this purpose I marched from Konch, immediately after the action with the 1st Brigade, directing the 2nd Brigade to follow me, at one day's interval, on account of the scarcity of water and forage on the line of march.

A result of this advance was my occupation of the village and strong Fort of Hurdowi, one march from Konch, which the enemy had abandoned in their retreat, and the surrender of its Chief, one of the most influential adherents of Nana Sahib.

But a further rapid movement to the front was prevented by Brigadier Stewart's reporting to me from Konch, that he had been unable to march from that place, as I had directed, in consequence of a storm of rain having rendered the tents too heavy for transport. The Brigade was delayed three days at Konch.

Other tactical plans of mine were frustrated by similar obstacles.

My original instructions were to take Culpee (Kalpi). I was subsequently directed to make my appearance on some

point of the right bank of the Jumna, to effect a communication with Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, Commanding a Column of the Bengal Army, who was ordered to co-operate with me against Culpee from the left bank of the Jumna, for the purpose of receiving from him a supply of ammunition for the Siege of Culpee, to make good the large amount which my Force had expended in the Sieges of Chanderey and Jhansi.

I had written to Colonel Maxwell that I would be on the Jumna, a few miles below Culpee, on the 14th of May : this letter never reached him. The communications with this Officer, and the left bank of the Jumna were hazardous, and were only effected by spies, in disguise, who conveyed our letters in the heels or soles of their sandals, or in quills in their mouths.

The information which I had collected on the road, and a reconnaissance made by Lieutenant-Colonel Gall, H. M.'s 14th Light Dragoons, with his usual skill, confirmed all I had the honor to state in my report of the action at Konch as to the enemy's elaborate lines of defences for the protection of Culpee on the main road from Konch to that Fortress.

I could not have concentrated a Force, on account of the want of water, against these defences. I determined, therefore, to turn them, to break off to the right, from the high road from Oraye (Orai) to Culpee, march to the Jumna, to the village of Golowlee, about 6 miles below Culpee, effect a communication from thence with Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, and then, my right resting on the Jumna, and covered by the flank fire of Colonel Maxwell's Batteries and Riflemen from the other bank of the Jumna, advance up its right bank, against Culpee, the Fort of Culpee, and the part of the Town, facing my advance, to be well shelled before the attack.

The Jumna is fordable at Golowlee; it stands in the *Nullahs* running down to the Jumna, just outside the dangerous labyrinth of ravines which surround Culpee.

My march to Golowlee was, with the exception of a few bad and unbridged *Nullahs*, over a table-land, from which during the Monsoon, the waters shed into the ravines.

To mislead the enemy, and mask this movement, I directed the 2nd Brigade to close up to Oraye from Konch, and following the high road to Culpee, take up a position at the village of Banda. This plan was foiled by the Brigade's losing its way, and instead of going to Banda, making a double march, and

following me to Sucalee. Their long exposure to the sun, in this protracted march, caused a great many casualties, and the general prostration of the Brigade; Brigadier Stewart, and the whole of his Staff, forming part of the Sick List.

REVOLUTIONARIES' TACTICS AGAINST EUROPEANS

It was important to keep the appointment I had made with Colonel Maxwell to be on the Jumna, on the 14th instant. But the 2nd Brigade could not, on account of its sickness, co-operate with me; and it would have been hazardous to go too far away from it, weak as it was, especially as the enemy, aware, as I learnt, of the sickness in my Camp, and of our difficulties, had concentrated all their Cavalry, with Infantry and guns, from their bivouacs in the villages round Culpee, for the purpose of unceasingly harassing my Force, in its separated state, by making attacks feigned and real, falling on parties going for water, wood, grass, etc.; part of their tactics being to force my troops to be exposed, at the hottest time of the day, in large numbers to the sun, which they knew was fatal to Europeans.

In giving assistance to my 2nd Brigade, I had to be careful that I did not reduce the 1st by too much exposure to sun, to the same state of inefficiency.

To meet all these obligations and difficulties, I delayed one day at Etowa to give a rest to the 2nd Brigade at Sucalee, and detaching all my carriage, for the sick, to their assistance, and calling off the attention of the enemy from them, by a diversion in an opposite direction, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who had succeeded Brigadier Stewart in the Command of the 2nd Brigade, brought it up to the 1st, on the night of the 14th instant, without molestation.

A few hours afterwards, I marched with the 1st Brigade, and Major Orr's Force for Golowlee, which I reached with no other opposition than an attack on the baggage by the Rebel Cavalry, concealed in a ravine; they were put to flight by a Troop of the 14th, which in anticipation of an ambuscade, I had sent to reinforce the rear guard. In this march we crossed the high road from Jullalpoor to Culpee. I directed Major Orr to drive in a strong picket of the enemy of all Arms, posted on this road between us and Culpee; halt afterwards on the road; cover the march of my rear guard to Golowlee;

and then encamp at the village of Tehree, near the road, for the purpose of watching it, keeping up my communication with the 2nd Brigade, and assisting it, in its march, during the night of the 15th to Diapoora, a village near Tehree.

On my arrival at Golowlee, I despatched two of the Hyderabad Cavalry across the Jumna to Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, who was about thirty miles off on the other side of it, requesting him to move up to the river immediately.

I also ordered two Pontoon rafts, which I had brought with great trouble from Poona, to be floated, by sun-set, on the Jumna, for communication with Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, and transport of the ammunition for my Force. The Rebels had destroyed or taken to Culpee all the boats on the river.

One of the most important of my instructions was now carried out. My Force had marched from Bombay to the Jumna, and had effected an union with the Bengal Army ; the immediate result of which was a combined operation of Bengal and Bombay Troops against Culpee.....

HEAVY FIRE ON BRITISH POSITIONS

The enemy, the same day, in order either to prevent me from giving support to the 2nd Brigade, or hoping to beat the 1st Brigade weakened by the reinforcements which I took from it, reinforced strongly their lines of out-posts in the ravines, and supporting them with guns, and masses, at a distance, menced and kept up a heavy fire on my position at Golowlee, from the Jumna to the village of Tehree, against which latter place they advanced with a thick chain of skirmishers.

Brigadier Stuart[1], Commanding the 1st Brigade, at Golowlee, and Captain Hare, Commanding at Tehree, met the attack with vigor; the former answered the enemy's cannonade so effectually with his mortars and guns, that they retired, Captain Hare repulsed the enemy's advance and following them up took a tope of trees in advance of his position, in which they had concentrated a Force. I beg to make special mention of both these officers for their conduct on this occasion.

The enemy having shown signs of fortifying a high ridge

[1] This name has been spelt as 'Stewart' also elsewhere.

opposite my right front, about half way between Golowlee and Culpee, I had a Battery of two 8-inch mortars constructed in front of my right, which shelled with good effect the ridge and the ravines near it.

The next day, the 17th instant, after noon, the enemy again attacked the 2nd Brigade at Diapoora, and was repulsed, with loss as it appears by an extract of a Report[1] from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell enclosed.

Colonel Maxwell, leaving his Column of the strength, as detailed in the margin, to march to a position opposite Culpee, came on to me at Golowlee, when I communicated to him my plan of attack, and gave him the requisite directions. Part of his Column had been detached from him, but was expected back.

I have already had the honor to state the outline of my plan of attack. Its details were as follows :

Colonel Maxwell was to construct, on the opposite bank of the Jumna, Mortar Batteries; one to shell, vigorously, the "Fort of Culpee" and blow up, if possible, the powder magazines in it, destroying also the defences of the Fort facing my position at Golowlee; another to shell the part of the Town fronting the same way, so as to prevent the enemy from holding these localities in force, when I attacked them; another Mortar Battery to be placed lower down the Jumna and opposite the village of Rehree. Rehree stands on the edge of the small "Sandy Plain" bordered by the Jumna, which is situated between the belt of ravines and Culpee. The enemy had a Force and a Battery in Rehree for the purpose of sweeping off my right Column of attack, when it debouched from the ravines against Culpee, and preventing its occupying the "Sandy Plain" which was an important point for me, because, once in possession of it, my right flank resting on the Jumna, I could bring up all my Artillery through the pass through the ravines, and concentrate from the "Sandy Plain" a vertical and horizontal fire, on the Fort of Culpee which I wished to attack. I wished Rehree, the ravines and ground about it, to be destroyed, and made untenable by fire from the opposite bank.

Marginal note in Original—
[1] No. 2 Enclosure, Lieut. Col. Campbell's Report.

These Batteries were to shell their "objectifs" for 16 or 20 hours, before and during the advance, against Culpee.

Riflemen and Field Guns were to be stationed opposite the "Sandy Plain" on the other, the left bank of the Jumna and clear its right bank, and the "Sandy Plain" of the enemy.

I hoped to beat the Rebel Army in one decisive action. I felt certain that if I routed them, they would not, with the fate of "Jhansi" and "Sohaie" before their eyes, have the heart to shut themselves up in the Fort and become the victims of an investment. At the same time, it was evident that to take by storm, such tremendous ground, if well defended, as the ravines surrounding Culpee, every yard of which was a dangerous obstacle and an ambush, was no ordinary operation, particularly under the various difficulties of my situation, previously enumerated.

Whilst, with my right, the 1st Brigade, I attacked Culpee, by its left, I intended to make a strong feint against the right of the enemy to be converted into a real attack, if feasible, with my left, the 2nd Brigade, along the Jullalpoor and Culpee road, Major Orr's Force in Tehree keeping up the communication between the two Brigades, and assisting both as required.

EUROPEANS IN MORE DIFFICULTIES

Fresh difficulties compelled me to modify this plan. Some few days must elapse before the Mortar Batteries on the left, the opposite bank of the Jumna, could be ready. The wells of the villages where the Hyderabad Field Force, and the 2nd Brigade were stationed, began to fail. The sick from sunstroke could not have the water which was necessary for their treatment; Troop horses and baggage animals died from drought. My left, the 2nd Brigade, was exposed, sickly as it was, to constant attack. Concentration and abundance of water were the only remedies for these fresh embarrassments. On the morning of the 19th I brought the 2nd Brigade and Hyderabad Field Force from Diapoora and Tehree; to my Camp on the Jumna.

The enemy continued their tactics of harassing unceasingly my Troops, and forcing them into the sun; large bodies of Cavalry hanging on my position, retiring when attacked, but ready to fall on escorts, which I was obliged to send to a distance for forage, the want of which was the cause of serious

losses. Out of 36 men of the 14th Light Dragoons, forming part of one forage escort, seventeen were brought back to the Camp in *Dhoolies* (*Dolies*) after only two hours' exposure to sun.

This prostration of more than half a body of men by sun, after two hours' mere marching, and a similar amount of sun-sickness in the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, on the march to Mutha, give a correct estimate of the sanitary state of my Force before Culpee; that state was dangerous. The prostration of the whole Force had become a matter of arithmetical calculation. So many hours' sun laid low so many men. I had, weakened by every sort of difficulty, to conquer the greatest stake in the campaign, against the greatest odds; half of my Troops sickly; every man of them ailing, to say nothing of a very numerous and daily increasing Sick List, crowded into tents, where the thermometer stood 118° in the shade. To compare small things to great, myself and my Force were suffering under two evils, which have overcome the greatest armies, under the most successful Generals, sickness and climate.

This view of the case was borne out by an official letter which I received at this time from Dr. Arnott, Superintending Surgeon, a Gentleman, who is distinguished by his cool and correct judgment.....

The evil of the numerical strength of the Force being far too small for the extent of its operations (the Government was unable to complete it to the strength intended, on account of the necessities of the times), was increased subsequently by that strength being constantly diminished by casualties in the field, and by a large and daily-increasing Sick List. The details of Recruits who joined me, did not make good these vacancies; and it became necessary to weaken, still more, my Field Force, at a time when every man of it was urgently required, by leaving a Garrison at Jhansi, consisting of a Wing of the 3rd Europeans; six Companies of the 24th Bombay Native Infantry; half a Battery of 9-pounders, and a proportionate amount of Cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Liddell, one of my best superior officers.....

.....My first, and most important instructions were to take Culpee. There were two ways of doing so, either by one decisive action, or a protracted operation.

In either case, I required reinforcements. The fight for Culpee was sure to be an obstinate, perhaps a desperate

struggle. I should have compromised the whole spirit of my most important instructions, and the success of the British cause in India, if I had attempted that struggle with a Force, whose health was such as I have described it, and had neglected to reinforce it with a portion of the gallant Troops, who fresh and unimpaired in vigour, were only separated from me by the Jumna.

A check before Culpee in the advanced state of the hot season, and the rains close at hand, would have resuscitated rebellion throughout India, compromised the safety of Cawnpore, exposed to a flank, or rear attack the extensive line of operations of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, and lit the torch of rebellion on the Deccan, and the Southern Mahrattas, full of ill-disposed Arabs and Rohillas, and partizans of Nana Sahib as Peishwa.

Under the influence of these important considerations, I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell to send across the Jumna, to my Camp the reinforcements detailed in the enclosed Report* from that officer; they arrived at my Head-quarters at Golowlee on the night of the 20th instant.

The Agent of the Governor General for Central India, who, in his official capacity, accompanied my Force†, was of opinion that the peculiar circumstances justified my bringing the reinforcements across the Jumna. I was relieved, therefore, from any political objection to the step. The result proved its necessity.

A day or two after the arrival of the reinforcements in my Camp, the Camel Corps, the principal reinforcements, saved, by their timely aid, my right, the key of my position, from a disaster, in a desperate and general attack on it, on the 23rd of May; and that success was followed by a conquering advance of my whole line from the Jumna to my extreme left; the total rout of the enemy, and the capture, next day, of Culpee, with all its Artillery and rich Arsenal.

On the morning of the 20th I made reconnaissance on the left bank of the Jumna, and selected a position for a Battery of

* No. 3 Enclosure. Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell's Report.

† 682 Camel Corps. 2 Companies 88th Regiment. 124 Seikh Battalion. This number includes, I believe, the Guns.

8-inch Mortars, at the village of Russulpoor(Rasulpur), to batter the village of Rehree, etc., as already stated.

On the 22nd instant this Battery was ready, as well as one of four 10-inch Mortars opposite the Fort, and another of two 8-inch Mortars, opposite the Town and *Cutcherry*, in which latter place Rao Sahib, the Nawab of Banda, and the Ranee of Jhansi were reported to be stationed with a large body of Infantry and guns. A Division of 9-pounder guns, and a Company of Her Majesty's 88th were stationed at Russulpoor against Rehree, and the "Sandy Plain" on the opposite bank.

The enemy were now exposed to my attack of their left flank from Golowlee and to a cross vertical and horizontal fire, into the same flank and their rear from the other side of the Jumna.

I had hardly returned to Camp, on the 20th, before the enemy again advanced, covered by a very thick chain of skirmishers, through the ravines and attacked with much determination my right flank. The pickets were immediately reinforced by four Companies of the 86th, two Companies of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, and three 9-pounders.

The reinforcements had not joined me; and the Mortar Batteries on the other side of the Jumna were not ready to cover my advance; the heat was at its maximum; and I had fixed the 23rd instant for the general attack of the enemy's positions and of Culpee. I did not therefore play the game of my adversary by allowing myself to be drawn into a general action under disadvantageous circumstances, but directed the pickets merely to maintain their ground, which they did steadily and gallantly, under the able command of Major Stewart, Her Majesty's 86th Regiment, until the enemy were beat back.

The casualties in this day's partial affair were four Officers and forty Rank and File. Lieutenant Jerome, 86th, severely wounded, and Lieutenant Forbes, 25th Bombay Native Infantry, struck down by sun, led their Companies with the same high military spirit for which they have been specially mentioned on former occasions.

'DO OR DIE' OATH BY REVOLUTIONARIES

On the 21st instant, I received information that the Rebel Army intended to make a general attack on my position at

Golowlee at 8 A.M., the next day; that they had sworn a religious oath on the waters of the Jumna, a sacred river, that they would drive my Force into the Jumna and destroy it, or die, and that afterwards, they would move southwards against General Whitlock; that large quantities of opium had been issued to the troops for the purpose of making them fight desperately.

The positions occupied by my Force were as follows:—

The right flank, facing the left of Culpee, rested on the ravines running down to the Jumna; in these ravines stood the villages of Soorowlee (Surauli) and Golowlee (Gulauli). Both these villages were connected and held by strong pickets and prevented my right being turned.

Half of the 1st Brigade, my right flank, was encamped perpendicularly to the Jumna, facing the belt of ravines, and the left front of Culpee, on the table-land, immediately outside the belt.

The remainder of the 1st Brigade facing the continuation of the belt of ravines, which took a sweep outward, and the 2nd Brigade and Hyderabad Field Force, facing the table-land or plain stretching from Golowlee across the road from Culpee to Jullalpoor, were thrown back "*en potence*". This ground was adapted to the movements of Artillery and Cavalry.

My whole front was well-guarded by strong outposts with advanced sentries in the ravines and pickets.

On the morning of 22nd I made the following disposition of my Troops to resist the expected attack.

The pickets on the right front of Her Majesty's 86th Regiment and 3rd Europeans were reinforced by the remainder of the 86th in skirmishing order; their right resting on the Jumna. In support were three guns of No. 4 Light Field Battery, one Troop Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, a Troop of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry and four Companies of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, the whole under the command of Brigadier Stuart.

The pickets of the right centre were supported by the other half of No. 4 Light Field Battery, the remainder of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, with the 21st Company Royal Engineers, the whole under Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson.

My left centre, facing the plain and the village of Tehree, was guarded by No. 1 Bombay Troop Horse Artillery, supported by two Troops Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons.

The siege guns, two 18-pounders, one 24-pounder and two 8-inch Howitzers, each of their flanks guarded by detachments of the 3rd Europeans, formed the centre, supported by the Wing of Her Majesty's 71st, one Squadron of the 14th, a Troop of the 3rd Light Cavalry, and Captain Field's Royal Artillery 9-pounders.

The left was formed by the Camel Corps and No. 18 Light Field Battery, supported by a detachment of the Sikh Corps, the Hyderabad Field Force covering my extreme left.

Two Companies Her Majesty's 88th whose strength, although they had only been two or three days in my Camp, was already much weakened by sun casualties, and four Companies of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry were left in the Camp for its protection.

Shortly after 8 o' clock A. M., on the 22nd of May, the enemy who continued their tactics of forcing my Troops to fight in the heat of the day were reported, by continued messages from my videttes and outposts, to be advancing in great force from Culpee and its environs towards the belt of ravines on my right, and along the Jullalpoor and Culpee road against my left.

Their left manoeuvred so skilfully that they got under cover of broken ground into the ravines, without being perceived on the right; and Brigadier Stuart reported to me as I was posting the siege guns, that my right was no longer threatened.

The enemy's right, consisting of 1,300 or 1,400 Cavalry, supported by several Battalions of Infantry, and Horse Artillery 9-pounders, continuing their advance along the Jullalpoor road, brought their left shoulders up, when opposite the village of Tehree, in front of my centre, from whence they re-inforced strongly their pickets in the ravines opposite my right centre, and deploying their guns and Cavalry to the right menaced to out-flank and turn my right. I still felt the conviction that the enemy's real object of attack was my right; and that this ostentatious display of force against my left and the perfect stillness in the deep ravines on my right, were ruses to mislead me and induce me to weaken my right, by sending reinforcements from it to my left, when they would have attacked with all their energy my right, endeavoured to take the Mortar Battery and the Camp, their right falling at the same time on my left and cutting me off in combination with their left, from the Jumna.

Whilst therefore I protected my left against a feint, which might become a serious attack, I did not take a man away from my right, and endeavoured to catch the enemy in their own trap. I reinforced the pickets, on the left, in the first instance, with a Squadron of the 14th Light Dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel Gall, and the 3rd Hyderabad Cavalry under Captain Abbott, and afterwards directed these Troops to retire slowly before the enemy, obliquely across my front, in order to conceal my heavy guns, and draw the Rebel Cavalry into their fire. Captain Abbott was directed, after having completed this movement, to place his Regiment perpendicularly to my front, in order to be able to charge with all his Horse, the right flank of the advancing Cavalry. The manoeuvre succeeded partially; the Rebel Horse were enticed into the fire of the siege guns, which caused confusion and numerous casualties amongst them, killing, amongst others, the Commanding Officer of the 5th Bengal Irregulars. But the mutinous Cavalry adhered to their system of never allowing the British Cavalry to close with them, and kept carefully out of the way of the Hyderabad Horse.

A DETERMINED FIGHT

To discover the enemy, who, I felt assured, were concealed in the ravines in front of my right, I had ordered a Company of the 3rd Europeans to be pushed some hundred yards forward in front of my outposts, into this network of ambushes. The 3rd Europeans, after advancing some distance, found the Rebel host crouched in their lair, and started them from it. In an instant, a serious and general engagement began along the whole line from the Jumna to the village of Tehree; the belt of ravines in front of my position, becoming enveloped in smoke and fire, the sepoys rose out of their hiding places in thick chains of skirmishers, advancing and firing heavily, followed by large supports and columns *en masse* at a distance. All my guns opened on the advance of the Rebels; and the supports closed up to their threatened fronts.

I was watching the determined attack on the centre of my position, from the left of the village of Tehree, and at the same time their movements towards my right and left when I heard a slackening of our fire on the right; I instantly sent an enquiry to Brigadier Stuart, whether he would wish to be

reinforced by half of the Camel Corps; he replied that he should be very glad to have them; directly afterwards, Brigadier Stuart's fire became fainter and fainter, and that of the enemy heavier. I understood that my right, the key of my whole position, was in danger, and instantly proceeded myself to its assistance with the whole of the Camel Corps at their best pace. On the way, I met an orderly coming to me at full speed, from Brigadier Stuart, asking for further reinforcements; I knew that they were required, for the enemy's fire now came from within our position. The Camel Corps, under Major Ross, having reached the foot of the rising ground, on which were the Mortar Battery and the three 9-pounders, and dismounted, went up the rise in line at the double, in perfect order.

The situation of Brigadier Stuart's position was very critical. Volleys of musketry, which killed or wounded every horse of my Staff but one, were coming over the crest of the rising ground from the Sepoy Troops, who had debouched, and were debouching, in great numbers from the *gallies* (*galies*) leading into the ravines, and were advancing rapidly, firing heavily with yells of triumph, their faces distorted by opium and fury, across a small piece of level ground against the Mortar Battery and guns, to which they were close. The guns had ceased firing. Brigadier Stuart was on foot at the guns ordering the few Artillery-men, who served them, to draw swords and defend their guns, his lines of defence had been driven in, the men having been struck down to the ground by sun-stroke, where they lay, and the fire of the rest rendered insufficient by the defective ammunition of their Rifles. Without halting on the crest I charged down it with the Camel Corps, the dense lines of the mutineers who were ten times superior to us in number, the gallant Soldiers of Her Majesty's Rifle Brigade and Her Majesty's 80th Regiment giving one of those cheers which all over the world have been the heralds of British successes. The rebels wavered, turned and fled, pursued by the Camel Corps, with all their energy, through the ravines, where numbers of them were bayoneted or killed by musketry fire.

I ordered up rapidly the half of No. 4 Light Field Battery, from the Mortar Battery, to the front, to a knoll in the ravines, from whence they fired grape at the nearest Rebels, and round shot at the more distant masses which, following the example of their front line, had also made a precipitate retreat.

The men of the Camel Corps fell so fast and thick, struck by sun in their violent pursuit of the enemy, up and down the steep sides of the rocky ravines, which reflected back the burning rays, that the whole of them would have been prostrated, if I had not called them off, which I did after they had driven the enemy over, and taken the commanding ridge between my position and Culpee.

In this, as well as in the previous operations, since Konch, sunstroke caused sudden death, delirium, and hysterical fits of crying and laughing.....

The enemy simultaneously with their attack on my right had advanced with equal vigor (vigour) against my right centre, guarded by part of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, who, despite a most gallant resistance were driven back by overpowering numbers, which afforded an opportunity to Lieutenant Edwards, Commanding the 21st Company of Royal Engineers, which I had placed in support of the 25th, to charge with his Company, most successfully, the very superior Force of the Rebels, routing them with loss and pursuing them till out of reach. I beg to mention, specially Lieutenant Edwards for his prompt resolution on this occasion; he is an enterprizing and promising Officer. The 21st Company fight as well in the field, as they work in the trenches, and are worthy of their distinguished Corps.

The remainder of the 25th guarding my left centre, under Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, held their ground steadfastly; the Rebel sepoys advancing close up to the 25th firing, halted and addressed them bitter reproaches, couched in the most revolting language, for their unshaken fidelity to the English. The 25th answered the malediction of the mutineers in a manner worthy of their reputation and English discipline, a volley, a cheer, and a charge with the bayonet. Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, of whose gallantry and ability I have had so many proofs, and his devoted Regiment whose loyalty and discipline have so often conquered treason and insubordination, deserve to be specially mentioned for their distinguished conduct on this occasion.

My whole line was now advancing and driving the enemy from their positions. I have already spoken of the triumphant advance of the right and right centre. The left centre was equally successful under Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, who, following up his spirited charge, dashed through the ravines

with the 25th after the Rebels, came up with the rear of them, near the village of Tehree, bayoneted them and continued the pursuit beyond the village, till his men, unable to go any longer, fell exhausted.

The whole of my Infantry on the left now brought their left shoulders forward, and covered by Captain Lightfoot's Troop of Horse Artillery, three guns of No. 4 Light Field Battery, and the whole of the Cavalry, I had reinforced the Cavalry on the left with all the Cavalry from the right, made a converging attack on the enemy's right and the village of Tehree. The enemy broke and fled, pursued for some miles by the Horse Artillery and Cavalry. Their exhaustion and ground broken by ravines stopped the pursuit which cost the enemy dear. The Rebels were so completely beaten and disheartened that broken parties of them did not retire on Culpee, but were seen flying across the ravines in a Westerly direction towards Jaloun.

Colonel Wetherall, whose state of health qualified him for the Sick List, although his devotion like that of so many more of the Force kept him out of it, was struck by sun in the pursuit three or four miles from Camp, and brought back to it on a litter.

The complete defeat and serious loss which the enemy had sustained this day, despite their having displayed tactics and an energy of attack, which I had not previously witnessed in them, convinced me that an immediate advance to Culpee, which I had some days back fixed for the next day, the 23rd instant, would with the prestige of this day's victory make me master of it at once. I therefore only gave the Troops the time which was indispensable for their rest after the long day's combat in the sun, and dividing my Force into two Columns of attack, marched the next morning long before break of day against Culpee, according to my original plan of attack; one Column, the right, under Brigadier Stuart, through the ravines, their right resting on the Jumna; the other, the left Column, under myself, along the Jullalpoor and Culpee road.

I left my numerous sick, Parks, and baggage, in Camp, which was struck, under Captain Hare.

The Mortar Batteries on the other side of the Jumna had, according to my orders, opened their fire the day before, the 22nd; and during the fight, I was glad to see the shells dropping,

with great precision, into the Fort, the Town, and all about the village of Rehree.

When my Column had marched from Camp, across the plain, in front of my left and reached the Jullalpoor and Culpee road, I brought their left shoulders forward, and taking the road for the direction of my centre, covered my advance against Culpee with the Camel Corps under Major Ross, supported by the Hyderabad Cavalry.

From the road I despatched a Staff Officer, with a party of Cavalry, to effect a communication with Brigadier Stuart's left.

My Column descended into deep ravines, and mounted their steep banks, formidable, almost impregnable position, which the enemy had totally abandoned panic-struck by the previous day's defeat.

Faint firing on the right announced faint opposition to the advance of Brigadier Stuart, of whose Report* of this and the previous day's operations a copy is enclosed.

After marching some distance along the road, the enemy opened a fire on our advance from a secret Battery, in a ravine at a great distance and elevation. Major Ross made a rapid flank march across the ravines to cut it off. But a few rounds from Captain Ommaney's Royal Artillery guns, which he had brought rapidly up considerably in advance of the Column, caused the Battery to make off through the ravines. All of their guns were afterwards taken by the pursuing Cavalry.

Shortly afterwards, I got into communication with the right of Brigadier Stuart's Brigade, and by 10 o'clock A. M. both my Brigades were masters of the Fort and Town of Culpee.

My prediction had come to pass that the Rebels would make one desperate struggle for Culpee outside its walls; and that if they were defeated, they would not make a stand within them. The hard-fought fight of the day before on the banks of the Jumna had given us Culpee.

Whilst my Force was involved in the labyrinth of ravines, the enemy could be observed moving off to the north-west from Culpee, in large bodies, with elephants.

Once clear of the ravines, I instantly directed Lieutenant-

Marginal note in the Original—
*No. 4 Enclosure, Brigadier Stuart's Report.

Colonel, then Major, Gall, Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, to pursue the enemy as closely, and as far as he could, with Horse Artillery and Cavalry. I have the honor to enclose a copy of this officer's Report* of his very successful pursuit of the enemy, for which I beg to mention him specially. His Column took the whole of the guns with which their main body retreated from Culpee, and six caparisoned elephants. The Hyderabad Cavalry and scouts brought in more guns, which detached parties of the Rebels had abandoned in their wild flight; so that every piece of Field Artillery, which the enemy had, was taken. The pursuing Cavalry made great havoc of the Rebel sepoys, the Sind *Valaitees*, and the mercenaries of the Nawab of Banda, till neither horse nor man could go further.

The Rebels, broken completely by Lieutenant-Colonel Gall's Column, fled in the utmost disorder, in twos and threes across country, throwing away their arms and accoutrements, and even their clothes, to enable them to run faster. This low and altered state of morale of the Rebels must be attributed to the loss of their last hope, Culpee, after their great effort to overthrow its assailants; to their continued defeats, without one success; and lastly, to the dejection which ensued in the excitement caused by the large quantities of opium which they had swallowed for the purpose of quickening their resolution, in the action of the day before.

Besides the captured guns above mentioned, all the Artillery in the Fort, including a fine English 18-pounder gun, fell into our hands, as well as twenty-seven silk embroidered Standards of the Gwalior Contingent, bearing Scindiah's device, a cross and a serpent round it; and one of the Kotah Contingent, also three cannon and mortar foundries, which had been constructed in the Town and Fort; a very complete and extensive subterraneous Arsenal, containing 60,000 pounds of English powder; every description of warlike stores and ammunition; numerous boxes of new and old English muskets; quantities of English shot and shell, of which there were also piles outside the Arsenal in the Fort; engineering tools of every description; boxes of brass shells of native manufacture of the same sort as those frequently used against us; topographical and surveying instruments; quantities of English stationery, etc. etc. The

*"No. 5 Inclosure, Major Gall's Report".—Marginal note in Original.

brass shells cause a worse wound than the iron, but do not burst into so many pieces as they do.

The Commissary of Ordnance estimates the value of this Arsenal at £20 (20000) or £ 30,000.

THE RETREAT BY JALAUN ROAD

From information furnished by Lieutenant-Colonel Gall, it was clear that the principal part of the Rebels had retreated by the Jaloun road; and Sir Robert Hamilton was of opinion that they would make to the North for the Sheer-Ghat (Sherghat), a ford across the Jumna, or another ford higher up the river. Colonel Riddell, with a Moveable Column was guarding the former ford. It was of vital importance to make a fresh pursuit of the enemy, in order, either to catch him between Colonel Riddell's and my fire, to meet him if he turned, or to ascertain the real line of his flight. Notwithstanding therefore the exhausted state of my Force, I detached without delay, Lieutenant Colonel Robertson with a pursuing Column, of which the strength is detailed in the margin (footnote)*, along the Jaloun road. To overtake the enemy was hopeless, because, firstly they had a start, and were not encumbered, like our troops, with baggage, tents, and Commissariat or even the usual kit of Rebels, which they had thrown away; secondly, their Cavalry and Infantry were in as good, as mine were in bad condition; thirdly, my European Cavalry, riding eighteen stone could not catch Indian Cavalry riding ten or at most eleven stone.

The Rebels had also adopted a mode of retreat which facilitated escape. They separated, and in ones and twos, took short cuts across country, meeting at a distant and given point.

The operations of the pursuing Column, which again called into action Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson's energy and intelligence, will be detailed in my Report of the operation against Gwalior.[1]

Marginal note in Original.

*Troop 14th Light Dragoons. 1 Squadron 3rd B. Light Cavalry. No. 18 Light Field Battery. 160 Hyderabad Cavalry. 25th Regiment B. Native Infantry.

[1] "*Selections from State Papers*", Vol. IV, "*Central India*", Pp. 82 to 103.

CHAPTER SIX

CAPTURE AND FALL OF GWALIOR

ADVANCE ON GWALIOR

"After the defeat at Koonch, Tantia Topee went straight to Gwalior and concealed himself in the *bazar*. It is the difficulty of ascertaining facts which is the greatest obstacle to the governing of an Oriental State. Neither Scindia nor Dunker Rao (Dinkar Rao), nor the two chief officers of the army knew anything of the visit of Tantia Topee. Tantia had been to Gwalior in September 1857 to gain the Contingent to the Nana and move it upon Cawnpore. He succeeded. The main body of the Contingent left Gwalior and, reinforced by rebels from Banda and from Oudh, they pressed General Windham's force into their entrenchments at Cawnpore and occupied most of the city until they were routed by the force under Sir Colin Campbell on the 6th of December". Tantia, who commanded the rebels, fell back with the remnant of his force on Calpee where he was joined by many mutineers. He did not venture to again cross the Jumna but he was always on the watch. His great aim was not to fight Sir Colin Campbell but to make a dash for the south—to raise a revolt in the Deccan and establish once again the power of the Peshwa. Scindia, influenced by Dunker Rao, was the main obstacle to the realisation of the plan.[1]

BRITISH COMMUNICATION WITH GWALIOR BLOCKED

Narrative of Events : 26th May 1858.

Gwalior — The communication on the 22nd May had been stopped by rebels for some days between Gwalior and Sir H. Rose's force. The Jhansi district is reported to be in a disturbed state. Raheem Alli, who crossed the Ganges on 12th May, reached Indoorkee on the 18th instant, and was well received by the rebel, Koer Dowlut Sing (Kunwar Daulat Singh).[2]

[1] Forrest : "*Selections from State Papers*", Vol. IV, Introduction, p. 147.
[2] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 1 in No. 16, p. 156.

GWALIOR THREATENED

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Agra, May 30, 1858.

The Maharajah of Gwalior requests that the following message may be sent to Sir H. Rose's Camp :—

"The nephew of the Nana, Tantia Topee, and other rebels, numbering 5,000 or 6,000, with nine guns, have crossed the River Scinde, near Indoorkee, and given out their intention of attacking Gwalior. Scindia's small force on the borders has fallen back; he urges a speedy advance on Gwalior by British troops. The fort of Chundeeree (Chanderi) evacuated on 27th, and both town and fort are in our possession".[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 30th May, 9-55 *P. M.*

Chundeyree was evacuated by the rebels on the 27th and both, fort and town, are in our possession. Scindia is anxious for the speedy advance of British troops on his capital which he says is threatened by the nephew of the Nana and Tantia Topiee with five thousand or six thousand rebels having nine guns, they have crossed the Scinde river near Indoorkee and Scindia's small force on the other border has fallen back.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES APPROACHING GWALIOR

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Agra, May 31, 1858.

The rebels from Calpee and Indoorkee had advanced to-wards Gwalior, by Dahgaon[3] and Chuha, and were about twelve *coss* from Gwalior on the 29th. Scindia has sent out two regiments of Infantry, 1,000 Horse, and eighteen guns to the Morar cantonments to oppose them and intended (*sic*,) to

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies,* Inclosure 15 in No. 17, p. 165.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Apparently *Dahegaon* —A railway station on the Bhusaval-Nagpur line of the Central Railway 9 miles from *Wardha* Junction.

command the force himself. Two regiments of Infantry, 500 of the body-guards, and twelve guns, were to remain to guard Gwalior itself.[1]

* * *

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 1st June 1858.

Gwalior, 30th (May) — The rebels from Calpee were on this date within 12 miles of the cantonments. Scindia and his minister were there with their force in position.

The Nawab of Banda, Ranee of Jhansee and Nana's nephew are said to be with the rebels.

The anxiety and excitement at Gwalior were very great.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Govt. of India, with the Governor General, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 2nd June 1858.

The Rebels from Kalpee and Indoorkee had arrived within one march of Gwalior on the 31st May. The Maha-Rajah had entrenchments at the Morar Cantonments, and had made every preparation to receive them.

Sir Hugh Rose has been informed of Scindia's position and troops from his force have already marched towards Gwalior.[3]

FIGHT WITH SCINDIA'S TROOPS

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 2nd June 1858.

Gwalior, 1st June — The contest between Scindia, and the rebels had begun by a skirmish between Cavalry, on both sides at 8 A. M. this day. Upto 10 A. M. when the despatch left, they were still engaged. Scindia's 4th Regiment of Cavalry had fallen back, his body-guard maintained their ground.

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 16 in No. 17, p. 165.

[2] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Colonel Smith's Brigade a portion of which had gone to Chundeyree had joined the remainder at Sipree.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES CAPTURE GWALIOR

Intelligence from Gwalior.

The News-writer at Sumpthur (Samthar) writes that, by a communication from Gwalior dated 2nd instant, the whole country is in commotion. The Ranee of Jhansi, Tantia Topey, Nawab of Banda, the Nephew of Nana and the Nawab of Bareilly with a large number of insurgents reached Gwalior, took possession of Lushkur, and set up the Standard of Peishwa on the Fort. *His Highness the Maharajah finding himself unable to resist them and deserted by his troops fled to Agra. The whole of his force joined the Rebels, who have posted pickets round the City.* None can come out of it. The City is not yet plundered. At Duttia and at other places people are in alarm. Troops must be sent to Jhansi and other places; the Baiza Baee, and other ladies retreated to Punniar[2]. It is said Her Highness the Maharanee was delivered of a son at Punniar.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES INTEND TO ATTACK BANPUR

News from Tehree (Tehri) received on 3rd June 1858.

On hearing that a larger numbe of the rebels had collected at a village Kova with the intention of attacking Banpore, the Tehree authorities sent a competent force to that village to attack them, but the insurgents fled. The next day about 4,000 men with four guns were sent by the Ranee to Banpore to protect it. 200 men with one gun have been posted at Mahrolee, 50 matchlockmen have been posted at Garotha. The *Killadar* of Tahrolee has been directed to assist the *Thanadar*

[1] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Panniar*, Pargana and Zila *Gwalior Gird* (*Gwalior State*)—A village situated in 26° 6′ N. and 78° 4′ E., 15 miles from Lashkar on the Agra-Bombay road. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 278).

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, No. 44. National Archives, New Delhi.

of Garotha with a large force should the insurgents try to show themselves in that quarter. About 150 matchlockmen have been posted at Mow. At the request of the Deputy Superintendent at Shahgurh some ammunition has been sent to him.

RAJA OF SHAHGARH AT DEORA SAGAR

Latest News from Bundelkhand.

The Chief of Shahgurh with his followers was reported to be at Deora Saugor waiting for the decision regarding his application for pardon.

The Chief of Banpore was reported to have gone towards his Capital from Narait and is represented to be desirous of obtaining pardon.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES IN GWALIOR FORT

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 3rd June 1858.

SCINDIA ESCAPES TO DHOLPUR

Dholpoor, 2nd June—His Highness Maharajah Scindia with his Minister Dinkur Rao and other followers reached Dholpoor in this date in progress to Agra. He has since arrived.

Gwalior, 1st June—The rebels, owing to the treachery of some of Maharajah's soldiers, are in possession of Lushkur and Fort of Gwalior. Scindia with his minister and a party of faithful followers left for Dholpoor.

Etawah, 31st May—The force had returned to Ajeetmul from Shergurh Ghat. Tej Sing the ex-Rajah of Mynpooree (Mainpuri) was expected to surrender himself.

The advanced Column of the force proceeding to Gwalior was at Mahona on the 1st June. The remainder of the force with Sir R. Hamilton and Major Macpherson is on its way to join it.[2]

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, No. 44. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES ENTER GWALIOR IN TRIUMPH

The Rao (Rao Saheb), Tantia Topee and the Ranee of Jhansi entered the city in triumph and declared the Nana as Peshwa or Chief of the Mahratta Confederacy. The Rao refused to assume any state. That he reserved, said he, "for the *Musnud* (*Masnad*) at Poona". He behaved with considerable tact and restrained the ravages of war as well as the hand of the spoiler. He confiscated and gave to plunder only the houses of the *Dewan* and of the two chief military officers. He gave to Scindia's troops the three months' pay due to them and two months' pay as gratuity, amounting in all to nine lacs. He distributed among his own troops about seven and a half lacs. The jail was thrown open and the State prisoners in the Fort, which was surrendered without a thought of defence, were released. The Rao had no desire to destroy the authority of Scindia. He reconfirmed in their offices nearly all Scindia's servants, and he did everything compatible with his object (the acknowledgment of the Peshwa as the paramount power in the Mahratta Confederacy) to give his visit a friendly character. The departure or escape of Scindia was to him a most untoward incident. He attempted, through a relative of Scindia's, to negotiate his return, while he also pressed the Baiza Baee to come and take charge of affairs. He wrote to her : "All is well here. Your going from hence was not, to my thinking, right. I have already written to you, but have received no answer. This should not be. I send this letter by Ramjee Chowley *Jemdar*[1]. Do come and take charge of your seat of Government. It is my intention to take Gwalior, only to have a meeting and go on. This is my purpose. Therefore it is necessary that you should come making no denial". Baiza Baee sent the letter to Sir Robert Hamilton, who was with Brigadier Smith's force, which was advancing on Gwalior from Sipree by the Jhansi Road.[2]

[1] This name has been spelt as 'Ramjee Chowthey Jamdar' at another place.

[2] Forrest : "*Selections from State Papers*", 1857-8, Vol. IV, "*Central India*", Pp. 152-3.

REVOLUTIONARIES' ACTIVITIES AT GWALIOR

Letter from Captain Meade, Commander of Irregular Horse at Agra and late Brigade Major, dated Agra, 4th June 1858.

I yesterday wrote a few hurried lines to His Lordship's Military Secretary, mentioning the principal points I had been able to ascertain regarding the late events at Gwalior, and I trust I shall not be considered presumptuous for communicating now to you, such further matter as appears of interest on this subject. The news from Gwalior is very confused and unsatisfactory, the rebels having made arrangements to prevent any parties who may wish to do so, getting away from the place. Several influential people who have joined them, either willingly or from fear, have been appointed to various duties, while those who refuse to do so have been placed in confinement.

They have already it is reported commenced to prepare the Fort for a siege by laying in there supplies and ammunition.

FULL LOCAL SUPPORT TO REVOLUTIONARIES

There seems to be no doubt that the great bulk of the armed men at Gwalior have joined the Rebels, and that the Zemindary Troops and new levies have not proved more faithful than the Poorbeyahs (Purbias). I heard sometime ago that the *Thakoors*, whose support in September last enabled the Maharaja to defy the Contingent (which was certainly a far more formidable body than the band of fugitives who have now got possession of Gwalior) *had been estranged from His Highness by the policy which has been pursued since the fall of Delhi*, numbers of them having been unexpectedly discharged from the service. The ill-feeling created amongst them by this course has, it is said, prevented them giving His Highness any assistance in the late crisis. Many of these people have within the next 3 months come to me for service in my Corps, and I have noticed that they appeared dissatisfied with the conduct of the *Durbar* towards them in the matter. The *Dewan* also appeared to be aware of the state of feeling amongst these people; for, when last at Agra 4 and (*sic*, or) 5 weeks ago, he recommended my not entertaining some of them in my Regiment. Both he and the Maharaja, however, seem to be satisfied that the people of the

country, generally, are not at present disposed to join the rebels, and that, if a British Force soon (were to) appear in the neighbourhood, they will preserve their allegiance to His Highness.

NANA PROCLAIMED AS PESHWA

The Nana has been proclaimed at Gwalior as Peishwa, the Rao Sahib (his nephew) being declared his Deputy and Tantia Topee Dewan. The latter has commenced nominating *Thanadars* and *Tehseeldars*, and is endeavouring to organise a Government as speedily as possible.

STRUGGLE AT PHULBAGH FOR THE CAPTURE OF GWALIOR

The latest reports state that there was a severe struggle at the Phool Bagh, after the Maharaja fled, and that on his troops there being driven back, the Phool Bagh itself was plundered, and burnt, the new buildings at Morar having been previously fired and destroyed. The Lushkur was then plundered for 3 hours, but it is said on the rebels attempting to enter the Palace, the Mewaties, of whom a large number were always on duty there, resisted, and that a very bloody fight took place. The Rebels do not all obey the orders of one Chief, though, Tantia Topee is the principal Director amongst them. The Jhansee Ranee, Nawab of Banda, Raheem Alli and others have their own several bands of followers.

BAIZA BAI FLEES FROM GWALIOR

News has just come in that the Baiza Baee, who was believed to be in the city, is encamped at Punniar with 1500 men, and five Chiefs of the *Durbar*. Tantia Topee is said to have gone out to fetch her back to Gwalior; but that she has refused to move till she knows the Maharaja's wish.

The Ranee, who is within a short period of her confinement, is either with the Bhai, or has gone on to Seepree (Sipri) to obtain protection from the Brigade of the Kotah Force which lately reoccupied Chundeyree (Chanderi).

There is a report just in (2 P. M.) that the Fort is still in the hands of the *Thakoor* garrison, and that the rebels have not got possession of it. I do not however place reliance on this statement, as the Maharaja himself assured me it could

not hold out, no arrangements having been made to enable the garrison to do so. Indeed His Highness seems to have shewn a great want of forethought and precaution, and it is evident that most of the Chiefs here ascribe the disaster, that has occurred, to his bad arrangements, though he himself declares it has been caused by the treachery of his troops alone. I heard this morning from one of the Native officials in Bhind[1], who has constantly been in the habit of sending me reports of the state of affairs there. He says all is quiet and the arrangements good. I have mentioned this to the Brigadier Commanding here, and have suggested that if the Etawah Field Force, which was just returning to Mynpoory (Mainpuri), were moved across through the Bhind district to join the Calpee Force at Indoorkee, it would probably prevent any movement in that district, which it is important to keep in order from its immediate neighbourhood to the Etawah and Bah[2] *Pergunnahs*. I believe however that the Brigadier is anxious to get the 3rd European Regiment here to strengthen this garrison and enable him to advance to Dholpore if necessary. There is a large force of Puttiala Seikhs (Patiala Sikhs) at the latter place, and they may no doubt be made much use of by and by.

COUNTRY AROUND GWALIOR IMPENETRABLE DURING RAINS

I must not close this letter without mentioning that the country, in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, will be quite impassable for troops after the first fall of rain. The Chumbul, which is now fordable every mile or so, will be then full and with so rapid a stream that boats cross it with much delay and difficulty. Another river at Hingona, 8 miles from the Chumbul, is also a very serious obstacle during the rainy season,

[1] *Bhind Town* (*Gwalior State*)—Headquarters of the Zila and Pargana of the same name, situated in 26° 33′ N. and 78° 50′ E. at the terminus of the Gwalior-Bhind Branch of the State Railway. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 207).

[2] *Bah*—South-eastern Tahsil of *Agra* District, *United Provinces*, coterminous with the Pargana of the same name, lying between 26° 45′ and 26° 59′ N. and 78° 12′ and 78° 5′ E. with an area of 341 square miles. The tahsil is sometimes called *Pinhaat*. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI, 1908, p. 193).

being impassable sometimes for days together. The whole country too gets so flooded that an army with guns and stores could not move through it at all, if the rains are ordinarily heavy. The same remark is applicable to all the other routes by which Gwalior can be approached. That from Calpee *via* Orai and Mahona is a swamp during the rains, and is rarely passable for carts before November. The routes from Butasur and Pinahut through Tonaghur and from Etawah through Bhind and Gohud are the same. The road from Jhansi is almost impracticable during the rainy season, and the formidable Antree Pass must be forced before debouching into the plain of Gwalior. A train of Artillery could hardly get over through the Pass at that season. The Bombay road through Seepree is not more practicable during the rains than the other routes I have mentioned. The mail carts can never run on it after the first fall of rain.

WATER SCARCITY AT GWALIOR

The fort of Gwalior is very badly off from water, in case of Gwalior being *besieged*, at this season. Most of the reservoirs and tanks are now dry and unless the wells, in an outwork on the west face, called the "Ronwayn"[1] have been deepened and cleaned out, the garrison if driven into the Fort would be in great straits. A body of water carriers was always kept up during our occupation of the Fort to bring up water for the use of the garrison from these wells. I do not think however that the garrison could make use of them if occasional shells were dropped into this outwork. There is but one entrance to the Fort, through the city, and the outer gate of this might be so commanded from the buildings in the neighbourhood that all egress might be prevented. It is also so immediately under the rock on which the Fort is constructed, which is here probably 400 feet high, that guns could not be sufficiently disposed to command it.

Several of the *Sirdars* have come in to-day, and some hundreds of followers; and if proclamations were issued to the Gwalior people and distributed once in the country and in Gwalior itself, there seems a possibility that many would rejoin

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

the Maharaja's standard. I conclude, Mr. Reade will see that all that is required in this respect is done as soon as possible.

The Maharaja and *Dewan* were much depressed on arrival here yesterday and so knocked off that they could do nothing all day. This morning I was with them for an hour, and found them much refreshed from the night's sleep, and in better spirits.

Both, they and all the *Sirdars* and fugitives have arrived in a lamentable state, without even a change of clothes. Everything possible, however, is being done for their comfort.[1]

ADMINISTRATION OF REVOLUTIONARIES IN GWALIOR FORT

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 5th June 1858.

Dholpoor, 4th (June)—Streams of fugitives from the Gwalior territory said to be arriving. It is reported that the prisoners have been liberated from jail, the bankers protected. Tantia Topee (was) the chief leader; and there the *killadar* of the fort had surrendered. This however, though very probable requires confirmation. Bodies of rebel Horse were stationed at distances of 4 and 5 *coss* on the roads, leading to Gwalior. The Goojur population were in full swing of plunder and violence.

Gwalior—The latest reliable news is to the forenoon of the 2nd June. There was not much plunder of shops on the 1st, guards having been stationed. Up to that hour the rebels had not occupied the fort, though it was given out as the intention of the Rao, the nephew of the Nana, to take possession of it, and to confiscate the houses and property of all the leading men who have followed the Maharajah. Arrangements were being made for distribution of pay to the troops, and letters had been written calling on the Rajahs of Banpoor and Shagurh, and Jydeyal (Jai Dayal), the Kota rebel leader to come to Gwalior.

Etawah, 2nd (June)— The intelligence of the advance of the rebels towards Gwalior had been received, and the result

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Cons. No. 1377, National Archives, New Delhi.

anticipated. Koour Dowlut Sing had abandoned the fort at Indoorkee.[1]

EXCITEMENT AMONG BRITISHERS DUE TO THE CAPTURE OF GWALIOR

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), dated 4th June 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The 3rd Europeans and force under Colonel Riddell[2] reached at 7 A. M. The Agra guns are at Bigrie. All quiet in the district but considerable excitement about Gwalior.[3]

TATYA TOPE REORGANISES THE ADMINISTRATION

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 4th June 1858.

Dholpoor, 3rd (June)—Osman Khan with a party of 100 Horse belonging to the 2nd Regiment of the late Gwalior Contingent reached Dholpoor, requesting permission to come on to Agra. The men of this regiment are reported to have been staunch. They will remain to watch the Chumbul.

The latest reliable intelligence from Gwalior represents Tantia Topee to have taken his seat on the *Musnud*, and to be busy establishing *Thannas* and posting detachments to guard the different approaches to Gwalior, especially towards Jaloun, through which district the British force from Calpee is now advancing.[4]

EVENTS AT GWALIOR

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 6th and 7th June 1858.

NEWS FROM GWALIOR: 3RD JUNE 1858

Gwalior—The news is to the night of 3rd June. The

[1] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] There appear to be two military officers of the names Colonel Riddell and Colonel Liddell, the latter is mentioned in many documents. If there was no such officer as Colonel Riddell, then it has been misspelt for Colonel Liddell.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.



Kati Ghati at Chanderi
(*Gwalior Gazetteer*)

rebels have a guard with 2 guns at the Pass called the Kutighatee, the same number of guns and a guard also on the road to Sepree. On the road to Lullutpoor (Lalitpur), Chandeyree, they have 6 Companies and 6 guns. The main body is encamped on the ground between the Phool Bagh and the Nowlaka (Naulakha) Garden. The Rance of Jhansee and the Nana's nephew, it is said, have command of the force.

Ram Rao Govind has been appointed *Cotwal* (*Kotwal*). At a general parade the Nana was proclaimed; the troops were to receive 3 months' pay and an equivalent sum as reward.

It was given out that detachment of sowars would be told off to watch the *Ghats* on the Chumbul, but up to-date none had moved.

The advance of the Column from Calpee was at Mahona in the Kuchwa *Ellaka* on the 4th June.

RAJA OF CHAKARNAGAR REVOLTS

Etawah, 5th (June)—The events at Gwalior appear to have confirmed the Rajah of Chukurnuggur in rebellion. Previously he was about to surrender. Gunga Sing (Ganga Singh) of Bah notoriety, from the same circumstance has had a large accession of followers, and after plundering in the Bhind *Ellaka*, has crossed the Chumbul with some 1200 followers and has burnt Seraital, and it is said, killed some of the Customs *Chupprasses*.[1]

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT GWALIOR

Narrative of Events.

Gwalior—On the 7th June, a report had reached on the 8th instant, of the arrival of the greater portion of the Calpee Column at Indoorkee. No supplies, upto the above date, had been put into the fort. On the same date, the rebel troops at Gwalior had been paid three months' pay, and received two months' pay as a reward. A Regiment of Infantry, 600 Horse, and 19 guns were also sent to watch the British force at Indoorkee. On the 11th instant, it was reported that Rao Ramkishun, the deposed Minister of Dholepore, had joined the rebels, and it is also stated that the Seepree Brigade had reached Mahona

[1] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Burragaon, but this requires confirmation. Intelligence from Agra, dated 13th June, mentions that desertions have been frequent from the rebel troops since they received their pay; that Tantia Topee is with a force at Seegowlie, about six *coss* from Gwalior, watching the advance of our force. A regiment and four guns had been posted at Jeengunge, and pickets of Horse along the Agra road. The principal resistance, it is supposed, will be at the Lushkur. Sir H. Rose reports, from the banks of the Phooj (Pahuj), dated 13th June, that ill-will is said to have arisen between the Banda, Calpee, and Bareilly troops, and those of Scindia, caused by the former having taken their guns from the latter. The rebels have not left Gwalior to oppose the passage of the Scinde river by Colonel Robertson and Brigadier Stuart. 14*th June*— Information just received that the detachment, with guns posted at Jeengunge (above mentioned), are a portion of Scindia's bodyguard, which escaped from the fight of the 1st instant, and have remained faithful. The latest from Gwalior confirms the report of dissension between Scindia's troops and the rebels, the latter having, in consequence, moved out of the Lushkur and encamped under the neighbouring hills[1].

* * *

News from Gwalior, dated 9th June 1858, *Wednesday, sent by Ganeshi Lall, Superintendent, dated Duttiah (Datia), 13th June* 1858.

A *Durbar* was held; the officers and noblemen in the service of Baiza Bace Sahab asked Rao Sahab to take as much money, and as many troops and guns as he wanted, and to leave the place, after which they will come and occupy it. Rao Sahab's answer to this was that he will (would) decide the matter next day. Rao Sahab lives in the Bace's or Sindiah's palace, and at night sleeps in the Camp. All the tents of Maharajah Sindiah have been pitched. Tantia Topey lives in a house in the Camp, and is zealous in making warlike preparations. The Rance of Jhansee lives in..... (Blank in original) house. Sometimes she puts on "*Saree and Choolee*", and at others, she ties a *Roomal* round her head, after the fashion of

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*. Inclosure 1 in No. 18, p. 166.

Puthans. Deewan Dinkur Rao's house together with his property has been made over to the Nawab of Banda, who has placed his guards over it, and will personally occupy it in a day or two. In the same manner the houses of other nobles of Gwalior are being set apart for the several rebel chiefs. Rao Sahab has caused the removal of Baba Mohurkur's property and has appointed some sepoys and two guns at his quarters. Ameerchund (Amir Chand) Bantia has great power. Bhola *Hurkara*, who had been confined for life by Maharajah Sindiah, has been released by Rao Sahab's order, and 500 *Hurkaras* having been appointed, he has been made *Jemadar* of them. All the business of the *Dawk* is carried on through him.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES PREPARE FOR THE DEFENCE OF GWALIOR

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 8th June 1858.

FESTIVE GWALIOR: 8TH JUNE 1858

Gwalior—The latest intelligence is that a great feast had been given to the rebel leaders by Bhow Aptya (Bhao Apte).

The rebels were busy placing guns and detachments at various points and on all the approaches to Gwalior.

Khurug Jeet Sing (Kharag Jit Singh), Doongur Sah (Dungar Shah), Buktawar Sing (Bakhtawar Singh) of Shekerwarra who had been confined for rebellion by the Maharajah had been released adorned with *Khilluts*, and directed to summon their adherents to assist in opposing the British force.

The Baiza Bace and other members of the family had reached a place of safety.

The main body of the Column from Calpee was at Jaloun on the 5th instant, the advance under Colonel Robertson at Indoorkee. The force is under Command of Brigadier Stewart.

GANGA SINGH PROCLAIMS HIMSELF TO BE NAZIM

Etawah, 6th (June)—The river Jumna is low, and this

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, Nos. 75-7. National Archives, New Delhi.
[Note—Chronologically this document should not have preceded the

circumstance enhances the difficulties of the Magistrate in taking measures for repelling incursion of rebels and dacoits into his district. Gunga Sing has been appointed or gives out his appointment as *Nazim* on the part of the Gwalior rebels, and, at present, aided as he is by others, there is no authority to oppose him, in the portion of the Etawah district, between the Jumna and Chumbul.

In the Agra district some of the rebels driven out of Bah Pennahut (Pinhaat) have given indication of returning. Effective measures have been taken to maintain authority in this part of the district.[1]

* * *

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 9th June 1858.

Dholpoor, 8th(June)—The telegraph wire and posts in this territory are injured. The damage reported has occurred beyond the Chumbul in the Gwalior country.

GWALIOR NEWS : 7TH JUNE 1858

Gwalior—The news is to the 7th. The rebels appear to have completed their arrangements for resisting attack by a British force on the Lushkar and Phoolbagh and are engaged in propagating lies.

One of these is, that the British force had been ordered to make a *Beejun*[2] or complete massacre of all the inhabitants of Gwalior. Another, that a considerable force is shortly expected from Bareilly and similar accessions from all parts of India.

Perwannahs had been issued regarding landholders to enroll 25 men for each village, to join the rebel army in opposing the British.

Except Ameer Chund Batya[3], formerly Chief Treasurer,

document, dated 8th June. But, as it deals with the same subject as the foregoing document, it has been placed in continuation of it.

[1] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Beejun: Hindi 'Vijan', meaning 'lonely' 'solitary', here implying 'desolate', i.e., devoid of habitation.

[3] Spelt as 'Bantia' in another document. The correct name would be 'Amir Chand Bhatia', or 'Amar Chand Bhatia'.

few persons of note appear to have openly joined the rebels and up-to-date none of the Maharaja's force posted in the interior, appears to have come to Gwalior.[1]

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AT GWALIOR

Abstract of Intelligence, 10th June 1858.

Two Regiments of Infantry and 12 guns have been ordered to the Indoorkhee Ghat. They are to go in two divisions; one Regiment and six guns to start this evening; the remaining one Regiment and six guns will leave to-morrow. Ameen Mull, Moorleedhur Chowdree's (Murlidhar Chaudhry) son, having been appointed *Soobah* of Sheopoor left Gwalior for his destination with 1500 matchlockmen and 100 sowars. Other *Soobahs* are being appointed daily. Those servants of Maharajah Sindiah, who are present in Gwalior, get their former situations, the places of those who have run away are supplied by others. The people of Gwalior daily leave for villages in the neighbourhood. The nobility have gone off in general, but none is allowed to take with him, property worth a farthing.

The rebels have made the following arrangements:

They have posted 1000 sowars and 100 footmen in the direction of Antree and 200 sowars and 400 footmen on the side of Noorabad[2]. The same number of forces has been sent at (*sic*, to) Buddagaon[3] and Kanwur Haree which latter place is 2 *Koss* from Moorar (Morar). The Ranee of Jhansee is always surrounded by 50 sowars with drawn swords, 100 Mewatees, and 1000 sowars and sepoys go (on) rounds in the streets and lanes. The people are not governed with iron sceptre, nay, those who can identify their goods get it back, and the plunderers get money in return. He, who speaks good of the English religion, and despises Hindoo and Mahomedan religions is immediately put to death. Guns have been placed

[1] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Nurabad*, Pargana *Nurabad*, Zila *Tonwarghar* (*Gwalior State*) The headquarters of the pargana of the same name situated in 26° 24′ N. and 78° 6′ E., 15 miles north of Gwalior on the river Sankh. *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, (Vol. I, 1908, p. 276).

[3] Apparently *Baragaon*.

on all the surrounding hillocks. There are 2,000 troops in the fort, but a large quantity of magazine and stores have (has) been taken up there. It is said that Nana Peishwa is at Lukhnow. Nothing is known about Nursing (Narsingh) Rao Appa, whither he is gone; but his house is under confiscation. Other noblemen share the same fate with respect to their houses. The rebels have given out that the Rana of Dholepore has fled away from Dholepore, and the place has been taken possession of by the men of the Peishwa. Every evening the rebel Chiefs go with Rao Sahab in State for airing. Lacs of Rupees belonging to Maharajah Sindiah are squandered daily. New levies are going on; every day between 200 and 400 men are newly employed. Ameerchund Bantia's family and property go to-day to his Native place. Seith Ramchunder (Seth Ram Chandra) informs to-day that the rebels have sent half Regiment, 200 sowars and 2 guns at (*sic*, to) the Antree Pass, and have carried the *Kamasdar* of Antree[1] to Gwalior under arrest.[2]

ENGLISH PREPARE TO ATTACK GWALIOR

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 10th June 1858.

Dholpoor, 9th (June).—The Maharajah of Patteala's (Patiala) officers had been indefatigable in collecting the boats and the electric wire and posts on their way to Gwalior into places of safety. A general feeling of security obtains from the reported approach of a force from Agra.

NEWS FROM GWALIOR : 7TH JUNE 1858

Gwalior—The news is to the 7th. It was reported and believed that the Brigade at Sipree would move towards Gwalior on the 8th.

The Calpee Column was at Indoorkee on the 7th, and was to be joined immediately by Sir Hugh Rose in person with additional troops. His leadership gives additional confidence.

[1] *Antri*, Pargana *Pichhor*, Zila *Gwalior Gird* (*Gwalior State*)—A village situated in 26° 3′ N. and 78° 15′ E , at a distance of 14 miles from Gwalior. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 195).

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, Nos. 75-77. National Archives, New Delhi.

2 Regiments had been sent by the rebels to the Morar cantonments, but no further movement had been made in advance, and though much is boasted of future operations, after the British force has been defeated, there seems to be an increasing reluctance to come in contact with it.

It is certain, that there have been many desertions, and only a few accessions of rebel landholders.[1]

RANI OF JHANSI ACTIVE

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra 11th June 1858

NEWS : 11TH JUNE 1858

Gwalior, 8th (June)—3 months' pay and 2 months' additional pay as reward had been distributed to the rebel troops on the 7th instant.

A regiment of Infantry, six hundred sowars, and 10 guns had been sent out towards Indoorkee to watch the movements of the British force. It was supposed they would not go beyond Chussolee[2], 5 *coss* from Gwalior.

PROCLAMATION ISSUED

One of the proclamations of the rebels dated 6th June has been obtained. It is issued in the name of the Peshwa, and requires the submission of the various officials in the Gwalior territory, the transmission of acknowledgment of the Peshwa's supremacy being the condition of retaining office.

8 Companies of rebel sepoys had been put into the fort, and some supplies also sent in. The nephew of the Nana, called the Rao Sahib and whose real name is Madho Rao has taken the title of *Killedar*.

The whole force of the enemy of every description is supposed to be from 12 (12000) to 14000, posted in unequal numbers at the fort, Sugur (Sagar) Tal, Lushkur and Moorar.

[1] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Can be read as '*Chupolee*' also.

The Ranee of Jhansee is noted as especially active in inspecting the troops. She is continually on horse back, armed with sword and pistol, at the head of 300 *Horse.*[1]

GWALIOR RESIDENCY PLUNDERED AND BURNT

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 12*th June* 1858.

GWALIOR NEWS : 9TH JUNE 1858

Gwalior, 9*th* (*June*)--The British force in part, and it is said in two divisions crossed the Sinde (Scinde) on the 8th, and was at Amain, about 6 miles from that river. General Sir Hugh Rose was about 3 marches behind with additional troops.

After pay was issued on the 7th, many of those who were formerly in the Maharajah's service deserted, some leaving their arms behind. It is said that most of those who are natives of Oude (Awadh) have given up the cause as desperate and are slipping away to their homes, bent, if possible on seeking obscurity as agriculturist.

ACCOMMODATION FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

Tantia Topee has ordered the houses of the minister Dinkur Rao, and of the Baba Sahib Mohurkur[2], and Bulwunt Rao Baba, to be cleared, for the accommodation of the Nawaub of Banda and others.

Tantea Turwa who was sent with overtures to the Baija Baee(Baiza Bai)has returned to report the failure of his mission.

No further measures had been taken to prepare the fort for a siege.

The rebels have plundered and burnt as much as they could of the Residency.[3]

[1] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] This has been spelt as 'Mohurghur' also in many places.

[3] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

FACILITIES TO SCINDIA FOR JOINING HUGH ROSE

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 11th June 1858, 10/55 *A. M., to E. A. Reade, Agra.*

The Governor General requests that every facility may be given to Scindia to join Sir Hugh Rose's Camp. It is very desirable that His Highness should do so and instructions have been sent to Sir Hugh Rose to be prepared to receive him.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES DID NOT PROCEED TOWARDS SCINDE RIVER

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 13th June 1858, 12 *midnight, to E. A. Reade, Agra.*

Sir Hugh Rose had on the 10th June received reports from Brigadier Stuart and Colonel Robertson who had crossed the Scinde river. Ill-will, it is said, had risen between the rebels of Banda, Calpee and Bareilly and Scindiah's *treacherous troops* in consequence of the former having taken their guns from the latter. The rebels, although in possession of a great amount of Artillery, have not left Gwalior to oppose the passage of the Scinde river by Brigadier Stuart and Colonel Robertson.[2]

PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE OF GWALIOR

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 13th and 14th June.

Dholpoor, 13th (June)—Colonel Riddell's Column arrived at Dholpoor on this date.

GWALIOR NEWS : 13TH AND 14TH JUNE

Gwalior—The intelligence of the first and second divisions of Sir Hugh Rose's force having crossed the Sinde is confirmed by telegram just received from Allahabad.

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

Tantea Topee had gone out with a force to watch their movements but had not advanced more than 5 or 6 *coss* from Gwalior.

All reports are consistent in describing great dissensions between the rebels, and Scindia's troops.

It was said that a portion of Sir Hugh Rose's force ordered to Mote (Moth), had joined the Column *via* Sonda, and that another additional force was expected from Jhansee *via* Duttea (Datia).

Both Jhansee and Chundeyree were quiet.

The Sipree Brigade was, it is believed, moving up to co-operate.

In Gwalior itself, a *Moulvee* formerly in the service of the Nana at Bithoor, had been appointed minister of justice.

The amount taken from the Rajah's treasury is stated to be 10 lakhs of rupees.

On the road from Gwalior towards Agra pickets of Horse had been placed as far as Hingona, numbering from 16 to 60. There was also a report that 2 regiments with 6 guns had been sent to Sikrowda[1] towards the Kerowlee frontier, but this requires confirmation.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES' VALIANT RESOLVE TO EXPEL THE BRITISH

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 15th June.

Dholpoor, 14*th* (*June*)—The Maharajah of Gwalior with his suite arrived safely at Dholpoor on this date. Numbers of followers who have remained faithful to him, or at least profess fidelity are scattered on the opposite side of the Chumbul. There was no appearance of any rebels, nearer than Hingona. It is said that the deposed minister of Dholpoor, Rao Ram Krishon, and his brother, Heera Loll, *Fowjdar*, had the promise of a force from Tantea Topee, but the statement requires

[1] Apparently *Sikrauda*—A village in Pargana *Jaura*, Zila *Tonwarghar* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 26° 21′ Latitude N. and 77° 47′ Longitude E. with an area of 1869 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 62).

[2] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

confirmation; at all events no force of any considerable number had been sent towards Dholpoor.

CONFLICTING NEWS FROM GWALIOR : 13TH JUNE 1858

The accounts upto the 12th instant are very conflicting, and must be received with caution.

The first intimation of the advance of the British force to Amain[1] caused much consternation so much so that many of the rebels encamped outside the Lushkur prepared for flight.

Now that no further advance has been made, the rebels have regained confidence, and nothing is heard of but valiant resolutions to hold the country and expell (*sic*, expel) all invaders.

Apparently the Maharajah's treacherous troops and the rebels have become reconciled.

TATYA TOPE GOES TO SIPOLI TO CHECK ROSE'S ADVANCE

Tantea Topee, by the latest accounts, had taken the supposed best men of the force to Soopowlee to contest the advance of the British force which probably on this date, will have arrived at that place distant from 5 to 7 *coss* from Gwalior.

His confederates, during his absence are endeavouring to ingratiate themselves with the landowners, and citizens. All of the former class who come into declare adhesion, receive turbans in reward and promises of abatement of revenue demand. The confiscation and plundering of houses is confined to those which belong to followers of the Maharajah.

At the last hour the rebels appear to have taken active measures regarding the fort in which it is said 1200 men have been placed, and to which the supplies sent from Agra for Sir Hugh Rose's force were being conveyed.

Etawah—No report.[2]

[1] *Amain*—A place in Pargana *Mahgaon* of the Old *Gwalior State*. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. XXII).

[2] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

BRITISHERS' CONCENTRATION AT GWALIOR

Telegraphic Message from Dhoolpore (Dholpur), dated 16th June 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The *Dewan* begs (me) to tell you that the Seepree force has occupied the fort of Himmutghur near Purwor[1] twenty miles from south of Gwalior after a skirmish in which the rebels were driven back on the Lushkur. Sir R. Hamilton and force had reached Spoawes[2], fifteen miles from Gwalior on the Calpee road. The Maharajah's troops were deserting from Lushkur in great numbers and none but the *Poorbia* troops were likely to remain with the rebels; large numbers of the men who wished to rejoin the Maharajah are collecting between Hingoona and Khratun[3]. They are to be directed on Jowra, also on the old Bombay road, west of Gwalior to intercept the rebels when driven from Gwalior. Tantia Topia is believed to intend retreating on Soopur[4] in the Kotah direction and the *Dewan* suggests that some arrangement be made if possible to cut him off from Rajpootana.[5]

BAIZA BAI AT PUNNIAR

Telegraphic Message from R. Naylor, Dholepore, to E.A. Reade, Agra, dated 17th June 1858.

Sunker Tantia gives the following news : -The Seepree Column accompanied by Bauyza byee (Baiza Bai) was at Punniar on the 14th which place is about twelve miles from Gwalior.[6]

[1] Not clearly decipherable, but '*Mahona*' is written just above this word in a different hand-writing.

[2] Not clearly decipherable, but '*Sookowlee*' is written just above this word in a different hand-writing.

[3] Word '*Keyntree*' is written above this word in a different hand-writing.

[4] Apparently *Sheopur*—A village in Pargana *Sheopur*, Zila *Sheopur* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 25° 40′ Latitude N. and 76° 40′ Longitude E. with an area of 5839 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 85).

[5] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[6] *Ibid.*

SKIRMISHES IN GWALIOR

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 17th June.

Kerowlee, 14*th* (*June*)—The Rajah was fully prepared for any attempt, the Gwalior rebels might make, in revenge of his previous co-operation against the rebels of Kota and present refusal to accept any overtures. It seems Jydeyal (Jai Dayal) of Kota is at Gwalior with Heera Sing, but they are at present too much occupied to try conclusions with Kerowlee.

Dholpoor, 16*th* (*June*)—Numbers of men of Scindia's regiment have arrived on the other side of the Chumbul who have deserted from the rebels, in the hope of being forgiven. They have been ordered to move from the road to Gwalior to the interior of the country, where they can do no mischief, and be out of the way.

It has been ascertained that the party at Sikrowdah (Sikrauda) consists of 4 Companies and 2 guns who have come there with a newly appointed *Aumil*.

NEWS UPTO 15TH JUNE 1858

Gwalior—The news is to the 15th. The Sipree force had a skirmish with the enemy who were defeated, and fled back to the Lushkur. By the latest account this portion of the British force occupied Himmutgurh, a fort and town 20 miles south of Gwalior.

Sir Hugh Rose's force had arrived at Soopowlee, 15 miles from Gwalior.

Scindia's troops were deserting in great numbers and only such as are *Poorbeas* have remained with the other rebels.

Tantea Topee, it is said, was preparing for retreat towards Shoopoor and Kotah.

Another report which needs confirmation states that the Nawaub of Banda had resolved to hold the fort.

Firing in the direction of Gwalior was yesterday heard at Dholpoor.

Etawah, 15*th* (*June*)—All quiet in the district on the left side of the Jumna. There was still a body of dacoits in the Chukurnuggur *Elaka* headed by Peetum Singh and Bunkut Sing (Bankat Singh) but from this long and much disorganised

portion of the district *Zemindars* were coming in and paying their revenue.[1]

FIGHTING AT GWALIOR

Telegraphic Message from Dewan Nehal Chund (Diwan Nihal Chand), 17th June 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

Last night heavy firing was going on at Gwalior in Moorar cantonments. The mutineers and Sir Hugh Rose's forces were engaged. The mutineers had possession of the Lushkur and their elephants etc. were loaded and ready, and it was reported they were going to run but they were firing from the fort.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Mr. R. Naylor, Dholepore (Dholpur), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 18th June 1858.

Sunker Tantia reports as follows :—

From reliable authority the *tehseeldar* of Anyno infrms that yesterday noon a battle took place at Gwalior in which the enemy retreated as far as Phoolbagh. The fighting with the Sepree Column was going on near Punchar. The *Kumasdar* of Geegnee[3] just writes that the heavy guns were heard towards Gwalior throughout last night.[4]

* * *

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 18th June 1858.

NEWS UPTO 18TH JUNE

Dholpoor and Gwalior—By telegram of this date from

[1] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Apparently *Jigni*, Pargana *Nurabad*, Zila *Tonwarghar (Gwalior State)*—Jigni, the former headquarters of the pargana of the same name, lies in 26° 33′ N. and 78° 6′ E., at a distance of 6 miles from Morena. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 246).

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Dholpoor heavy firing was heard at Gwalior in the direction of the Morar Cantonments during the night of the 17th.

Nearly all the Rajah's faithless troops had deserted the other rebels, who were busy packing up for flight from the Lushkur.

It is stated in the news from Gwalior that no response had been made to the summons to the landowners to bring their armed retainers to defend Gwalior.

The Sipree force had arrived at Panniar (or Punniar) on the 14th. It was said to be accompanied by the Baiza Baee (Baiza Bai).

There was a report at Dholpoor that the notorious Ganga Sing had been murdered by a *Sonar* of Jamud in the Torgurh *Elaka.*

Tranquillity had been restored in Bind (Bhind) by the proximity of the British force.[1]

DEATH OF RANI OF JHANSI

Telegraphic Message from R. Hamilton, Gwalior, 18th June 1858, 9 *A. M., to Canning, Calcutta; Collin Campbell; Elphinston, Captain Hutchinson, Indore; E. A. Reade, Agra.*

The Ranee of Jhansie is killed. Maharajah Scindia has arrived. Brigadier Smith took four guns in the fight yesterday.[2]

* * *

Report of Bhawani Prasad[3] *sent to Her Highness Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam of Bhopal, dated 6th Qada,* 1274 *Hijri, corresponding with 18th June* 1858 *at* 2 *P.M., Friday, Murar Cantonment.*

May it please Your Highness. Rani Jhansi and Nawab

[1] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. Also : Further Papers relative to *The Mutnies in the East Indies,* Inclosure 11 in No. 20, p. 173; and *cf* : Proceedings of R. Hamilton from 24th May. 'Calpee upto the death of Ranee of Jhansi'—Macpherson's report on Gwalior Affairs, dated 30th September 1858.

[3] Bhawani Prasad, the special agent of Bhopal, who was stationed at Sehore, sent daily news to the Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam, ruler of Bhopal. His reports form a very valuable and useful collection. They give a vivid picture of the activities of Tatya Tope, Nana Saheb and the Rani of Jhansi.

Banda both in person resorted to firing from their *morcha* (position) against the British regiment under the command of Major R.[1] The hand of Nawab of Banda was blown off by a ball fired from the *morcha* of Major R. Another mortar ball hit Rani Jhansi on the breast and killed her in the battle-field. The insurgents burnt her body in *sandal* wood.

Another reliable information is received that about three thousand insurgents along with thirteen guns from the Artillery-battery of the Maharaja have fled towards Karauli. It is publicly rumoured here that Tantia Topi has ordered his followers that at the time the whole army with baggage comes out of Gwalior, they should leave their *morchas* and take flight towards Karauli. Till then they should remain in their *morchas* as usual and continue to fight. General Rus (Ross ?, Rose ?) has sent a detachment expeditiously for the chastisement of runaway insurgents. And Maharaja Sindhia Bahadur to-day at 8 A. M. came to see the A. G. G. (Agent Governor General). Nineteen guns were fired in his honour. The reception had not started when he had entered the bungalow of A. G. G. C. I. (Agent Governor General Central India). With the Maharaja a Sikh *risala* of the British army has also come from Akbarabad. Mortar firing is still going on from the *morcha* of Major R. Sahib Bahadur. It is sure that Gwalior will soon be conquered and the Maharaja reinstated on *masnad*. There were in treasury six lacs of rupees which have been taken away by the insurgents, but the subjects have not been plundered.

P. S.—Karauli is northward from Gwalior and adjoins Jaipur, Bharatpur and Ajmer territories.[2]

* * *

Letter from Brigadier M.W. Smith, Commanding Brigade, Malwa Division, to the Adjutant-General, Poona Division, Poona, dated Camp Sepree (Sipri), 25th July 1858.

In accordance with the wishes of Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, K. C. B., conveyed to me in your note dated Pachesi, 11th July, that I should furnish an official Statement of all the circumstances of the charge made by a Squadron of the 8th

[1] Full name not given in original.

[2] M. H. Rizawi, "*A Glance over the Mutiny Files in the Custody of the Regional Office of the Nationals, Archives of India at Bhopal*", Indian Archives, Vol. IX, January-June 1955, Pp. 153-4.

Hussars on the 17th of June, and evidence should be officially recorded. I have the honour to state that on the afternoon of the 17th June, the Enemy having been driven from the heights, we advanced through the Pass which runs by the large canal or *nullah* in the direction of Gwalior; some two or three hundred of the Enemy's Cavalry being formed in front of Gwalior, I advanced with a Squadron of the 8th Hussars, under Captain Heneage, and a Division of Guns under Lieutenant Le Cocq, Bombay Artillery, into the open ground beyond the Pass, leaving orders that a Company of the 10th Regiment, Native Infantry, and a Division of Guns under an escort of Gunners, should secure the mouth of the Pass, and a Squadron of the Ist Bombay Lancers should move up in the open ground in support.

The Squadron of the 8th Hussars advanced out of the Pass in file, and formed line at a gallop after advancing about three hundred yards; I ordered the Squadron to charge. The Squadron then charged, broke the Enemy, and pursuing them closely entered their own Camp along with them. The Camp was soon cleared and the 8th followed the fugitives, now increased by large numbers of panic-stricken Infantry, from the Camp into the ground beyond, and never stopped until all who remained had taken shelter in the outskirts of the town itself.

In so doing the 8th took five Guns, cutting down the Gunners; the Ranee of Jhansi also lost her life in the melee; all this took place under a heavy fire from the Guns of the Fort, and from several Field Guns in position round the Town, and from which was opened a converging fire upon the Squadron.

During the charge, Colonel Raines, of Her Majesty's 95th Regiment, brought up a portion of his Regiment and took up a position on the left flank of Lieutenant Le Cocq's Division of Guns, I having sent him an order to that effect by Cornet Goldsworthy, 8th Hussars.

I shall next record the statement of Captain Heneage who commanded the Squadron and, also some evidence collected by him as to further particulars and details.[1]

* * *

[1] "*Selections from State Papers*", Vol. IV, "*Central India.*" Appendix G, Pp. CXIV-CXV.

Letter from Brigadier M. W. Smith, Commanding Brigade, Malwa Division, to the Adjutant-General, Poona Division, Poona, dated Camp Sepree (Sipri), 25th July 1858.

STATEMENT AND EVIDENCE COLLECTED BY CAPTAIN HENEAGE

Captain Heneage's Squadron of 8th Hussars was ordered byBrigadier Smith to attack some 2 (200) or 300 of the Enemy's Cavalry who were threatening our Guns. They advanced out of the Pass in file and formed line at a gallop. After advancing some 300 yards they were ordered to charge, which they did, and were upon the Enemy in a moment, many of whom were cut down and the rest fled towards the town; the ground here being very rough and intersected with small *nullahs*, about one-third of the Squadron was obliged to diverge to the right under Lieutenant Harding; the remainder under Captain Heneage, with Captain Poore and Lieutenant Reilly, going a little to the left and continuing the attack, came shortly into the midst of the Enemy's camp, where they took 3 guns, cutting down the Gunners and completely clearing the Camp of the Enemy's Troops under a continuous fire from the Guns in the Fort, and small Field Guns on the right and left. After passing through the Camp and crossing the road from Gwalior to Moorar the Squadron came upon a large Force of the Enemy's Cavalry and Infantry in a disorganized mass who were trying to escape from the Camp into the Fort. Many of them made a stand, but the 8th slackened their pace and dashing into the midst of them, cut them down by scores, the Ranee of Jhansi being amongst the slain; two Guns were taken here.

The whole of the ground over which the charge had been made being now completely cleared of the Enemy, Captain Heneage withdrew his Squadron at an easy pace, and was shortly joined by the Detachment under Lieutenant Harding, which had charged through the right of the Camp, cutting down many of the Enemy's Gunners and Infantry, and had taken four Guns. Lieutenant Harding was shot at by a dismounted sowar, who missed him but the shot struck his charger in the eye and completely destroyed it. He was attacked at the same time by two of the Enemy's Infantry, whom he cut down and killed.

Captain Heneage then halted and re-formed his Squadron

in front of the supports of Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry, which had meanwhile come up, and was then ordered by Brigadier Smith to form his men in single rank in order to show a larger front.

The Squadron of the 8th being then formed in single rank on the right flank of Artillery and Infantry, the Squadron of Lancers in second line, he again advanced in order to secure the enemy's Guns; after that Captain Heneage was obliged to relinquish the Command of the Squadron, in consequence of the heat of the sun and great exhaustion. Captain Poore assumed the Command and remained with the Squadron until the Guns were brought away.

Colonel Hicks of the Bombay Artillery charged with the Squadron through the Camp; Lieutenant Reilly, upon the return of the Squadron from the charge, was obliged to dismount from his horse and died almost immediately from the effects of the sun and exhaustion. Assistant Surgeon Sheilock charged with the Squadron and was wounded by a musket ball in the shoulder; he was ready and active in affording his assistance when required.

Cornet Goldsworthy was on my left and in front of the Squadron when preparing to charge, and was about to charge with them, when I in consequence of the very great necessity of having support up quick, ordered him to go back and bring up the Horse Artillery and Infantry to a spot which I had pointed out to him, which he did; this officer gave me much assistance both on the 17th and 19th in carrying my orders and other matters.

Several of the Enemy's Guns remained in our possession after the charge, but from the want of horses and the exhaustion of the men, only two could be got away, and it was only through the exertion and skill of Lieutenant Le Cocq and the men of his Division (the right Division of the 3rd Troop under the personal superintendence of Lieutenant-Colonel Blake) that this could be effected.

One of the Enemy's Gun (*sic*, Guns) had a limber and a pair of wheel horses; the broken harness was lashed up in the best way circumstances would admit of, and a leading pair of our own horses hooked in the Gun was sent to the rear; the wheel horses were got to move with great difficulty, being completely done up and one severely wounded.

The other Gun had no limber, but Colonel Blake having

taken back one of his own Guns to the entrance of the Pass, left the Gun within it, and sending back the limber, the Enemy's was hooked on it and brought to the entrance of the Pass, when our Gun was lashed to the muzzle and drawn off.

These operations were conducted with great coolness and steadiness under four cross-fires from the Fort and Guns in different directions on the place.

This being effected, and seeing the enemy collecting upon our flanks and having too small a Force at my disposal to warrant my advancing further or to enable me to hold my position if I had done so, we retired across the Plain by alternate Squadrons, and re-entering the Pass took up a position for the night, as stated in my former Report of the operations during the seventeenth.[1]

GWALIOR SEALED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Telegraphic Message from the Rana of Dholepore (Dholpur), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 19th June 1858.

I have sent above 40 *Cossids (Qasids)* to Gwalior within the last 3 days but none returned yet; road very unsafe.[2]

FALL OF GWALIOR

Telegraphic Message from Hugh Rose, Palace Gwalior, dated 19th June 1858, to Canning, Calcutta; the Chief of the Staff; Elphinstone; Henry Somerset and E. A. Reade.

The force under my command took Gwalior after a general action which lasted five hours and a half. The enemy evacuated the Fort. My Cavalry and Artillery are in pursuit.[3]

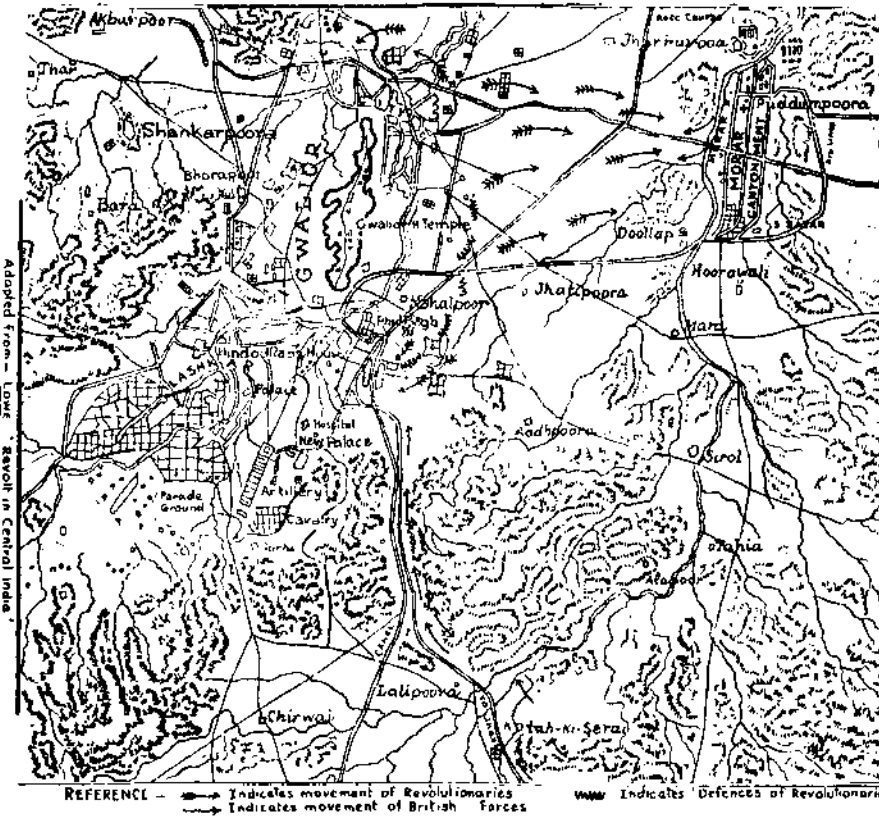
* * *

[1] "*Selections from State Papers*", Vol. IV, "*Central India*". Appendix G, Pp. CXV-CXVII.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Ibid.* Also : Further Papers relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 12 in No. 20.

BATTLE OF GWALIOR 17th to 19th JUNE 1858



Adopted from — Lowe 'Revolt in Central India'
Foreign Department, Misc. No. 25 Item No 17 Gwalior Fortress Plan 1845

Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, 20th and 21st June.

ATTACK BY THE REVOLUTIONARIES ON KIRAOLI APPREHENDED

Kerowlee, 19th June—There had been frequent rumours that the rebels from Gwalior would make for this State. But it is not believed. It seems certain by the latest accounts that Scindia's *Soobadar*, in possession of the fort of Subbulgurh[1] (Sabalgarh) had not given it up to the rebels, and the news of the victory at Gwalior would doubtless confirm his resolution. The brother of the Rajah of Kerowlee, Koor Bishonpal Sing (Kunwar Bishanpal Singh) is stationed with a force at Mundraee opposite Subbulgurh Ghat, which is believed to be the only practicable crossing for wheeled carriages from Gwalior into Kerowlee, and unless the rebels have sent on beforehand a strong party with Artillery, of which at present there is no evidence, they will hardly be able to invade the Kerowlee State in force.

Dholpoor, 20th June—A strong detachment of the European regiment with Artillery and a portion Horse and Foot of the Maharajah of Putteeala's (Patiala) force under the command of Captain Ross crossed the Chumbul on the morning of this date to intercept fugitives from Gwalior who might be taking course to Subbulgurh.

Gwalior—The message from Sir Robert Hamilton dated, it is supposed the 18th, and another from Sir Hugh Rose (dated) the 19th are the only certainly authentic intelligence received. It is evident that some message of the 17th has miscarried.

So far as can be gleaned from native intelligence, the enemy gave battle simultaneously to Sir Hugh Rose's division and the Sipree force on the 17th. *The Ranee of Jhansee led against the former on that date, and was killed.* The leader of the attack on the Sipree force is not stated. Both attacks were repulsed.

[1] *Sabalgarh*, Pargana *Sabalgarh*, Zila *Sheopur* (*Gwalior State*)—Sabalgarh, the headquarters of the Sheopur zila, is situated in 26° 15′ N. and 77° 27′ E., at the terminus of the Gwalior-Sabalgarh branch of the Gwalior Light Railway. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 284).

The same intelligence reports the great contest to have taken place in the afternoon of the 19th, Query 18th, when after a severe contest the rebels were driven by one division from the Lushkur, and by another from the Motee Jheel. They appear to have evacuated the fort without delay, and were flying towards Shoopoor pursued by Cavalry, Horse Artillery and Europeans mounted on camels.

Major Macpherson and Captain Meade are stated to have entered the Lushkur with the force. Scindia was still at the Morar.

Some resistance was expected at Pahargurh[1], a fort made over by the rebels to some deposed *Thakoors* whom Scindia had confirmed.[2]

SCINDIA REGAINS GWALIOR

Telegraphic Message from R. Hamilton, Gwalior, dated 21st June 1858, to Canning, Calcutta; Elphinstone; John Lawrence and E. A. Reade.

Scindia yesterday entered the city and reoccupied the Palace. His reception by the people was very gratifying. The Fort is now occupied by British troops. All is quiet. The Bazee Bace (Baiza Bai) and ladies of her family joined the Maharajah yesterday.[3]

TREASURER OF GWALIOR CAPTURED BY ENGLISH

Telegraphic Message from R. Naylor, Dholepore (Dholpur), to E.A. Reade, Agra, dated 21st June 1858.

Sunkur Tantia reports as follows : —

Amurchand Batiya[4], the Chief Treasurer of Maharaja (Scindia), who showed all the treasure and other valuables

[1] *Pahargarh*, Pargana *Jora*, Zila *Tonwarghar* (*Gwalior State*)—Headquarters of the jagir of the same name, situated in 26° 11′ N. and 77° 41′ E. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 277).

[2] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Can be read as 'Ameer Chand Batya' also. 'Batiya' is also not clearly written. It can be read as 'Batiza' as well.

to the rebels, has been caught at Joura Allypore (Jaora Alipur) by Napul Sing[1], a loyal Captain of His Highness'es (*sic*,) Army.[2]

RETREAT FROM GWALIOR

Telegraphic Message from Dewan Nehal Chund (Diwan Nihal Chand), Dholpore (Dholpur), dated 21st June 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The Nawab of Banda and Tantia Topee and ran[3] (had run) from Gwalior—14 miles distant. Two loyal Regts. and some sowars of Maharajah's were coming from Shoopoor to Gwalior and attacked them. Nothing more is known of it and it is reported they intend going to Jypoor (Jaipur) and from thence to Puttecala (Patiala). The British Force had not come up with them. They were about twelve thousand men with 2 heavy and three Horse Artillery guns.[4]

ABOUT THE AFFAIRS OF GWALIOR

Enclosure to letter No. 35, No. 52 of 1858 from Major S. Charters Macpherson, Political Agent, Gwalior, to R. Hamilton, Agent Governor General for Central India, dated Phoolbagh, 30th September 1858.

I have the honor to submit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General the accompanying report on the affairs of Gwalior from the 24th of May—the date on which I joined you at Calpee, up to the 20th of June, when Gwalior was reoccupied by Sir H. Rose's Force.

I beg to say that I trust that His Lordship will approve of my not having forwarded this Report earlier. On these considerations that communications from yourself must have placed His Lordship in full possession of the general course and character of events, and that, amid the extreme confusion and unsettlement, the conflicts of persons and parties at present in Gwalior, it has been impossible for me to verify sooner, as

[1] Apparently spelt for 'Nepal Singh'.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Should be either 'had run' or some name has been omitted after 'and' and before 'ran'.

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

I thought desirable, the statements and views, which I offer; while the pressure and the anxiety of my current business with reference to the guidance of Scindia (Scindia's) uncertain and eccentric mind, have been extreme.

I beg to add moreover that but for recent illness this Report would have been forwarded a fortnight ago.[1]

* * *

Report on the Affairs of Gwalior from the 24th of May to the 20th of June 1858, sent by S. C. Macpherson, Political Agent, dated Gwalior, 30th September 1858.

The Heads of the rebellion to the southward of the Jumna—the Rao* Saheb, the Nawab of Banda, the Ranee of Jhansi and Tantea Topeh—after suffering rout at Banda on the 19th of April†, at Koonch on the 7th of May, at Deopoora on the 17th, at Gulowlie on the 22nd and at Calpee evacuated on the 23rd, reassembled thus and moved upon Gwalior.

REVOLUTIONARIES RETIRE TO KALPI

2*nd*—On the fall of Banda, the Nawab fled to Jelalpore, midway between Koonch, held in force by Tantea Topeh with the Ranee, and Calpee held by the Rao. The latter moved at once with 2,000 men to support the Nawab, but, on hearing of Topeh's defeat at Koonch, both leaders retired rapidly to Calpee, whither also the Ranee fled.

TATYA TOPE VISITS GWALIOR SECRETLY

3*rd*×—But Tantea Topeh—in foresight, resource and influence with individuals and masses, the soul of the Nana's cause—went straight from the fight at Koonch, in secrecy, to Gwalior. During his visit there, in September 1857, to gain

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 31st December 1858, Nos. 4281-83. National Archives, New Delhi.

Marginal notes in the Original—

* "Adopted son of the late Ex-Peishwa."

† "After the evacuation of Calpee the Chiefs of the rebellion thus reassembled and moved on Gwalior."

×"Tantia Topeh's Plan was to overbear Scindia by seducing his Gwalior and Marhatta troops in addition to those from our Provinces. He went secretly from Koonch to Gwalior."

the Contingent to the Nana, and move it upon Cawnpore, Topch had become thoroughly acquainted with the ground. He saw that the Maharaja influenced by the *Dewan*, was the only serious obstacle to the acquisition of Gwalior to the revolt, and that the sole hope of mastering that obstacle lay in gaining over the Marhatta and Gwalior divisions of Scindia's troops which looked up to his will in addition to his troops from our provinces, already with the rebels. Then Scindia might be seized, or overborne, or compromised with us (probably rebels), when the Princes of Hindostan would still rise.

MAHADEO SHASTRI PREACHES REBELLION AT GWALIOR

4*th*—These views were distinctly enunciated by one of Topch's chief agents, Mahadeo Shastree, formerly *Moonsiff* (*Munsif*) of the Gwalior *Adawlut*, seized by Scindia in March 1858 and executed by Sir R. Hamilton. In his statement, in my letter to Mr. Edmonstone, dated 1st April 1858, the Shastree said, "Scindia, being one with the English, does not regard the Peishwa. His *Raj* is great. Seeing his course, all the Rajas, great and small, are cowed and side with the English. On account of him we have been unable to get an opportunity. Wherefore we must first gain his troops, and get him into our hands, when the Peishwa shall rule". Therefore, Tantea Topch, when the Fort and Magazine of Calpee alone, south of the Jumna, remained to the rebels, proceeded secretly to Gwalior to ascertain how his cause finally stood there.

FIGHT AT GWALIOR AND THE CAPTURE OF KALPI

5*th*—Meanwhile, the Rao, at Calpee, placed his troops on three roads of approach by us; himself holding Chouk on the Koonch road, with 1,500 Infantry, 4 guns, and 600 Horse, mostly our 5th Irregulars; while the 32nd N. I. with 2 guns held the Jelalpore road, and 700 *Vilayuttees* (*Wilaitis*) and 1 gun stood on that from Jaloun. The Gwalior Contingent, 2,000 strong, garrisoned Calpee.

6*th*—Sir H. Rose, leaving those roads to his left, moved on the 15th to Gulowlie upon the Jumna, and concentrated his force there on the 19th; while, on that day also, there opened on Calpee, to the dismay of its defenders, the fire of six mortars from Maxwell's force on the opposite bank of the river.

REVOLUTIONARIES ATTACK ROSE AT GULAULI

Upon the 22nd, the rebels attacked Sir H. Rose at Gulowlie at several points. The Gwalior Contingent, fighting with spirit, had nearly carried a Battery, when the Camel Corps threw down some hundred Riflemen before them; and then, every attack made at that and at other points was fully repulsed. In the afternoon, however, the Nawab of Banda fled towards Shereghur (Shergarh) on the Jumna. Soon after, the Ranee left her shattered dwelling in the bombarded town to join the Rao. It was his plan to renew the attack after a day's rest, upon the 24th. But, at midnight, he learnt that Gwalior Contingent had lost heart, and abandoned Calpee, turning mostly towards Shereghur. In the morning, Sir H. Rose's guns first apprized the Rao that he had advanced on Calpee, there being scarcely any one between him and the empty city save the 32nd N. I. Regiment and its 2 guns.

FLIGHT OF RAO AND RANI OF JHANSI

The Rao and the Ranee fled in wild haste, with 4 or 5 elephants, 15 camels, cooking pots, but no tent, to Choorkee[1] 16 miles off in Jaloun, where Topeh's family lay, it being held by a relative of the Ranee's adopted child. The Ranee, an ardent, daring, licentious woman under thirty, gave spirit and hope to all. She rode about everywhere in military attire, with sword and pistols, followed by 40 sowars from Kotah, and by a Brahminee concubine of her late husband. They pushed on the same day to Sravun where the 5th Irregulars and 400 or 500 Infantry rallied round the Rao, and parties of all arms, thereafter, gathered to him daily.

GOPALPUR—RENDEZVOUS OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

On the 26th (May) at Gopalpore on the Gwalior road, the Rao was joined by Lallpooree Goshaen (Lalpuri Gosain), an Officer of the Nana's, with 200 Foot, 150 Horse, and 3 guns

[1] *Churkhi*, Tahsil *Kalpi*, District *Jalaun*—A large village in 26° 9′ N. and 79° 34′ E., 14 miles west of Kalpi and 13 miles north-east of Orai. (*District Gazetteers*, Jalaun, 1909, p. 148).

from Shereghur. There also the Nawab of Banda with his family, but no troops, rejoined him. And lastly, in the evening, arrived Tantea Topeh alone, from the Gwalior side.

REVOLUTIONARIES HOLD A COUNCIL AT MAHONA

7th—On the 27th, the rebels marched to Mahonah. They there held a council to determine their future course. The chief persons present were, the Rao, with Mahomed Ishak (Muhammad Ishaq), late *Thanadar* of Bithoor, manager of his civil, and Tantea Topeh manager of his military affairs; Moroo Punt of Gwalior, the Rao's Secretary; an able protege of the *Dewan* of Gwalior discharged for fraud and vice, and now my prisoner and informer; Ram Rao Govind, a superintendent of Scindia's roads also discharged by the *Dewan* for fraud; and Luchmun Punt Nana, once Scindia's *Vakeel* at General Sleeman's Office, now a defaulting Collector of Customs. The Ranee was there, but not the Nawab of Banda. There were present besides, a sepoy from each company; and Gowree Shunker (Gauri Shankar), Brigade-Major from Delhi and the Wooidee (*Wardi*–dress) Major of the 5th Irregulars.

COUNCIL AT MAHONA ON TOPE'S ARRIVAL FROM GWALIOR WITH ASSURANCES OF SUCCESS

The Rao, says Moroo Punt, asked of the Council "Whither shall we go ?" The Ranee demanded that they should move straight to Kurara in Jhansi. Tantea Topeh said, that even Bundlecund would be better. The Rao said, "There we should find the Boondelas hostile and no supplies. Our only course is to make for the Deccan where all will join us. But we must go first to Gwalior where the Army is gained, and take it with us by the Sipree road. When that Army shall come over, the Maharaja and the Baiza Baee will join us, and all the Princes of Hindostan will rise". Many of the sepoys, however, unconvinced that Scindia's troops were fully gained, desired strongly to retire by Shereghur to Oude. And so, at 9 P.M. nothing being settled, all rose, excepting the Rao, Topeh, Mahomed Ishak, and a few others, when an order was issued to march next morning, the 28th, to cross Scindia's frontier, the Scinde river, to Amaen.

In the morning, the rebels were joined at that river by

Rahcem Ali Khan, of Kumona of Allyghur, with 400 Sabres and 400 Matchlocks from Bareilly.

RAO SAHEB CALLS HIMSELF PESHWA

The Rao, from the moment of setting foot in Gwalior, talked in high strain as "Peishwa". About Amaen were posted, 400 of Scindia's Foot, 150 Horse and 4 guns. Scindia's Civil Officer, Kakajee Moroo Punt and another state *sic*, told the Rao, "It is the order of the Maharaja and the *Dewan* that you retire". "And who", replied the Rao, "are you ? A ten rupee underling of *Soubah*, drunk with *Bhang* ? And who are the Maharaja and Dinkur Rao ? Christians ? We are the Rao and Peishwa. Scindia is our slipper-bearer. We gave him his Kingdom. His army has joined us. We have letters from the Baiza Bace. Scindia himself encourages us. Tantea Topeh has visited Gwalior and ascertained all. He having completed everything, I am for the Lushkur. Would you fight with us ? All is mine". Scindia's detachment did not attempt resistance.

RAO SAHEB WRITES TO BAIZA BAI

8th-- On the 29th the rebels moved on to Dehgaon. Here the Rao wrote, by the hand of Moroo Punt, to the Maharaja, he himself writing to the Baiza Bace. But his messenger reported that he could not deliver the letters, having been driven off by the Maharaja's orders.

9th—On the 30th the rebels moved to Sipowlee. There Lala Behari Lal was charged to deliver the Maharaja's command to them "to move off on pain of immediate attack by his troops". The Rao, according to Behari Lal and to others, replied, "We want only a road to the Deccan". "Then", said the Lala, "there is side road from hence". "But we require also", said the Rao, "supplies, clothing and a little money. We will halt at the Morar, and then at the Phoolbagh".

"You will never", replied the Lala, "see the trees of the Phoolbagh, for our army is out". "Nonsense" said the Rao, "the Phoolbagh is mine. The *Raj* is mine. On what do you depend when the army is mine ? What can the Maharaja and the *Dewan* and four or five others do alone ? We march in the morning".

THE RAO WRITES TO THE MAHARAJA ALSO

10*th*—The Rao, says Moroo Punt, re-despatched from hence his letters both to Scindia and to the Baiza Bace. Behari Lal, says he, intercepted his messenger with a letter to Scindia only. He made a copy which runs thus :—

"All is well here. I arrived at 12 o'clock. I sent a Camel-messenger with a letter to you from Amaen. He reached Gwalior, but I have received no answer from you. The force with me amounts to about 20,000 men. In your country I have found no supplies. Here have I found none. The *Amil* has stopped them. Our trouble is, thence, great. I shall halt tomorrow at Gwalior. As it shall be settled after we shall meet, so shall it be. What shall be hereafter, shall be according to our counsels upon meeting".

COMPOSITION OF RAO SAHIB'S FORCES

At Sipowlie, the Rao paraded his troops. There were 9 guns, 500 Horse from Bareilly, 600 of the 5th Irregulars, 2,500 Infantry, including 600 or 700 of the late Contingent, and about 1,000 *Vilayuttees*, under 5,000 in all. The Rao said to them, "We are going to Gwalior. I expect no opposition. If there shall be any, you may fly if you please. We shall die. Meanwhile, no man is to enter the Lushkur lest quarrels arise between you and the Maharaja's troops".

REVOLUTIONARIES REACH BARAGAON

11*th*—On the 31st (May) the rebels advanced to Burragaon eight miles from Gwalior. Scindia sent, to observe and report upon them, Poorshotum Rao (Purushottam Rao), a very influential favorite and leader of the party opposed to the *Dewan*, and with him a *Hoozreah* named Kamraj talked with them. The Rao held exactly the old strain: "What does the Maharaja mean by thinking to fight with us ? We are not here to fight but to rest a few days, get supplies and money, and go to the Deccan. Upon what do you rely ? Your army is with us and will certainly join us. Depend upon that. We have from Gwalior two hundred letters of invitation and assurance. What can the Maharaja and the *Dewan* possibly do alone ?"

12*th*—Thus did the rebels, after dispersion at Calpee, rally and advance upon Gwalior, acknowledging distinctly to the last that Scindia, influenced by the *Dewan*, was opposed to them, but confident that they had gained his troops, and expecting, upon their reaching Gwalior, to overbear and compromise him.

13*th**—Scindia, meanwhile, had vacillated characteristically between the counsels of the *Dewan* and those of the party for the rebels.

14*th*†—The *Dewan*, supported by Mohurghur and Bulwunt Rao, Scindia's Officers first in rank considered that our force sent in pursuit from Calpee on the 25th of May should reach Gwalior by the 3rd or 4th of June; and that its even crossing the Gwalior frontier, should change the whole aspect of things; and he therefore advised strongly first to delay, by money and every possible device, the advance of the rebels, so as to give time to our force to come up; and secondly, to entrench at Morr, across their route, a portion of Scindia's troops, part of the Gwalior men and the bodyguard, which he confided would still check them for a time; to post the rest of the troops, under the Maharaja's eye at the Phoolbagh 5 miles in the rear of those; and lastly, to place some guns in the Fort; while the *Dewan* begged our speedy advance.

15*th*‡—It is to be specially observed here, that the Maharaja and the *Dewan* were entirely ignorant of Topeh's secret visit to Gwalior; which was possible only from almost all sympathizing fully with the rebels and from the police being entirely in the hands of the Household Officers and favorites, the partizans of the rebels; the *Kotwal* being son-in-law to Scindia's Private Secretary, while the *Kotwal's* Chief Subordinate was actually a *Pundit* from Bithoor.

The Chief Officers of the Bodyguard, and of the Household, and the favorites, all for the rebels, advised Scindia to reject the *Dewan's* counsel as derogatory and absurd, because

* "Meanwhile Scindia has vacillated between the counsels of Dewan and those of household and bodyguard officers partisans of the Rao".—Marginal note by the side of Para 13.

† "The Dewan's advice".—Marginal note to Para 14.

‡ "The Maharajah and Dewan kept ignorant of Topeh's visit to "Gwalior".—Marginal note to Para 15.

he could at any moment disperse the rebels by a single round from his guns.

16*th**— When the rebels reached Sipowlie unchecked, the *Dewan* pressed anew his advice with the utmost urgency— it being distinctly observed that the state of Scindia's troops was this.

WEAKNESS OF SCINDIA'S ARMY

17*th*— Scindia, from his accession, has desired passionately to substitute regular troops for the old Irregular Force of Gwalior. And, before the revolt, our advice had sanctioned his replacing 2,000 of his old Cavalry and as many of his old Infantry and Artillery by a disciplined and purely Marhatta Bodyguard, and by levies from the N. W. Provinces, while our remonstrances had been necessary to restrain him from superseding with dangerous recklessness all his old officers, whatever their claims of hereditary service, by Bodyguard favorites, the most worthless and dissipated men of Gwalior, chosen from Scindia's family, or his caste.

18*th*— By this treatment, the old troops and officers were deeply disheartened, and alienated, but, when, upon the revolt, Scindia's troops from our provinces joined the rebel Contingent, the great influence of Bulwunt Rao, one with the *Dewan* and thoroughly supported by the Maharaja, availed to combine those old troops with the Bodyguard to check and baffle both the Contingent and Scindia's troops from our provinces.

SCINDIA TAKES THE HELM OF HIS OWN AFFAIRS

19*th*— Scindia, quite incapable, as I have submitted to the Government, from defects of character, of safe administration, unguided, even in quiet times, weathered the crisis of the storm of 1857 by resigning himself implicitly to the pilotage of the *Dewan* aided by Bulwunt Rao and Mohurghur, himself, however, giving to them his most intelligent, earnest and unswerving co-operation. But, the crisis past when the Contin-

* "The advice of the Partizans of the Rao".—Marginal note to Para 16.

gent went to Cawnpore with Tantea Topeh, the Maharaja, with unbounded self-sufficiency took the helm, and acted as unwisely as when he was left unguided by a Political Agent in 1853.

20*th*—He first, characteristically, required the invaluable services of Bulwunt Rao and Mohurghur by depriving them, when they remonstrated against his course, not of office, but of power, which has transferred to the Bodyguard Officers and favorites, so driving to despair the old troops and officers whom Topeh desired most to gain. He then most unwisely made public his imprudent resolution to disband on the arrival of our Force, all his men from our provinces so depriving them, already hostile to us, of every motive to stand neutral even for a day in deference to Scindia's will. Moreover, whilst His Highness treated thus those two classes of men, he gradually made fresh levies from the latter class for the temporary maintenance of order in his districts, to the extent of nearly 2,000 Infantry, and Artillery and 1,000 Cavalry besides some Irregular bodies. Lastly, against the *Dewan's* most earnest entreaties, the Maharaja instead of dispersing half of his troops, at least, over his districts, where the temptation to revolt would be least, and where nearly all have stood faithful, massed his whole Force at the Capital, where the emissaries and the contagion of the revolt were strongest.

SCINDIA MADE TO DO AS TATYA WISHED

21*st*—Scindia, in a word, was led to play, with respect to his Force, exactly the game of Tantea Topeh—to make easy the seduction of his Gwalior and Marhatta troops in addition to those from our provinces so that, in the end, while all the troops sympathized more or less with the rebels, a large portion was fully theirs; and the rest were left without any adequate motives to strike against them for Scindia. But the *Dewan* still believed that the Gwalior men and part of the Bodyguard would check, for a few days until our troops could appear, the rebels, if bribed by money and supplies.

22*nd*—Although Scindia knew very much of the real state of things and had even spoken of the point to which he should fly, in case of extremity, he resented very deeply, as he had ever done, the *Dewan's* questioning the absolute devoted-

ness of any portion of his Force to himself; and, on the morning on the 31st of May, moved out 8,000 men and 24 guns to Morar to disperse at once the rebels, who, as I have said, reached at the same time Burragaon two miles off.*

But, by the evening, the *Dewan's* counsels prevailed; and His Highness marched his Force home, excepting a portion left entrenched, as proposed, at Morar; while every imaginable device was put in requisition to prevent the advance of the rebels to Gwalior.†

23*rd*‡—The *Dewan* did not quit Scindia until midnight, when he seemed quite firm to his last purpose. But, meanwhile, Poorshotum, returned from observing, as I have said in Para 11, the camp of the rebels, reported them so broken and destitute that he could disperse them with his own raw levy of 500 men. His Highness and his officers had supped, it is said, freely. He suddenly reassembled his troops, and led them off to Burragaon without a hint to the *Dewan*, leaving for him and his other *Sirdars* orders to pass the night, as is usual in time of trouble, at the Palace in the Lushkur. Bulwunt Rao and Mohurghur were, of course, included in that order, so that the Bodyguard Officers had the field to themselves; Appa Scindia Commanding on the right, Kesho Rao Luggur in the centre, and Bappoo Awar on the left. His Highness was in the rear. He had in the field 2,000 Cavalry besides about 300 of the late Contingent, 5,000 Infantry and 24 guns, making 8,000 men.

24*th*—Amid the confusion of the scene, and the efforts still made by nearly every one to conceal the truth, the main facts appear to be these.

SCINDIA'S FORCE MAKES A SHOW OF FORCE WITH THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Whilst far out of range and sight of the rebels, Scindia's

* "Scindia on the morning of the 31st moved 8,000 men and 24 guns to disperse the rebels at Buarragaon 8 miles from Gwalior".—Marginal note to Para 22.

† "But the Dewan's advice prevailing marched them home in the evening".—Marginal note to Para 22.

‡ "Again by advice of partizans of the Rao in the Dewan's absence marched them back on the 1st June to attack the rebels".—Marginal note to Para 23.

Artillery halted and roared. Then it ceased firing and advanced. The rebels were on the move, and, it is said, drew back in alarm at the great show of attack. But the Rao and Topeh implored them to make the experiment of a charge. They threw forward Infantry which skirmished up to Scindia's front; and then a Troop of the 5th Irregulars rode, first, towards Scindia's centre and then to his left, the two points at which the men of our provinces were massed.* From the latter point, two Squadrons of Scindia's Cavalry advanced as if to charge, but suddenly wheeled about and rode off. They were at once joined by his 4th Cavalry in reserve, and these first carried the news of the day to the Lushkur. All was now over. The Regiments of Infantry in the centre rushed back past the Maharaja who ordered his attendants to beat them with their staves. He then, it is said, called for the Bodyguard, and it moved towards the left, I know not whither, but soon thereafter to the rear. Scindia's right was carried by a single sepoy who ran up to it waving his sword and shouting—"*Dean*". No one would fire at him. The mass of the rebels now came on. They and Scindia's men shouted "*Dean*" together, while many congratulated and embraced, and very many went off to eat water melons in the bed of Morar. All then made for the Lushkur, save the Contingent Cavalry, which did nothing during the mock fight but now moved off to the right.

25*th*—There were certainly some killed and a good many wounded; but I cannot determine their numbers, great efforts being made to make out, that *sic*, what men whose disappearance or wounds cannot be otherwise satisfactorily accounted for were killed or wounded on that day. At least, Appa Scindia of the Bodyguard was killed; and a *Soubadar* of Infantry, and some six or eight more; while 30 or 40 were wounded, and several horses fell. Some of Scindia's Artillery and troops thought most likely to stand, and some ascribe the whole loss to this, and to a few bullets from the skirmishers and a sabre cut at first. The loss of the rebels, if any, was certainly very small.

* "After a brief mock-fight Scindia's troops fraternized with the rebels".—Marginal Note to Para 24.

SCINDIA'S FLIGHT

26*th**—Scindia made for a hill on the right, saw his whole Force marching homewards, and galloped straight with some 15 attendants to the Phoolbagh which was guarded by the levy of which Poorshotum spoke. He there instantly changed his dress, mounted and rode for the Mama Sahib's garden on the road to the Residency and Agra, and soon thereafter took that road.

DEWAN ALSO FOLLOWS

27*th*—The *Dewan*, on hearing of His Highness' flight, advised Gungadhur, the Private Secretary—if the Baiza Bace the Maharance and other ladies could not go to Agra, to make with them for Brigadier Smith's Camp beyond Sipree; and himself then sped after the Maharaja with a few sowars. He caught him up eight miles upon his road. Avoiding the highway, they reached Dholepore before midnight by Kotwar and Jignee.

SCINDIA REACHES AGRA

28*th*—The Rana paid to Scindia every possible attention. On the following morning, the 3rd of June, he reached Agra. As directed by the Governor General, Scindia was received there with every mark of honor and sympathy.

29th†—It is important to note exactly who went with His Highness that day, when all who were so disposed might have gone.

There went with Scindia on the 1st of June, besides the *Dewan*, Bapoo Gurroor[1] whose son is the Chief Angriah, an old *Hoozreah* or attendant, and a silver stick. With His Highness throughout the day, was Kasim Aly formerly of our Cavalry, now of Scindia's 2nd Regiment, made *Ressaldar* for capital service to our fugitive ladies, and, with him, his wounded

* "Scindia fled towards Agra with the Dewan".—Marginal note to Para 26.

† "Who followed Scindia on that and the next day".—Marginal note to para 29.

[1] Appears to have been spelt for 'Garur'.

brother of the Bodyguard whom he enabled to proceed by digging a bullet from his leg with his sword. There were also 5 or 6 Bodyguard sowars, and some ten others, while 4 more came with the *Dewan*, and a guard of ten swivel gun camels were picked up in the suburbs. These were all who accompanied Scindia to Dholepore.

30*th*—The following persons, however, left Gwalior in the course of the same day, caught the Maharaja up at Dholepore on the evening of the 2nd June, and proceeded with him to Agra: Bulwunt Rao, Mohurghur, and the *Nazim* of the *Adwalut;* the *Dewan's* brother and nephew, and Hurnath, Assistant *Dewan*, Colonel, Major and Captain Filose and Thakoor Dhokul Sing. And there arrived the same day at Dholepore, but too late to accompany His Highness, Ranoojee Scindia of the Bodyguard with 2 or 3 officers of it, and Bhyroon Sing (Bhairon Singh) *Kotwal*, the master of the *Natch* Girls, and the Post Master.

Upon the 3rd of June, a few others came up to Dholepore as Bapoo Awar who commanded a Wing on the 1st and Raheemdad Khan *Ressaldar*. And, on the 3rd also, came 104 men of the late Gwalior Contingent Horse. Not one man of these had struck for Scindia, or actually followed him from the field, but they had refused absolutely to join the rebels, although a number of their comrades took pay from them. And, on a report of Brigadier Showers at Agra, the Governor General deemed it proper, with reference to their previous conduct and to this demonstration, to grant to them a full pardon.

Of His Highness' pampered favorites and boon companions, not one man followed him, while scarcely one followed the Ranees. These men, almost without exception, accepted instantly from the rebels, pay, gratuities, rank and office or became perfectly intimate with them.

31*st**—The Ranees, excepting the Gujja Raja, followed, it is to be observed, by every one of the Chief *Sirdars* of the State Phalkeeah, Angriah, Setowleah and the rest, and by many of the Household, proceeded to the Fort of Nirwar, 30 miles off. The Gujja Raja, mother of the Maharanee, believing

*"The Ranees with the Chief Sirdars went to Nirwar".—Marginal note to Para 31.

that Scindia was beleaguered at the Phoolbagh, seized a sword, mounted her horse, and rode to the Palace, summoning all to his aid, until she found that he was certainly gone. She followed the other ladies on the third day. And, with them, went, alone of all Scindia's troops, 500 or 600 men, who chanced to be present, of his old Irregular Horse.

32*nd**—The proceedings of the Rao at Gwalior were after this fashion.

He was utterly disconcerted by the Maharaja's escape. And the general feeling on that subject, was, I believe, fairly expressed thus in a memorandum found amongst the papers of the Rao's *Dewan* for Gwalior, Mahomed Ishak. "The ruler of this Kingdom, who was a deeply fixed root of the Nazarenes, as well as a strong striver in their cause has taken his flight". The Rao attempted, through Scindia's relative Ram Rao Powar, to negotiate his return, while he also pressed the Baiza Bace to come and take charge of affairs. His letters to her ran thus.

I

† "We have arrived here to-day. On arrival, we sought Jyajee Rao and yourself. You had departed before we came. You did not do well. What was to be, has been. Now do you come hither bringing with you the Chimna Raja".

II

"All is well here. Your going from hence was not, to my thinking, right. I have already written to you, but have received no answer. This should not be; I send this letter by Ramjee Chowthey[1] *Jamdar*. Do come and take charge of your seat of Government. It is not my intention to take Gwalior, only to have a meeting and go on. This is my purpose. Therefore it is necessary that you should come, making no denial".

The Baiza Bace sent both letters to Sir R. Hamilton.

33*rd*—The Rao did everything compatible with his objects, to give to his visit a friendly character.

* "The proceedings of the Rao at Gwalior".—Marginal note to Para 32.

† "Asked the Baiza Bace to take charge".—Marginal note to Para 32 I.

[1] This word occurs as 'Chowley' at another place.

He strictly prohibited plunder, so that, but a single shop was robbed. He appointed, of the persons mentioned in Para 7: Mahomed Ishak to be *Dewan* of Gwalior, and Luchmun Nana to be his Deputy. He gave the Treasury to Umur Chund (Amar Chand), the Maharaja's Treasurer and high favorite, a bankrupt shroff of the worst repute and Topeh's devoted agent. Moroo Punt was his assistant. He made Ram Rao Govind *Sir Soubah* of Gwalior. He kept the Police as it was, the Deputy *Kotwal* acting for the *Kotwal*—one with Topeh and gone with the Rances. He confirmed in their offices nearly all Scindia's other servants. As I have observed, he gave office and rank to Scindia's most trusted military officers and favorites.

Thus Scindia's prime favorite the Treasurer Umur Chund did, as it were, the honors of Gwalior to the rebel Chiefs; arranging supplies, lodgings, and refreshments for them, as, *sherbets* in which countless maunds of sugar were expended, and, as Treasurer to the Rao disbursed the Maharajah's Treasure, pointed out his choice jewels, and appropriated* to himself what he would. Scindia's relative and inseparable friend Ram Rao Powar accepted a *Khillut* and the office of Master of Supplies to the Household, Kesho Rao Luggur, no less his sworn intimate, and Colonel of his Artillery, who, on the 1st commanded, and betrayed the centre of his Force, became Brigade-Major to Tantea Topeh now created Commander-in-Chief. Appah Scindia, a most cherished Commandant, received the rank of "General". Krishn Rao, named to raise Scindia's new Marhatta Regiments, became Topeh's Adjutant-General. Bhao Gaickwar, Commandant of the Horse Artillery of the Bodyguard, His Highness' most favorite Troop, became third in Command of a Division. And Madho Rao Hundey to whom, as most devoted and trustworthy, Scindia had confided the command of the escort for our protection to Agra, and who basely abandoned us when we expected attack, also became Brigade-Major to Topeh. All of these men, besides, who remained in the Lushkur lived on the most intimate footing with the rebels, while, with few exceptions indeed, the whole population sympathized with them.

* "Give office and rank to Scindia's favorites".—Marginal note.

FORT SURRENDERED

34*th*—The Fort was surrendered, without a thought of defence, by Buldeo Sing *Killadar* and Anunt Ram. Chimman Rao, Scindia's most influential Household Officer as *Dewan* of the *Khasgee Walla* a minor, had (been) made Commandant of his Corps posted there.

The Rao refused to assume any state. That he reserved, said he, "for the *Musnud* at Poona". He and the Jhansi Ranee lived in a small Bungalow outside the Lushkur near the Phoolbagh; Topeh lived in the small Palace at the *Cumpoo*. The Nawab of Banda occupied the *Dewan's* House.

The Rao confiscated and gave to plunder only the Houses of the *Dewan*, of Mohurghur, and of Bulwunt Rao.

He gave to Scindia's troops the 3 months' pay due to them, and 2 months' pay as gratuity, amounting in all 9 lacs. He gave to his own troops about 7½ lacs. The Ranee of Jhansi received 20,000 rupees. The Nawab of Banda 60,000 rupees. The Rao took to himself 15,000 Gold *Mohurs*. And the whole sum taken and accounted for was under 19 lacs, while about one and a half lacs were taken and not accounted for.

TREASURE AND JEWELS TAKEN

35*th*—The Rao took, in person, all the Maharaja's jewelry in use, 536 pieces of the *Zenana* jewels, all but the box of Scindia's child escaped(*sic*,). The rebels took 18 of the Maharaja's finest horses, 11 elephants and a few camels, while they left behind but few of the Bodyguard horses. The whole loss to Scindia from plunder and fire is estimated at about 50 lacs including the sum paid to his troops.

The jail was thrown open and the state prisoners in the Fort were released. A *Vakeel* in the *Adawlut*, Rafee-Oolla (Rafi-Ullah), was formally deputed to plunder and destroy the Residency. Three men, who wrote news to Sir R. Hamilton, were seized and hanged. Their families have been pensioned by the Right Honorable the Governor General.

The instant after His Highness quitted the Phoolbagh, Poorshotum's Corps, mostly men from our provinces, and commanded by Inder Sing, plundered and set fire to it.

36*th*—But meanwhile, these were your proceedings after

I joined you in Sir H. Rose's Camp at Calpee on the 24th of May :—

MARCH OF THE FORCE TO GWALIOR

In the last days of May we were informed by telegraph *via* Agra that the rebels pressed towards Gwalior. On the 2nd of June, the Brigade destined to form its garrison marched the distance being twelve stages. On that day also, we received a letter from the *Dewan*, of the 28th, stating that the rebels had just crossed the frontier, that Scindia's troops would move against them, and that our quick advance was prayed. The Officer Commanding our pursuing Column moreover sent word from Mahonah that he heard that Gwalior had fallen to the rebels. Next day the *Dewan's* letter of the 30th told that they were close upon Gwalior, that Scindia's troops were moving to Morar, and that the Political Agent knew the state of those troops. These letters, however, did not convey any impression of great alarm, and, in truth, the *Dewan*, trusting that Scindia would as heretofore finally adopt his counsels, and that some Force of ours would at least cross the frontier, was still confident in his resources. On the 4th came distinct intelligence of what had happened at Gwalior. The pursuing Column had not advanced beyond Mahonah; because, I believe, of the position of the Fort of Indoorkee on the Scinde river—the Gwalior Frontier, and now a full siege train had to be brought up, while Sir H. Rose returned to resume command of the Force.

37*th*—On the 6th you wrote to Scindia advising him strongly to join you at once in Sir H. Rose's camp, so as to enable his loyal subjects to rally round his Flag.

38*th*— Upon our crossing Scindia's frontier on the 8th you issued a Proclamation to the effect, that the Maharaja's authority would be immediately restored by the British Force proceeding to garrison Gwalior; and that all loyal subjects, and all who desired order must co-operate with that Force; such co-operation ensuring favor; an opposite course, punishment.

That Proclamation commanded everywhere immediate confidence and obedience. Not a single Chief, even in the most turbulent tracts, moved. Not even a petty treasury was robbed. Not a *Nujeeb* Corps joined the rebels. No Civil Officer left his post.

SCINDIA AND BAIZA BAI MOVE TOWARDS GWALIOR

39*th*— Scindia received your invitation at Agra on the 9th or 10th, and, on the 12th His Highness was informed that the Governor General had ordered all requisite aid to be immediately afforded to him to enable him to proceed into Gwalior; and, next day, His Highness started from Agra. But you, meanwhile, considering it very important that the presence of the Baiza Baee*, and the Maharanee should enable you to raise Scindia's standard, and to act freely in his name, invited those Ranees to join him. They moved from Nirwar at once; but Scindia† had reached Dholepore on the 14th, and, by a rapid push under escort of Meade's Horse came on to us at Morar on the 18th, two days after its capture. The Baiza Baee appeared next day.

40*th*×— It seems essential to my narrative, especially as I have seen no Despatches descriptive of them, to trace the outline of the operations by which Gwalior was retaken.

GWALIOR INVESTED BY THE ENGLISH

Sir H. Rose, to invest it, ordered thither Brigadier Smith from Sipree by the Jhansi road, Colonel Riddell from Dholepore by the Agra road, and, himself, advanced from the East while Orr, from Jhansi, held the Bombay road. But the letter to Riddell miscarried.

41*st*‡— On the 16th Sir H. Rose's Column arrived over the Cantonment on the Morar, which overlooks that stream and four miles of plain to the Lushkur, the Fort, and the City of Gwalior. The Cantonment was held by above 1,000 of Scindia's Infantry from our provinces, and five guns. Some 800 Bareilly and Gwalior Horse stood in the plain. After a sharp cannonade from both sides, our Horse riding up the Cantonment found it vacant save at its right extremity protected by ravines and a low hill. From thence the rebel guns were

* "Calls in Baiza Baee".—Marginal note.

† "Scindia reached camp at Morar on 18th June".—Marginal note.

× "Sir H. Rose's operations to retake Morar and Gwalior".—Marginal note.

‡ "Took Morar".—Marginal note.

escaping by a ford. Our Cavalry and guns were checked in pursuit by about a hundred Infantry in these ravines and on the hill; but a portion of the 71st High-landers came up and after a severe hand-to-hand fight destroyed them all, our loss being an officer and 15 men killed or wounded. Our Horse and guns resuming the pursuit killed perhaps 100 more. The rebel Horse looked on from a distance.

BATTLE AT KOTAH KI SARAI

42*nd**— Meanwhile, Brigadier Smith reached on the 17th Kotah-Ke-Sarai. Between it and Gwalior lies a chain of low hills a mile broad; and through a defile in these runs the Jhansi road flanked on the westward by a Canal impassable to guns or Horse except by a bridge just burnt by the rebels. To oppose Smith, the rebels had planted guns at six points upon the summits of the hills on either side of the defile, supporting them by a numerous Infantry. Beyond the hills, towards Gwalior, in the plain which I have said spreads between it and Morar, were two Batteries of six and five guns, near the Phoolbagh Palace, and under Tantea Topeh; while two eighteen pounders were placed in the *Cumpoo* to the left, and many guns at other points.

Smith swept the hills with the 95th Foot and 10th Bombay N. I., while his guns and a wing of 8th Hussars and Bombay Lancers advanced by the defile. The hills past, the Cavalry charged straight into the plain which was held by some 1,500 Horse and immediately carried the two Phoolbagh Batteries. But it was evening, and the troops had not breakfasted. Of the 95th alone, from hunger and extreme fatigue and exposure in sweeping the hills, four officers and 85 men were disabled by sun-stroke. The Force, therefore, necessarily retired within the defile, securing four of the captured guns.

RANI OF JHANSI DIES FIGHTING

43*rd*† – Near the Phoolbagh Batteries, I may observe, fell the Ranee of Jhansi. She was seated, says her servant, drinking

* "Smith at Kotah Ke Serai".—Marginal note.
† "Jhansee Ranee's fall".—Marginal note.

sherbet, 400 of the 5th Irregulars near her, when the alarm was given that the Hussars approached. Forty or fifty of them came up, and the rebels fled, save about fifteen. *The Rance's horse refused to leap the canal, when she received a shot in the side, and then a sabre cut on the head, but rode off. She soon after fell dead, and was burnt in a garden close by. I may add, that, at the same time, the Brahminee concubine of her late husband, who never left her side, received a long sabre cut in front. She rode into the city; was tended by a Fakeer and the Mahomedan Kotwal there, and, dying in their hands was reputed and buried as a Mahomedan convert. The rebels were deeply dispirited by the Ranee's death.*

RAO SAHEB MOVED TOWARDS AGRA TO MEET RIDDELL

Next morning, the 18th, their main body moved under the Rao, ten miles towards Agra, expecting to meet Riddell's Force from Dholepere escorting back Scindia; but they hurried back on finding their mistake.

ROSE CAPTURED GWALIOR

*44th** — Sir H. Rose by day-break of the 19th, joined Smith at Kotah-ke-Sarai, from Morar, with the 86th and 71st Foot, a Battery and a Squadron of the 14th Dragoons and the 24th Bombay N. I., the 25th having gone the day before. The rebels had re-established their guns on the hill summits which Smith had swept two days before, and several played hotly into his Camp. We replied for a time with heavy guns but effected nothing. But, before noon, Sir H. Rose had formed a roadway for guns and Horse across the Canal. The 86th with part of the 24th Bombay N. I. on the left, and the 95th on the right followed by the 10th Bombay N. I. then rushed up the hills. The enemy fired heavily with guns and small arms, but abandoned every position as our line closed; and, by about 4 P.M. it advanced to where the hills slope over the Lushkur and the Phoolbagh Parade.

45th— Sir H. Rose intended to proceed no farther that day, and asked me to inform Sir R. Hamilton and General Napier of our position, and to request the General to attack

* "Sir H. Rose joined Smith and retook Gwalior."—Marginal note.

Gwalior from Morar in concert with himself next morning; and I returned to Camp to do so. But, meanwhile, the 25th N. I., the Hussars, and Ist Lancers, and a Battery and Troop moved to the front; and Sir H. Rose perceived that the enemy, although they still fired from the *Cumpoo*, the Phoolbagh, and the Fort, were in full retreat. He therefore changed his plan and pushed forward his line.

He led his main body unopposed, save the Cavalry for a moment when an officer fell, by the *Cumpoo* Parade, and through the Lushkur, straight to the Palace. Through its gateway, barred by a beam of wood, was seen an armed crowd occupying the building. Sir H. Rose halted; while by his direction, Captain Meade, of the late Gwalior Contingent, whose presence, I beg to observe, obviated any possible inconvenience from my absence as a guide, judiciously went up to them, and desired them to yield the Palace instantly to us for the Maharaja, when they would be left unharmed in the care of it, while, if a shot were fired, they must be destroyed. They had no thought of resistance, but from confusion some delay occurred, when they recognized and admitted Meade. Guards were posted at every entrance, and all was at once settled. Guards were placed also at the *Kotwal-e* and other important points in the Lushkur; and groups of respectable inhabitants soon gathered round the troops.

Meanwhile, the parties of the Force under Brigadier Smith charged down the plain to the Phoolbagh, driving all before them although the rebels kept up a fire, which caused us a trifling loss.

Thus, by about 7 o'clock, on the 19th of June, was Gwalior reoccupied, with very trifling loss to us, and to unbounded gratitude of the people and the high credit of the troops with scarcely an act of plunder.

The Fort was evacuated during the night. And Sir H. Rose ordered General Napier to pursue the rebels early next morning.

SCINDIA RE-ESTABLISHED IN HIS CAPITAL

46*th**—On the morning of the 20th, Scindia was conducted

* "The Agent, Governor General and Sir H. Rose re-established Scindia in his Capital".—Marginal note to Para 46.

from Morar by Sir R. Hamilton to the Parade ground before the Phoolbagh, where Sir H. Rose waited with his Force to receive him. His Highness was conducted thence to his Palace; and, at a *Durbar*, in which about 200 British Officers sat, the Maharaja expressed his deep gratitude to the British Government, to the Governor General's Agent, and to the General. The population of the half empty, half closed, Lushkur shouted congratulations as their Prince passed.

SOME REVOLUTIONARIES PERSIST IN THEIR RESISTANCE

This ceremony, I may mention, was unexpectedly disturbed by a wild manifestation of fanaticism. Thirteen men, four of them Contingent sepoys, and nine *Vilayuttees*, with two women and a child, after proceeding some miles from the vacated Fort towards Agra, resolved deliberately to return and die in it. They fired* from the guns on the ramparts 4 or 5 shots at the troops drawn out to receive Scindia; and, as he and the Agent advanced with their cortege, one shot struck immediately in front of them. I may add, that Lieutenant Rose with a Company of the 25th Bombay N. I. went, with the aid of the city *Kotwal* and 20 Puthan Police, to destroy these desperate men. They had flung over the walls, into the City, all their gold and silver coin, and other property, and taken post upon a bastion a gun of which commanded the line of approach. That gun burst at the third discharge. Rose advanced. The fanatics slew their women and the child. Rose's party then killed seven of them; but one shot him mortally before the rest could be killed. Our loss was besides Lieutenant Rose, nine killed and wounded of which four were of the Police.

NAPIER OVERTAKES REVOLUTIONARIES AT JAURA ALIPUR

47*th*†—General Napier leaving Morar at day-break on the 20th caught up the rebels early next day at Jowra Allepore, thirty-two miles off. Having actually in hand only 40 of the 14th Dragoons, under 500 Sabres of Meade's Horse, the

* "A few fanatics fired from the fort".—Marginal note.

† "General Napier pursues the rebels and takes 26 guns".—Marginal note to Para 47.

Bombay Cavalry and Hyderabad Cavalry and a Troop of Horse Artillery, he at once charged the enemy who were falling back but had still about 9 guns in position. The rebels fled precipitately in all directions without resistance, and were pursued with considerable loss for 3 miles abandoning the 26 guns they had taken from Gwalior. Next day General Napier advanced 8 miles, but the rebels had shot 25 miles ahead and pursuit was hopeless.[1]

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF GWALIOR

It has already been written before that at Gwalior, the fighters, who were in the employment of the Scindia Government, had gone over to Tatya Tope. Due to the defeat of the Peshwa at Kalpi all those Contingents (*Paltans*) moved back to Gwalior. At Murar was the Cantonment of Scindia. They entrenched themselves there and sent words to Scindia to send 4 lacs of Rupees for them or face them in the battle field. To this Dinkar Rao, the State's *Diwan* replied that they were prepared for war. Jayaji Maharaj Scindia, his *Diwan* and others were principal figures, and all crossed the river Murar with their forces. Many soldiers of Scindia said that they would gladly put up a show of battle-array but would not fire a shot on Peshwa as he was master of both. In the meantime a pouch was given in the gun from the side of the revolutionary force and war drums were beaten. Scindia and his *Diwan* repeatedly ordered their gunners but they replied that they would not prove faithless to the master. Scindia Raja and his *Diwan* both alighted from their horses and with their own hands made the guns ready to fire; but alas, the guns were filled up with millet bags. Scindia *Sarkar* and his *Diwan* were stunned, and at once took to flight to Agra on horseback.

Stray fight had already started and hundred or two hundred men had been killed, but in the meantime the news of the flight of Scindia and his *Diwan* spread like wild fire. Hearing this news Scindia's soldiers ran helter skelter. The fight came to a stop. Clarionet began to be played on Srimant

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 31st December 1858, Nos. 4281-83. National Archives, New Delhi.

Peshwa's side and he moved towards Lashkar. Scindia had planted a very beautiful garden in Phulbagh. Srimant stayed one night there in the bungalow. The revolutionaries uprooted the entire garden. Elephants, camels etc. were let loose, so the trees and flower plants were ruined. Even the glass panes of the bungalow were broken to pieces. In the city the shops and specially the bullion market were closed instantaneously. The roads were deserted and looked haunted.

Srimant got the shops opened by beat of drums and regular business started again. When the question of entry into city's residential palaces arose, and Srimant Rao Saheb was giving thought to it, the Rani of Jhansi of her own accord sought permission to go thither. Rao Saheb exclaimed that the city was full of adversaries, that there might be many traps and pitfalls in the places and hence she should go armed. Then Bai Saheb entered the city in a pensive mood with a guard of 200 troops. Her troops were marching through the bullion as well as other important markets. In her honour the troops were continuously firing blank shots in the air.

In this way her procession reached the Palace. In the rear portion of the Palace some people were living, because they were the *Karkuns* of Baiza Bai Scindia. They came forward and said that that portion was still in the occupation of Baiza Bai and people should be restrained from going there. Rani of Jhansi immediately ordered her troopers not to proceed towards the side where Baiza Bai might have put locks. Baiza Bai had moved from the Palace towards the Parade four or five days back.

The Rani of Jhansi first of all took all articles in the Palace in her charge and then sent messages to Rao Saheb and Tatya Tope to come. Thereupon Rao Saheb moved in state towards the Palace, his procession struggling its way through the markets slowly reached the destination. He granted an interview to Scindia's *Munims* and *Karkuns*. Rao Saheb expressed his desire to have free and unrestricted meals for the Brahmins and orders were issued for the arrangement of the same from the next day. The Brahmins were given *Laddoos* (sweets) of grain-flour as well as various other delicious preparations of wheat flour and in addition to the same one Rupee each in *Dakshina* (free gift of money). This arrangement was ordered to be continued till they were there. The *Munims*

with folded hands assured Rao Saheb about the due compliance of his orders.

The second day free meals started. Each and every Brahmin got one Rupee in *Dakshina*. Mahadji Baba Scindia had got a secret place constructed for his treasure—which was popularly named as 'Gangajali'. Ever since then Scindia's treasure was stored in the same. Rao Saheb, Tatya Tope and Rani of Jhansi unearthed this secret treasure—Gangajali—and took possession of the same. Seeing the vast hoard of gold, silver, pearls etc. Tatya enquired as to why there should be lesser pomp and show than the times of Mahadji Scindia from whose reign it had been enriched. On this the chief treasurer of Scindia informed them that at times of dire necessity, wealth was taken out of the same and that sometimes there had been losses too. All were gratified to listen to that.

Now the revolutionary leaders turned towards the fact(*sic*), "We are not free from danger. For the administration of the State we have now a good army. The English would come there after some time and there shall be a fight. Then we shall have to retreat to jungles, so we should gather as much treasure and transfer the same to westward place with sufficient guards where there may be good arrangement for drinking water". With this in view they decided to auction all the valuable articles and household effects of Scindia. Even the carpets and beds were thrown out. The city people dared not purchase the valuable clothes of their former ruler. At that time a theatrical Company hailing from Konkan, whose description has been given in Chapter IV bought the stately garments at nominal prices. *Saris* made of *zari* were bought for 25/- each. The wealth of Scindia was thus taken possession of and all elephants, horses, guns with bullocks to drag them were got hold of. Some of the Scindia's Regiments also joined them. In this way Srimant Rao Saheb spent 18 days of his rule amidst mirth and joy.[1]

[1] Godse, Vishnu Bhatt: "*Manjha Pravas*".—'Eye-witness account of the 1857 Revolution', Pp. 148-52. Marathi and Hindi versions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TATYA TOPE IN ACTION

REVOLUTIONARIES RETREAT FROM GWALIOR

Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 26th June 1858.

The latest reliable information respecting the rebel fugitives from Gwalior gives the following particulars :—

They are in three divisions. Of the first Tantea Topee and the Rao, nephew of the Nana are the leaders. They are mostly mounted. The second body is called very appropriately the Gwalior *budmaashes*. They have no leader of note, and are mostly on foot. The Nawab of Banda is the leader of the third division, having both Horse and Foot. They have 18 or 20 elephants, some *bhylees*[1] but by several accounts no guns whatever.

It appears that they crossed the Chumbul at several points in the Dholpoor territory, Sree Muttra[2] in that territory being the rendezvous. They have skirted the Kerowlee territory to Mutchulpoor[3], and at present no later accounts have been received of their having moved beyond that point.

The Maps of Dholpoor and Kerowlee are apt to mislead. The tract of which Sree Muttra is the centre was formerly a part of Kerowlee, but it was transferred to Dholpoor some years back.

Rebels moved from Muchulpoor to Bhoirepoor, 3 *coss* distant, on 25th June.[4]

REVOLUTIONARIES' MOVEMENTS IN DHOLPUR AND SURROUNDING TERRITORIES

Telegraphic Message from Diwan Nihal Chand, Dholpore, dated Agra, 24th June 1858.

There was nothing new to send. Just received intelligence

[1] Apparently spelt for 'Bahelis' or bullock carts.

[2] This place has been spelt differently in various places as 'Sree Muttree', 'Seer Muttree' or 'Sree Muttra' or 'Sir Muttree'.

[3] This place too has been spelt differently as 'Mutchulpoor' or 'Muchulpore' or 'Muchilpore'.

[4] Originals of daily bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

that there are about seven thousand rebels at Sree Muttree, they have got elephants, carriages, etc., but no guns and they are proposing to start but it is not known where to.....[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Superintendent, Mail Carts, dated Dholepoor (Dholpur), 25th June 1858, to Post Master, Agra.

The Kurrowlee Runner just come in states that the rebels have left Sree Muthree and have proceeded to Muchulpoor a village sixteen miles from the former and lies between the Jeypoor (Jaipur) and Bhurutpoor[2] (Bharatpur) roads. They have twenty elephants and no guns and are estimated to be twenty-two thousand strong.[3]

* * *

Telgraphic Message from Dewan Nihal Chand, dated Dholpoor (Dholpur), 25th June 1858.

On 24th the mutineers heard that the British and Puttealla (Patiala) troops were in pursuit from Dholepore so they went to Muchilpore which is 16 miles to the west of Sir Muttree 28 miles from Burthpoor (Bharatpur). There is a road to Jeypore from there also which is 40 *coss*.[4]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Deputy Post Master, dated Kerowlee (Kirauli), 25th June 1858, via Dholpur.

About 8 hundred sowars and 5 hundred footmen of the

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Bharatpur State*—State in the east of Rajputana, lying between 26° 43′ and 27° 50′ N. and 76° 53′ and 77° 46′ E., with an area of about 1,982 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Gurgaon district of Punjab; on the west by Alwar; on the south-west by Jaipur; on the south by Jaipur, Karauli, and Dholpur; and on the east by the Agra and Muttra districts of the United Provinces. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VIII, Pp. 72-3).

Bharatpur City—Capital of the State of the same name, in *Rajputana*, situated in 27° 13′ N. and 77° 30′ E., on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, 34 miles west of Agra, 875 north-west of Calcutta, and 815 miles north-east of Bombay. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VIII, p. 86).

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *Ibid.*

Gwalior rebels who were at Sree Muttree arrived at 12 A. M. to-day at Massoolpore 10 *cose* (*kos*) from Kerowlee. The Kerowlee Rajah has made arrangements to attack them but he has very few sepoys.[1]

Telegraphic Message from the Superintendent, Govt. Mail Carts, dated Dholepoor (Dholpur), 26th June 1858.

The Deputy Post Master reports that the rebels moved their position yesterday from Muchalpore to Bhorepore about six miles from the former with the intention to go to Bhurtpore (Bharatpur).[2]

Telegraphic Message from Diwan Nihal Chand, dated Dholepoor (Dholpur), 27th June 1858.

On the 26th the rebels marched from Muchulpore to Hindown[3]. It is reported they were about 18 thousand men Horse and Foot and no guns. They intend going to Bhurtpore if they were offered or had any chance of assistance there otherwise they would go to Jeypore. No news received yesterday.[4]

Telegraphic Message from the Superintendent, Government Mail Carts, dated Dholepore (Dholpur), 28th June 1858.

The Kurrowlee (Kirauli) Deputy Post Master reports that the rebels are still at Hindown, and it is their intention to move to Wazeerpore twelve miles from the former place on the road

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Hindaun*—A large commercial town on the Agra and Mhow route. Its fortifications, which at one time were considerable, are now fast going to decay. (*Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. II, 1879, p. 156).

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

to Jeypore. They have taken four guns from the troops of the Jeypore state at Hindown.[1]

MOVEMENT TOWARDS RAJPUTANA

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 1st July 1858.

The division of the rebels reported at Suhar[2] is said to be making for Tonk. Of the other division there is no account at present. The Jeypoor troops occupy Tonga[3] to oppose the enemy. The Alwur (Alwar)[4] Rajah also is guarding his frontier. Telegraph communication is restored with Gwalior.[5]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 2nd July 1858.

The rebels are concentrating on Lalsoont. All well at Jeypoor on 29th June.[6]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 3rd July 1858.

We have no reliable intelligence of the advance of the rebels beyond Lolsoont, though such is reported towards Jeypoor. Captain Eden writes on 30th June all well.[7]

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Suhara*—A village in Pargana *Sipri*, Zila *Narwar* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 25° 20′ Latitude N. and 77° 37′ Longitude E. with an area of 794 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 132).

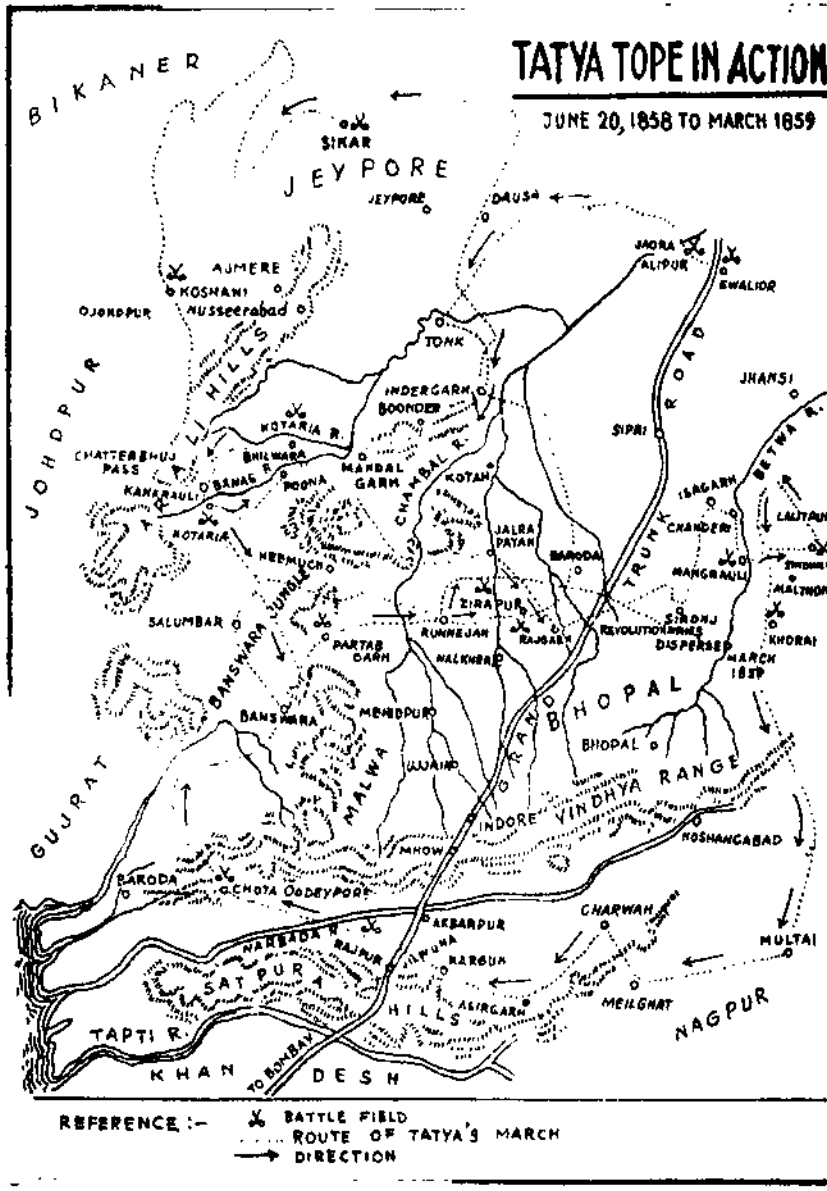
[3] *Tonga*—A village in Pargana *Sabalgarh*, Zila *Sheopur* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 26° 15′ Latitude N. and 77° 30′ Longitude E. with an area of 9255 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 86).

[4] *Alwar*—The Naruka Rajput State of *Ulwur* was situated between 27° 5′ and 28° 15′ Latitude, and 76° 10′ and 77° 15′ Longitude, and had an area of 3,024 square miles. It was bounded on the north by the British district of Gurgaon, the Bawal pargana of the Sikh State Nabha, and the Kot Kasim pargana of Jaipur; on the east by Bharatpur and Gurgaon; on the south by Jaipur; on the west by Jaipur, Kot Putti, Nabha and Patiala territory. (*Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. III, 1880, p. 161).

[5] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*



ADAPTED FROM — T. R. HOLMES — HISTORY OF INDIAN MUTINY.

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 4th July 1858.

Captain Eden reports the rebels on the first instant to have been 48 miles from Jeypoor, near Lolsoont and General Robert's force distant only 34 miles from Jeypoor on the same date. He thinks the rebels will turn off to Oodypoor (Udaipur).[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 5th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes on the 2nd instant from Jeypoor that the rebels had not advanced on the previous day. They were still partly at Newalee[2], and Barninwass[3]. This intelligence is confirmed by letter from Kerowlee. General Roberts would have arrived at Jeypoor on the 4th instant.[4]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 6th July 1858.

No later letters than the 2nd instant received from Captain Eden. On the 2nd instant from the evidence of a spy who left them on that day, the rebels were still at Lalsoont. They gave out their expectation to be joined by a regiment.[5]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 6th July 1858.

Letters from Jeypoor dated 4th instant have been received at Bhurtpoor. General Roberts was to move out to the eastward of Jeypoor on the 4th instant, with the Nusseerabad Brigade and accompanied by Captain Eden. The Bhurtpur spy reports positively that the rebels moved from Lalsoont on Tongah, the 3rd instant.[6]

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently *Niwari*—A village in Pargana *Sabalgarh*, Zila *Sheopur* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 26°11′ Latitude N. and 77°14′ Longitude E. with an area of 3943 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 80).

[3] This name can be read as *Baminwass* also in the Original Telegram.

[4] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

REVOLUTIONARIES PROCEEDING TOWARDS JAIPUR

Telegraphic Message from Commissioner, dated Delhi, 7th July 1858, 1/30 *P.M.*

I have just received a letter from Captain Eden of the 4th from Jeypoor. He reports that the rebels had marched from the neighbourhood of Lalsoont towards Thattsoo[1] which is south of Jeypoor and that General Roberts had marched that morning to Sangarair[2] to try and intercept them. Eden was about to follow, but adds that he is afraid the enemy will escape them. They are said to be thoroughly disorganized.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 7th July 1858.

General Roberts was at Sanganeer south of Jeypoor on the 5th instant. It was supposed to be his intention to move on to Chutsoo[4]. The rebels, who left Lalsont[5] for Tongah on the 3rd instant, are stated to have returned suddenly to Lalsont and to have moved to Dowlutpoor[6]. The Rajah of Jeypoor has appointed Thakoor Lutchmun Sing (Lachhman Singh) younger brother of the Rawol (Rawal) as *Moosahib*. This, it is thought, would heal dissensions in the State.[7]

TOWARDS CHATSU

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 8th July 1858.

By a letter from Jeypoor to Delhi dated 4th instant (the

[1] Appears misspelt for '*Chatsoo*' or '*Chaksoo*'.

[2] Appears misspelt for 'Sangner'. *Sanganer*—Town in the State of *Jaipur, Rajputana*, situated in 26° 48′ N. and 75° 47′ E., on the Aman-i-Shah river, 7 miles south of Jaipur city, and 3 miles south-west of Sanganer station on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, p. 50).

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *Chatsu*—A town of some importance on the Agra and Nasirabad route, about 24 miles south-east from Jaipur. (*Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. II, 1879, p. 155).

[5] This place has been spelt differently at various places.

[6] *Daulatpur*—A village in Pargana *Kolaras*, Zila *Narwar* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 24° 58′ Latitude N. and 77° 41′ Longitude E. with an area of 1411 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 101).

[7] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

substance sent by telegram from Delhi) the rebels were said to be at Chutsoo, and that General Roberts would march on that place.

By advices from Hindoun dated 5th July, the rebels had not advanced from Lalsoont as far as Chutsoo but had turned off half way in the direction of Jallai towards Tonk.

It seems that there is a force of the Jeypoor *Raj*—4 Regiments and 12 guns—at Madhoorajpoora west of Chutsoo. Probably the rebels have been making overture to this force. *If they have succeeded in obtaining their co-operation, the move to Chutsoo is clearly for the purpose of a Junction with that force. If not* the move south towards Tonk is one of flight at the approach of the British force.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 9th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes on the 5th instant that General Roberts' force would rest that day at Sanganeer. The Belooch Horse reached Chutsoo on that day and reported no rebels there. By Captain Eden's information they were near Dowlutpoor. A spy sent from Bhurtpoor reports that they were at Gurdwyee between Dowlutpoor and Chutsoo on the 5th. This is reliable—the road turns off south from that place. Tantea Topee was seen by him in the rebel camp. He is chief. Another spy sent to Kotah reports that the Kotah rebels who went to Gwalior had come back reduced in numbers, and much disorganized. They were at Kundhear or Kurrair near Madhopoor[2]. This is probable; but it is not as yet confirmed by intelligence from Kerowlee.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 9th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes on the 6th instant that General Roberts' force was on that date at Shoodosspoor (Shivdaspur)

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Madhopur*—A village in *Sagor* jagir, Zila *Amjhera* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 22° 34' Latitude N. and 74° 58' Longitude E. with an area of 971 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 312).

[3] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow

and would march to Guhrwassa[1] the next day. By his information the rebels were still at Dowlutpoor.[2]

MARCHING TOWARDS TONK[3]

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 10th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes on the 7th from Gurhwass. The rebels have moved south, they were in the neighbourhood of Jullai on the 6th and on the morning of the 7th were marching towards Tonk.[4]

* *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 11th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Ghoonsee[5] on the 8th. The fugitives were ascertained to have been between Jowla and Baronee in the Tonk territory on the 7th. General Roberts was about to send a detachment ahead in pursuit, following by shorter marches with the main body. Captain Eden thinks if the rebels are not encouraged (*sic*,)in Tonk, they will move by Natwara.[6] A Lucknow sepoy has been caught by a party at Jullai.

[1] Spelt as '*Gurhwass*' elsewhere.

[2] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Tonk State*—Native State, situated partly in *Rajputana* and partly in *Central India*, and consisting of six districts. The Rajputana districts are Tonk, Aligarh,and Nimbahera,while those in Central India are Chhabra, Pirawa, and Sironj. The State lies between 23°52′ and 26° 29′ N. and 74° 13′ and 77° 57′ E. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, 1908, p. 407).

Tonk City—Capital of the State and head-quarters of the district of the same name, in *Rajputana*, situated in 26°10′ N. and 75° 48′ E., about 2 miles to the south of the Banas river, 60 miles by metalled road south of Jaipur city, and 36 miles north-east of the cantonment of Deoli. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, 1908, p. 417).

[4] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] Apparently *Ghunsi*—A village in Pargana *Shajapur*, Zila *Shajapur* of the Old *Gwalior State* at 29°19′ latitude N. and 76° 29′ longitude E. with an area of 2994 Bighas. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part III, 1908, p. 241).

[6] Apparently *Nathdwara*—Walled town in the State of *Udaipur*,

Information has been received of a party of rebel Horse about 50 in number having come back to the hills at the South-Western frontier of Bhurtpoor. The *Fowjdar* of Biana[1] has gone out with a force against them.[2]

TONK CAPTURED

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 11th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes by express from near Deengur-thal[3] the 9th instant, the rebels have taken possession of Tonk with the old and new town, and surrounded Boomgurh in which the Nawaub resides. They have plundered the town, and got 3 brass guns but little ammunition. *Firoz was heard in camp* from the Boomgurh in which the Nawaub is holding out. None of his men, it is said, have sided with the rebels. General Roberts would be at Tonk on the 11th[4].

NEAR THE PARBATI RIVER

Telegraphic Message dated Gwalior, 12th July 1858, (*Addressed to Brigadier Napier*).

Inform General Roberts that Brigadier Smith now at Seepree is ordered to march to Kota. The 95th Regiment at Gwalior will follow to Seepree, and from thence will be ordering to circumstances (*sic*,).[5]

* * *

Rajputana, situated in 24° 56′ N. and 73° 49′ E., on the right bank of the Banas river about 30 miles north-by-north-east of Udaipur city, and 14 miles north-west of Maoli Station on the Udaipur-Chitor Railway. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVIII, 1908, p. 415).

[1] *Bayana*—Headquarters of a tahsil of the same name in the State of *Bharatpur, Rajputana*, situated in 26° 55′ N. and 77° 18′ E., close to the left bank of the Gambhir river, a tributary of the Banganga, and about 25 miles south-by-south-west of Bharatpur city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, 1908, p. 137).

[2] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Not clearly decipherable in the Original Telegram.

[4] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] *Ibid.*

Telegraphic Message from E. A Reade, Agra, dated Gwalior, 13th July 1858 (*Addressed to Brigadier Napier*).

Inform General Roberts that Brigadier Smith will probably march from Seepree on the morning of the 14th. It is unlikely he can reach Kota before the rebels, he may cut them off at Sandgode, or if they are pressed by General R. (Roberts) and pass Kota, he may intercept them between the Parbuttie and Newur rivers. A wing of the 95th will march on the 15th to Seepree, also a Squadron of 30 Bombay Cavalry, and 200 N. I. proceed from Jhansee to Seepree and will arrive about the same time as the 95th about the 20th instant.

Both messages received at 2 A.M. 15th July, and sent express to Bhurtpoor.[1]

RETREAT FROM TONK

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 13th July 1858.

The rebels on the approach of General Roberts' force from Jeypoor, moved south upon Tonk. They appear to have taken and plundered the town with little or no opposition, and to have surrounded Boomgurh, the fort in which the Nawaub resides, and which he defended with such of his followers as remained faithful. On the approach of Holmes' Brigade of Cavalry, and Horse Artillery the rebels fled to Buneta, and by the latest accounts were either at Rampoora or Ooniara. Holmes' Brigade would have reached Buneta on the 11th, and General Roberts was expected to reach Tonk with the main body on the same day. A sepoy caught near Jullai confirms the general native report that the leaders of the rebels are Tantea Topee, the Nawaub of Banda, Raheem Aly Khan, and a Bareilly Nawaub, probably Dhonda Khan. They are said to have obtained 3 brass guns at Tonk.[2]

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS RAMPURA

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 13th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Bugree[1] the 10th instant. The rebels who were attacking Boomgurh, suddenly desisted, hearing of Holmes' advance with Cavalry, and Horse Artillery. They fled on the 9th instant without stopping to Buneta, and are supposed to have reached Rampoora or Ooniara on the following day. Holmes' Brigade would be at Buneta on the 11th. General Roberts would reach Tonk with the main body on the same day. Many of the Nawaub's troops have sided and gone off with the rebels. The sepoy caught at Jullai says the leaders are Tantea Topee, Nawaub of Banda, Raheem Alee Khan, and a Bareilly Nawaub. The 50 rebel Horse who came to the Bhurtpoor frontier, have fled into the *Dhang* between Dholpoor and Kerowlee. They are said to be some of Scindia's Horse. The Kota (Kotah) rebels who came back from Gwalior to Madhopoor in the Jeypoor territory, had gone back to Shoepoor in Gwalior. [He(General Roberts)had sent an express for Colonel Smith's Brigade at Seepree].[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 14th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Tonk on the 11th. The rebels were reported to have reached Rampoora and to have opened fire on that place. The result not known. If they succeeded in taking it, they would have obtained twelve more guns with ammunition; Holmes' Brigade left Kukraj the evening before for Ghour about 15 miles from Rampoora. Some rain had fallen.[3]

[1] Can be read as *Bagru* also. *Bagru*—Town in the State of *Jaipur, Rajputana*, situated in 26° 48′ N. and 75° 33′ E., on the Agra-Ajmer road, about 18 miles south-west of Jaipur city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI, p. 193).

[2] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Ibid.*

REVOLUTIONARIES AT KASTALA

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 15th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Tonk the 12th instant. The information of the rebels having gone to Rampoora was incorrect. They went by Koonderee to Burwarra and after resting there proceeded on the morning of the 12th to Kustulla. He thinks they will not try Madhopoor where some of the Jeypoor troops are posted, but this is doubtful; nothing definitively[1] known of the movements of Holmes' force; supposed he would move on Rampoora, or Burwarra according to information received. The Kerowlee letter dated 13th instant says the Kota rebels are near Shoopoor of Gwalior preparing to cross into Kota. (Brigadier Napier duly informed).[2]

HEADING TOWARDS MADHOPUR AND CHAMBAL

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated July 18, 1858.

Captain Eden's intelligence is long in coming. His letter dated the 13th from Tonk only just received. General Roberts still at Tonk. Colonel Holmes was at Sontra on the 12th and was to march that night for Kustulla. The deviation to Sontra is not explained. Colonel Holmes says the rebels have dispersed in various directions, and the main body ahead of him is about three thousand. They are supposed to be making for Dhipree Ghat to cross the Chumbul into the Shoopoor district. Captain Eden hears from the Tonk people that the rebels or a portion of them have gone *via* Dekhooa towards Madhoopoor, and that the Banda Nawaub wishes to surrender. This is confirmed by a spy of Bhurtpoor who saw the rebels near Madhoopoor. The Jeypoor troops refused to join them, but allowed them to get supplies. They talked of going to Shoopoor or otherwise of making their way to Alwur. They had 3 guns. The Kerowlee letter of the 15th says all is confusion in the Madhoopoor district.[3]

[1] Wrongly spelt for 'definitely'.

[2] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Ibid.*

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 19th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Tonk the 16th instant giving an extract from Colonel Holmes' letter of the 15th instant. His force was to go that evening to Indurgurh (Indargarh). The rebels were said to be 3 *coss* distant from that place unable to cross the river, and they must either fight or disperse. He anticipated a fight the next day.[1]

TATYA TOWARDS BUNDI

Telegraphic Message from Major Macpherson, dated Gwalior, 20th July 1858.

The news from Sheopore of the 17th is that the rebels under *Tantia Topia had moved on to Lackaria*[2] *in Boondee (Bundi)*[3] while the pursuing Column had moved to a point two *coss* beyond Puchowlas but eight miles from the rebels.[4]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 21st July 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Tonk on the 17th. It was supposed that General Roberts would resume his march that day. The rebels had gone beyond Indurgurh by Lukheyree (Lakheri) to Gouowlee in the direction of Boondee (Bundi). Colonel Holmes was at Angora on the 16th instant, three *coss* from Lukheyree. No tidings yet of Colonel Smith's Brigade. The Chumbul has risen considerably.[5]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 22nd July 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Tonk on the 18th and 19th instant, both letters received together.

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Spelt as '*Lukheyree*' in another document.

[3] *Bundi*.—"The Rajput State of Bundi lies between north latitude 25° 59' 52" and south latitude 24° 59' 30". The extreme of its eastern longitude is 76° 21' 35", and of its western 75° 18' 6." (*Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. I, 1879, p. 203).

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

General Roberts had not moved from Tonk on the last date. His move, when determined, it was supposed would be on Todah.[1]

The rebels crossed the Nej *Nuddee* on the 17th with much difficulty, and had reached Kutgurh (Kathgarh) on the opposite side. Colonel Holmes on the same date was at Oontara.[2]

Parties of the Kota rebels had been seen in Boondee districts (*sic*,) about 500 at Patun[3], and a larger number at Boondee. *The Boondee State was indifferent.* The Rao of Kota had collected all boats to his side of the Chumbul, and was preparing for defence.[4]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Major Macpherson, Gwalior, dated 25th July 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

Scindia's news-writer at Lackairee (Lakheri) in Boondee writes that the rebels had reached Boondee on the 18th or 19th while Colonel Holmes had reached Khutghur twelve miles behind them. The Raja of Nurwur or Parone[5] was settling his force of abou' four thousand men for the rains at Reyun in the Powree jungle between Seepree and Shahabad.[6]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, dated Agra, 25th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Tonk on the 21st instant. General Roberts still at Tonk. He talks of going to Toda next day. The rebels have passed Boondee Chief, and having, it is said,

[1] *Toda Bhim*—Headquarters of the tahsil of the same name in the *Hindaun Nizamat* of the State of *Jaipur*, *Rajputana*, situated in 26° 55′ N. and 76°49′ E., about 62 miles east of Jaipur city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, 1908, p. 406).

[2] Spelt as '*Ooniara*' elsewhere.

[3] Apparently '*Jhalra Patan*'.

[4] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] *Paron*(or *Narway*)—Mediatized chiefship in the *Central India Agency*, under the Resident at Gwalior. It is a minor State, about 60 square miles in area, surrounded by the village of Paron. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XX, p. 7).

[6] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

been opposed by the Boondee Chief, are now making westward, plundering every village in their route. Colonel Holmes was at Boondee (on) the 20th full march behind the rebels, and crippled for want of carriage. This was being sent to him.[1]

MOVEMENT TOWARDS BHILWARA

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 29th July 1858.

Captain Eden writes on the 24th instant from More, twenty miles west of Tonk.

The rebels having taken a westerly course through the hills, General Roberts had crossed the Banas[2] and was moving in the direction of Deegong, and Joonea so as to cover Nuseerabad and Ajmere.

No intelligence had been received from Colonel Holmes later than the 20th instant. *The Boondee Chief was very remiss in giving intelligence.*[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 4th August 1858.

No intelligence has been received either at Agra, or Jeypoor from Captain Eden for several days. A scout of Bhurtpoor (Bharatpur) who left the rebels on the 28th ultimo reports *their having been fired upon by the Boondee Chief who refused to give them supplies.* In revenge they plundered Chynee a rich village 5 *coss* west of Boondee, and passed on to Suhloot in the Oodeypoor (Udaipur) territory, where the scout left them. Their intention was to move on Bheelwara a town on the road

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Banas* (*Hope of the forest*)—A river of *Rajputana.* It rises in the *Aravalli* Hills (25° 3′ N. and 73° 28′ E.) in Udaipur, about three miles from the fort of Kumbhalgarh, and after a tortuous course, generally north-east, of about 30 miles through the territories of Uaipur, Jaipur, Bundi, Tonk, and Karauli, and the British district of Ajmer, falls into the Chambal (25° 55′ N. and 76° 44′ E.) at the holy sangam, Rameswar. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI, p. 345);

[3] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

from Neemuch to Nusseerabad. On his return the scout met a party of about two hundred rebel Horse at Bamungaon 15 *coss* north-east of Boondee.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 5th August 1858.

Letters have been received from Captain Eden to the 31st July.

General Roberts reached Sanwar on the 27th and was stationary there, unable to move owing to the country being flooded.

Colonel Holmes by the last account was making for Jhajpoor[2] to cross the Banas at that point, but was stopped by the Naij *nuddee*, not far from Nyagaon unable to cross it till the inundation subsides.

The accounts of the rebels are very vague. It seems evident that they would not cross the Banas, and were taking a southerly direction.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES REACH NIMACH

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 6th August 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Sanwar the 1st instant.

General Roberts would remain at that place for another day, if not longer.

Colonel Holmes appears also to be stationary. He had lost many camels. No account whatever is given of the rebels.

A letter has been received at Gwalior from a banker at Singolee in the Neemuch district reporting the arrival of the rebels at that place. This is very probable.[4]

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently *Jahazpur*—Headquarters of a zila or district of the same name, in the north-east corner of the state of *Udaipur, Rajputana*, situated in 25° 37′ N. and 75° 17′ E., about 12 miles south-west of the Cantonment of Deoli. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII, p. 379).

[3] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *Ibid.*

AHMAD ULLA KHAN TO BE BLOWN UP FROM A GUN

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 7th August 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Sunwar the 3rd instant.

General Roberts would probably march to Champaneer[1] the next day.

All the sick and some of the heavy guns had been sent into Nuseerabad.

Ahmed Oola Khan, the late Naib Nazim of Badaon, captured sometime ago in the Jeypoor territory, had been sentenced, and was to be blown from a gun that day.

Colonel Holmes on 31st July was at Rugonathpoor (Raghunathpur) 15 miles from Deolee[2].

The rebels are reported in camp to have moved to Deokoree[3] 8 miles beyond Mandelgurh (Mandalgarh)[4] in the direction of Oodeypoor (Udaipur).[5]

ACTIVITIES OF DIFFERENT REVOLUTIONARIES

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 9th August 1858.

Sheopoor, 3rd August—The Rajah of Barowda (Baroda) is at Mangrowl[6] in the Kota border with about 4 thousand followers. He has 3 elephants. No guns.

[1] *Champaner*—Ruined city in the *Kalol* Taluka of the *Panch Mahals* District, *Bombay*, situated in 22° 29′ N. and 73° 32′ E., 25 miles north of Baroda, at the north-east base of Pavagarh, a fortified hill of great strength. It is a station on the Baroda-Godra chord railway, recently constructed. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X, p. 135).

[2] *Deoli*—The cantonment of Deoli is about 70 miles from Ajmer, in the midst of native territory, but the cantonment itself is considered part of the Ajmer district. (*Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. I-A, 1904, p. 119).

[3] Probably spelt for *Deokhari*.

[4] *Mandalgarh*—Headquarters of a zila or district of the same name in the State of *Udaipur*, *Rajputana*, situated in 25° 13′ N. and 75° 7′ E., above 100 miles north-east of Udaipur city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVII, 1908, Pp. 148-9).

[5] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[6] *Mangrol*—Headquarters of the district of the same name in the State of *Kotah*, *Rajputana*, situated in 25° 20′ N. and 76° 31′ E., on the right bank of the Banganga, tributary of the Parbati, about 44 miles north-east of Kotah city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVII, p. 180).

The Rajah of Nirwar is in the jungles of Kurreyr in the Powree *elaka* with about 3,000 followers, 15 or 16 tents. No guns.

Bamungaon, 3rd August—A party of about 200 Horse separated from the Gwalior fugitives have been seen between Bamungaon and Bansee[1] from 12 to 15 *coss* north-east of Boondee; they are supposed to be the party who lately appeared on the Alwur border and have fled back on the approach of force to attack them.

Bhind, 3rd August—A party of rebels has gathered, it is said under the late Jhansee Ranee's brother at Mow near Jhansee, number 3,000.

Takore Baijore Sing (*Thakur Barjor Singh*) *is in rebellion at Moza Berha in the Kachwagarh Pergunnah bordering the Jaloun district. He has* 1,000 *matchlockmen.*

Koour Dowlut Sing (*Kunwar Daulat Singh*) *the Indoorkee rebel is at Nachur*[2] *of that Pergunnah with* 1,500 *bundookchees, his nephew being at Myta* (*or Myra*) *close bye* (*sic, by*) *with* 500 *more.*

They have plundered Madogurh, Khyra, Goverdhun Poora, and Panjpoora of the Gopalapoor *elaka*, and intend to raid upon Lahar.

Etawah, 4th August—Ganga Sing, Roop Sing, Tekait Singh and Lukwa Aheer (Ahir) are at a fort in Birrehna. Roop Sing chief. The rebel Nerunjun Sing is at Chukkernuggur between the Etawah and Gwalior border.[3]

AT THE JUNCTION OF THE BANAS RIVER

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 9th August 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Champaneer the 4th instant.

General Roberts would march to Deolia[4] on the following day.

[1] *Bansi*—Principal town of an estate of the same name in the State of *Udaipur, Rajputana*, situated in 24° 20′ N. and 74° 42′ E., about 47 miles south-east of Udaipur city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI, p. 407).

[2] Can be read as '*Naepur*' or '*Naehur*' also in the Original Telegram.

[3] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *Deolia* or (*Deogarh*)—The old capital of the State of *Partabgarh, Rajputana*, situated in 24° 2′ N. and 74° 40′ E. about 7 ½ miles due west of Partabgarh town. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XI, 1908, p. 247).

The rebels were said to have been four days previously at Tritanee, at the junction of the Banas, which was not fordable. Colonel Holmes was supposed to be still in pursuit of them.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 10th August 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Deolia the 5th instant.

General Roberts would halt there the day, waiting for carriage, and then move to Banaira.

Colonel Holmes had written from Tonkooa on the 3rd and expected to be at Jhajpoor on the next day.

A small field force moved from Neemuch on the 1st towards Jawud so as to be in a position to move either on Chittore[2] or Ruttungurh (Ratangarh)[3].

The rebels by the latest account were on the bank of the Banas which it was their object to cross, but which was still unfordable. Captain Eden places them about 10 miles south of Mandelgurh, at Barroonee and Burlawass.[4]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 10th August 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Deolia under date 6th instant. It was certain that the rebels were crossing a stream called the Bailuch on the 4th instant and as the Neemuch force was advancing on Jalit, it was thought they would cross the Banas. This river was rapidly becoming fordable.

Colonel Holmes reached Jahazpoor on the 4th and hoped to be again on the enemy's track the following day, but they were a long way ahead.

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade, from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Chitor Town*—The headquarters of the Zila of the same name, situated in 24° 53′ N. and 74° 39′ E. about two miles east of Chitor station, a junction for the Udaipur-Chitor and Rajputana-Malwa Railways, and sixty-seven miles east by north-east of Udaipur city. (*Rajputana Gazetteers*, Volume II-A, 1908, p. 101).

[3] *Ratangarh*—Headquarters of a tahsil of the same name in the *Sujangarh Nizamat* of the state of *Bikaner*, *Rajputana*, situated in 28° 5′ N. and 74 37′ E., about 80 miles almost due east of Bikaner city, and 10 miles from the Shekhawati border. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. XXI, p. 238).

[4] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

General Roberts would march to Dabla (or Dafla) on the 7th.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT BHILWARA

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 12th August 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Bunaira the 8th instant.

The rebels are said to be at Bheelwarra distant 12 miles, having an outpost at Sanganeer 2 miles this side of Bheelwarra.

Colonel Holmes was at Kachola on the 7th and was supposed at the time of writing to be 16 miles from Bheelwarra.

General Roberts had determined to move on Bheelwarra after his men had breakfasted, leaving his camp standing at Bunaira.

The disturbance at Alwar for the present has ended in the expulsion of the Mahommedan party from the town. Umoojan, Dewan Fuzuloola Khan, and Buxee Inamoola Khan with their followers have gone to Ferozepoor in the Goorgaon district.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from R. Hamilton, dated Indore, 12th August 1858, 7/50 P.M.

General Roberts came up with the rebels on the eighth at the bank of the river near Saugor and dispersed them with loss.[3]

RETREAT TO POOR

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 13th August 1858.

Captain Eden writes from camp near Bheelwarra on the 9th instant.

General Roberts on the previous evening came up with the enemy; after a skirmish in which 7 men were killed, retreated to Poor[4] in the direction of Gangapoor. Little could be done for want of Cavalry. No casualties on our side.

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Apparently in *Alwar.*

Colonel Holmes was expected to join General Roberts on the 9th instant and the pursuit was to be renewed.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 16th August 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Bheelwarra, on the 10th instant. Colonel Holmes had joined General Roberts, and the whole force was to march next day to Bagore[2], a distance of 14 miles.....[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 17th August 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Koseethul the 12th instant.

General Roberts marched with his whole force to Bugore on the 11th and would reach Kukurowlee on the 13th, where the rebels were said to be on the date of Captain Eden's letter. It was uncertain whether they would take the route to Joudpoor (Jodhpur) or to Oodeypoor (Udaipur). Captain Eden is on his way back to Jeypoor.[4]

HEADING FOR RAMPURA

Telegraphic Message from Captain Showers, dated Chittoree (Chittor), 19th August 1858.

General Roberts has made over the pursuit of the rebels to Brigadier Parke, giving him a Squadron of Hussars, the Belooch Horse, 3 guns and a wing of N. I. Thus reinforced the Neemuch detachment was at Chittore on the 19th.

The rebels were at Bejapoor on the 18th encamped in a jungle east of Jaut, and are supposed to be making for Rampoora where there is a ford at the Chumbul.

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Bagor*—Headquarters of a pargana or subdivision of the same name in the State of *Udaipur, Rajputana,* situated in 25° 22′ N. and 74° 23′ E., on the left bank of the Kothari river, a tributary of the Banas, about 70 miles north-east of Udaipur city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. VI, p. 193).

[3] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *Ibid.*

A flying Column has been composed of Cavalry, Artillery, Royal Engineers, and 150 of the 72nd Highlanders, Movable, and moves to Jawud on the 20th to cut off the move on Rampoora.

The rebels are in the utmost disorganization and distress. Many of their stragglers have been captured by the Meywar (Mewar) authorities. Upwards of 70 horses were found on their line of retreat in the last stage of exhaustion.[1]

RETREAT FROM NATHDWARA

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 19th August 1858.

General Roberts has obtained a decisive victory over the rebels, near Nathdwara, on the 14th instant taking their four guns, and ammunition and killing seven hundred on the field. The enemy fled in all directions after the fight, but Cavalry and Horse Artillery were still in pursuit trying to seize their elephants. Our casualties were a Sergeant Major of the 8th Hussars, and twenty men of different regiments. The news is communicated by the Commissioner of Ajmeer (Ajmer) to Jeypoor.....[2]

MAKING FOR BUNDELKHAND

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 22nd August 1858.

Captain Showers writes from Kapasun (or Kasseesun) due west of Chittore 18th instant.

The rebels have doubled back in a north easterly direction, pursued by the Neemuch Brigade. They had still all their treasure, and their leaders, one of them wounded; a prisoner taken by the Neemuch force says they are now making towards Bundelcund, and still muster four thousand.

General Roberts was at Kataria on the 16th intending to move along the right bank of the Banas.....[3]

* * *

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 25th August 1858.

Captain Dennys writes from Neemuch, the 20th instant. The rebels had plundered and burnt Jaut and reached Neemree *via* Rutnaghur (Ratangarh) on the 19th. They have fourteen elephants and some camels. Captain Dennys was not aware of the measures taken for the pursuit by Colonel Parke.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 31st August 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Jeypoor the 29th instant.

He had heard from General Roberts who was on his way back to Nusseerabad (that) the rebels succeeded in crossing the Chumbul at Sukoonda Ghat and by the last account had reached Gurreuta (Garotha). Colonel Parke had been misled by incorrect information, and so missed them.[2]

NEAR CHAMBAL

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 2nd September 1858.

The rebels across the Chumbul are mostly returned Goojurs who have come back to Ghokolee and Bussie Goreya. The *Dewan* says they have been joined by one or two hundred of the fugitives from Powree. Measures should be taken to put this down at once. No more Seiks (Sikhs) can be spared from Dholpoor. The fort of Burreh at the junction of the Jumna and Chumbul has at last been taken. Roop Sing and his band are fugitives. Take care they do not unite with this gang. The *Dewan* will not leave Dholpoor yet.[3]

TATYA'S ACTIVITY AT JHALRA PATAN

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 2nd September 1858.

Captain Showers writes from Neemuch the 29th August. The rebels reached Jhalra Patun on the 27th, attacked the

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

cantonment, distant about two miles from it, and seized all the Raj Rana's guns outside the city walls. Jhalra Patun is a fortified town. The rebels were preparing to assault it. The Mhow Column under Colonel Leckhart (misspelt for Lockhart) was at Ougein[1] on the 25th, moving towards Mundesore.[2]

* * * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 3rd September 1858.

Intelligence has been received by the Political Agent of Meywar (Mewar) that the Raj Rana of Jhalra Patun had been compelled to hoist a flag of 'mice' on which fighting with the rebels ceased. They have taken possession of all guns, horses and camels of the Chief with much of his treasure but have engaged not to plunder the town.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 5th September, 1858, *to Major Macpherson and Brigadier Napier, Gwalior.*

Captain Showers from Neemuch the 1st instant reports from a letter of Sheo Chund Kotaree (Shiv Chand Kothari), Holkar's Agent in Meywar that the rebels were leaving Jhalra Patun for Shoopoor on the 31st August.[4]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 7th September 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Jeypoor the 5th, intelligence received from Neemuch to the 2nd.

The Chief of Jhalra Patun has escaped from the rebels, and is on his way to Neemuch, *Tanteea Topee rules in his place.* The rebels have got 5 lakhs out of the town, and a large quantity of opium on which they demand a ransom. They have got about thirty guns with other munitions of war. *Tantea Topee, it is said, intends to attack the fort at Gangrone.*

[1] Apparently spelt for *Ujjain.*

[2] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

The affair in the Dholpoor territory was only a local quarrel with the *Tehseeldar* and a consequent fatal affray.[1]

BATTLE AT BIJAPUR NEAR GUNA

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier General Napier to Macpherson, Gwalior; E. A. Reade, Agra and G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad; dated Seepree (Sipri), 6th September 1858.

Colonel Roberts after pursuing the Powree fugitives through dense jungle for ten days came up with them on the morning of the fifth by forced marches with a party of his Column amounting to three hundred and fifty Infantry of the eighty-sixth and ninety-fifth Regiments and the tenth and twenty-fifth Bombay N. I. and two hundred Cavalry of the eighth Hussars and Meade's Horse. After battle which lasted nearly two hours, the remnant of the enemy fled leaving four hundred and fifty dead bodies on the field with horses and ponies. The enemy consisted of several hundred sepoys of the Gwalior Contingent, Kotah Contingent, Scindia's Regiments and the forty-five and fifty-two Bengal N. I. The Cavalry said to be of Scindia's Bodyguard. *Not many sound men will find their way to reinforce Tantia's party.* The action took place at Beejapore, fourteen miles south-west of Goonah. (Our loss, eighth Hussars' Captain Poore, Lieutenant Hanburry, one troop Scarjeant (*sic*,) Major, three Privates, five horses wounded, Private Smith killed. Ninety-fifth, three Privates wounded Okeefe mortally, Lieutenant Fawcet killed. Twenty-fifth Bombay N. I., one Private wounded; tenth Bombay N. I., one *subadar* four Privates wounded, one mortally, two Privates killed. Meade's Horse, Lieutenants Stewart, Page, three Sowars, ten horses wounded. The Powree fugitives have broken up into several parties. *Maun Sing has doubled back and is with a few hundred followers somewhere in the Shahabad jungles.* Others have gone northwards and parties are being arrested by Scindia's authorities. Colonel Roberts has done admirably.[2]

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

TATYA ON WAY TO BHOPAL

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 7th September 1858, 3.30 *P.M.*

Captain Mayne reports from Goonah that Tantia Topye is making for Bhopal. His advance guard was at Khelcheegurh on the 1st instant intending to march by Rajgurh[1] and Beowrah on the 3rd. The Telegraph people and *Bunneas* had left Beowrah. Colonel Lockhart's force was at Susnair on the 1st September and Colonel Hope with one thousand one hundred men left Indore for Aughur (perhaps Agar) on the 3rd.

On the other hand, from Sir Robert Hamilton's Telegram of the 3rd, it would appear that the rebels were still at Jalra Patun. They are reported by Sir Robert to be in full possession of that town, and to be preparing defences, and throwing up breastworks on the road approaching. The Raj Rana had fled from Patun, and was expected in Colonel Lockhart's Camp.

Ramdhur Singh formerly in the service of the Rana of Dholpoor has fallen suddenly on Anjye, a *Tehseeldaree* in that Territory, west of Baree, and has taken possession with an armed force. Some of the Pateala Seikhs (Patiala Sikhs) at Dholepoor, with some of the Rana's troops, have been detached to expel the invaders.[2]

TOWARDS RAIPUR

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 10th September 1858.

Captain Showers writes from Sookrenser[3], dated the 6th instant.

The rebels have marched from Jhalra Patun southwards taking the road to Raipoor. They have 24 guns, having left

[1] Apparently *Rajgarh Town*—Headquarters of a tahsil of the same name in the *Rani Nizamat* of the state of *Bikaner, Rajputana*, situated in 28° 39′ N. and 75° 24′E., about 135 miles east by north-east of Bikaner city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 71).

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] The name of the place is not clearly decipherable in the Original Telegram.



Tatya Tope
(From Savarkar: "*The Indian War of Independence*")

14 guns behind them, and as much ammunition as they can carry.

The Mhow Column under Colonel Lockhart was at Soosnair on the 1st instant. The Chief of Jhalra was then expected in Camp.[1]

TATYA AT ZIRAPUR

Telegraphic Message, dated Seepri (Sipri), 13th September 1858.

The following just received from Captain Mayne from Ragooghur. News here scant and unsatisfactory, telegraph office open here, but wire cut between this and Beora, and Signaller has not written since eighth. Seronge (Sironj) and Jalra Patan (Jhalra Patan) rebels reported to be joining at Umerghur[2]. I have sent an express down the road to find if this be true or false. The (*Amil*) of Beora on the eleventh reports that the rebels under Ajil (perhaps Adil) Mahommed Khan left Muttery for Nuhsiniya[3] for Naya Kima[4], also that Colonel....(MSS. torn) with his guard is at Genoewra and that Tantia Topee is at Zeerapoor or Machulpoor. I am too distant to watch what enemy give me discretionally (*sic*, discretionary) power to move were I to choose and I will send you certain news and my own rare open (*sic*,).[5]

REVOLUTIONARIES BETWEEN RAIPUR AND SOHIT

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, to G. F. Edmonstone, dated 16th September 1858.

Captain Showers writes from the Chumbul on the 6th instant. The Neemuch detachment has crossed the Chumbul and marches to Gurrote[6] on the 7th. The rebels have taken

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently spelt for *Amargarh*.

[3] & [4] These names appear to have been wrongly spelt, due to faulty receipt of message.

[5] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[6] Probably spelt for *Garotha*.

up a position between Raipoor[1] and Sohit, about 15 miles from Soosnair[2], where Colonel Lockhart has taken up a defensive position awaiting the arrival of General Michel[3] with a reinforcement of the Mhow force. The combination of British troops was expected to be complete by the 12th instant.[4]

NEAR RAJGARH[5]

Telegraphic Message from General Napier, dated Seepree (Sipri), 13th September 1858, 7 P. M.

The following Telegraph Message received from Ragooghur[6] fifteen Sept. 11 A.M. from Mr. Ludhunter, Deputy Superintendent Electric Telegraph. The Telegraph Line

[1] Apparently *Raipur*—Headquarters of the *Chhattisgarh* Division & of the district of the same name, *Central Provinces*, situated in 21° 14′ N. & 81° 39′ E., on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, 513 miles from Calcutta & 188 miles from Nagpur in an open plain about 4 miles from the Kharun river. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, Pp. 59-60).

[2] Spelt as '*Somair*' on p. 499.

[3] Has been spelt as 'Mitchel' or 'Mitchell' also in many documents.

[4] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] *Rajgarh State*—A mediatized State in *Central India*, lying between 23° 27′ and 24° 11′ N. and 76° 36′ and 77° 14′ E. It is situated in the section of *Malwa* called *Umatwara*, bounded on the north by Gwalior and Kotah states, on the south by Gwalior and Dewar, on the east by Bhopal, and on the west by Khichipur. The northern portion is much cut up by hills, but the southern and eastern districts lie on the Malwa plateau. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 68).

Rajgarh Town—Capital of the State of the same name in *Central India*, situated in 24° 1′ N. and 76° 44′ E., on the left bank of the Newaj river, a tributary of the Parbati, 85 miles by road from Bhopal. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 70).

[6] Apparently *Raghugarh* (*Raghogarh*)—The State lies between 24° 6′ and 24° 34′ N. and 77° 7′ and 77° 25′ E., about 17 miles south-west of Guna, in *Khichiwara* district of *Malwa*. It has an area of about 112 square miles, between the Khichi estates of Dharnaoda on the north and Garha on the south, and the Sironj and Chhabra parganas of Tonk State on the east and west.

The capital, *Raghugarh*, is situated in 24° 27′ N. and 77° 12′ E. The chief feature of the place is the old palace fort, which stands on a low hill about 1,800 feet above the level of sea. Round it lie the remains of the city wall, which formerly enclosed a circuit of about 4 miles, within which the ruins of the old town can still be seen, the modern town lying outside it. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, Pp. 34-6).

had been cut this morning four hours ago, I think by the rebels who would reach Reora Tollag. They were between Keehlepore (or Kichlepore) and Rajghur on the 13th. General Michel was expected at Puchore yesterday and Captain Mane (Mayne) would I think make a forced march from Bursud to Beewara this morning. All quiet in this locality.[1]

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, 17th September 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

Our latest intelligence received through Agra, is that the Neemuch detachment crossed the Chumbul and would be at Gurowee on the 7th. The rebels, it said, have taken up a position between Rajgur (Rajgarh) and Soheit 15 miles from Somair (or Susnair), where Colonel Lockhart awaits the arrival of General Mitchel from Mhow with reinforcement.[2]

DEFEAT OF TATYA NEAR JHALRA PATAN

Tantia Topee appears at last to have been defeated. After obtaining some 25 *guns at Jhalra Patun,* he marched to the south-east, making apparently for Bhopal. He was met, however, by General Michel, who with a Brigade from Mhow had marched out to intercept him. The British encountered the rebels near Rajgurh, routed them, and, carried off twenty-five guns. They have divided into two bands, and a flying Column has been sent in pursuit. It appears almost impossible that they should again rally, *but Tantia Topee is not yet killed...*[3]

TATYA'S ENCOUNTER WITH BRITISH FORCES NEAR RAJGARH

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated the 19th September 1858, 7-15 *P. M.*

A telegram dated 16th from Beowra sent by Captain

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] "*The Friend of India*", 23rd Sept. 1858, p. 893—"The Insurrection".

Mayne informs us that General Mitchel with the Mhow Field Force attacked *Tantia Topee between Rajghur and Beowra and took between* 26 *and* 30 *guns without any loss.* The rebels are dispersed north and west. A flying Column of two troops of Regular Cavalry and two hundred Madras Horse with two hundred Infantry and two guns has been sent in pursuit. The rebels in Banda district have been forced by the troops under Brigadier Carpenter to evacuate every position they held there. Runmust Sing (Ranmast Singh), a leading rebel, has been wounded and hopes are entertained of seizing Radah Gobind (Radha Govind), the principal adviser of Narrain (Narain) Rao and Madho Rao.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from R. Hamilton, Indore, dated September 20, 1858.

General Mitchell attacked Tantia Topi near Beoura and took twenty-five guns and totally dispersed the whole of his force.[2]

NEAR KACHHWAR SARAI

Telegraphic Message from General R. Napier, dated Gwalior 1*st October.*

The following has been received from Brigadier Smipy dated the 29th Sept. News has arrived by means of a spy employed by me that the main body of the rebels have (*sic*) left Serong (Sironj) at 3 A. M. on the 28th in the direction of Kutchwar Seraw (Sarai) which was stated to be the first march. It is said to be their intention to go to Esaufghur (Yusufgarh) and if unable to remain there to make for the Chundaree (Chanderi) jungle. Their rear-guard of Second Battalion and four guns was to have followed at 2 P. M. on the same day. This information was only obtained from one source and requires confirmation. I hope to get further intelligence in the course of the day. In moving only three miles yesterday, the last (*sic*, should be 'loss') of carriage was so excessive that I am obliged to halt here. A great portion has not yet arrived.

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

I hope to hear from General Mitchel. I have tried every means of communication by Telegraph and parties (were) sent out every day. If the present news is confirmed, the weather moderate, and I receive no other instruction in the meantime, I shall make a start for the Trunk road in the direction of Buggarnughur and Goona, their (*sic*, should be 'then') north on flank of the rebels and if possible head them. It would be useless attempting to move across country in the rear of the enemy; marching at any rate on the cross country roads in the present state of the country it (*sic*,) is impossible.[1]

TATYA'S BID TO GET SOUTH

Letter (No. 477 A of 1858) from Major W. C. Erskine, Commissioner, Jubbalpore (Jabalpur) Division to William Muir, Secretary to Govt., N. W. P., dated Jubbulpore (Jabalpur), 25th September 1858.

Information has been received by me of Tantia Topee being defeated at Beora by General Michel on the 15th instant, but I have since learned (learnt) that Tantia's troops having reinforced Adil Mohumed Khan, they (sic,) have retaken Seronje and again got some 16 pieces of Artillery.

General Michel is I understand marching towards *Saugor (on which Tantia Topee has designs)* and will probably keep him to his north, but should the General leave the neighbourhood of Saugor, before Tantia Topee is killed, made prisoner or driven out of Central India, *it is more than probable that this indefatigable rebel will again endeavour to get south and may succeed in doing so unless the troops at Saugor and Jubbulpore are reinforced,* for, at present the paucity of troops in my Division would scarcely enable us to hold our stations for even a few days.

TATYA ENLISTS SUPPORT OF INDIAN STATES' TROOPS

It is evident that wherever Tantia goes he gets most of the troops of the Native States to join him with their Artillery; and from my knowledge of the feeling of the soldiers and sirdars in Bundlecund and Boghelcund (Baghelkhand) towards their Chiefs, I feel sure they will

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

do as others have done, and I trust I may be excused for saying that so long as Tantia Topee remains in Central India there will not only be no peace in these parts but a great deal more mischief may be expected, whereas an early reinforcement to the troops in Saugor and Jubbulpore would in all probability keep all quiet in these parts and prevent Tantia getting further south.[1]

BRITISHERS EVACUATE LALITPUR

Letter (No. 77 of 1858) from Lieutenant J. A. Tenton, Deputy Commissioner, Chanderi, to Captain J. W. Pinkney, Commissioner, Jhansi Division, dated Camp Banpoor (Banpur), 30th September 1858.

I have the honor to report that I was compelled to evacuate Lullutpoor, on Saturday the 25th instant, and arrived at this place at 3 P.M. yesterday.

2*nd*—It has been well known in my district for some days *that Tantia Topee was in the neighbourhood* and the distance was lessened by report, to this I attribute the movements of the rebels, which resulted in my *Thannahs* at Bansee and Talbehut being assaulted and carried with some loss of life, I regret to say, to servants of Government.

JAKHLAUN IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

3*rd*—I myself was but ill-informed as to Tantia Topee's movements, but from Saugor, Marowrah, and Goonah received warnings, that led me to think it more than probable that he might enter my district from either Malthone or Jacklone. From the latter direction I could obtain no information, as it is in the hands of the rebels.

4*th*—With matters in this state, I received intelligence on the 25th instant, that the rebels, who had taken my *Thannahs* above mentioned, were moving in my *Thannah* at this place *via* Bhar. It immediately struck me that if I allowed them to succeed, my retreat would be cut off in case of Tantia Topee coming my way. I therefore resolved to march at once on this, leaving the Bhopal Infantry about 140 to guard the *Thannah*, and issued my orders accordingly.

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 12th November 1858, No. 28. National Archives, New Delhi.

5*th*—I had no sooner done so, than the Tehree Force disregarding my orders, which were "to let the baggage go on and then march with me", left. The Bhopal Infantry, I then found, positively refused to remain and also left, and amongst them carried off the carriage that had been kept in readiness for some days by my orders, for the office records.

6*th*—I, with the utmost difficulty, succeeded in pressing a sufficient number of Coolies (*Buniahs* etc.) to carry off the records and should not have attained my object but for the active assistance rendered by the Bhopal Cavalry, the *Thannahdar*, *Tehsildar* and *Nazir*.

BRITISHERS PANIC-STRICKEN

The *Kutcherry* tent I sent off on 5 camels that I had not discharged on arriving at Lullutpoor (Lalitpur). In a word, I may say, that there was a regular panic and everybody appeared only bent on getting out of the place.

7*th*—When I found that the Bhopal Infantry had left, I arranged with Captain Sueyd[1] to leave 40 of his men to guard the *Thannah*, but as they were only armed with swords, I directed the *Thannahdar* to vacate the place and join me, if threatened by the enemy.

8*th*—I marched at about 3 P.M. and it was then a fine clear day. About 6 P.M. it came on to rain, as I have seldom seen it before. We made but little progress and night closed in with the Country a sheet of water; we arrived at Kulleanpoor (Kalyanpur) about 8 P.M.

TEHRI TROOPS DISOBEY BRITISHERS

The baggage including the Treasure Chest and *Dufter*, did not arrive till late on Sunday, as it continued raining, but before it came I became aware that the tremendous fall of rain had rendered the rivers between Kulleanpoor and Banpoor impassable; I therefore thought Banpoor was safe from any attack from Bhar. I also thought the Betwah would effectually bar Tantia Topee's ingress into my district. Acting on these ideas I ordered a counter-march to Lullutpoor, when the

[1] This name can be read as 'Sneyd' also in the photostat copy.

Bhopal Cavalry were ready to go. I found the Tehree force positively refused to return, so I had no help for it but to persevere in my former plan.

LALITPUR OCCUPIED

9*th*—With the baggage came the *Thannahdar* and his men reporting that the rebels had come round from Bhar and occupied Lullutpoor. The weather continued foul and the same on Monday. The troops were all scattered in the village, which was surrounded by jungles, so that I was obliged to occupy it, as the most defensible position. The Bhopal Infantry were utterly out of control, the *Jemadar* and some 20 men deserting on Monday.

10*th*—About midday on Tuesday the Officer of the Tehree force came and informed me that the river Shujuah[1] was only breast deep and rapidly sinking. They also informed me that the rebels from Jacklone were moving round to occupy the hills commanding the road to, and the ford of the river. I was also aware that the rebels had advanced from Lullutpoor to a village about 6 miles in my rear. I consequently ordered the march, and arrived at the river(about 4 P.M.) the weather having held up all day. I was surprised to find the water good 10 feet deep,all chance of crossing being out of the question.

11*th*—The little ground that there was between the banks of the river and the jungles which extended to a hill about 300 yards to the rear, was all marsh and black soil; but under Captain Sueyd's active superintendence the force was disposed as well, as the nature of the ground would permit, commanding the approach to the ford.

12*th*—Myself and Captain Sueyd continued at intervals through the night, to try the depth of the water and on Wednesday morning at 5 A.M. found it only breast deep. I immediately ordered all the baggage and followers over. This was completed by about 10 A.M. when I sent the guns over and then followed myself with Cavalry, not having seen or heard of any signs of the enemy, only the *Garries* (*Garis*—carts) which contained the *Kutcherry* and my own tents and which I had

[1] This name can be read as 'Shujnah' also.

obtained at Kulleanpoor on finding that my camels could not carry the *Tops* (guns), soaking wet as they were remained, and two were over and the rest in course of transit, when I thought everything was safe, and rode on slowly with the Cavalry, the guns following.

HEAVY LOSS INFLICTED ON BRITISHERS

13*th*—I had not proceeded about 3 miles when I heard firing to the rear. I at once sent sowars back to see whether it was an attack or only some of the Tehree men firing their matchlocks as is their custom, and returned myself with the Cavalry. I had not gone far when I found out that the enemy had followed us over the river. I had occupied the fields and jungles between the road and village. I charged them, drove them out of their cover over about ¾ of a mile of ground down to the river banks when they got into a position that it was hopeless to follow them into; from what I myself saw, and can gather, I think we cut up about 20 to 25 of them; none of my men were (*sic,*) wounded, (my horse was slightly). *I cannot speak too highly of their conduct.* The ground was a succession of wet fields, jungle and *nullahs*, in spite of which they inflicted a fair loss; we took one prisoner and I hanged him this morning as an example.

14*th*—The Tehree troops returned when all was over. Captain Sueyd, who had, on leaving the river, attached himself with his few sepoys to guns, having for some time, in the unaccountable absence of the commander failed in his endeavours to make them return and face the enemy.

15*th*—I regret to say that the *Garries* (*Garis*) containing the Government tents remained where they were, the people who were pushing them, having been obliged at the first advent of the enemy to fly for their lives, my *Nazir* being slightly wounded. I could not drive the rebels out of the hills and jungle commanding the ford with my Cavalry and it was hopeless to expect the Tehree men to do it; so that I thought it best to direct the march on this to be resumed, covering it with the Cavalry, and we arrived without being again attacked at 3 P.M.

16*th*—I hope you will not think I have been remiss in losing the tent, considering the difficulties with which I was

surrounded. It may yet be recovered, as it is too large for the rebels to carry off and too wet to burn. I purpose[1] endeavouring to find out whether the ground is clear, when I may recover it. I may however say that it was far too large for present purposes, as when once wet, nothing but an elephant could carry the flies (*sic,*) effectually. I propose only using the two *Bechobas*, that I have ordered, during this cold weather, as expedition will be everything.

TATYA TOPE HARASSES THE ENGLISH

17*th*—*I regret to say that Tantia Topee's movement in this direction has done the greatest mischief. The rebels headed by a man named the Rana concerning whom I will write to you, have proclaimed "the Peishwa" throughout Bansee, Talbehut and now Lullutpoor.* I cannot hope to do any good or commence operations, without regular detachment and guns to breach the small *Ghurries* (*Garhis*—mudforts)which abound. My Police Battalion might act with the guns though discipline is required in so *jungly* (barbarous) a country as this, and they are but newly raised, but as strong a body of them must remain to guard my *Sudder* station, where I must leave my Treasure and Office records, as we could never act with effect, burdened by them and a train of *Amlah.*

18*th*—*I propose to remain here, unless turned out by Tantia Topee, which I hope is not likely, till I am furnished with regular troops.* Captain Sueyd will be advantageously employed in drilling the 3 Campanies of Infantry, that he now has, into shape. I shall be able to obtain Arms and Treasure from Saugor by Tehree, the former are required before the Company raised here can be of any service, and the latter, I urgently require. Captain Sueyd wants money for his men, and I have none to give him; the same with my police. I hope while here to proceed with the settlement of the surrounding villages, and perhaps collect a little revenue but not enough to meet present urgent demands.

19*th*—Lieutenant Turner, with the police, arrived at Tehree yesterday; *the delay at Gwalior having lost one* (*sic,*) *command over the district;* and I hope to see them all here by noon

[1] Stands for 'intend'.

to-day, when I send the Bhopal Infantry and all but 500 Infantry and 2 guns of the Tehree force, to their own homes. I would gladly send all the Tehree men away, but I require the guns and they wont leave them unattended by their own men.

20*th*—I hope no more delay will occur in a regular detachment being sent, and without presuming to dictate your movements, if the public service would permit it, I think your presence with the said detachment would have great effect : and to me personally, it would be the greatest relief. *I heard from Major Western in (sic, on) arriving here that Tantia Topee's line will be most likely either to the south through Bhopal or into Gwalior to the west of the Betwa.* Theu ncertainty which surrounds this may, I am afraid, prevent your leaving Jhansie, but I hope otherwise, and again I say most earnestly that to the best of my belief and judgment nothing can be done in this district without a strong regular detachment, and in this opinion Captain Sueyd coincides.

21*st*—Before closing this letter I may mention that I arrested a sepoy last night and had him shot this morning. It is painful to me being compelled to adopt such measures, but nothing but severity will restore peace to this part of the country.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES PURSUED BY CAPTAIN MAYNE

Service Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to C. Beadon; Calcutta; H. C. Anderson, Bombay via Agra and Indore; T. Pycroft, Madras; John Lawrence, Lahore; and E. A. Reade, Agra; dated Allahabad, 4th October 1858.

Captain Mayne reports by telegraph that he reached[2] Seronje on the morning of the 30th September with 400 Sabres from Leo; the enemy, 4,000 strong[3], with 4 guns, *and Tantia Topei, the Banda Newab, the Rao Sahib, Ruheem Allee and Adil Mahomed Khan fled* towards Moghul Serai on the 28th September

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 29th October 1858, No. 35. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] In the Original Telegram the word 'left' is written in place of 'reached'.

[3] In the Original Telegram the wordings are "The enemy said to be fourteen thousand strong".

saying they were going Esaufghur[1]. They had 40 wounded and numbers of women and children.

Captain Mayne reached Pachore on the 1st October bringing the sixty Rifles from Leo in 50 hours; the enemy had left the previous evening and were at Suru Kharej that night, about 12 miles north of Pachore.[2]

Captain Mayne has covered[3] the Goonah Road, and is in communication with that place; he intends keeping on the track of the rebels.[4]

TATYA TOPE TAKES YUSUFGARH

Telegraphic Message (No. 69) from Captain Mayne, Pachore, to G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad and Officer Commanding, Nos. 48 S. K., dated Pachore via Goonah (Guna), 3rd October 1858.

Tantia Topee attacked and took Eausufghur by the Chandaree and Shopore Ghats on the evening of the second instant. The *Soobah* is in confinement and it seems that Scindia's troops have fraternized. Brigadier Smith is to-day at Nuja Serai[5] and General Mitchel either at Seronge or Mougul-Serai (Moghal Sarai).[6]

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 6th October, 3-5 P. M.

The following intelligence has been received of the movements of the rebels under Tantia Topee and of our pursuing Columns. The main body of the rebels left Seronge on the morning of the 28th Sept. in the direction of Kuchwar Serai[7], on the 29th

[1] This name occurs with different spellings at some places.

[2] In the Original Telegram the words are written as "Sarickperie twelve miles north of Pachore".

[3] 'Recovered' is written in the Original Telegram.

[4] Foreign Political Consultations, 31st December 1858, No. 2556. National Archives, New Delhi. *cf.* Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow—"Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 5th October 1858".

[5] It can be read as '*Niya Serai*' also in the photostat copy.

[6] Foreign Political Consultations, 31st Dec. 1858, No. 2554. National Archives, New Delhi.

[7] It can be read as '*Kuchnar Sarai*' also in the photostat copy.

they were at Putchraj. Another body of rebels under Adil Mahommed of Umptapallee was moving in another direction. Brigadier Smith was at Bakija *en route* to Goonah on the 1st October, his intention being to outflank the rebels and if possible to get ahead of them. On the 2*nd Octr. Tantia Topee attacked and took Esaufghur by the Chundaree* (Chanderi) *and Shoopoor* (Sheopur) *Ghats.* The *Soobah* is in confinement and it seems that Scindiah's troops fraternized with the rebels. Brigadier Smith was on the 3rd October at Kuchwar Serai, and General Smith either at Seronge or Mogul Serai.[1]

Telegraphic Message from Elphinstone, Dapooree, dated the 5th October 1858.

All the Bombay troops in Rajpootana and in Malwa have been placed under General Mitchel. He is endeavouring to hem in Tantia Topee's force, which is now in great strength at Esaufghur; but this cannot be effected. Full corporation[2] from Gwalior, Saugor and Jhansie be placed temporarily under General Mitchel's command. *Tantia Topee has been joined by Adil Mahommed's force at Seronge* and is, now said by Scindia troops, at Esaufghur. He must have at least fifteen thousand men with him. I much doubt whether anything decisive can be expected against him, unless there is a combined move of our scattered force under one head.[3]

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. *cf.* Foreign Political Consultations, 31st Dec. 1858, No. 2559. Nationaol Archives, New Delhi. This document differs with the Original Telegram at certain places. In it, 'Putchai' 'Amba Panee', 'Bakaria' 'Eesaghur', 'General Michell' are found in place of 'Putchraj', 'Umptapallee', 'Bakuja', 'Esaufghur and 'General Smith' respectively, of the Original Telegram.

[2] The word "Co-operation" should have been there in place of "Corporation".

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

TATYA TOPE AND RAO SAHEB TOWARDS CHANDERI, ALLAHABAD

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, 8th October 1858, 4 *P.M.*

The following has been received from Captain Mayne, dated Esaufghur 6th October; Brigadier Smith's force arrived here this morning. *The Rao Sahib with most of the treasure and guns left Esaufghur yesterday* for Chunderee. Tantia Topee with the rest of the force follows at sunrise and will reach Chunderee to-night. Four guns were taken from this (him), about eight hundred sowars have gone to plunder Kanode. A combined movement is proposed for surrounding the rebels at Chunderee with the Mhow, Goona, and Brigadier Smith's Columns.....[1]

MOVING TOWARDS KARERA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated the 10th October 1858, 4-30 *P. M.*

Tantia Topee was at Pechore (in) the Jhansie district on the 6th, on the 7th in march for Kurrara[2] from which our detachment and *Thesaldaree* (*Tahsildari*) Establishment fell back on Jhansie. Tantia Topee having got some news supposed to be of advance of Colonel Sandmore's (or Scudamore) Column on Kumara (or Kumira) suddenly changed his plans, abandoned Pechore and marched to Surreo Ghat on the Betwa, seven miles north-west of Tal Bhut (Tal Behat), and is now in march for Tehree. No news has been received of General Whitlock's position or intentions.....[3]

TATYA'S ENCOUNTER WITH SCINDIA'S FORCES

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier General Napier from Gwalior, dated 11th October 1858.

The following has been received just now from Seepree.

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently spelt for *Karera.*

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

The *Soobah* of Chunderee reports to *Comasdar* of Seepree that fighting there between Scindia's troops and Tantia Topee's force lasted three days. Rebels lost about eight hundred killed, our loss trifling. Town was plundered by rebels. The brother of the *Dewan* all right in the Chunderee Fort.[1]

AT SIRAS GHAT

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 12th October 1858, 1-10 *P. M.*

The Commissioner of Jhansie reports on the ninth October that Tantia Topee on the 8th was at Siras Ghaut seven miles north-west of Tall Behut, his force being partly on the north and partly on the south bank of the river Betwa and he appears undecided what course to take—whether to make for Tehree or to move on Jhansie. The Tehree State is assembling troops to resist him. Captain Tenton[2], Deputy Commissioner of Chundaree, was at Banpore on the eighth, but was to leave that afternoon for Tehree with all his establishment, and join Colonel Liddell's small force at Parteepore, three miles north of Tehree on the Jhansie road. It was reported that four hundred British Cavalry had reached Amolee one march west of Kurrara.....[3]

ATTACK ON CHANDERI

Telegraphic Message from Captain Pinkney, dated Jhansi, the 12th October 1858, 1 *A. M.*

Herao[4] *Bunnia* has just come in from Chunderee bringing a letter from the *Tehseeldar* at Chunderee stating that from the seventh to ninth October the fort of Chunderee was attacked by part of Tantia Topee's army, which attack was beaten off on the morning of the ninth by Captain Sheikh Daood (Daud) and a garrison of Scindiah's troops, and that the rebels had

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Can be read in the Original Telegram as 'Fenton' also.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Spelt as 'Huroo' also elsewhere.

retreated to Serai ten miles south of Chunderee on the road to Mungrowlee[1] intending to go across to Tehree. The Division of rebels under *the Nana's nephew* (*which*) *passed* the Betwa at Seras Ghat[2] has not yet come over the Jamnie river into the Tehree State. I have received a letter from Kalley Khan the *Wuzeer* by which it appears that.....(MSS torn) *and the Ranee* (*Regent*) *were at Tehree on the tenth October.* Captain Tenton, Deputy Commissioner Chunderee with Military Police and establishments arrived here yesterday. Colonel Liddell at Ronoopoor (*sic*, should be Banpur).[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad (received at Agra on 15th October 1858).

Captain Pinckney, the Commissioner reports from Jhansie under date the twelve, that Tantia Topee attacked the Fort of Chundeyri from the seventh to ninth, but was beaten off on the ninth by the Garrison composed of Scindia's troops. The rebels had retreated to Serai ten miles south of Chundeyri with the intention of crossing to Tehree. The rebels under the Nana's nephew which (*sic*,—who) crossed the Betwa at Serus Ghaut had not entered the Tehree territory up-to-date. *The Regent Ranee* was still at Tehree on the tenth. Captain Tenton, (or Fenton), the Deputy Commissioner of Chundeyri, reached Jhansie with Military Police and establishments on the eleventh. Colonel Liddle[4] was at Banpore. A telegram from Sir R. Hamilton of thirteen instant informed us that General Mitchel surprised a division of the rebels *under the Banda Nawab* (at) Mungrowlee on the ninth, took six guns and killed one hundred and fifty. The rebels fled towards Chundeyri. *The Rao Sahib has gone towards Jhansie with the other Division.*[5]

[1] Apparently *Mangraul*.

[2] *Siras Ghat*, Pargana *Talbehat*, Tahsil *Lalitpur*—This ghat lies in 25°7′ N. and 78° 23′ E., 33 miles north of Lalitpur on the old unmetalled road to Jhansi. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 317).

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] This name has been spelt differently at different places, eg. 'Liddell', 'Liddle' or 'Liddel'.

[5] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

TATYA CROSSES BETWA FOR TEHRI

Telegraphic Message from Major Macpherson, dated Gwalior, the 18th October 1858.

Our news of the rebels to the 12th is that the Rao has crossed the Betwa at Sirus Ghat, that *Tantia had crossed it near Mongrowli* and that they were making for Tehree. Three pursuing Columns were formed, one of six hundred Horse and four guns to be at Pali on the 15th, and two other of Foot and guns to be on the 14th at Chunderee and at Bala Behut. Liddell was supposed to be pressing from Jhansi to Tehree. There is a report that the Tehree troops have beaten some of the rebels.....[1]

TATYA HEADING FOR TAL BEHAT

Telegraphic Message from Major Macpherson, dated Gwalior, the 20th October 1858.

Captain Pinkney writes on eighteenth October from Colonel Liddell's Camp at Bamore[2], that he had visited Tehree on seventeenth to reassure the people, that Colonel Liddell's move to Dogore (or Degora) had headed Tantia Topee and made Tehree safe. Tantia Topee said to be moving to Tal Beehut to recross the Betwa at Sirus Ghat, therefore Colonel Liddell has moved to Bamore (Bamhori) and will go after Tantia if at Tal Beehut.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier-General R. Napier, dated Gwalior, 21st October 1858.

The following just received from General Michel: "The rebels about ten thousand have been utterly defeated to-day, nineteen October by the force under my command at Sindwaha. They desired to penetrate to the east. They were pursued

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently spelt for *Bamhori*.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

close to Banpore. They will immediately make for Tal Behut. We took all their guns (four). They fought fiercely[1].

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 21st October 1858.

The following information has been received from Gwalior. Captain Pinkney writes on the eighteenth October from Colonel Liddell's camp at Bomoree (Bamhori) that he had visited Tehree on the eighteenth to reassure the people, that Liddell's move to Degora headed Tantia and made Tehree safe. *Tantia is said to be moving to Tal Behut* to recross the Betwa at Sirus Ghat, therefore Liddell moves to Damoria, and will go after Tantia if at Tal Behut. The following further, has been received direct from Captain Pinkney, dated the 19th Octr. General Mitchel is reported to be at Sundewan or Sindwaha, 20 miles south-west of Lullutpore to-day; he has another Column between him and the Betwa; the Tehree corps holds the *Ghats* over the Jumnee river, between Banpore and Tehree. Colonel Liddell is at Bemoree, twenty-four miles north of Tehree. The Sirus and Komira *Ghats* over the Betwa between Tal Behut are watched by Captain McLean with the Govt. police and some Seikh (Sikh) sowars and Colonel Scudamore is ready to support Captain McLean at whatever *Ghat* he may be required. It is reported that Ranee Ghat towards Chunderee is also watched. *Tantia was two days ago at Lullutpore*, in the middle of the above Columns and between the Dooab and the Betwa and Jumnee rivers. His position must be very critical. We hear from Nagode that a body of *Poorbia* mutineers had reached the Kumira *Nulla* near Jeithore and that another body of six or seven hundred mutineers was encamped across the Raju river at Singhora about sixty miles, south-west of Nagode. Brigadier Wheeler[2] reports from Sauger on the 21st Sept. that Major Hampton with his sickly force has evacuated the ruined fort of Howra and retired through the Mundlapore Pass[3].

* * *

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] This name has been spelt as 'Wheler' also in some documents'.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 22nd October 1858, 10 *A. M.*

The following intelligence is supplied from Gwalior by Brigadier General Napier. General Mitchel met the rebels about ten thousand strong, on the 16th October with a force under his command at Sindwa[1], south-east from Chunderee and utterly defeated them taking all their guns, three in number. The rebels fought fiercely.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier General Napier, Gwalior, dated 23rd October 1858.

Received the following from General Mitchel—"Tantia Topee left Lullutpore on sixteenth instant and making a flank march eastward, arrived at Lindwar[3] on the eighteenth thinking, General Mitchel was marching on Lullutpore; but the General hearing during the night of this move, marched ten miles from Narhut, north of Multaon (Malthone) and surprised the enemy at nine A. M. this morning. They stood well for an hour, but were then utterly beaten and dispersed, losing four guns and about four hundred killed. The pursuit was continued for nine miles, the force having been for ten hours under arms. *Tantia Topee has fled to Banpore* and will probably be at Tal Behut to-morrow....[4]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from R. D. T. Matharis, Indore, received at Agra on 25th October 1858.

Captain Cumming reports from Bheel near Banpore the 19th. Marching from Narhut General Mitchel surprised the rebels at Sindwara as they were leaving their encamping ground and brought them to action at once. They fought with great determination for one hour when they broke and fled in every direction chiefly north and north east. A strong body were pursued upto Churr[5] and many cut up; the rebels

[1] Spelt as '*Sindwaha*', '*Sindwar*' '*Sindwara*' and '*Sundewan*' in other Telegraphic messages.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Can be read as '*Sindwar*' also in the Original Telegram.

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] This word is not clearly decipherable.

lost four guns and several standards and four hundred men. Our loss slight, *rebels supposed to have gone to Tal Behut.*[1]

TATYA TOPE IN CENTRAL INDIA

TATYA TOPE RE-ENTERS BUNDELKHAND

Abstract of Intelligence, Jhansi, 16th October 1858.

Tantia Topee passed this week in the Jhansi Divisions. His force was divided into two Columns; one under his personal command, the other under the orders of the Banda Nawab and Bala Rao. They took four days in crossing the Betwa and then marched by Bansee towards Lullutpore and Tehree and on the 16th Oct. they took Lullutpore and plundered it. Detachments were concentrating ahead of them under Colonels Ainslie, Liddell and Scudamore for the protection of Tehree and Jhansi. The country generally had not risen in their favour, though of course anarchy prevailed in their immediate route. More excitement has been created in the Jubbulpore direction. Brigadier Wheeler considered it expedient to recall the detachments of the 31st and 42nd N.I. from Marowra and Malthone, both being inefficient from sickness, and the rebel force of Tantia Topee being too near and too strong to make their stay at these outposts secure. These retirements gave encouragement to some of the local rebels and the baggage of the 31st N. I. was attacked and plundered. The Shahgurh rebels in 500 strong included a good many mutineers and increasing in numbers have plundered Lodhora in the *Pergunah* of Horat. In Dumoh rebels again infest the hills about Jubbulpore.[2]

TATYA MARCHES SOUTHWARDS

From the Jhansie Division the news confirms that of last week : Tantia Topee pushing southwards, managed to evade General Mitchel's indefatigable pursuit on the 23rd Octr.

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Deptt. Abstract, N. W. P. Imperial Record Department. "Narrative of Events for the week ending 16th Oct. 1858". Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

and proceeded south towards Khimlassa, Karai, Roatghur and Bilsa[1].

General Mitchel immediately made a forced march 235 miles in his track, and on the 25th succeeded in intercepting, about 300 of the rebels, who at once dispersed in every direction. throwing away their arms; and about 250 were killed.

Tantia is said only to be acting as Agent to the Rao Sahib, the Nana's nephew in whom, so far as any subordination exists, the chief authority resides.....[2].

TATYA CROSSES BETWA NEAR JAKHLAUN

Telegraphic Messsage from Captain Pinkney, dated Jhansi, the 28th October 1858.

Huroo *Bunnia* whom I sent towards Chundaree for news has just returned and states *that Tantia Topee with all his able bodied men have* (*sic*,) *crossed the Betwa* somewhere near Jacklone, and is making towards the west. His sick, wounded, and tired men are in Jacklone. No rebels in Lullutpore or Tal Behut, at which latter place I was yesterday with Captain Sueyd (or Sneyd) and the Military Police. The Moondala (Bundela) rebels of the Chundaree district have mostly broken up. Colonel Liddel is at Malputa, fifteen miles north-west from Tehrie. General Whitlock is in march from Chutterpore to Roah. General Mitchel was at Bala Behut on the twenty-fourth October.[3]

MAKING FOR BHILSA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 30th October 1858, 1 *A. M.*

The following intelligence has been received from Sir R. Hamilton dated Indore the 27th instant. Captain Shakespear had left two hundred Horse at Tal Behut and was moving towards Chundeyree (Chanderi); the rebels were reported to

[1] Apparently spelt for *Bhilsa*.

[2] Foreign Deptt. Abstract N. W. P., Imperial Record Deptt. "Narrative of Events for the week ending 23rd Oct. 1858". Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

be near Khimlassa making for Bhilsa; General Mitchell was at Malthone. Major Seymour expected to be at Bhopaul (Bhopal) on 28th. Colonel Benson and a Company moved off to Ashtol[1] and Sehore. Lieutenant Kerr was moving on Bhilsa .....[2]

MOVING TOWARDS WEST OF BETWA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 31st October 1858.

Information from Sir R. Napier has just reached us that on the 25th General Mitchel intercepted the *march of the Rao's army about two thousand strong at Kurai.* They were utterly routed, threw away their arms and were driven—some to Khimlasha, the greater part towards Baroda; and General Mitchel was about to march to Baroda[3] about 36 miles west of Saugor. Captain Pinkney reports from Jhansee under date the 27th *that Tantia Topee with his able bodied men has crossed the Betwa somewhere near Chelout* and is making towards west, sick wounded etc. left in Achelong. Boondela rebels of Chundaree district are said to have mostly broken up. Colonel Liddle was at Burssittee, 15 miles north west from Tehree and General Witlock (Whitlock) was on march from Chutterpore to Raol[4].

REVOLUTIONARIES AT RATH

Telegraphic Message from G.F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 1st November, 1858.

The following intelligence has been received from Sir

[1] Apparently *Ashta,* Tahsil *Ashta, Nizamat-i-maghrib*—The headquarters of the Nizamat-i-maghrib and of the Ashta tahsil. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Parbati river, 1,667 feet above sea-level in 23° 1' N. and 76° 46' E. It stands upon the metalled road from Ujjain and Dewas to Sehore being 42 miles from Dewas and 28 from Sehore station on the Bhopal-Ujjain Railway. Unmetalled roads connect it with Ichhawar and Chhipaner. (*Bhopal State Gazetteer*, Vol. III, 1908, p. 91).

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Appears to have been misspelt for '*Basada*'.

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. [Names of some places appear wrongly received].

R. Hamilton dated Indore the 31st Octr. Brigadier Wheeler states the rebels were at Rath on the Bema (Bhima) on the night of 25th. They had plundered Chundrapore or Chunda near Koorye (Kurai). Brigadier Parke was at Basada 25th; Colonel Beecher at Bageode, General Mitchel eight miles from Koorye 24th.[1]

TATYA MAKING FOR DECCAN

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 6th November 1858.

In continuation of Message of the 3rd, the following intelligence from the Commissioner of Jubbulpore is forwarded.

Tantia Topye and his army all mounted with no guns, crossed the Nerbuddah at Soriah Ghat on the 31st October, and is (*sic*, are) supposed making for the Deccan. General Mitchel is following in pursuit.[2]

TATYA TOPE ENTERS HOSHANGABAD

Abstract of Intelligence, 6th November, 1858.

..... *Tantia Topee continuing his flight, has entered Hoshungabad district.* He crossed the Nerbudda with the main body of his troops by the Surreela Ghat, the remainder followed Nesetilag[3]; this spot is about 40 miles above Hoshungabad and between it and Nursingpoor. He for some days threatened to march towards Chindwara[4] in the Nagpoor territory, but finally entered the Hoshungabad district. On the 6th Nov. the course of the rebel army was marked everywhere by disorder

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Name not clearly decipherable.

[4] *Chhindwara Town*—Head-quarters of the district and tahsil of the same name, *Central Provinces* situated in 22° 4′ N. and 78° 57′ E., on the Bodri, 80 miles from Nagpur by road. A branch narrow-gauge line of the Bengal Nagpur Railway was opened to Chhindwara in 1905. The town stands on the Satpura plateau at an elevation of 2,200 feet. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X, p. 214).

and plunder and by cruel murder and mutilation of all Govt. officials.[1]

CROSSES TAPTI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 20th Novr. 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

Tantea Tope crossed the Tappe[2] to the southwards on the 6th.[3]

TATYA ATTACKS BETUL DISTRICT

Abstract of Intelligence.

In the south-west of the Jubbulpoor district Tantia Topee still continues his career. The Baitool district has been invaded, the rebels having apparently the intention of pushing for Khandeish (Khandesh)[4] probably with the hope of plundering Boorhanpoor (Burhanpur)[5].

Plunder and violence and the cruel murder or mutilation of many persons employed by Govt. who may fall into their hands, mark their progress everywhere. On one occasion they captured a party consisting of a *Naib-Tehseeldar* and some 20 *Burkundauzes* and other followers; they were all shortly afterwards put to death.

Their atrocities were all committed in the name of the Nawab of Banda and the other leaders, but he has addressed letters to the Commissioner of Baitool representing himself as no party to them.[6]

[1] Foreign Deptt. Abstract N. W. P. Imperial Record Deptt. "Narrative of Events up to the end of the week 6th Novr. 1858". Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently misspelt for '*Tapti*'.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *Khandesh District*—District in the *Central Division* of the *Bombay Presidency*, lying between 20° 16′ and 22° 2′ N. and 73° 35′ and 76° 24′ E., with an area of 10,041 sq. miles. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV, 1908, p. 225).

[5] *Burhanpur Town*—Headquarters of the tahsil of the same name, *Nimar* district, *Central Provinces*, situated in 21° 18′ N. and 76° 14′ E., on the Great-Indian Peninsula Railway, 310 miles from Bombay. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. IX, p. 104).

[6] Foreign Deptt. Abstract N.W.P. Imperial Record Deptt. "Narrative of Events for the week ending 13th Novr. 1858". Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES PLUNDER KHANDWAH

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to T. Pycroft, Bombay; H. C. Anderson, Madras; E. A. Reade, Agra; J. Lawrence, Lahore; Lieutenant Colonel Davidson, Hyderabad; Plowden, Nagpore; dated Allahabad, 22nd Novr. 1858, 2.45 *P. M.*

The following message from Sir R. Hamilton is forwarded. The names of places have been very badly delivered, it is impossible to trace them. Message begins: The body of rebels are reported to be at Piplode; five hundred rebel Cavalry having plundered Khundwar[1] said to have gone to Decangunge at Koomaria 10 miles on the road from Baitool to Larmah. On the 15th Brigadier Parke and Captain Buckle were at Kurda. On the 16th Colonel Beecher was at Souldeno, and not far from Ellichpore[2]. By last intelligence Captain Keatinge was at Asseeghur(probably Asirgarh). One hundred Highlanders at Mundleysur (Mandleshwar)[3] and Captain Herbert, will

[1] Apparently *Khandwa Town*—Headquarters of *Nimar* District, *Central Provinces*, situated in 21° 50′ N. and 76° 22′ E., on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, 353 miles from Bombay, and forming the junction for the metre-gauge Rajputana-Malwa branch line to Mhow. The town stands at an elevation of 1,007 feet, on a sheet of basalt rock covered with shallow surface soil. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV, 1908, p. 241).

[2] *Ellichpur District* (*Elichpur*)—District of *Berar*, lying between 20° 50′ and 21° 47′ N. and 76° 40′ and 77° 54′ E., with an area of 2,605 square miles, which in 1905 was added to Amraoti district. It was bounded on the north-west and north by the Tapti river and the Betul district of the *Central Provinces*; on the east by Amraoti; on the south by the Purna river and the Akot and Jalgaon taluks; and on the west by the Nimar district of the Central Provinces. The area contains two entirely distinct natural divisions; the Melghat taluk, situated in the Gawilgarh hill ranges, and the taluks of Ellichpur and Darigapur, situated in the Payanghat, or central valley of Berar. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII, 1908, Pp. 10-11).

Ellichpur Town—Headquarters of the *Ellichpur* taluk of *Amraoti* district, *Berar*, situated in 21° 16′ N. and 77° 33′ E. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII, 1908, p. 19).

Ellichpur Taluk—Formerly the headquarters taluk of *Ellichpur* district, but since August, 1905, a taluk of *Amraoti* district, *Berar*, lying between 21° 9′ and 21° 24′ N. and 77° 23′ and 77° 53′ E., with an area of 469 square miles. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII, 1908, p. 19).

[3] *Mandleshwar*—Headquarters of the pargana of the same name in the *Indore State, Central India*, situated in 22° 11′ N. and 75° 42′ E. It stands on the right bank of the Narbada, at a narrow point where in the monsoon

be there to-day. The north bank of the Nurbudda is watched. Colonel Hart to be at Sehore to-day. (Message ends).....[1]

PROCLAMATION OF MAHARAJA RAO SAHEB, PESHWA BAHADUR

7TH NOV. 1858

"Let it be known to all people, to the gentry, the merchants, the shopkeepers, and the military of every city, town, and village, that the army bearing the standard of victory, accompanying His Highness, the head of Government, has marched in this direction, only for the destruction of the infidel Christians, not for the spoliation of the resident inhabitants.

"Let one know this—that this army, buoyed on the waves of victory, is at enmity with the English, not with the native cultivators of the soil. It has never been the intention of any one in this force to cause loss to the villagers and residents of the country through which we pass; but it is evident that daily supplies must be had, more especially when an enemy is in our front; villages have been looted through the folly of the inhabitants in leaving their homes. Then, not being able to purchase, my followers have taken that was necessary for their sustenance. If the villagers had remained in their houses and sold their grain, etc. then no outrage nor robbery would have taken place. They have reaped the reward of their own foolishness. Now this proclamation is put forth, that no villager shall leave his home on the approach of this army, but, producing the supplies there may be, receive the fair price of the same. Beyond the current rate, a price shall be fixed. When the proclamation reaches any village, the headman thereof should send a copy of it to the adjacent villages, that fear may be dispelled. Dated the 7th November, 30th *Rubbee-ool-aval* (*Rabi-ul-awwal*)".[2]

the stream often rises 60 feet above its ordinary level becoming a roaring torrent. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVII, 1908, p. 170).

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

N. B. "Notwithstanding the rapidity with which the movements of Tantia Topee were necessarily made, he found time and opportunity to distribute the following notifications to the inhabitants of the districts through which he passed".—Note in the Original.

[2] Charles Ball : "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*", Vol. II, p. 546.

NAWAB OF BANDA INCLINED TO SURRENDER

Letter (No. 547) from R. Hamilton, Agent Governor General for Central India, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General, dated Indore Residency, 24th November 1858.

On the 5th instant I had the honor to forward translation of a letter to my address *from Ali Bahadur, Nawab of Bandah.* I have now the satisfaction to report for the information of His Excellency the Governor General that *Ali Bahadur, Nawab of Bandah was expected to reach the Camp of Major-General Mitchel, C. B.*, on the 19th* or 20th of this month,having by a letter, translation of which is annexed, intimated his having separated from the rebel force with the intention of coming in under Her Majesty's most gracious Proclamation.

2*nd*—Major-General Mitchel informs me that he proposes sending the Nawab to Mhow. Copy of Captain Gorden Cumming's (my Assistant with the General) letter No. 13, dated 18th instant is annexed.

3*rd*—I have now the honor to solicit His Excellency's instructions in regard to the disposal of the Nawab. He is the first who has availed himself of the opening afforded by the Proclamation at the earliest moment. He must be considered as a leader but I am not aware that he is implicated in the murder of any European whilst his treatment of the refugees from Futtehpoor must plead in his favour.

4*th*—Under these circumstances it is for His Excellency the Viceroy to determine whether it would not be a sufficient punishment ordering Ali Bahadur to reside under surveillance at Mhow or Mundlasir in such residence as may be selected for him, and that he be not allowed without permission from the Agent Governor General for Central India to quit the station or proceed beyond the Cantonment limits, and that he be assigned an annual allowance of ten thousand rupees for the maintenance of himself and his family to whom permission to reside with him and to such servants as may be registered may be accorded.

5*th*—The prohibition to carry arms will of course be applicable to the Nawab and all his followers and servants.

* "Submitted on 13th Nov."—Marginal note in Original.

6*th*—It will be advisable in the first instance to determine whether the Nawab is to be amenable to Military Courts of request or the *jurisdiction of Civil Courts* and whether he is to be allowed to use the *Title of Nawab.*

7*th*—His pension and property at Banda have been confiscated. Whatever property he may have with him or may now be in the possession of his family, some of whom are fugitives hiding themselves and shifting in their locality not far from Gwalior, is I presume not to be interfered with. The allusion in the Nawab's letter to the reception of Murdan Sing, Rajah of Banpur, by Mr. J. Thornton in charge of the Shahgurh is worthy of remark, as it shows that the consideration then shown was not unnoticed by those in the rebel Camp.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from R. Hamilton, dated Indore, the 23*rd Novr.* 1858, 4.20 *P. M.*

The Nawab of Banda has separated from the rebels and is going to General Mitchel's Camp en route to Indore. He states that he comes in under Her Majesty the Queen's Proclamation.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 24*th November,* 1858.

The following information received from Sir R. Hamilton is forwarded. The names of places not all traceable. The Mahomedan party appear (*sic,*) to have separated from the Mahrattas. Tantia Topee and Rao Sahib, are at Kindal with *according to Captain Keating's account,* 3,000 *mounted Pindarees much distressed.* Mundeesur North Bank quite secure. I have been endeavouring to form detachment of Highlanders and Sowars to move to Julrana . . . . (MSS torn)[3] *Mahomed Nawab of Banda awaiting Maun Sing near* . . . . (illegible) *Brigadiers Lockhart and Smith after them.* The Nawab of Banda has left the rebels' camp and is on his way to General Mitchel's[4]

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 1st April 1859, No. 253. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Probably the word here would be 'Adil'.

[4] Original Telegrams to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

ACTIONS AND REACTIONS OF ENGLISH DURING TATYA'S MARCH SOUTH OF NARMADA

Letter (No. 24) from George Plowden, Commissioner of Nagpore, to R. Simpson, Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William, dated Nagpur, 28th February 1859.

With reference to my letter No. 135, dated the 2nd of November last I have the honour to transmit a copy of a Memorandum, dated *midnight of the 21st of that month*, containing the latest *intelligence of the Rebel Force under Tatia Topee up to that moment* for the information of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and the India Council, which I forwarded by Express to Bombay for dispatch* to England by the Mail from thence of the 24th of November and which was duly dispatched by that mail.

2*nd*—Nagpore, from its situation, was the centre of information on the subject. Express letters and telegrams, communicating intelligence, or soliciting aid, or inviting co-operation, came pouring in at all hours and from every quarter. By a careful collation and study of these, I was in a better position than any one else to eliminate the real and essential facts, to appreciate the true extent of the apprehended danger, and to estimate the degree of alarm it had excited; and I was soon able to perceive that a very exaggerated conception of the crisis had been very generally formed, *but more especially in the Hyderabad territory and the Bombay Presidency, as the quarters most likely to be affected by it.* I therefore considered it my duty to guard against undue uneasiness in England by the transmission, at the earliest, date of authentic intelligence, accompanied by an expression of my views, up to the latest moment.

CLEVERNESS OF THE MARCH OF TATYA TOPE

3*rd—At first, no doubt, there was sufficient room for uneasiness here.* The Rebel Forces had entered the Province and were within a few miles of the station of Chindwarra on the high road to Nagpore, almost before any one could be aware of it. *It was impossible not to suspect that this sudden movement, apparently*

* "The memo does not appear to have been communicated to the Government at the time".—Marginal note in the Original.

direct upon Nagpore, had been made by invitation. It was necessary, therefore, not only to be prepared for the enemy and to take the field against him, but to guard against possible treachery at home.

4*th*—When the Field Columns were about to be withdrawn a second party, under Ruheemdad Khan *Rissaldar* of the 5th Regiment Bengal Irregular Cavalry, followed the same route as that which had been taken by the Force under Tatia Topee, the Rao Sahib and the Nawab of Banda. This party crossed the Nerbudda on the 24*th of November*, and was at first reported to be 5000 strong under *Adil Mahomed Khan;* but it turned out to be only the advanced guard, about 500 strong, of Adil Mahomed Khan's Force, the main body of which hovered about the Nerbudda for a long time, but was never able to cross it.

5*th*—Captain Shakespear, with the Nagpore Irregular Cavalry, pressed so closely upon Ruheemdad Khan's party that they were compelled to avoid Mooltye (Multai), and were driven on Brigadier Hill's Force, which successfully attacked it on the 8th of December, and again on the 9th, near Motah, in the route between Jilpy, Amnair and Maizdy, killing and wounding a good many on both occasions.

FORCE UNDER FIROZ SHAH

6*th*—On the 21*st of December*, when the Field Columns had been recalled a second time, it again became necessary, consequent *upon the probability of a force under Feroze Shah crossing the Nerbudda to the East of Hoshungabad*, to direct the Kamptee Column under Lieutenant Colonel Blogg to diverge to Pandourna in the Chindwarra district of this Province, 24 miles S.-E. from Mooltye in the Baitool district of the Jubbulpore Division, and the Seetabuldee Column, under Captain Shakespear, to retrace its steps to Chindwarra. It was not until the end of January that the two Columns finally returned to their respective cantonments.

CO-ORDINATED MOVE OF THE FORCES

7*th*—*Undoubtedly, this Province, was most concerned and most threatened by the movement of the Force under Tatia Topee and the Rao Sahib across the Nerbudda, and the attempts of the Forces, first*

under Adil Mahomed Khan and afterwards under Feroze Shah, to follow it and effect a junction with it.

8*th*—As certainly, the military dispositions made from hence for the protection of this Province, and to prevent the Rebels, from making a descent into Berar and the Deccan, were chiefly instrumental in turning the Rebels from their course, and compelling them to proceed westward from Mooltye, or its neighbourhood, on each occasion; and if the Force at Kamptee had been of a proper strength, Tatia Topee and his Army could not possibly have escaped destruction between Jamye(Jamai), 26 miles from Chindwarra, and Mooltye, 29 miles from Baitool. But upon the considerations set forth in paragraph 10 of the Memorandum, it was impossible to act with full effect against them. The Brigadier feared to move out too far, lest the Rebel Force should double back upon Kamptee, Nagpore and Seetabuldee, while they were denuded of Troops, and before he could anticipate the manoeuvre.

9*th*—Captain Shakespear, with the Nagpore Irregular Cavalry was everywhere. He reached Chindwarra, 80 miles from Nagpore, in 35 hours; thence he followed in the track of Tatia's Army to Mooltye, in the Jubbulpore Division, from whence he marched on Ellichpore in the Hyderabad territory, at the suggestion of Major General Mitchel, in order to co-operate with Colonel Becher[1]. When within 20 miles of Ellichpore he was recalled to Bishnoor on the Wurdah[2], from whence he proceeded straight on, *via* Pandourna, to Mooltye, to intercept the second body of Rebels, supposed to be 5,000 strong under Adil Mahomed Khan; but finding the party to be only the advanced guard of Adil Mahomed Khan's Force, about 500 strong, under Ruheemdad Khan, he pushed on to Doosawaunee in the Muttoor range of the Chindwarra Hills, by the route by which the Rebels had come in the hope of intercepting the main body; not, however, as already stated, until he had so pressed the advanced party that, they were compelled to avoid Mooltye and were driven on Brigadier Hill's Force.

10*th*—Yet weak and principally threatened, as we were, I had calls for aid from every quarter. *Here, we soon came to appreciate the true force of the crisis, but it was plain that everywhere*

[1] The name has been spelt as 'Beecher' or 'Bicher' in some documents.
[2] Apparently spelt for *Wardha*.

else to the south of the Nerbudda a very exaggerated notion of it continued to be entertained to the last.

11*th*—The extra labor, which devolved upon me in connection with this crisis, from its commencement on the 1st of November to its termination at the close of January, in the way of arranging measures, and of correspondence, official and demi-official, was incessant, as will appear whenever a consecutive narrative of all the occurrences can be drawn up. In the meantime, I may mention, by way of illustration, that one night, in November, I received six communications, by Express and otherwise, from the time I sat down to dinner at 8 o'clock until I went to bed at 11, and was called up seven times after I went to bed to receive seven different communications which had come by Express mails.

NANA'S EMISSARIES IN NAGPUR

12*th*—*The probabilities are that there were emissaries and agents of the Nana in the city of Nagpore.* In march last year, a Mahrati (Marathi) letter was conveyed to one Lutchmungeer (Lachhman Gir), a sepoy in the 1st Regiment of Nagpore Irregular Infantry, on behalf of the Nana. I enclose a translation. The original is so badly written that it required a considerable time to decipher it, besides which, it is expressed in rather an obscure manner, but the translation of it is as close a one as can be made. The case could never be brought to a satisfactory elucidation, and may have been got up to serve a purpose.

SUPPOSED LETTERS FROM THE NANA

13*th*—The intelligence of the Rebel Force, under the name of the Peishwa's Army, having crossed the Nerbudda was received here on the evening of the 1st of November. The next day, a cover addressed in Hindee to the Governor General and bearing the impression of the Nana's seal at either end, was posted at Nagpore. *This cover contained, as His Excellency, is aware, a letter in Hindee purporting to be from the Nana to Governor General, and another in Mahrati, purporting to be from the Nana to Mookoond Jemadar and Balkissen Gorey (Balkrishna Gorey) at Allahabad. It remains to be ascertained whether these letters are genuine.* I am disposed to think that they are not.

14*th*—On the 10th of November a treasonable corres-

pondence in Mahrati was seized by one of my emissaries. It consisted of two sets, one purporting to be between the Nana and General Chintamun Bhow, formerly the Commander-in-Chief of the late Rajah's troops, and the other purporting to be between Rajah Jymunwunt Rao (of the Hyderabad territory) and the same Chintamun Bhow. I enclose a translation of both sets. My impression, on a summary enquiry was that the letters were undoubtedly forgeries, perpetrated with the object of extorting money from the General; but the Deputy Commissioner to whom the case was made over, and before whom it is still pending, is not satisfied of this, and seems to think that there is more in the matter than meets the eye.

15*th*—Even if these several cases be not genuine, they seem to indicate that emissaries and agents of the Nana were known or supposed to be at work in the city.

WOMEN HAD NO HAND IN THE MASSACRE OF POLICE OFFICERS

16*th*—In the 18th paragraph of the Memorandum it is stated that there were some women of rank with Tatia Topee's party, and that a woman on an elephant in a silver *howdah* gave the order for the massacre of the unfortunate police officers at Jamye (Jamai). *I afterwards ascertained that the women of rank were the mother (the Begum Sahib) and wifes of the Nuwab of Banda, and that it was not a fact that any woman gave the order for the massacre of the police officers.*

17*th*—In the 19th paragraph of the Mmorandum it is stated that a prisoner who was taken by the rebels at Mooltye and released, heard repeated mention made of a *Baie*, who he was informed, on enquiry, was the *Ranee of Jhansi*. I had afterwards reason to believe that there was no *Baie* in Tatia's Camp. *Possibly, the Begum Sahib went by the name of the Baie among the Mahrattas*, and the prisoner was told that it was the Ranee of Jhansi to mislead him.

18*th*—In the 19th paragraph of the Memorandum I also stated that from many considerations, *I was inclined to think that Tatia Topee was no other than the Nana. My reasons for so thinking were :—*

First : the wanton and cold-blooded murder of *Naib Tehseeldar*, a *Darogah*, a *Naib Darogah* and 14 other police officers at Jamye (Jamai), which was precisely of a piece with the merciless crimes imputed to the Nana.

Second : That an itinerant religious mendicant, who was at a village close to Jamye, and gathered his information in Tatia's Camp, stated that there were two Mahrattas among the leaders, one called *the Nana*, the other, Bubhoot Rao, natural son of the famous Appa Sahib of Nagpore; and that the Rebels were proceeding to the Deccan, for the purpose of placing *the Nana on the Poonah Guddee*, and *the Rao on the Nagpore Guddee*.

Third : That the prisoner who was taken by the Rebels at Mooltye and released, stated that Tatia Topee remarked in his presence, "This is the country of my grand-father and great-grandfather, and yet no one gives me supplies. All the people of my country, Hindoos and Musselmen, have become Christians"—a speech which was rather suitable to the Nana as the pretender to the Poonah *Guddee*, than to Tatia Topee, his alleged *Kamdar*, or man of business.

Fourth : That the declared object of the Rebels was to force their way to Poonah, in order to place the Nana on the *Guddee* there, which was inconsistent with the notion that the Nana was not with them in some guise.

Added to which nobody seemed really to know where the Nana was, or who Tatia Topee was.

19*th*—The person called by the mendicant Bubhoot Rao, and supposed to be the natural son of the famous Appa Sahib of Nagpore, was no doubt Balla Rao, or the Rao Sahib, the alleged nephew of the Nana.

20*th*—I enclose a translation of the statement made by Pahlawan Singh, the prisoner, who was taken by the Rebels at Mooltye, and afterwards released, as it is an interesting document, which bears internal evidence of its truthfulness. The man was in the service of a *Peshkar* in the Survey Department, and could have had no object in fabricating his statement or exaggerating what he heard and saw; nor was he a man who could have possessed, so correctly on many known points, the minute information displayed in his statement, unless he had acquired it in the way he describes.

THE TWO NANAS

21*st*—I believe the true solution of the evidence *which inclined me to think Tatia Topee was in fact the Nana*, and of the puzzle which seems generally to exist concerning the Nana,

Tatia Topee and the Rao Sahib, may be this, that there are *two Nanas*—one, the adopted son of the Ex-Peishwa Bajee Rao, who is everywhere, but it may be in some degree erroneously execrated as the Nana; the other, the son of Ramchunder Punt, the Ex-Peishwa's *Soobahdar*, who is the so-called Tatia Topee, and the Nana who has really acted the fiendish part attributed to the Ex-Peishwa's son. The Rao Sahib, I believe to be, not the nephew of the Nana, the Ex-Peishwa's adopted son, but the younger brother of the Nana, the son of the Ex-Peishwa's *Soobahdar* Ramchunder Punt, who now goes by the name of Tatia Topee.

22*nd*—I enclose a Memorandum which I have drawn up on this subject, founded principally upon information derived from Captain Robertson, the Deputy Commissioner of Chindwarra, whose father-in-law, Colonel Manson, was for some 20 years Commissioner with Bajee Rao at Bithoor, and who has himself often seen both the Nanas at that place. I beg to draw the prominent attention of His Excellency in Council to this Memorandum, in case the same information and views have not already been set before the Government. It will be seen from it that I deduce that Tatia Topee is the true Nana, whose inhuman deeds have given such infamous notoriety to the name.[1]

TATYA TOPE'S ACTIVITIES IN NAGPUR PROVINCE

Memorandum of the latest intelligence concerning the Rebel Force under Tatia Topee (Tatya Tope) for the information of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India and the India Council, from G. Plowden, Agent Governor General and Commissioner, Province of Nagpur, dated Nagpur, 21st Novr. 1858, 12 *P. M.*

On Monday the 1st of November at the moment when the ceremony of reading the Proclamations of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen and of the Right Hon'ble the Viceroy and Governor General on the Brigade Parade Ground of the Nagpore Irregular Force at Sectabuldee[2], was concluded, an Express dated 3 A. M. of the previous day, from the Officer Commanding

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 15th April 1859, Cons. Nos. 488-9. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Sitabaldi*—Small hill and fort in *Nagpur* city, *Central Provinces*, situated in 21° 9′ N. and 79° 7′ E. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, 1908, p. 49).

at Hoshungabad[1] a civil station in the Jubbulpore Division, on the south bank of the Nerbudda, about 172 miles distant from Nagpore, was put into the hands of Brigadier Carthew, Commanding the Nagpore Force at Kamptee[2], announcing that the Rebel Force, under the name of the Peishwa's Army, had crossed to the south of the Nerbudda river, about 50 miles east of Hoshungabad, or, as it afterwards appeared, at the Seriah Ford, about midway between Hoshungabad and Nursingpore[3].

2*nd*—The Deputy Commissioner of the Chindwarra district of this Province was immediately warned, and directed to take, instantly, every possible measure for ascertaining with the utmost accuracy and expedition all the movements of the rebels, and to lose no time in reporting them, at every step, by Express to me, to facilitate operations for intercepting them by a Force from hence.

[1] *Hoshangaba* (*District*)—District in the *Nerbudda* Division of the *Central Provinces*, lying between 21° 53′ and 23° 59′ N. and 76° 47′ and 78° 44′ E. with an area of 3,676 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Native States of Bhopal and Indore; on the east by Narsinghpur; on the west by Nimar, while the southern border marches with Chhindwara, Betul, and Berar. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII, 1908, p. 179).

Hoshangabad Town—Headquarters of the District and Tahsil of the same name, and also of the *Nerbudda* Division, *Central Provinces*, situated in 22° 46′ N. and 77° 44′ E. on the Indian Midland section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, 12 miles from Itarsi Junction and 476 miles from Bombay. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII, 1908, p. 191).

[2] *Kamptee* (*Kamthi*)—Town with cantonment in *Nagpur* District, *Central Provinces*, situated in 21° 13′ N. and 79° 12′ E., on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, 10 miles from Nagpur City and 529 from Bombay. It stands on the right bank of the Kanhan river, and the cantonment extends in a long narrow line beside the river, with the native town to the south-east. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 329).

[3] *Narsinghpur District*—District in the *Nerbudda* Division of the *Central Provinces*, lying between 22° 37′ and 23° 15′ N. and 78° 27′ and 79° 38′ E., in the upper half of the Nerbudda valley, with an area of 1,976 square miles. On the north it is bounded by the Bhopal State and by Saugor, Damoh, and Jubbulpore Districts; on the south by Chhindwara; on the west by Hoshangabad; and on the east by Seoni and Jubbulpore.(*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVIII, 1908, p. 385).

Narsinghpur Town—Headquarters of the District and Tahsil of the same name, *Central Provinces*, situated in 22° 57′ N. and 79° 13′ E., on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to Jubbulpore, 564 miles from Bombay. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVIII, 1908, p. 395).

RAPID MARCH OF TATYA TOPE IN CHHINDWARA

3*rd*—So sudden and unexpected was this irruption of the rebels across the Nerbudda, that my letter conveyed the first intimation of it to the Deputy Commissioner, although when that letter was received, (on the 3rd), the rebels were in his district, and in his close proximity.

TOWARDS THE SOUTH

4*th*—The Rebel Force shaped its course almost straight south, by the way of the Puchmuree (Pachmarhi)[1] Hills and the Doosawannee Pass in the Muttor range to Jamye a police post about 26 miles N. W. from Chindwarra, making, it was supposed, for the Deccan. It reached Jamye on the 5th. In the meantime, all the European and Eurasian women and children had been removed from Chindwarra, the surplus Treasure had been dispatched to Nagpore, and the jail had been provisioned and put into a state of defence. The whole Force at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioner consisted of only 100 men of the 1st Nagpore Irregular Infantry and few mounted police, but he was instructed, notwithstanding, and was quite prepared, to hold the jail to the last. Captain Saunders of the 7th Madras Native Infantry, Executive Engineer at the station, constructed the defence and took the command of the Force.

5*th*—At 2 A. M. on the morning of the 6th, Captain Henry Shakespear marched from Seetabuldee with the Nagpore Regiment of Irregular Cavalry, numbering about 420 Sabres, and reached Chindwarra at 1 P. M. on the following day (the 7th), the distance being 80 miles, which he thus accomplished in 35 hours.

TATYA DODGES BRITISH TROOPS

6*th*—If the rebels had marched on from Jamye to attack

[1] *Pachmarhi*—Sanitorium in the *Sohagpur* Tahsil of *Hoshangabad* District, *Central Provinces*, situated in 22° 28′ N. and 78° 26′ E., on a plateau of the Satpura range, 32 miles from Piparia station. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIX, 1908, p. 306).

Chindwarra, as was expected by the Deputy Commissioner, Captain Shakespear would exactly have caught them most suddenly and unexpectedly, but they diverged S.-W. as I was certain they would, to Boordhye, which place they reached on the 6th, and proceeded thence south to Mooltye (Multai), in the Baitool district of the Jubbulpore Division—a considerable place, on the high road between Baitool and Nagpore, distant 30 miles from the former and 90 miles from the latter, and 30 miles from the Nagpore frontier. This place they reached on the 7th, and having completely plundered it, and burnt down all the Government buildings, they struck of to the West on the 8th, moving *via* Dholun Autnair[1] and . . . . . (left blank in the photostat) Maisday towards Meil Ghaut on the Taptee, in place of continuing their southward march to Berar, as had been expected and making , it was supposed, for Kandeish (Khandesh) or Nimour (Nimar).

7th—In the meantime, a Movable Column of the Kamptee Force, consisting of a Troop of European Horse Artillery, 2 Squadrons of Madras Light Cavalry and a Regiment and Rifle Company of Madras Infantry, had been formed to co-operate in intercepting the Rebels at a moment's notice.

9TH NOVEMBER

8th—On the 9th as soon as the movements of the rebels had indicated more decidedly their intended route, the Movable Column was moved into Camp at Taklee, 2 milles, from Seetabuldee and was so placed in the best position to move either on Kamptee, Seetabuldee, or Nagpore, or to take the road to Chindwarra or Oomraotee (Amraoti) or in fact to move in any required direction.

9th—On the 13th it being no longer an object to co-operate in the direction of Oomraotee, a Flying Column of the Movable Force, consisting of ½ a Troop of European Horse Artillery, 2 Sqradrons of Madras Cavalry and 2 flank Companies and a Rifle Company of Madras Infantry, was advanced to Natchingaon on the Wurdah (Wardha) distant about 66 miles S.-W. from Nagpore, on the high road to Bombay, and so placed in the most favourable position either for co-operating to

[1] Can be read as "*Dhobin Antnair*" also in the photostat copy.

intercept the Rebels, if they continued to proceed South, or for obtaining information or for protecting our frontier against the Rohillas of the Nizam's country, if they should take advantage, as was to be apprehended of the approach of the Rebels to rise, or for moving rapidly back on Nagpore.

10*th*—In arranging the military dispositions it was imperatively necessary to keep in view the weakness of the Kamptee Force, the possibility, not to say probability of fresh divisions of the Rebel Army following the first portion of it,the paramount importance of protecting Nagpore, Seetabuldee and Kamptee, with their immense population, and the valuable Arsenal at the two latter places, not only against the Rebel Army, but against possible treachery at home, and the great difficulty of doing this effectually with the distance between the three places and the small force at our disposal. It would not have been justifiable with due regard to these considerations, to move away any portion of the Kamptee Force to any great distance, or for any length of time.

TATYA TOPE BEING HOTLY PURSUED

11*th*—In the meantime, Captain Shakespear, after watching the Doosawannee Pass until he had satisfied himself that the rumour, that there was another body of Rebels 1500 strong in that neighbourhood, was unfounded, followed in the track of the Rebels as far as Mooltye (Multai). Thence he proceeded South to Bisnoor, on the Wurdah[1] (Wardha), in the Nagpore district and has been instructed to encamp at that place, which is on the high road to Oomraotee and Ellichpore, and to act in combination with the Flying Column, under Colonel Osborne at Natchingaon. At Bisnoor he is in the best position either for pursuit, or for the defence of this Province, acting independently or in co-operation as circumstances may require.

12*th*—The latest intelligence concerning the Rebels, received at Nagpore, is contained in a letter from Major-General Mitchel to Captain Shakespear, dated from Baitool, the 14th

[1] It can be read as 'Hurdah' also in the photostat copy.

instant. It is therein stated that the rebels were then near Charwah or Meil Ghaut.

13*th*—It has been clear to us since the 17th that the rebels have fairly left the vicinity of this Province for the present and we have now only to guard against their being driven back upon us by the various forces pressing them on all other sides, and to be prepared for the irruption of any fresh bodies of Rebels across the Nerbudda. For either of these contingencies the existing military dispositions are the best that could be made.

RESTRICTIONS ON BHONSLA FAMILY

14*th*—I entertain no doubts whatever concerning the loyalty of this Province, nor any apprehensions for its tranquillity, nor have I ever entertained any, though I have not been always successful in imparting the same confidence to others. At the same time every precaution was taken to guard against treachery in the City. Among other measures, all the members of the late Rajah's family, and all the other principal and most influential residents of the City, were required to encamp within the Residency premises. The most ready obedience was shown to all my wishes and all my requisitions, for whatever assistance or service, were promptly and cheerfully attended to. On the 18th all, after meeting me in *Durbar*, returned to their homes.

POLICE OFFICERS MURDERED

15*th*—No sympathy was shown for the Rebels at any of the places in this Province through which they passed. On the contrary all aid and information was withheld as much as possible. As a consequence, the Rebels "murdered, in cold blood, at Jamye, some 17 police officers of various grades. Their hands were tied behind them, and they were deliberately shot, one by one, through the back. 2 others, who were shot in like manner, survived and are doing well. Beyond this, no damage has been done in this Province. The villages in the route of the Rebels, and in that vicinity, were of course deserted, but are now beginning to be reoccupied. Captain Shakespear's march in the track of the Rebels had an excellent effect in reassuring the population, and encouraging them to return to their homes.

AMNESTY OFFERED TO REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER TATYA TOPE

16*th*—One of my first steps was to endeavour to inform the Rebels of the amnesty offered by Her Most Gracious Majesty. To this end, I dispatched a trusty messenger, a Maratha Brahmin, on the 5th instant in search of the Rebel Camp, with several copies, in Oordoo, of Her Majesty's and the Governor General's Proclamations, and a letter from myself. I annex a copy of the English version of this letter. I promised the messenger a reward of Rs. 5,000 if he should succeed in delivering the letter and Proclamations, and of Rs. 10,000 if the letter should be in any degree successful in its object. He arrived at Chindwarra on the 7th and followed the rebels as far as Mooltye (Multai), but could never come up with them.

STRENGTH OF ARMY UNDER TATYA

17*th*—Comparing all the information received from various quarters, I come to the conclusion that the so-called Peishwa's Army consists of about 20,000 men, of whom some 5,000 crossed the Nerbudda on the 30th and 31st ultimo and passed by the way of the Chindwarra Hills and Mooltye, Westward, in the direction of Meil Ghaut on the Taptee. We have never heard of the main body, or of any other party, having crossed subsequently. On the contrary, all our information up to the latest date goes to show that no more rebels have crossed the Nerbudda and yet, if this be the case, it is strange that all the three pursuing Brigades, under Major-General Mitchel, Brigadier Parke and Colonel Becher, respectively, should all have crossed to South of that river. Possibly the main body may have crossed at some point considerably West of Hoshungabad and the movement has not been communicated to us.

LEADERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

18*th*—All accounts agree in describing the party which first crossed, and skirted through the Chindwarra district, as much dispirited, foot sore, having no guns and being short of ammunition. Its leaders are said to be *Balla Rao* (*Bala Rao*), *or the Rao Sahib, nephew of the Nana, and Tatia Topee called his Kamdar, and said to be nobody.* The Banda Nawab and his family it is affirmed are kept close prisoners by Tatia

Topee because he (Nawab) is desirous of surrendering. It is certain also that there are some women of rank with the party. A woman on an elephant in a silver *Howdah* gave the order for the massacre of the unfortunate police officers at Jamye.

TATYA TOPE MISTAKEN FOR NANA

19*th*—From many considerations, which need not be entered into here, *I am inclined to think that Tatia Topee is no other than the Nana; and a prisoner, who was taken by the rebels at Mooltye and released, heard repeated mention made of a Baiee, who, he was informed on enquiry, was the Ranee of Jhansi.*

20*th*—I do not see how the Rebel Army can escape much longer from being caught, with 3 Brigades in pursuit from the North, Troops at Ellichpore, Troops at Oomraotee (Amravati), a very large Force of the Hyderabad Contingent Troops moving on that place from several different directions, Troops at Jaulna (Jalna), H. M. 91st Regiment on the Deccan road *en route* to Kamptee, Troops at Malligaun, and the Kamptee Movable Column, including the Nagpore Irregular Cavalry, ready to co-operate from the Eastward from 3 different points. It appears to me that within the next few days we may expect to hear of the Rebel Army having suffered some signal if not final defeat.

21*st*—I beg that the imperfections of this Memorandum may be indulgently viewed. For the past 50 days I have been incessantly occupied with the correspondence and arrangements arising out of this sudden and very critical emergency and have hastily abstracted from memory, the information, contained in a mass of papers too bulky and diffuse to be consulted chiefly with the view of quieting any apprehension that may be entertained in England concerning this Province and the Deccan. I am quite satisfied that there is nothing whatever to be feared from any attempt to proclaim and establish the Nana as Peishwa at Poona.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 15th April 1859, Cons. No. 489. National Archives, New Delhi.

ACTIVITIES OF TATYA TOPE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BARODA

Letter (No. 55 of 1858) from Brigadier-General R. Shakespear, Resident at Baroda, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government with the Governor General, Allahabad, dated Baroda Residency, 13th December 1858; (Foreign Department).

I have the honor to transmit copy of my letter No. 1191 of date 28th ultimo to the Brigadier commanding at Baroda.

2*nd*—You will have heard by Telegraph the rapid succession of events in this neighbourhood since the invasion of the Province of Guzerat by Tantia Topee, on the 1st instant.

TATYA TOPE AIMED AT THE POSSESSION OF BARODA

3*rd*—The rebels never actually entered any portion of Gaekwar territory, but their object was to get possession of Baroda, and to upset the Gaekwar's Government; and they would have placed us in the most serious difficulty, but for the vigorous pursuit of Brigadier Parke.

4*th*—This officer brought his Force from the Nurbuddah 112 miles in 4 days. The rebels always kept one march ahead of him, but at Chota Oodeypoor (Chhota Udaipur) they heard of a Force I had sent from Baroda to meet them, and they hesitated as to their future movement long enough to enable Brigadier Parke to close with him.

1ST DECEMBER—TATYA TOPE DEFEATED BY PARKE AT CHHOTA UDAIPUR

He defeated them with great slaughter, and broke them into several parties.

5*th*—Most unfortunately one of the broken parties wheeled round and fell on his baggage.

The loss of equipments and stores, and even carriage, cattle was so great that Brigadier Parke was compelled to halt at Chota Oodeypoor until stores and tents etc. could be sent from this to re-fit his Force.

6*th*—*Tantia Topee is said to have fled on the first instant, from Oodeypoor before Brigadier Parke arrived.* He made for Banbra,

direct North of Oodeypoor and the largest Column of his men, who were engaged, took a rather westerly direction to Bareiah.

TATYA TOPE AT PIPLOD

7*th*—The whole of the rebels wandered through the hilly tract covered with dense jungle during the 2nd and 3rd and on the 4th. They, after threatening both Godra and Baroda, effected a junction at a place called Peiplode (Piplodi) about 6 miles north of Barciah on the main road between Godra and Dohud.

At that spot, they appear to have taken the desperate resolution of again advancing on Baroda.

ADVANCE TOWARDS GUJRAT

8*th*—Directly I heard of their crossing the Nerbuddah on 27th ultimo and saw that their route was towards Guzerat, I requested Major-General Robert commanding the Northern Division Army to move a Force to Godra. It arrived there on the 4th and the next day Tantia Topee advanced towards that place after collecting his scattered Troops.

9*th*—He had advanced but a short distance when, as at Chota Oodeypoor, the discovery, that arrangements had been made in anticipation of his approach, not only checked him but completely changed the whole of his designs.

He started at once for the North-East by Jhullode but the pursuit by our troops at Godra was delayed by circumstances which have not as yet been enquired into.

AT BANSWARA

10*th*—The consequence is that on the 9th of this month, although the Rao of Kooshal Gurh[1] is stated to have broken up the road and assembled his Bheels, the *rebels past* (*sic*, *passed*)

[1] *Kushalgarh*—Estate or petty chiefship in the south-east of the State of *Banswara*, *Rajputana*. Its area is 340 square miles, and in physical aspects it is not dissimilar to Banswara. It consists of 257 villages, with a population of 1901 (when the first complete Census was taken) of 16,222, of whom 11,538 or more than 71 per cent were Bhils. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVI, 1908, p. 55).

the Annas river which is the boundary, with impunity and our last information is, that they were at Banswarra[1] *on the* 11*th of this month*, the Godra Detachment being, on that date, at Jhullode.

11*th*—The stores and camp equipage sent from this did not reach Brigadier Parke till the 7th, and, on that day, the enemy, whom he was pursuing, had plundered Jhullode 75 miles in advance of his position.

It is obvious that a pursuit undertaken under such circumstances could hardly be expected to be successful.

12*th*—Brigadier Parke only reached Barnoch on the evening of the 10th, and his Force was so exhausted by the difficult *Jungly* country through which his route passed that he found himself compelled to halt on the 11th, and I have just heard that his two guns are so disabled by the badness of the road as to be unfit for further service.

13*th*—On the 4th when I felt convinced that the main body of the enemy was making for the North, I moved a second Detachment as per-margin* (given under footnote) from Baroda to Godra (after the first Force at the latter place moved towards Jhullode). The Political Agent in the Rewakanta occupied with this second Force the important position of Loonawarra.

14*th*—The result of these operations was, that the enemy was unable to penetrate into the Province of Guzerat, either West or South of Godra and was compelled by the strength of the Country immediately North of him to take a North-Easterly direction towards Rutlam.

REVOLUTIONARIES COMING FROM NORTH

15*th*—When putting the troops in motion from Ahmedabad

[1] *Banswara State*—This, the southernmost State of *Rajputana* lies between 23° 3′ and 23° 55′ north latitude and 73° 58′ and 74° 47′ east longitude, and has an area of 1,946 square miles. It is in regard to size eleventh among the twenty States and Chiefships of the Province. (*Rajputana Gazetteers*, Volume II—A, The Mewar Residency, 1908, p. 159).

Banswara Town—The capital of the State of the same name situated in 23° 33′ N. and 74° 27′ E., about forty-two miles from Namli and Ratlam stations on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. The Kagdi stream, a tributary of the Chap, flows immediately to the north. (*Rajputana Gazetteers*, Volume II—A, The Mewar Residency, 1908, p. 187).

*"Two guns Royal Battery; 200 Native Infantry".—Marginal note in the Original.

and Baroda I signalled to Indore and heard that, considerable Columns were on the 5th at Rutlam[1], on the 7th at Jowra and a few days later a Force at Mundesore.

Each change in the enemy's position has been carefully signalled to Bombay and Indore and I was very confident that, when frustrated in his attempt on this Province, and forced to pass through all the most difficult and harassing portion on the frontier, he would fall an easy prey to the Forces advancing from Malwa.

16*th*—But there appears to have been some mistake. *We have positive information of the enemy being at Banswarra on the* 11*th which is only* 45 *miles from both Rutlam and Jowra*, but we have not yet heard by Telegram or letter of any advance from either of those places.

19*th*—In reviewing the occurrences of the past eventful fortnight, I can look back with satisfaction to having saved the whole of the Gackwar's territory without a single exception, from inroad. Also all territory belonging to the British Government has been protected from insult or invasion. All that is valuable in the province has escaped from this sudden inroad of rebels. They have been forced to pass entirely through the wilds of Rewakanta on the Eastern Frontier of Guzerat.

The only town of any note that has suffered severely from the plunderers is Scindia's town of Jhullode which was plundered on the 8th instant after which they crossed the Annas river and proceeded to Banswarra in Malwa.

20*th*—As the Malwa Columns did not advance to the

[1] *Ratlam State*—A mediatised State in the *Malwa Agency* of *Central India*. The territory, which lies between 23° 6′ & 23° 33′ N. & 74° 3′ and 75° 17′ E., is inextricably intermingled with that of Sailana and boundaries are in consequence not clearly definable. Generally speaking, the State touches the territories of Jaora and Partabgarh (in Rajputana) on the north; Gwalior on the east; Dhar and Kushalgarh (in Rajputana) and parts of Indore on the south, and Kushalgarh and Banswara (in Rajputana) on the west. It has an area of 902 square miles of which 501 have been alienated in jagirs and other grants, only 401 square miles, or 44 per cent, being Khalsa or directly held by the State. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 240).

Ratlam Town—Capital of the state of the same name in *Central India*, situated in 23° 19′ N. and 75° 3′ E., 411 miles distant from Bombay. The town stands at an elevation of 1,577 feet above sea-level, and is clean and well laid out. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 244).

Frontier, of course I have been disappointed in my hope of capturing the rebels in this Province, but they are so shattered and disheartened that their destruction would appear to be inevitable.[1]

TATYA TOPE THREATENS GAEKWAR'S TERRITORY

Letter (No. 1191 of 1858) from Brigadier General R. Shakespeare, Resident, Baroda, to Brigadier Johan, Commanding Baroda, dated Baroda Residency, 28th November 1858; (Political Department).

As requested by you, I have the honor to record the instructions, which, I think, ought to be given to the Detachments which you are about, at my desire, to move from Baroda to Sonkheira and Waghoria.

2*nd*—A few preliminary remarks would appear to be necessary to explain the object of sending the Detachments and the nature of the enemy which they are expected to oppose.

TATYA TOPE EVADES ENGLISH TROOPS

3*rd*—*It is unnecessary to review the career of the agent of ex-Peishwa known as Tattia Topee, from the time when driven from Gwalior by Sir H. Rose.* He fled before General Roberts to the border of Marwar and then by a sudden turn to the East succeeded in avoiding the Neemuch and Oodeypoor (Udaipur) Detachments and occupied a commanding position at Jalra Puttun (Jhalra Patan).

4*th*—The career of this disturber of the peace is so well known, that it is unnecessary to enter minutely into details, but it appears very necessary to reflect, that his halt at Jalra Puttun enabled him instead of being, as he was before, a broken fugitive to appear in the character of conquerer.

ON THE KHANDESH FRONTIER

5*th*—He has subsequently sustained few separate defeats

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 11th March 1859, Cons. No. 196, National Archives, New Delhi. "Correspondence regarding invasion of the Province of Guzerat by Tantia Topee and approval of the Military precaution and political action taken by the Resident at Baroda".

and after advancing nearly as far north as Jhansi, he has by a retrogade movement appeared in a very threatening attitude on the very frontier of Khandesh.

TATYA TOPE GOING TOWARDS CHHOTA UDAIPUR

6*th*—We have to-day heard that he has been defeated by Major Southerland who is pursuing him to the Nerbudda. He is making for Burwanee[1] (Barwani) and from that place a road leads through Aly Rajpoor[2] and Chota Aodeypore (Udaipur)[3] into the Baroda country.

7*th*—If we remained quiet here, this man might by plundering Dubhoree[4], run again the same course that he so successfully pursued after his occupation of Jalra Puttun.

It is to obviate the possibility of such a misfortune that I have desired you to move the detachment above referred to.

8*th*—The *Durbar* will occupy Jerrode, and if you will move Detachments to Sonkheira and Waghoria, it is impossible that Tantia's followers can have time and opportunity to again form head such as will give trouble.

9*th*—They should be attacked with vigor (vigour) immediately they emerge from the jungle, which lies between Sonkheira and the Nerbudda.

If they are allowed to occupy even for a day or two, any place of note such as Sonkheira, Dubhoree, they may still give us trouble, but it appears impossible to imagine, how, after the disasters, they have gone through the vast extent of

[1] *Barwani* is one of the guaranteed chiefships in the *Bhopawar* Political Charge of the *Central India Agency*. It is situated on the left bank of the Narbada river between 21° 36′ and 22° 7′ north latitude and 74° 28′ and 75° 17′ east longitude. (*Western States Gazetteer*, Malwa, Volume V, Part A, Text, Barwani State, p. 555).

[2] The State of *Ali-Rajpur* is one of the guaranteed chiefships under the Political Agent in *Bhopawar*, lying between 22° 0′ and 22° 36′ N. and 74° 5′ and 74° 43′ E., in the *Central India Agency*. (*Western States Gazetteer*, Malwa, Volume V, Part A, Text, Ali-Rajpur State, p. 597).

[3] *Chhota Udaipur*—State in the Political Agency of *Rewa Kantha, Bombay*, lying between 22° 2′ and 22° 32′ N. and 73° 47′ and 74° 20 E., with an estimated area of 873 sq. miles. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X, 1908, p. 330).

[4] *Dabri*—Thakurat in the *Malwa Agency, Central India*. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XI, 1908, p. 101).

deadly jungle, that spreads between the Gackwar's territories and the Nerbudda. This force of broken Cavalry can again make head if we act with becoming energy.

We are bound therefore to meet them on the frontiers of the territory and attack them with vigor whenever they appear.

BRITISHERS APPREHENSIVE OF TATYA

10*th*—Our resources are very small, and if we remained at Baroda and *allowed this active and enterprising enemy to recover from his disaster by occupying the large towns on the frontier, it is quite possible that he might gain sufficient power and influence to shake the Gackwar from his Throne before reinforcements could reach us from Bombay.*

11*th*—But if, on the contrary, we act on the offensive and take the full benefit of the disaster which our enemy is now suffering under, we may confidently hope to give the death blow *to this disturber of the peace*, should he enter this province.

12*th*—I have the honor to request that you will march a Detachment of two guns of Royal Battery and 200 Native Infantry *via* Dubhoree towards Sonkheira and hold a similar detachment ready to proceed to Waghoria.

The *Durbar* will give a hundred Cavalry with each of those Detachments.

13*th*—The orders should, I conceive, be to act boldly on the offensive.

Commanding Officers should be told that the enemy is broken and the object is to prevent his rallying.

It will be very sad indeed, if the broken enemy is allowed to form head in the Baroda territory.

P. S.

You can move the Waghoria Detachment whenever you like, and it is for you to decide whether the two Detachments should act separately or under the control of one officer.

I can only as Resident lay down general rules for your guidance.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 11th March 1859. Consultation No. 197, p. 225. National Archives, New Delhi.

TATYA TOPE TOWARDS BARWANI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 27th November 1858.

Sir R. Hamilton reports that the Nawab of Banda arrived in General Mitchel's Camp in the evening of the 19th and *that Tantia Topee and Rao Sahib have not gone to Sindwa but crossed the Bombay road towards Burwanee. The intelligence of the surrender of the Nawab of Banda has just been confirmed by a message*, dated 20th Nov. from General Mitchel's Camp.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 28th November 1858.

The following intelligence is supplied by Sir R. Hamilton. The names of places are not all traceable. Major Sutherland with a Company of the 92nd and fifty men of the 71st on camels and Captain Hilbook with some sowars of my escort came on Tantia Topee's force leaving Rajpoor, killed forty of the enemy and took the two guns they had taken from Indore. The pursuit was kept up, when the information left; the rebels were making for Purwance[2]. Captain Keating with Brigadier Parke's Column arrived at Julwauna and pushed on to reinforce Major Sutherland; General Mitchel (is) at Bawegaun and will reach Julwauna (Jalwana) to-morrow.[3]

TATYA RECROSSES NARMADA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 29th November 1858.

The following intelligence has been supplied by Sir Robert Hamilton, dated Indore the 27th.

Tantia Topee and the rebels have recrossed the Nerbudda near Burda and are moving towards Amjheera.

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Appears misspelt for '*Burwanee*'.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Brigadier Parke crossed the Nerbudda at Mohpoora on the 26th, Captain Helbert and Major Sutherland at Bhakipra. The rebels supposed to have gone towards Kooksee and Amjheera.....[1]

* * *

From G. S. Dysort, Lieutenant, Commanding Bhopawar Levy, to Captain Hutchinson, Bheel Agent & Political Agent, Indore, dated Amjhira, the 27th November 1858.

I have the honor to report for the information of Sir Robert Hamilton, Baronet, Governor General's Agent for Central India, that yesterday morning at about 8 A.M. I received information that the rebels were crossing the river Nurbudda about one mile below Chickulda. I instantly rode down to the *Ghaut* with a party of about 60 of the Bhossawar (or Bhopawar) Levy-Cavalry—and found the rebels drawn up on the opposite bank to the number of about 3,000 Horsemen, and some Infantry; of the latter arm, but few appeared to be fighting men. Small parties of the rebels several times attempted to ride across the river; but were driven back by the fire of a party of about 20 men of the Malwa Bheel Corps. The whole of Tantia Topee's army were thus kept in check for about two hours. The enemy then detached a strong body of Cavalry to their left, to cross the river about 2 miles below our position, while a party of about 500 *Wallaytee* troopers commenced fording the river to our front, under cover of a heavy musketry fire. Seeing that it would be impossible for me to prevent the rebels crossing (my whole party not numbering above 80 men of whom not above a fourth had fire-arms) I ordered the Bheels to retreat, upon which they instantly dispersed into the ravines, while the small Cavalry detachment retired steadily in line under Issreepersaud (Ishwari Prasad) *Ressuldar*. We brought off all our baggage safely. 3 Troopers of the Cavalry are missing and one camp-follower slightly contused, otherwise we have suffered no casualties.[2]

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department Consultations, 24th Dec, 1858, Nos. 58-60. National Archives, New Delhi.

TATYA TOPE AT CHHOTA UDAIPUR

From I. P. Stratton, Officiating Assistant Resident, for R. C. Shakespeare, Political Commissioner in Gujrat and Resident Baroda, to H. L. Anderson, Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated Baroda, 2nd December 1858.

Subsequent to the posting of yesterday's letter above referred to news was received from the Raja of Chhota Oodeypore (Udaipore) that the rebels had reached Dewhatti between Ali Rajpore and Chhota Udepur[1] on the 29th, and that they were coming to the latter place on the next day, and that he (the Raja who was out in his districts) was therefore going immediately into his capital.

At the same time news was received through Captain Collier (perhaps Collins) attached to the detachment that the rebels had entered Udepur on the 30th and that Raja was in his palace and had shut the gate of his fort on them.

The ministers this morning stated that their news led them to believe that Tatiya Tope made a halt at Oodeypore and that he levied a contribution of Rs. 5,000 *from Ali Rajpore*, in addition to any other plunder taken, of which no accounts have been received.

The above is the latest news here received of the position and movements of the rebels.

It is intended instantly to send an express, calling in the above Godra force towards Baroda, should it appear certain that the rebels are actually coming in this direction by either of the Sankhera or Waghoria roads.

The more local arrangements immediately around Baroda continue much as was reported in yesterday's letter No. 1508 with the expectation (*sic*, exception) that the Kapoora outpost on the Sankhera road has been strengthened by 2 more guns withdrawn from Bapote on the Waghoria route to which however they can at once be moved, if required, the distance between the posts not being great.[2]

[1] This has been spelt as '*Oodeypore*' in the line above.

[2] "*Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India*". Vol. I. 1818-85, Pp. 220-1. Bombay 1957.

[Baroda Residency, Bound Volume No. 460, Kathiawar, miscellaneous, 1858, in the Baroda Records Office.. Serial No. 460. No. 1518.]

REVOLUTIONARIES REACH BARIYA AND BABRA

To H. L. Anderson, Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated Baroda, 4th December 1858.

In continuation of my letter No. 1520 of yesterday's date I have the honour to state that in the evening I received positive information of a considerable body of the rebels being at Barriah[1] at 8 A.M. of 2nd.

During the night I heard from Lieutenant Browne who commands at Dohund, (Dohad) that another body of the rebels had reached Babbra[2] at the same hour and date.

As far as I am able to form a conjecture, I should say the total strength of the enemy before his defeat on the 1st was about 3500 fighting men and that about 500 would be the loss sustained by him consequent on Brigadier Parke's attack.

I estimate the body of the enemy at Barriah on the 2nd as 1000, and at Babbra on same date as 2000. I believe the Barriah party to have one elephant with them.

Lieutenant Browne's native informant declares that the Babbra party had 12 elephants with them. I do not believe this, for, spies of this *Durbar* which (*sic*, who) entered the camp at Oodeypore before Brigadier Parke's attack, make no mention of any elephants.

The Raja of Oodeypore had two elephants of his own, probably one has been taken to Babbra and the other to Barriah, and unless they got some at Ali Rajpore I cannot conceive how they can have any other animals of that description, because the route of marching and the stony nature of the country would necessarily have disabled any animals they might have had with them.

The Sankhera advance and Brigadier Parke's spirited conduct have saved our faithful ally the Gackwar; not a single rebel has yet been known to have entered any one of His Highness' villages, for it was only into the Oodeypore.....of Jambooghora that

[1] *Bariya State* (*Deogarh Bariya*)—Tributary State in *Rewa Kantha, Bombay*, lying between 22° 21′ and 22° 58′ N. and 73° 41′ and 74° 18′ E., with an estimated area of 813 sq. miles. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, 1908, p. 21).

[2] *Babra*—Petty State in *Kathiawar, Bombay*. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. VI, p. 164).

the small party of rebels entered, and they were ejected immdiately by Captain Collins' Force.

The Bombay Government will of course be very anxious to know the amout of loss that will result from this inroad of Tatya Tope.

Unless some (*sic*,—Something) very unforeseen happens, I think that injury will be confined solely to the Rewa Kanntha[1] districts.

As yet I believe the Oodeypore Raja has suffered but slightly, we have yet to learn of what has occurred at Barriah; but Hallole, Kallole, Godra and Dohud—all the large cities, in that quarter have escaped.[2]

GODHRA DISTRICT OCCUPIED BY THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter (No. 1556) from H. L. Anderson, Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated Baroda, December 1858.

In continuation of my letter No. 1542 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to state that I have information from Captain Hunter of his arrival at Godra at 2 A.M. of the 14th.

At 6 P.M. of that day, he writes that two parties of the rebels who had united near Barriah moved during the 3rd and 4th to a spot in the jungles on the Baroda road only six miles from Barriah and 12 from Godra.

While Tatya Tope was encamped at Oodeypore and before Brigadier Parke attacked him, I had endeavoured through spies employed by the *Durbar* to have served vernacular

[1] *Rewa Kantha* ('the banks of the *Rewa* or *Narbada*')—It lies between 21° 23′ and 22° 33′ N. and 73° 31′ and 74° 20′ E., with a total area of 4,972 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Rajputana states of Dungarpur and Banswara: on the east by the taluka of Dohad in the Panch Mahals district, Ali Rajpur, and other petty States of the Bhopawar Agency, and part of Khandesh district; on the south by Baroda territory and Surat district; and on the west by Broach district, Baroda State, the Panch Mahals, Kaira, and Ahmadabad districts. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. XXI, p. 289).

[2] "*Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India*", Vol.I. 1818-1885, Pp. 221-2. Bombay 1957.

[Baroda Residency, Bound Volume No. 460, Kathiawar, miscellaneous, 1858, in the Baroda Records Office. Serial No. 460. No. 1518].

copies of the Queen's proclamation disseminated amongst the rebels, but that attempt failed.[1]

PURSUIT OF TATYA TOPE AND HIS DEFEAT AT ZIRAPUR

A letter (No. 524 of 1858) from Captain A. R. E. Hutchinson, Bheel Agent and Political Assistant, Agent Governor General, to Robert Hamilton, Agent Governor General for C. I., dated Camp Zirapur, 30th December 1858.

I have the honor to report the operations of the Column under the command of Colonel Benson of the 19th Lancers from the 10th to the 29th December 1858.

2*nd*—Colonel Benson's instructions were to guard the Frontier of Western Malwa and to protect the towns of Mundisore, Joura and Rutlam.

TATYA'S MARCH TOWARDS KUSHALGARH

3*rd*—On the 10th December I received information of the advance of the rebels towards Kosulgurh[2] and Banswarra and the following day the Column was moved to Sellana[3], from which place a detachment under Major Learmouth[4] was pushed on the Banswarra[5], but it was too late to save the place, the rebels having plundered it on the 10th; it is reported that the town was generally plundered; the Rajah's palace and the minister's house were not touched.

[1] "*Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India*", Vol. I, 1818-1885, Pp. 222-3. Bombay 1957.

[Baroda Residency, Bound Volume No. 460, Kathiawar, miscellaneous, 1858, in the Baroda Records Office, Serial No. 460. No. 1556].

[2] Apparently spelt for *Kushalgarh*.

[3] *Sailana State*—One of the mediatized States of the *Central India Agency*, under the Political Agent in *Malwa*. The State has an area of about 450 square miles, of which, however, about half has been alienated in land grants. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 385).

Sailana Town (*Salana*)—Capital of the State of the same name in *Central India*, situated in 23° 28′ N. and 74° 57′ E., at the foot of the Vindhyas, 1,847 feet above sea-level. Sailana is 10 miles by metalled road from Namli Station on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, and 521 by rail from Bombay. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 387).

[4] Name not clearly decipherable in the photostat copy.

[5] *Banswara*—The small Rajput State of *Banswara*, the southernmost of all the States of *Rajputana*, is bounded on the north and north-west by

4*th*—The rebels moving towards Salomber[1] the Columns marched towards Pertengurh[2], the Rajah of which place assured me that the Passes leading into Banswarra and Meywar had been closed. The presence of the Column at Pertaubgurh turned the rebels from Durryawnd[3], when they were encamped on the 18th towards Mongoura.

5*th*—On the 20th, hearing that the enemy had left Mongoura for Peepulkhoota, the Force moved south to guard the Arnode[4] Pass, and on the 22nd, to Ninore opposite the Raipoor Pass, and a detachment of Native Infantry under Lieutenant Oghlan[5] was sent to hold the Raipoor and Khangurh Passes; this again turned the rebels north, and they moved rapidly to Sohagpoor, and finding the Pass open marched on Pertaubgurh on the 24th, Colonel Benson moving parallel to them on Arnode the same day.

ENGAGEMENT AT PARTABGARH

6*th*—At 1 A.M. of the 25th, I received intelligence from Captain Showers of the engagement at Pertaubgurh of the previous day. The force immediately marched direct on Mundisore, and after a march of 28 miles, we reached that town where we heard that the rebels were encamped at Mullah, distant 4 miles.

7*th*—On the 26th Colonel Benson commenced the pursuit

Dungarpur and Mewar, on the north-east and east by Partabgarh, on the south by various petty States under the Central India Agency, and on the west by the tract of country, called the Rewa Kantha. It extends from latitude 23° 10′ to 23° 48′, and from longitude 74° 2′ to 74° 41′. (*Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. I, 1879, p. 101).

[1] Apparently spelt for *Salombra*.

[2] Apparently, wrongly spelt for *Partabgarh*.

Partabgarh—The State of *Partabgarh* extends from 24° 18′ to 23°17′ north latitude and 74° 31′ to 75° 3′ east longitude. Its extreme length from north to south is 67 miles, and extreme breadth from east to west 33 miles, with a total area of about 1,450 square miles. It is bounded on the north-west by Meywar, on the north-east by Sindia's districts of Nimach and Mundesor, on the south-east by Jaura and Piploda, and on the south-west and west by Banswara. (*Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. III, 1880, p. 77).

[3] Name not clearly decipherable.

[4] Can be read as '*Amode*' also.

[5] Name not clearly decipherable.

following the enemy by his track, and marched to the left bank of the Chumbul river distant 26 miles; enemy encamped at Dalput.

8*th*—On the 27th we marched 30 miles and pulled up at dusk, in sight of the rebel camp. A surprise was planned for the following morning, but the enemy gaining intelligence of our approach retreated hastily at 7 P.M.

9*th*—On the 28th we followed and crossed the Kali Sind river, distant 26 miles; there was no cart-track to the ford, but the Royal Artillery overcame almost insurmountable difficulties and crossed their guns; enemy at Zeerapoor.

BATTLE OF ZIRAPUR

10*th*—Early on the 29th we continued the pursuit and the camp fires of the enemy were seen visible. We reached Zeerapoor, 8 miles, before sunrise, and found that the rebels had taken the Machulpoor road. After a chase of 4 miles, we engaged their rear guard and drove them rapidly through a village in a belt of jungle, into the plain, when all of a sudden they broke into three divisions, the main body consisting of upwards of 2000 Horse came down to the attack which was repulsed, and the enemy fled to our rear into the belt of jungle, and made rapidly for Gograun[1] the other two divisions seemed to fly, one to the north-west the other to the north-east. Colonel Benson pursued rapidly eight miles beyond Gograun in the direction of Paprail, and only abandoned the pursuit when the country became impracticable for his Artillery. The force captured six elephants and upwards of 30 camels, and the field was strewed with arms, clothing and baggage.

11*th*—Thus ended a pursuit which was carried on in the face of extraordinary difficulties over 155 miles of a country plundered and deserted. Getting a guide even was a matter of difficulty. It lasted for 123 hours, during which period neither Officers or (*sic*, nor) men had baggage or supplies, but every hardship was cheerfully endured.

[1] *Gagraun*—Fort and village in the *Kanwas* district of the State of *Kotah, Rajputana*, situated in 24° 38′ N. and 76° 12′ E. at the junction of the Ahu and Kali Sind rivers, about 2 ¼ miles north-east of the Chhaoni of Jhalrapatan and 45 miles south-east of Kotah city. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII, 1908, p. 121).

12*th*—On one of the captured elephants we found a wounded man, one Sheikh Soobhan, Adjutant of Scindiah's Jyagee Regiment. This man informs me that whilst in the Banswarra jungles the rebel leaders were inclined to treat but the Rao Sahib said he would not do so until he had seen the Nana; that the rebels are bound for Cawnpoor and Oude (Awadh); he also states that the proclamation is kept from the men, who would gladly accept its terms, were they honestly made known to them.[1]

LESSONS OF THE PURSUIT OF TATYA

An officer who took part in the pursuit of Tantia Topi wrote—"Each fresh commandant who took the field fancied he could catch Tantia; prodigious marches were made, officers and men threw aside all baggage, even their tents, and accomplished upwards of forty miles daily—the rebels did fifty. The end was, all our horses were sore-backed, and the halt of a week or ten days rendered absolutely necessary. Then came a new aspirant for a C. B. and Tantia's head, who brought fresh troops and camels into the field. He, perhaps, had not only to chase Tantia, but to keep clear of other forces commanded by a senior in rank to himself. It was wonderful the amount of energy that was thrown into the pursuit, and the hundreds of dead camels strewn over every jungle track; roads were no object, or rivers either to pursued or pursuers.[2] On they went until dead beaten. Occasionally someone more fortunate than the rest had the luck to catch up the fugitives and cut up stragglers; but it was always in heavy jungle; they had the very best of information and never trusted themselves to the open country when any force was near. We had the very worst of information even in the territories of professedly friendly Rajas. *The sympathy of the people was on their side.*[3]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 4th March 1859, Consultation No. 332, No. 524 of 1858. National Archives, New Delhi. *cf* Connected account of the pursuit of Tatya Tope in "*The Revolt in Central India*"—1857-59 : Compiled in the Intelligence Branch-Division of the Chief of the Staff, Army Headquarters, India, 1908, Pp. 205-25.

[2] This sentence is not clear.

[3] "*The Revolt in Central India*", 1857-9, 1908, p. 235.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TATYA TOPE COURT-MARTIALLED

PARTING OF TATYA TOPE

Then through the jungle we reached the Jaypur (Jaipur) territory, then we went to Bondi (Bundi), then to Rampur in the Holkar's dominions and then to Jhala Patan. Then the Mussulmans of Patan, they may be *Wilayaties* or of some other race met us 10 *Kos* from Patan and took us there. The ruler of Patan gave us supplies but even then we had to fight him. His army came over to our side and Tatya Tope took the Raja captive. Then he (Tatya Tope) brought him to me and suggested that in order to extract money from him he would use harsh words and that I should use gentle ones. The Raja thus promised to give some lacs and then Tatya Tope sent him home under the guard of his army. Within 2 or 3 days the Raja gave some money but then he won over the people of the army and himself took to flight. His ladies and children still remained. The *Karindas* of the Raja also remained there and they arranged for the money with the help of the creditors (*Sahukars*). Then we left the place with the horses and the elephants and Tatya Tope had one battle at Bhilwara and another at Kothwara with the English army. I do not now remember if these battles were fought after the battle at Patan or before it. From Patan we reached Rajgarh and thence to Biawara while there was another battle with the English army on the way. There we met Firoz Shah. He, Tatye Tope and myself came to Sikar in the Jaypur territory. A battle was fought at Sikri (*sic*, Sikar) also. One night Tatya Tope left us accompanied by half of the army and since then we have not met.[1]

MAN SINGH SURRENDERS TO ENGLISH

Letter No. 48 *from Major R. Meade, to Major Macpherson, Political Agent, Gwalior; dated Camp Mahoodia (Mahudia), the 8th April* 1859.

Your telegram of the 5th instant to the address of Brigadier

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case : *Govt. vs. Rao Saheb*". Deposition of Rao Saheb[2]. Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

General Sir R. Napier and five other officers including myself, has reached me to-day and I consider it my duty at once to write and contradict the false and impudent assertion made by the *Naib Soobah* of Sippree (Sipri) that he had induced Maun Sing to come into my Camp.

I beg to place on record that this official of the *Durbar* had nothing whatever to say to Maun Sing's surrender; the parties through whom I was enabled to open the communication which have led to so satisfactory a result were first Neranjun Sing, of Sersa Mow, and his son Huttee Sing; second Kishore Lal!—Maun Sing's *Dewan*; and third and lastly Pirboo Lall (Prabhu Lal)—*Naib Koomasdar* of Sippree (Sipri)—who deserves the highest credit I can give him for his tact, discretion and judgement, and for the loyal and valuable assistance he has given me during the period he has been under my orders.

This man visited Maun Sing ten or twelve miles from Camp, by my order on the 1st instant, at some personal risk, and only succeeded in overcoming his fears, and inducing him to accompany him after an anxious delay of several hours.

One of my own peons who was sent by me for the purpose of bringing in the Ranees of Maun Sing's family, had three or four interviews with the Raja in the jungle, several days before he had made up his mind to surrender.

COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN MAN SINGH AND OFFICIALS OF GWALIOR DARBAR

So far was Maun Sing from being induced by the *Naib Soobah* of Sippree (Sipri) or any of the *Durbar* officials to come in, that his special request both previous to his surrender and on our first interview was that he might remain with me and be forced to hold no communication with any one belonging to the *Durbar*, and I feel that I am justified in asserting that he never would have given himself up to any *Durbar* official, or I believe I may say to anyone but a British officer in whom he had some confidence.

I am aware that Maun Sing wrote to the *Naib Soobah* as he did to British officers and many others; but his letters to him led to nothing, and I have no doubt that the multiplicity of letters written and offers made to him was rather calculated to retard than hasten his submission.

I may mention here that I have been informed that the *Durbar* authorities in the Sippree (Sipri) district are angry and disappointed at Maun Sing's not having given himself up to them, and were disposed to harrass (*sic*, harass) and annoy him and his people in everyway in their power. I am sure I need only report this to you to obtain your prohibition against any uncalled for interference of this sort on their part.

ASSURANCE OF PENSION ETC. TO MAN SINGH ON BRINGING TATYA TO THE BRITISH

With reference to the concluding part of your telegram it is only necessary for me to remark that Maun Sing had been made acquainted with Sir R. Hamilton's offer to him of a yearly pension, if he came in, and of his assurance of further consideration from Government, in the event of his performing any signal act of service, such as bringing in Tantia Topee, the Rao etc. previous to his surrender to me. The pension I was not authorized to guarantee him, but I have seen Captain Bolton's original letter to him, stating that Sir R. Hamilton would cause the *Durbar* to give him 10000 Rs. per annum, if he came in; a copy of Sir R. Hamilton's telegram promising him still further consideration as above, was however furnished to me, and I made use of its contents to urge him to the utmost, to merit the reward held out though only in general terms by some such signal service as that contemplated.

MAN SINGH HELPS ENGLISH IN CAPTURING TATYA TOPE

Maun Sing has now performed that service by enabling me to capture Tantia Topee and it appears to me for the British Govt. to decide what further reward shall be conferred on him for this act." I cannot conceive that it will be left optional for the *Durbar* to alter the terms of a specific offer made to Maun Sing through a British officer, by Governor General's Agent, a few days prior to his submission, but at all events I think it my duty at once to correct the *Durbar's* idea that such submission has been owing to inducement held out by one of their officials, and that it is thence still optional with them to allow Maun Sing only such terms as they please.

A copy of this letter shall be forwarded by to-day's post for the information of General Sir Napier K. C. B.[1]

CAPTURE OF TATYA TOPE

Letter (No. 49) from Major R. Meade, dated Camp Mahoodra[2], *the 8th April* 1859.

I have had the satisfaction of reporting this morning by Express and Telegram *via* Sippree (Sipri) the capture of Tantia Topee, last night, by a party detailed for the purpose from the detachment under my command. I now beg to give the particulars of this important event. From hints dropped by Maun Sing at various times since his surrender, I was satisfied that he had it in his power to enable us to surprise Tantia Topee, and I have done all I could by kind and encouraging counsel, to urge him to establish by so signal an act of service, his claim to the consideration of Government, promised him by Sir Robert Hamilton in his telegram of the 27th ultimo.

MAN SINGH BETRAYS TATYA TOPE

The escape to Seronge (Sironj) of Ageet Sing (Ajit Singh) and his party after our unsuccessful attempt to surprise them on the 4th instant gave me the opportunity of reiterating to him on the 6th instant when we heard of it, my urgent advice on this subject, and I have since ascertained that, beginning himself to fear that Tantia Topee might slip through his fingers he, that same day, sent some confidential men to track him and bring him to meet him at Parone, on the pretext that he wished to consult him there, and would thence accompany him to Seronge (Sironj).

MAN SINGH BARGAINS

During the forenoon of the 7th I had three or four hours' very anxious discussion with Maun Sing on this subject, and exerted myself to the utmost to induce him to make up his mind, pointing out to him that every hour was precious, and that

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 22nd April 1859, Consultation No. 165, Pp. 190-3. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Spelt as *Mahudia* in the foregoing document and *Mohunea* and *Maubudia* on p. 564.

his hesitation, to bring such a criminal to justice would tell very unfavorably for him, when reported to Government. In the course of this forenoon, I learnt from Pirboo Loll, that he thought Maun Sing would do as I wished, but that he was desirous of having Sir R. Hamilton's general assurance of consideration for such a service, reduced to some specific promise, and that his ambition was to have Shahabad, Powrie (Paori) or some other portion of the Ancient *Raj* of Nuswn[1] guaranteed to him in the event of his efforts to apprehend Tantia Topee being successful.

Of course, I at once declared it quite out of my power to promise this or any other specific reward but I assured him, Maun Sing, that he might rely on any claim he might establish, being faithfully considered by Government, and he at length expressed his determination to make the attempt.

ARRANGEMENTS TO SURPRISE TATYA

I was naturally desirous, both for myself and the officers with me, that we should share in the enterprise, but Maun Sing was so urgent that the arrangements for the capture should be left in his hands that I felt it would be hazardous to disappoint him, and of course, my first duty being to secure the seizure of so great a criminal, I could suffer no personal considerations to interfere therewith; I consented therefore to place a small party of native Infantry under his order for the occasion, and having settled all that was required with him, I let him proceed to Parone about 3 P. M. to search for and get hold of Tantia Topee, and at 5 P. M., I sent after him a party of the 9th Bombay Native Infantry, under Abdoola Jeo, *Zemindar* 9th Company of that corps, with orders to do what Maun Sing directed them, and to apprehend any suspicious characters that he might point out; of course, Tantia Topee's name was never mentioned, and the party had no idea of the duty on which they were proceeding. Maun Sing had specially requested that no sowars might be sent, as any revise (?) might cause the whole plan to fail, and their leaving Camp would certainly be noticed. I had, however, a party ready with which I intended to proceed to the spot myself, on hearing that the

[1] Apparently *Narwar*.

capture had been effected or was certain. Maun Sing assured me that there would probably be little or no resistance, Tantia Topee having only four or five men with him, and he, Maun Sing, feeling certain that he could manage to have him surprised while asleep.

TRAP LAID

Shortly before day-break this morning one of Maun Sing's sowars galloped in and informed me that all was right, and that the seizure had been successfully made : I immediately despatched a party of Cavalry, and was following it myself, when Maun Sing arrived in Camp and informed me that the detachment with its prisoner was close at hand.

TATYA TOPE CAPTURED

On the latter's arrival, about an hour afterwards I had him immediately made over to a guard of the 21st Company, Royal Engineers, and he was stripped and carefully searched; nothing however was discovered on him, and the only property taken with him was that enumerated in the margin* (given in the footnote). Tantia Topee is a short thickset man and answers to the description of him published some time ago in the Government Gazette.

It appears that Tantia Topee left the Rao in December or the beginning of January last, when the rebels passed up to Sheopoor, and that he has since been residing in these jungles under various names.

Maun Sing states that he has always intended to betray him when the proper time came.

DETAILS OF CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO TATYA'S ARREST

Three days ago, Tantia Topee was summoned by the Rao to join him at Seronge, and he was actually on his way to do so having reached "Gogal" on the Parbutti, when one of Maun Sing's confidential men whom he had despatched in search

*Marginal note in the Original—"1 Horse, 1 Sword, 1 Kookree, 3 Gold Armlets, 1 Copper Armlets, 118 Gold Mohurs".

of him, overtook and discovered him there, on the evening of the 6th instant. He induced him to return to Parone to meet Maun Sing, and he arrived in that neighbourhood at 1 P. M. yesterday; had a few hours more been lost he would have got quite beyond our reach.

By Maun Sing's directions the *Sipahies* were placed in ambush near a hollow which he and Tantia Topee had been in the habit of frequenting and he led his unsuspecting victim there and held a long conversation with him, till after midnight, when Tantia Topee fell asleep. *The Sipahies were then fetched by Maun Sing, and Tantia Topee was secured and pinioned, his arms being seized by Maun Sing himself; unfortunately during the confusion two Pundits he had with him managed to escape on horse back.*

Maun Sing has requested that the money taken on Tantia Topee may be given to the men whom he despatched to track and find him out as he promised they should have it if they were successful.

I have agreed to give him all but twenty-one gold *Mohurs*, which I wish to distribute amongst the party which captured Tantia Topee and I trust the General will approve of this. Perhaps Government would allow that amount to be made up to Maun Sing, to enable him to fulfil his promise to his men. I hope Sir R. Napier will approve of the measures I have taken in this matter; I have entered fully into the particulars in justice to Maun Sing, who has certainly established his claim to the highest consideration, by this signal service.

I am the more anxious to do this because the *Durbar* assume to themselves the right to settle terms with him, on the ground that his submission has been effected by their subordinate the *Naib Soobah* of Sippree as asserted in Major Macpherson's telegram of the 5th instant. I have considered it my duty at once to contradict this statement, which is not merely untrue, but is most unfair to Maun Sing, to myself and the detachment, and to Pirboo Loll (Prabhu Lal), who has most zealously carried out my instructions during the whole of these important, and anxious proceedings, and who has been the only *Durbar* official employed by me therein.

I beg to append for submission to Sir R. Napier, a copy of my letter of this date to Major Macpherson on this subject, which I trust will meet his approval.

For myself and my detachment I can only say that we have endeavoured to the best of our ability zealously to carry out

Sir R. Napier's orders, and to perform our duty to Government, and while I have most carefully abstained from going in any way beyond my instructions for the purpose of inducing Maun Sing to come in to me, I must feel that my name will be for ever disgraced with him and with the people of the country, if from any cause whatever, the offers and promises made to him by competent authority, the full performance of which has been repeatedly assured to him by me, in our daily interview, should now be declared null and void.

I trust to be furnished speedily with Sir R. Napier's orders for Tantia Topee's disposal. Meantime every possible precaution shall be taken for his safe custody.

The ground here being enclosed and confined and objectionable for occupation with a prisoner of Tantia Topee's importance in Camp I propose running back to-morrow to Mosherea, whence I can proceed to Sirsee Mhow (Sirsa Mau) if necessary as originally ordered.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Commander-in-Chief, to Governor General and Chief Commissioner, dated Delhi, 8th April 1859, 9.34 *P. M.*

Major Meade telegraphed as follows—Mohunea *via* Sepree on 8th instant. Tantia Topee captured by the Detachment, with Maun Sing's assistance last night and now a prisoner in Camp and waiting orders for his disposal.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message No. 748 *from Officiating Secretary to Govt., N.-W. P., to Secretary to Govt. of India, Calcutta, Foreign Department, dated 8th April,* 11.30 *P. M.*

A telegram just received from Major Meade dated Mauboodia[3] *via* Sepree (Sipri) 8th April 6.30 P. M. says Tantia Topee captured by the detachment with Maun Sing's aid

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 22nd April 1859, Consultation Nos. 155-66. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Spelt as '*Mohunea*' above.

last night and now a prisoner in Camp awaiting orders for his disposal.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Macpherson to Secretary, Govt. of India, Calcutta; Secretary to Govt., N.-W.P., Allahabad; Harvey, Agra; Secretary, Govt. of Bombay; General Napier, Sironj via Guna; Officers Commanding Guna, Sipri; General Mitchel, via Sipri; Brigadiers Smith and Showers via Sipri.

Captain Meade reports from Sipree. Tantia Topeh captured on the 17th (*sic*, should be 7th) with Maun Sing's assistance and is coming to my Camp.[2]

COURT - MARTIAL OF TATYA TOPE

From Brigadier General Napier, Sironj, to R. Simpson, Calcutta, dated Sironj, 10th April, via Guna.

Tantia Topee was captured at Maboodea on the 7th instant by Major Meade through the.....(space left in original) of Rajah Maun Sing. Unless otherwise instructed, I shall cause Tantia Topee to be tried by Court-Martial at Goonah as directed in letter No. 4146 from G. F. Edmonstone Esquire to Sir R. Hamilton dated 29th October 1858 and carry out the sentence if it can be carried out on the spot.[3]

* * *

Message (No. 164) from Brigadier General R. Napier, to Major-General W. Mansfield, the Chief of Staff, dated Camp Sironj, the 11th April 1859.

I have the honor to submit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Commander-in-Chief Major Meade's report of the capture of Tantia Topee through the agency of Raja Maun Sing.

It will be unnecessary for me to add a word to Major Meade's report, to set forth the most important and valuable

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 22nd April 1859, Consultation Nos. 155-66. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

"National" service which he has performed, through the agency, of the Raja, who was stimulated by Sir R. Hamilton's promises of reward.

Unless otherwise instructed I shall proceed to try Tantia Topee by Court-Martial according to the orders contained in Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's letter to the Resident at Indore .....(space left in original also) dated..... (as in original). There is abundance of evidence obtainable here.

I have not delayed this report longer than was necessary to copy it; it arrived late this afternoon.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message (No. 159) *from C. Beadon, Calcutta, to Brigadier-General Napier, Guna, dated Calcutta, April* 12, 1859.

Let the trial of Tantia Topee by Court-Martial at Goonah proceed, and let the sentence be carried out.[2]

TATYA TOPE'S IDENTITY DOUBTED

Telegraphic Message (No. 162) *from C. Beadon, Calcutta, to Brigadier-Genaral Napier, Guna, dated Calcutta, 15th April* 1859.

General Outram has reason to think that Tantia Topee is Bhow Tambekar, late Minister of Baroda. Enquire if this be the case, and if not where Bhow Tambekar is.

TATYA'S ALLEGED COMPLICITY IN KANPUR MASSACRE

Telegraphic Message (No. 161) *from C. Beadon, Calcutta, to Brigadier-General R. Napier, Guna, dated Calcutta, 14th April* 1859.

Colonel Williams at Allahabad has information relative

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 22nd April 1859, Consultation Nos. 155-166. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ibid.*

to Tantia Topee's complicity in the Cawnpore massacre and will send it.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message (No. 160) from C. Beadon to Colonel Williams, Allahabad, dated Calcutta, 14th April 1859.

Send to General Napier what information you have relative to Tantia Topee's complicity in the Cawnpore massacre.[2]

ALLEGED EXECUTION OF TATYA TOPE

Telegraphic Message No. 167 from Captain Helbert, Indore, to C. Beadon, Secretary, to Government, Calcutta, dated Indore, 19th April 1859, 4.8 P. M.

Tantia Topee was sentenced to death and executed yesterday at Seepree (Sipri). He was fully identified and acknowledged himself.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message (No. 168) from Major Macpherson, Gwalior, to Secretary to Govt. of India, Calcutta; Secretary to Govt., N.-W. P., Allahabad; and Harvey, Agra; dated Gwalior, 19th April 1859.

Major Meade telegraphs that Tantia Topee was tried, sentenced and executed at Speree (Sipri) on the 18th.[4]

ESTIMATE OF TATYA TOPE'S ABILITIES

EXPERT GUERILLA WARRIOR

"*Tantia Topee*—Man is by nature a hunting animal, *and the escapes of Tantia Topee are watched through India with as much of amusement as vexation.* The hate felt towards most of

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 22nd April 1859, Consultation Nos. 155-66. National Archives, New Delhi.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*

the native leaders disappears in the interest created by his doubles and windings, and if he were caught and Englishmen polled as to his fate, the vote would be in favour of mercy and enlistment as an Inspector of Cavalry. The man must be an able one, if only because he has flung the foreign discipline overboard, and resorted to the tactics which have in all ages and all places been the strength of an Asiatic soldiery. He fights like a Marhatta, instead of a black European, and has consequently the success which usually belongs to a national mode of warfare. Since he left Gwalior he has never of his own free will met the pursuers face to face. His policy has been to fly, swoop on some undefended point, seize all he could and fly again, it mattered little in what direction. *It seems doubtful if he had all through any definite plan.* He had apparently at one moment a notion of entering Khandesh and penetrating southward, but it was abandoned the moment Tantia ascertained that he could not thread (should be 'tread') the passes without a struggle.

We quoted recently a statement that Tantia Topee had been prevented from entering Bhopal by Lieutenant Kerr. This is a mistake. He was prevented from entering the State by Lieutenant Colonel Becher with the 1st Regiment of Beatson's Horse who read his Cavalry a severe lesson at Bagrode. The skirmish compelled them to cross the Nerbudda after a forced march of forty miles. This masterly perfor mance came to the knowledge of Lieutenant Kerr, and induced him to cross the river in pursuit. Tantia, however, was not to be brought to action or out-witted. He fled with his followers to an almost unpenetrable jungle in the Sindwarra hills, and caused a report to reach Lieutenant Kerr that Adil Mahommed with a powerful army was marching to his rear. This had its effect and Lieutenant Kerr fell back to one of the fords of the Nerbudda. The enemy advanced, spreading desolation to Mooltye and Baitool when Lieutenant Colonel Becher and his Irregulars, strengthened by the addition of a Squadron of H. M's 17th Lancers, and two guns Royal Horse Artillery arrived at Hooshungabad. It was necessary to save Baitool where a few European officers with some native soldiers had entrenched themselves in the jail. This was effected by a rapid march, and Tantia flying once more tried the Khandesh passes, failed, turned and again crossed the Nerbudda. Thence after several feints, in the direction of Amjheera and Dhar

he has, it is reported, entered Guzerat. He may turn southward, but it is more probable that he will enter Kattiwar[1], a province occupied by shoals of little chieftains, all more or less disaffected towards the empire which overshadows them. In either case he will march without much reference to our troops, who partly from the real difference of speed caused by our Commissariat necessities, and partly from the total want of accurate information peculiar to our Indian Army are almost invariably too late. The latter obstacle to success we should believe unavoidable. Did we ever hear of a fair effort to obviate the difficulty ? The British Army has moved through a hostile country before now. How did it obtain information there ? Is it niggardliness or over-strained humanity, or a blind confidence in ourselves and the natives which keeps us ignorant of events transpiring half a mile ahead of our Cavalry ? Whatever the cause the fact is unquestionable, and as visible in Central India with a dozen little columns in the field, as it was with the great army headed last year by the Commander-in-Chief.

The hunt which has revealed how much of danger there is in a Pindaree war, has revealed in a no less striking manner our own military strength. Tantia Topee has fled but a degree faster than he has been pursued. From Gwalior to Guzerat over a territory which stretches by an air line for six miles, he has been met at every point. Except at Jhulra Patun he has never once gained an important success or received an important reinforcement. Marhatta though he be, and flying for his life, his followers cannot maintain the speed necessary to escape the relentless zeal of his pursuers. From every point and city and pass, at Nagpore and Mhow, in the defiles of Khandesh, at Baitool and Hooshungabad, on every road and at almost every ford he had been met and turned by British troops. *He has raced across India, chiefly through Native States, always through a territory less under European control than any portion of the continent,* and everywhere his ubiquitous foe is still present, fully armed, neither guns nor commissariat wanting for the work. Some of the generals have been (for) months in the field. Almost all have been hunting for a period sufficient to try men and beasts, yet we all know,

[1] Apparently spelt for *Kathiawar.*

and none better than Tantia that if he keeps in motion for the next twenty years till his followers' beards reach their feet, and their sabre hilts have been worn to a needle's fineness he will still be hunted down with the same perseverance as at present. The facts are full of hope for the future peace of our districts. They can be disturbed only by small bodies moving at great speed and it is evident we may yet learn Marhatta movements. Tantia Topee may yet find out that he has acted as a training master for the Indian Armies.[1]

PROCEEDINGS OF COURT-MARTIAL OF TATYA TOPE

At a European General Court-Martial assembled at Sepree (Sipri) on the fifteenth day of April One thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine by order of Major Meade Commanding at Sepree under the provisions of Act No. XIV of 1857.

Present President

Captain Baugh, 9th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry.

Members

Captain Pierce 24th Regt. Bombay Native Infantry.
Lieutenant Orchard 3rd Bengal European Regt.
Captain Webster 3rd Bengal European Regiment.
Lieutenant de Celto Royal Artillery.
Captain I. S. P. Field R. A. Officiating Judge, *Advocate General.*
Lieutenant Gibbon, Meade's Horse, *Interpreter to the Court.*

Tantia Topee a resident at Bithoor in the District of Cawnpore in the Territory of British India and in the service of the late ex-Peshwa Bajee Rao, a Pensioner of the British Government, appears a Prisoner before the Court; the orders for the assembly of the Court appointing the President, Officiating Judge Advocate, and Interpreter are produced and read. The names of the President and Members of the Court-Martial are read over in the hearing of the Prisoner and he is asked—

[1] "*The Friend of India*", Vol. 24, 1858, Dec. 16, 1858. p. 1180. National Library, Calcutta.

Question. Do you object to be tried by the President or any of the officers sitting as Members of your Court-Martial ?
Answer. No.

The President and Members and Officiating Judge Advocate are duly sworn.

Lieutenant Gibbon of Meade's Horse is sworn as Interpreter to the Court. Tantia Topee a Resident at Bithoor in the District of Cawnpoor in the Territory of British India and in the service of the late ex-Peshwa Bajee Rao, a Pensioner of the British Government charged under Act XIV of 1857.

Charged—With having been in rebellion and having waged war against the British Government between June 1857 and December 1858, and having especially been leader of and present with the Rebel Army which fought against the British Force under Major-General Sir Hugh Rose K. C. B. near Jhansi on or about the 1st April 1858 and also one of the leaders and present with the Rebel Army which having attacked and defeated Maharaja Scindia near Gwalior on or about 1st of June 1858 occupied Gwalior, and subsequently fought at or near Gwalior, against the British Force under the same Major-General Sir Hugh Rose K. C. B. between 14th and 21st June 1858.

Camp, Sepree
13th April 1859.

Signed/*R. Meade, Major, Commanding Field Force.*

Question. How say you Tantia Topee ! are you guilty or not guilty of the charge just read ?
Answer. Not guilty.

1ST WITNESS FOR PROSECUTION

Meer Hamed Alli is called into Court and makes a solemn affirmation.

Question. Do you know the Prisoner ?
Answer. I do.
Question. Who is the Prisoner now before the Court ?
Answer. Tantia Topee.
Question. Where used Tantia Topee to reside ?
Answer. At Bithoor.
Question. In what District is Bithoor ?
Answer. In the District of Cawnpoor I believe.
Question. In whose service was Tantia Topee ?

Answer. In the service of the Nana.
Question. At what period do you allude to ?
Answer. During the Mutiny.
Question. Where did you first see Tantia Topee ?
Answer. At Parone.
Question. What was he doing there ?
Answer. He was in the jungle with between 50 and 100 Rebel Sowars.
Question. Did you see him anywhere else ?
Answer. Yes I saw him at Nahurghur with a large Rebel Army.
Question. Was Tantia Topee in command of the Rebel Army ?
Answer. Tantia Topee and Rao Sahib were the commanders.
Question. Where had Tantia Topee come from ?
Answer. He came from the South from the direction of the Nerbudda.
Question. What had he been doing there ?
Answer. He had been fighting with a British Force and was now retreating.
Question. Where did Tantia leave the Rebel Army ?
Answer. Near the Chumbul, where a British Force was sent against him, and then went into the Parone jungles as I have before stated.
Question. Where was Tantia going to about eight days ago, when you were sent after him ?
Answer. He was going to join the Rao's Army near Seronje.
Question. Where did you meet Tantia Topee about 8 days ago ?
Answer. I was sent by Raja Maun Singh to Tantia Topee to call him which I did. I met Tantia Topee near Nahurghur (Nahargarh).
Question. When was Tantia Topee captured ?
Answer. He was taken the night I was sent to him by a party of Sepoys who were sent out under Maun Singh's orders by Major Meade from Mahodra.

Cross-examined by the Prisoner

Question. How do you know I was in the service of the Nana ?
Answer. I have heard so from everybody but I do not

know whether you were the Nana's servant before the mutiny.

Question. When were you in the jungle that you happen to know that I was there with 50 or 100 Rebel Sowars ?

Answer. I have been there for the last 8 or 10 years in the service of Raja Maun Singh in the same jungle.

Question. How can you having made solemn affirmation state that you have been in Maun Singh's service for the last 8 or 10 years when I know you to have been a Sepoy Sowar in the 5th Irregular Bengal Cavalry ?

Answer. Maun Singh can testify to my having been in his service and the officers of the late 5th Cavalry might be appealed to.

Question. When I had been eight days at Parone and when I met you with another man, in which service were you ?

Answer. I was a Sowar in Maun Singh's service.

Question. When did you see me at Nahurghur with the large Rebel Army you mentioned ?

Answer. About three or four months ago.

Question. What time either in the day or night did you see me at Nahurghur ?

Answer. About midday.

The witness retires.

2ND WITNESS FOR PROSECUION

Binaik Damooder (Vinayak Damodar) *Naib Soubeh* of Sipree makes solemn affirmation.

Question. Do you know where Tantia Topee resided before the Mutiny ?

Answer. I have heard he resided at Bithoor.

Question. In what District is Bithoor ?

Answer. In the District of Cawnpoor.

Question. Is Cawnpoor in British Territory ?

Answer. It is.

Question. Do you know in whose service Tantia Topee was before the Mutiny ?

Answer. In the service of the Nana.

Question. Do you know that Bajee Rao was a Pensioner of the British Government ?
Answer. I do.
Question. Do you know that Tantia Topee was for many years a resident at Bithoor ?
Answer. Yes, I have before said so.
Question. Do you know whether Tantia Topee was in the service of Bajee Rao ?
Answer. I do not know.
Question. Do you know the Prisoner ?
Answer. I do not know.

The Prisoner declines cross-examining and the Court has no questions to put.

The witness retires.

3RD WITNESS FOR PROSECUTION

Delawar Khan makes solemn affirmation.

Question. Do you know the Prisoner ?
Answer. I do. I know him to be Tantia Topee.
Question. In whose service are you ?
Answer. In the service of Maun Singh.
Question. Where did you first see Tantia Topee ?
Answer. I saw him at Jhansi.
Question. What was he doing there ?
Answer. He was in command of the Rebel Army.
Question. Do you know whether this Force attacked a British Force near Jhansi ?
Answer. I do.
Question. In what month was this fight ?
Answer. It was about a year ago.
Question. What was the British Force doing at Jhansi ?
Answer. Attacking the Ranee of Jhansi who had rebelled against the British Government, and who had been re-inforced by a Rebel Force from Calpee.
Question. Were you present in the fight near Jhansi and who commanded the Rebel Forces ?
Answer. I was present and I know that the Ranee of Jhansi commanded in the Fort and the Prisoner Tantia Topee the Forces outside the Town and Fort of Jhansi.

Question. When did you see Tantia Topee again and where ?

Answer. I saw him in the Parone jungles about 3 months ago.

Question. Where had Tantia Topee come from at that time ?

Answer. From Marwar.

Question. Who were with him ?

Answer. He had about 150 Cavalry and Infantry with him and two Native Cavalry officers.

Question. From what Force did he separate ?

Answer. He left the Rao Sahib who had with him about seven or eight thousand Infantry and Cavalry.

Question. Do you know where Tantia Topee was going to about eight days ago ?

Answer. A messenger came from the Rao Sahib with a letter inviting him to rejoin him. Tantia Topee was on his way to do so.

Question. Where was the Rao Sahib at this time ?

Answer. In the jungle near Seronj.

Question. Were you present when Tantia Topee was apprehended ?

Answer. I was.

Question. Do you know where Tantia Topee resided before the Mutiny ?

Answer. I heard he resided at Bithoor.

Question. Do you know that Bithoor is in the District of Cawnpoor and in the British Territory ?

Answer. I have never been there but I know it.

Question. Do you know that Tantia Topee was in the service of the ex-Peshwa Bajee Rao at Bithoor ?

Answer. I have heard so from everybody.

Question. Do you know whether Bajee Rao was a Pensioner of the British Government ?

Answer. I do.

Cross-examined by the Prisoner

Question. Did you see me anywhere else ?

Answer. Yes at several places.

Question. You say a letter came from the Rao Sahib inviting me to join him. Did you see this letter or only hear of it ?

Answer. I saw the man who brought the letter who told me the contents of it.

The witness retires.

EVIDENCE FOR THE PROSECUTION

Eda makes solemn affirmation.

Question. In whose service are you ?
Answer. I am a sowar in Maun Singh's service.
Question. Where did you first see Tantia Topee and is he the Prisoner now before the Court ?
Answer. I first saw him at Jhansi and the Prisoner now before the Court I recognize as Tantia Topee.
Question. What was Tantia Topee doing at Jhansi ?
Answer. He was fighting.
Question. Against whom was he fighting ?
Answer. Against a British Force.
Question. Against whom were (*sic*,) was, the British Force fighting ?
Answer. Against the Ranee of Jhansi.
Question. Who was in command of the Rebel Army which fought against the British Force outside the Town and Fort of Jhansi. ?
Answer. The Prisoner Tantia Topee.
Question. Where did you see Tantia Topee a short time ago ?
Answer. He was with me about three or four months ago at Parone.
Question. Was anybody with him at the time you mention ?
Answer. Asit (perhaps Ajit) Singh was with him.
Question. Where had Tantia Topee come from ?
Answer. He came from the direction of the Jeypoor Territory where he had been fighting and been defeated.

The Prisoner declines cross-examining and the Court has no questions to put.

The witness retires.

5TH WITNESS FOR PROSECUTION

Rumzan Khan makes solemn affirmation.

Question. In whose service are you ?
Answer. I am a *Zamadar* (*Jamadar*) of the *Tehseldaree* of Sipree.

Question. Where were you in June 1858 ?
Answer. I was here in June 1858 but was sent for by the *Soubah's* orders to Gwalior.
Question. Do you know the Prisoner ?
Answer. I know the Prisoner, he is Tantia Topee.
Question. Where did you first see Tantia Topee ?
Answer. I saw him near Maharaja Scindia's Palace at Gwalior at about four o'clock in the afternoon.
Question. What was Tantia Topee doing at the time you saw him at Gwalior ?
Answer. He was addressing the people and saying they were not to fear; as they had hitherto been commanded by Maharajah Scindia, so they would now be by him and he would take care of them.
Question. After Scindia's defeat and flight to Agra who commanded the Rebel Army at Gwalior ?
Answer. Tantia Topee did.
Question. In whose name did Tantia Topee administer affairs at Gwalior ?
Answer. In the name of the Peshwa.

The Prisoner declines cross-examining and the Court has no questions to put. The witness retires.

6TH WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION

Shaik Rumzan (Shaikh Ramzan) makes solemn affirmation.

Question. Do you know the Prisoner ?
Answer. I know the Prisoner Tantia Topee.
Question. Where were you in September 1857 and in whose service were you ?
Answer. I was in Maharaja Scindia's service at a *Chowkee* called Etunda in *Zillah* of Bhind.
Question. Did you see Tantia Topee at that time and what was he doing ?
Answer. He had the whole of the Gwalior Contingent who had mutinied with him and was on his road to Bithoor.
Question. Where did you see him again ?
Answer. I saw him at the same place after his flight from

Bithoor on his road to Gwalior accompanied by Rao Sahib, Ranee of Jhansi, the Bandah Nawab; and from fifteen to twenty thousand Rebels.

The Prisoner declines cross-examining and the Court has no questions to put. The witness retires.

7TH WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION

Khooshially (Khushali or Khush Ali) makes solemn affirmation.

Question. Do you know the Prisoner ?
Answer. I do.
Question. What is his name ?
Answer. Tantia Topee.
Question. Where did you first see him ?
Answer. I saw the prisoner at Morar.
Question. What was the prisoner doing there ?
Answer. He came there to induce the Contingent to join him which they did and became Rebels.
Question. Was Tantia Topee in command of the Rebel Army ?
Answer. He was.
Question. How long ago is it since you were at Gwalior ?
Answer. About ten months ago.
Question. Did Tantia manage affairs at Gwalior at that time ?
Answer. He did.

The Prisoner declines cross-examining and the Court has no questions to put. The witness retires.

8TH WITNESS FOR PROSECUTION

Shaik Abdoolla Aziz (Shaikh Abdul Aziz) makes solemn affirmation.

Question. In what service are you ?
Answer. I am a *Jemadar* in the 9th Bombay Regiment of Native Infantry.
Question. Where did you first see the Prisoner ?
Answer. I saw him near a river at Parone.
Question. What were you doing there ?

Answer. I was ordered to go there by Major Meade with a party.

Question. Did the Prisoner give himself up or was he taken by force ?

Answer. He was taken by force.

Question. Had he any arms with him ?

Answer. Yes, he had.

Question. Is the Prisoner now before the Court the man you captured ?

Answer. He is.

The Prisoner declines cross-examining and the Court has no questions to put. The witness retires.

The Deputy Judge Advocate here hands into Court a Document in the Vernacular (Urdu) and makes the following statement:

I now lay before the court in original a statement or confession which has been dictated by the Prisoner Tantia Topee of his own free will since his capture. I shall proceed to prove the document before its being read and translated to the Court.

Lieutenant Gibbon Interpreter to the Court is examined on his former oath.

Question. Do you know anything of the document I now shew you and can you identify the signatures (in Nagri) to the declaration at its foot ?

Answer. I was present yesterday morning when the contents of this document were read over to the Prisoner Tantia Topee by Moonshee Gunga Persad before Major Meade. The Prisoner stated the document was in all respects perfectly correct and that it had been dictated by him of his own free will and accord. I identify the signatures at the foot of the declaration as that of Major Meade Commanding the Field Force which captured the Prisoner. I have made a careful translation of this document which is appended to it.

Gunga Persad called into Court and makes solemn affirmation.

Question. Do you recognize the document I now shew you and the signatures to it ?

Answer. Yes, I wrote it myself. It is the statement or confession dictated by the Prisoner Tantia Topee taken down from his own lips. There are two signatures of the Prisoner which I here point out—those of myself and *Naib Kumasdar* Pribhoo Loll (Prabhu Lal) as witnesses and that of Major Meade below the declaration at the foot.

Question. Was the statement made by the Prisoner of his own free will ?

Answer. Yes, he was repeatedly asked if such was the case.

The Document having been duly proved is now read to the Court in the Vernacular, and its translation by the Interpreter is read by him and entered as follows. The original (or Vernacular) Document being marked A and appended to the Proceedings.[1]

PARTICULARS ABOUT TATYA

CROSS-EXAMINATION OF A WITNESS

1. *Question*—Is Tantia Topay (Tatya Tope) a name or a title ? If it is a title, what is the meaning of the word "Tantia" and what does the word "Topay" mean ?

Answer—The real name is Ramchund but Tantia is a second name, which is known to all—Topay is family title; and in the Marhatta language, Tantia is called father. Several Deccanee Brahmins and Marhattas also bear the name of Tantia. Topay means a commanding officer just as a captain.

2. *Question*—If it is a title, what is the name of Tantia Topay, and what is the name of his father as well as that of his mother ?

Answer—The real name of Tantia Topay is mentioned in the foregoing and his father's name is Pandurung. His mother is dead, and her name is not known. He has got another mother whose name is Mathoora Baee.

[1] Military Department Proceedings—No. 5, of 1859. Consultation 2nd Sept., No. 144. National Archives, New Delhi.

3. *Question*—To what class of the Brahmins does Tantia Topay belong by birth, that is whether he is by birth a Chutpaon or a Durawar, or a Karara, or a Vashishta ?

Answer—He is by birth a Vashishta Brahmin.

4. *Question*—How old is Tantia Topay and of what complexion ?

Answer—Tantia Topay is about 42 years old, and is a stout man, of middling stature, and has whiskers. He has got a wheat complexion and always wears a white *Chukridar* Turban.

5. *Question*—Whether Tantia Topay is the same person as Nana Sahib, or they are two different individuals ?

Answer—Tantia Topay and Nana Sahib are two different individuals i.e. Nana Sahib is a Chutpaon, and Topay is a Vashishta.

6. *Question*—Whether Tantia Topay ever had a shop at Sreenuggur to vend pies and shells (*cowries*) ?

Answer—He did not keep any shop at Sreenuggur.

7. *Question*—Whether the sister of Tantia Topay is married in the family of Nana Sahib or not ?

Answer—Tantia Topay's sister is not married with any of the family of Nana Sahib, for no marriage intercourse is allowable between the family of Chutpaon and that of Vashishta; but there is another individual by name Tantia Goorboolay whose sister has been wedded to Balla Rao, brother of Nana Sahib.

8. *Question*—What relationship does Tantia Topay bear with Nana Sahib ?

Answer—There exists no relationship between them.

9. *Question*—What is the name of that Raja of Sattara who made over his *Raj* or Territory to Peshwa in "Sung Kalpa" and in what year and *Sumbut*

Answer—The Sahoo Maharaj, Rajah of Sattara, made over in Sung Kalpa his Territory to Balajee Pundit, the ancestor of Bajee Rao Peshwa. It is

the alienation of that *Raj* was made ?

now about one hundred and fifty years since the alienation of the Territory was made, but it is not known in what year and *Sumbut*. The Territory was, it is supposed, made over in 1749 A. D.

10. *Question*—In what place Tantia Topay used to live all the while, and what was his profession ?

Answer—Tantia Topay used to live in Bitoor (Bithur), and to serve Nana Sahib as an *aide-de-camp* during the time of the late Bajee Rao Peshwa. After the death of Bajee Rao, Tantia Topay was employed under Nana Sahib as *Darogha* or Superintendent of the Kitchen, and was also for some time a Commanding Officer of a Company of sepoys whom Nana Sahib raised.[1]

* * *

Deposition of Tantia Topi taken at Camp Mushairi, 10th April 1859, *in presence of Major Meade, Commanding Field Force.*

My name is Tantia Topi; my father's name is Pandurang inhabitant of Jola *Pargana* Patoda *Zilla* Myeir[2]. I am a resident of Bithur. I am about forty-five years of age, in the service of Nana Sahib, in the grade of companion or *aide-de-camp*

In the month of May, 1857, the Collector of Cawnpore sent a note to the Nana Sahib at Bithur, asking him to forward his wife and children to England. The Nana consented to do so, and four days later the Collector wrote to him to bring his troops in from Bithur. I went with the Nana and about one hundred sepoys and three hundred matchlockmen and two guns to the Collector's house at Cawnpore. The

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, Supp : 30th Dec. 1859, Cons. No. 1362. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Name not clearly decipherable. It may have been spelt for *Maihar*.

Collector was then in the intrenchment and not in his house. He sent us word to remain, and we stopped for the night at his house. The Collector came in the morning and told the Nana to occupy his own house which was in Cawnpore. We remained there four days, and the gentleman said it was fortunate we had come to his aid, as the sepoys were disobedient, and that he would apply to the General on our behalf. The General wrote to Agra, whence word came that arrangements would be made for the pay of our men. Two days afterwards the three regiments of Infantry and the 2nd Light Cavalry surrounded us and imprisoned the Nana and myself in the Treasury, and plundered the Magazine and Treasury of everything they contained, leaving nothing in either. The sepoys made over two lakhs and eleven thousand rupees to the Nana, keeping their own sentries over it. The Nana was also under charge of these sentries and the sepoys who were with us joined the rebels. After this the whole army marched from that place, and the rebels took the Nana Sahib and myself and all our attendants with them, and said, "Come to Delhi". Having gone six miles from Cawnpore, the Nana Sahib said that as the day was far spent, it was better to halt, and march next day, they agreed and halted. In the morning the whole army told the Nana to go with them towards Delhi. He refused, and they then said "Come with us to Cawnpore, and fight there". The Nana objected to this, but they would not listen to him, and so, taking him as a prisoner, they marched towards Cawnpore, and began to fight there. The fighting continued for twenty-four days, and on the twenty-fourth day the General raised the flag of peace, and the fighting ceased. The Nana got a female who had been captured before to write a note to General Wheeler, that the sepoys would not obey his orders, and that if he wished he would get boats and convey him and those with him in the intrenchment as far as Allahabad. An answer came from the General that he approved of this arrangement, and the same evening the General sent the Nana something over one lakh of rupees, and authorised him to keep the amount. The following day I went and got ready forty boats, and having caused all the gentlemen, ladies, and children to get into the boats, I started them off to Allahabad. In the meantime the whole army, Artillery included, having got ready, arrived at the river Ganges. The sepoys jumped into the water and

commenced a massacre of all the men, women, and children, and set the boats on fire. They destroyed thirty-nine boats. One, however, escaped as far as Kala Kankar, but was there caught and brought back to Cawnpore, and all on board of it destroyed. Four days after this the Nana said he was going to Bithur to keep the anniversary of his mother's death; the sepoys allowed him to go, some of them accompanying him. Having kept the anniversary, they brought him back to Cawnpore, and took for their pay the money they had first made over to the Nana's charge, and made arrangements to fight against Hasan Fatehpur, where they heard some Europeans had arrived from Allahabad, and they told the Nana to accompany them. The Nana refused. The Nana and I remained at Cawnpore, and sent Jawala Persad, the Nana's Agent with them to Fatehpur. Being defeated there, they retreated to Cawnpore and the European force pressed them the whole way to Cawnpore, when there was a battle for about two hours, and the rebel army was again defeated, and ran away from Cawnpore. Under these circumstances the Nana and I fled to Bithur, arriving there at midnight, and the rebel army followed us. Next morning the Nana, taking some money with him, went to Fatehpur. The rebel army followed and looted the place. The Nana, Bala Sahib, Rao Sahib, and I, with all our wives, crossed the Ganges in boats, and arrived at Fatehpur in the Lucknow territory, and put up with Choudri Bhopal Singh. Some days passed, when the 42nd Native Infantry arrived at Sheorajpur, and wrote to the Nana to send there some one to take them to him.

I went and told them that the Nana had sent for them. In the meantime the English army had arrived, and the 42nd went to Bithur and fought there. I accompanied them, and having been defeated we fled, crossed the Ganges, and came to the Nana. Some days later I received orders from the Nana to go to Gwalior, and bring back to fight the English such of the Contingent as were at Morar. I went to Morar, and brought back the Contingent to Kalpi. The Nana had sent his brother, the Bala Sahib, to Kalpi, and according to his order I went with the army to fight against Cawnpore, leaving a small force and Magazine at Kalpi. At Cawnpore there was a battle which lasted eleven days, when the rebel army was defeated, and we all ran away. Next day we fought at Sheorajpur, and, having been defeated, we ran away,

taking fifteen guns with us. I and the Bala Sahib and the Rao Sahib, who had been sent by the Nana to Cawnpore, crossed the Ganges at Nana Mau-Ki-Ghat. We remained at Khera for the night. I got orders from the Rao Sahib to go and take charge of the small force and Magazine left at Kalpi, in obedience to which I went there. After my arrival at Kalpi I received orders from the Nana to go and attack Charkhari, and that the Rao Sahib would be sent after me. I accordingly went to Charkhari with 900 sepoys, 200 Cavalry, and 4 guns, and fighting began. Four days afterwards the Rao Sahib came to Kalpi. I fought at Charkhari for eleven days, and took it. I took 24 guns and three lakhs of rupees from the Raja. The Rajas of Banpur and Shahgarh and Divan Deshpat and Daulat Singh, the Kuchwaya Kharwala, and a great gathering of people joined me there at this time. I received a note from the Rani of Jhansi to the effect that she was waging war with the Europeans, and begging me to come to her aid. I reported this to the Rao Sahib at Kalpi. The Rao came to Jaipur and gave me permission to go to the assistance of the Rani. Accordingly I went to Jhansi and halted at Barwa Sagar. There Raja Man Singh came and joined me. The next day about a mile from Jhansi our army had a fight with the English army. At this time we had 22,000 men and 28 guns. In this battle we were defeated. Part of the rebel army with 4 or 5 guns fled to Kalpi, and I went to the same place by way of Bhander and Kunch, with 200 sepoys. The Rani arrived at Kalpi the same evening as myself, and begged the Rao Sahib to give her an army that she might go and fight. The following morning the Rao Sahib ordered a parade of all the troops, and told me to accompany the Rani to battle. Accordingly I accompanied her with an army, and there was a battle at Kunch which lasted until (*sic*, till) noon. We were again defeated, and I fled to Chirki, which is about four miles from Jalaun, where my people were. The Rao had a battle afterwards at Kalpi, and was defeated and he and his whole army arrived at Gopalpur; we all marched thence towards Gwalior. We had one day's fight with Maharaja Sindhia and defeated him. Three days afterwards all Sindhia's army joined the Rao Sahib, and having procured from the Gwalior Treasury through Amar Chand Batia, the Treasurer, sufficient funds, pay was distributed to the army. Ran Rao Govind was also with us. Some days after the English army

arrived at Gwalior from Kalpi, and a force also came from Sirpur. (Sipri or Sheopur) Fighting again took place and continued for four or five days, during which the Rani of Jhansi was killed. Ram Rao Govind had her corpse burnt and we were all defeated and fled, taking 25 guns with us. We reached Jaora-Alipur, and remained there during the night. Next morning we were attacked, and fought for an hour and a half. We fired five shots, the English army fired four shots, and we then ran off, leaving all our guns. We crossed the Chambal and reached Tonk. The Nawab of Tonk fought with us, and we took four guns from him. With these guns we proceeded to Bhilwara by way of Madhopur and Indargarh. We were there attacked by the English force, and I fled during the night, accompanied by my army and guns. At that time I had 8,000 or 9,000 men and 4 guns. We halted a night at Kotra, four miles from Nathdwara. Next morning we marched towards Patan, and, after proceeding about a mile, the English army arrived. We left our guns and fled, reaching Patan as fugitives. The Nawab of Banda, who had come with us from Kalpi, and the Nawab of Kumona, who had joined us at Indurkhi, were both with us. On our arrival at Patan we conquered the Raja, got possession of his guns and magazines, and surrounded the palace. Next day I told the Raja to give me some money to pay the expenses of my army. He said he could give me only five lakhs of rupees. I returned and told the Rao Sahib this. Next day the Rao Sahib sent for the Raja and demanded 25 lakhs. The Raja declared that he could not give more than five lakhs; but after some discussion it was settled that he should pay fifteen. The Raja said he would go to his palace and send this sum. He went accordingly, and sent two and a quarter lakhs in cash, and promised that the rest should follow. By next day he had paid up five lakhs.

Emam Ali, Woordie Major (Wardi Major), 5th Irregular Cavalry, ill-treated the Raja, who fled during the night. We remained there five days, and issued three months' pay to our troops at the monthly rate of thirty rupees to each sowar and twelve rupees to each foot-soldier. We then marched for Sironj, taking eighteen guns with us. On reaching Rajgarh the English army came up and attacked us. We left our guns and fled, reaching Sironj by way of Nija Kila. We halted at Sironj eight days, and proceeded thence to Isagarh.

On arrival we demanded supplies, but the people would not give them. We, therefore, attacked and plundered the place. We halted the following day, and the Rao Sahib told me to go to Chanderi while he went round by Talbahat. I accordingly went to Chanderi and the Rao Sahib to Lalitpur. On reaching Chanderi, four shots were first fired on us from the fort, which we attacked and fought with Sindhia's Agent. After three days we marched from Chanderi towards Mangraoli, taking eleven guns, seven of which we got from Isagarh and four from Sironj. On our march to Mangraoli we met the English army. Shots were fired for a short time, when we left all our guns and fled.

I reached Jakhlaun, and next day went to Sultanpur, where the Rao Sahib also arrived. After three days the English force arrived, and the Rao Sahib took his army to Jakhlaun, and some firing took place there. I was not present in this fight. The Rao Sahib returned to Lalitpur, and the following day proceeded to Kajuria and halted there. Next day the English army came up just as we were going to march, and an action began which lasted an hour and a half. We then left all our guns and fled, and reached Talbahat. We halted there, and the following day went to Jakhlaun, and then to Etawah (Itawa), 12 miles distant, where we stopped. We there heard that the English army was coming to surround us, and marched at night. The English force came up in the morning, and our army became separated. I accompanied the Rao Sahib, and we proceeded *via* Rajgarh, and crossed the Narbada and got to Khargon Bustee *via* Kundula. The troops who were with us burned the Government *Thana* (station) and Bungalow at Kandula. The Rao Sahib forbade their doing so, but they would not obey him. This was about four months ago. At Khargon Bustee there were some of Holkar's troops one hundred and forty troopers, a Company of Infantry, and two guns. These we forced to join us and took with us the following day when we marched towards Gujrat, crossing the high road where the telegraph wire ran. The sepoys broke the wire and plundered seven Hackeries (carts) which were on the road proceeding with Government property towards Gwalior, and seized the *Chaprasis* and *Chaukidars* who were with the Hackeries, and took them with them. Some of the *Chaukidars* were hanged by them. We there left the high road and proceeded westward. Next day

we were surprised by the English force, and leaving our two guns we fled and reached the Narbada. An officer with a hundred men was on the opposite bank. Our force began to cross and the officer and troopers ran off. We plundered the village of Chikla, and marched thence at midnight. After proceeding 34 miles we halted at Rajpur. Next day we took 3,900 rupees and three horses from the Raja of that place, and went on to Chota Udepur. The following day the English force surprised us, some of them were killed and some of ours. From Chota Udepur we went to Deogarh Bari, and our army became separated. There was jungle at that place, and I halted there two days. Our troops having been assembled again, we went to Banswara. There our men plundered sixteen or seventeen camel loads of cloth belonging to a merchant. We went thence to Salomar, and I called on Kaisar Singh, Agent to the Udeipur Raja, to furnish us with supplies. He sent us some and we started the following day with the intention of going to Udepur. However, on the way we received news of the English force, and retraced our steps to Bhilwara. We remained there two days and then proceeded to Partabgarh where we fought for two hours with a body of English troops from Neemuch. About 8 o'clock in the evening we ran off, and halted six miles east of Mandisore. We then went by three stages to Zirapur. An English force surprised us there, and we were again surprised by another force at Chapra Baraud. We fled thence to Nahargarh, at which place nine shots were fired at us from guns. We moved out of range, and halted for the night, and the Rao Sahib sent Risaldar Nannu Khan to call Raja Man Singh. The Raja came and accompanied us to a place about two miles from Paron, where we halted. We remained there two days and on the third went on to a place about 8 miles beyond Kilwari. Raja Man Singh accompanied us as far as a river which we crossed on the way, and then left us. We made two stages thence to Indargarh, where Feroz Shah met us with the Bodyguard and 12th Irregulars. Next day we made two stages to Dausa. The English force surprised us there; some men on both sides were killed, and flying thence towards Marwar we reached a village about sixty miles from Marwar, whose name I forget. At 4 o'clock that night we were surprised by the English force, and the 12th Irregular Cavalry separated from the Rao Sahib's army.

Next day Thakur Narayan Singh, Ajit Singh, uncle of Raja Man Singh and Thakur Ganga Singh joined us. They were coming in this direction. I had been quarrelling with the Rao Sahib all the way from Deogarh Bari, and told him I could flee no longer, and that I should leave him on the first opportunity. The opportunity occurred here, and I left him and accompanied the above-named parties in this direction. When I left the Rao Sahib he had about six thousand men with him. I was accompanied by three men, two to cook my food and one groom, three horses and a pony. The two *Pandits* were Ram Rao and Narayan. The groom Gobind left me and ran off after coming two stages. We reached the Paron jungle, and met Raja Man Singh. Ajit Singh took leave of Raja Man Singh and went home. Narayan Singh and I remained with Raja Man Singh. The Raja said, "Why did you leave your force ? You have not acted rightly in so doing". I replied that I was tired of running away, and would remain with him whether I had done right or wrong. I heard after this that the Rao Sahib's army had gone to Patan and thence towards Sironj. I told Raja Man Singh I would send a man to obtain news of them, and he approved of my doing so. I sent accordingly, and got information that the Rao Sahib was not there, but Emam Ali, Woordie Major, Feroz Shah, and Adil Muhammad, Nawab of Ambapani, were there with eight or nine thousand men. Emam Ali, Woordie Major of the 5th Irregular Cavalry wrote to me to come and join them. I had lost my master's (the Nana's) seal, and had another made up at Paron.

When I heard as above from the Woordie-Major, I sent a man to Raja Man Sing, who was at Mahudia in Major Meade's Camp, to inform him that I had received a note of this purport, and to ask him if I should go or remain. Raja Man Singh had consulted me before giving himself up to Major Meade, and had left one of his men with me, saying "Stop wherever this man takes you". Raja Man Singh replied to my message that he would come in three days to see me and we should then decide what to do.

He came accordingly on the night of the third day, and spoke a great deal to me, and told me that he had met Major Meade and that his disposition was good. When I asked him what he advised—whether I should go or remain—he said he would reply in the morning. I then went to sleep, and

during the night some of the sepoys of the Government came and seized me and took me to Major Meade's Camp.

(*Signed by Tantia Topi*)

Question—By Major Meade:—Have you made this statement of your own free will and without compulsion ? and has any promise been made or hope held out to you to induce you to make it ?

Answer—I have of my own free will caused this statement to be written, and no one has forced me, or held out hope or promise of any sort to induce me to do so.

Signed by Tantia Topi, Agent of Nana Sahib, and two witnesses.

The above deposition or statement was made by the prisoner Tantia Topi in my presence on the 10th of April, 1859, at Camp Mushairi, of his own voluntary act and without compulsion of any sort, or promise made or hope held out to him as inducement to make it.

(Sd). *R. J. Meade, Major,*
Commanding Field Force.[1]

TATYA TOPE'S FAMILY

Letter from the Assistant Resident-in-charge, Baroda, to the Secretary to Government, Political Department, Bombay.

I have the honour to report for the information of His Excellency the Governor in Council that a person of the name of Ramkhrishna *bin* Pandurang and avowing himself to be a step-brother of Tatia Tope having presented himself at Baroda, stating that he was in search of employment, he was brought up to the Residency by His Highness' Minister when he gave the deposition of which the accompanying is a Translation and presented the uncertified copy of a certificate which he asserted had been given to his family by the Political Agent at Gwalior.[2]

[1] Military Department Proceedings—No. 5 of 1859, Consultation 2nd Sept., No. 144. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] The Construction of the Paragraph is faulty.

2nd—Should nothing be known to Government respecting and against this person, and it appearing from the certificate (Translation of which is enclosed) that he and the other members of his family have been directed to reside at Bithoor, it would probably be better that he should be returned to Gwalior and I shall feel obliged by your obtaining the orders of His Excellency the Governor in Council on the subject.

DEPOSITION OF RAMKRISHNA TOPE

Translation of the deposition of Ramkrishna bin Pandurang Topey, caste Brahmin Roogvedee, aged 24, profession Beggar and Karkoon, inhabitant of Brahmavart/Bithoor, now resident at Baroda, living near Moodikhana in the house of Dajeeba Dhomsay, made before Lulloo Asharam Foujdar on Kartick Soodi 11 Samvat 1919 A.D.

Question—When and why did you come to Baroda and on the strength of whose acquaintanceship have you remained here, how have you been employed and who are your relations ?

Answer—I am the step-brother of Tatia Tope. I came from Indore about 3 months ago in the hope of gaining a livelihood at Baroda. I have no acquaintance or relation here. I have hired a room in the house of Dhomsay. On arrival I possessed Rs. 25 on which I have existed up to this day. Not having any acquaintances here I did not try for a situation, but simply visited the *Foujdaree Cutchery* two or three times; for the same reason I spoke to no one nor did any person address me. All my money having been expended I made up my mind to visit His Highness the Gackwar, and told him that I was step-brother to Tatia Tope that I had been kept in custody by the Scindia *Sirkar*, but that Meade Sahib after being satisfied that I was no rebel gave me a "*Purwannah*", copy of which I produce before His Highness, when His Highness ordered the Jasood to take me to the *Dewanjee* and prevent me from coming to the *Warra* (Palace). On this I was taken by the Jasood to the *Foujdaree Cutchery* and he, after making His Highness' instructions known there, delivered me up.

Question—It was known everywhere that Tatia Tope was concerned in the mutiny, and you were apprehended because you were his brother. How long were you kept in confine-

ment, and in what way, and when were you released, where is the original of the document ? After you were released where and how were you employed and in what state, and where is your family now ?

Answer—I lived in Brahmvart Bithoor. Tatia Tope my step-brother, lived with his family, but separate from us. We had been separated for two years before the mutiny commenced. It was known to me as well as to all that Tatia Tope was concerned in the said mutiny. After the lapse of many days, the rebels after fighting with the British Government were beaten; meanwhile Nana Saheb Peshwa of the rebels left Bithoor and after crossing the Ganges ran away. Tatia Tope with his family followed him. The family of Tatia Tope consisted of his wife and son. I did not accompany him nor did I engage in the mutiny and did not leave Bithoor but remained there. The members of my family who remained at Bithoor were.....my father, mother, 6 brothers, including myself—all of one mother, my wife and elder brother's wife, one married sister. We were twice or thrice plundered like the rest of the ryots by the rebels. Afterwards I lived for about two months in Kakoopoor; from thence I went to Soorkee and remained there 2 or 3 months. I remained in Julwar 2 or 3 months. Afterwards I lived with my family in Beerbhowdar under the Scindia *Sirkar*. We lived in all these places without informing anybody of our being related to Tatia Tope and for this reason, that though we were not concerned in the mutiny, still we feared lest we might be apprehended owing to our relationship with Tatia Tope, and that we should have to remain in confinement until it was proved that we were not concerned in the rebellion. Thus through fear, we remained quiet in the above stated places. When we were in "Bheer" village Tatia Tope's lawful brother was living with his family in a village called "Yewlah" (Yewla, district Nasik) in the Deccan. For 11 years he had not seen his father and it being a rule among us that a meeting should take place within twelve years, he therefore came to Bheer village enquiring for his father and there we met. He was alone, but he is the lawful brother of Tatia Tope. I am step-brother. We together with our parents and other members of the family were all seized by the *Soobah* of Scindia *Sirkar*, on information being given by some person that we were relatives of Tatia Tope, and imprisoned,

and were sent to the Scindia *Sirkar*. Macpherson Sahib was the representative of the British Government at Gwalior. He after eliciting all the information he could from us caused a list of our property to be drawn up. We moved about as quietly as possible for fear of being apprehended by the Scindia *Sirkar* owing to our relationship with Tatia Tope. This we stated in writing. We were then kept in the Gwalior Fort until satisfactory enquiries had been made regarding us. About 11 or 11½ months we were in confinement, when after satisfactory enquiries had been made we were released by Meade Sahib, who succeeded Macpherson Sahib, and who returned us our property. We were ordered to remain in Gwalior for one year and not to go away without the *Sirkar's* order. Accordingly we remained in Gwalior openly, and after the lapse of one year the Scindia *Sirkar* gave us permission to leave. On this I went to Meade Sahib and represented that we had permission to leave Gwalior and begged for some document by which we might not be detained at any other place. On this the *Sahib* furnished us with a document which we showed to the *Sahib* at Bithoor when we went there, who after taking a copy of it, returned the paper to me. The original document is with my father. On the strength of this document we remained at Bithoor with my family for one year, but having no means of gaining our livelihood there, my father with the rest of the family went to Kasee (Benares) where they are now. I and my wife did not accompany them. Having made up my mind to gain a livelihood in some way or other, and having obtained a copy of the document in my father's possession, I left Bithoor and came to Indore, where a survey was being carried on in Holkar *Sirkar's* country. I obtained a *Karkoon's* place on Rs. 7 a month under a measurer. I performed this work for 6 to 7 months and my name was written down as Ramkrishna Pandurang of Yewlaykur and the *Karkun* knew my surname to be 'Tope'. I left the place of my own accord, and came here in the hope of serving under this *Raj*. I have brought a copy of the original document which I have laid before the *Sirkar* as before stated. I was apprehended because of my relationship with Tatia Tope, but after a satisfactory enquiry had been instituted, I was released, and a document furnished to me, on the strength of which and without fear I roamed about in the hope of obtaining employment. I have personally informed His Highness the Gackwar that I

am Tatia Tope's step-brother and produced a copy of the document I had by me as proof. If the *Sirkar* wishes, an enquiry can be made regarding the original document. My wife is in Baroda in the house above-mentioned.

Question—Where is Tatia Tope now ?

Answer—I do not know where he is. Since he left us we have not met nor have I ever heard of his whereabouts.

Question— Where is Tatya Tope's lawful brother ?

Answer—Since our release by the *Sirkar* and until my father left for Benares he was with him. I heard afterwards that he did not go to Benares but to "Yewlah" village. Whether he is now there or gone to some other place, I do not know as I have received no letter from him.

Question—It is written in the copy of the paper shown by you that you must live at Bithoor. Were you and your father residing at another place with the sanction of the *Sirkar* or not? If with the sanction of the *Sirkar* then produce the order. You have stated that you roamed about from place to place. Did you obtain the *Sirkar's* permission to do so ? If so, produce that order also.

Answer—According to agreement I remained with my father at Bithoor. When we showed the document to the *Sahib* at Bithoor, that gentleman said we might reside where we liked. When my father with his family proceeded to Benares, he did not obtain the *Sahib's* sanction. In like manner when I left Bithoor to roam about I did not obtain the *Sahib's* order; therefore, I have no document in my possession, regarding it.

Question—When you and your father left Bithoor to go and reside in another place, why did you not obtain the English *Sirkar's* sanction ?

Answer—Our case had been enquired into and satisfactorily cleared up, and for one year only we were required not to leave Gwalior and go to another place. This having expired and thinking that there would be no objection to our leaving, we left Bithoor without obtaining the sanction of the English *Sirkar*.[1]

[1] "*Source-Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India*" : Vol. I, 1818-85, Pp. 231-5. Bombay 1957.
[Political Department, Volume 3 of the year 1862, Pp. 111 to 130].

THE 'PERMIT' TO TATYA TOPE'S FAMILY TO RESIDE AT BITHUR

Be it known

That Pandurang Bolee *Wullud* Trimbak Bhutt, Rooghnathrow(Raghunath Rao) Ramkrishna, Ganghadhar, Luxman, Bujnath, Suddashive (Sada Shiv), Trimbak and Muthrabaee (Mathura Bai), Gungabaee, Radhabaee, and Doorgabaee, brother and sister of Tatia Tope were apprehended by the *Kamdars* of Gwalior in "Bhundsee" and brought here on the 15th August 1858 and were tried by me on the 27th of May 1859, and released because it was found that they were not concerned in the late mutiny and nothing having been proved against Pandurang before the Maharaja Sindhia Bahadoor Alijah, an order is issued that a letter be sent to the Magistrate of Cawnpoor, to the effect that the above-named persons be ordered to take up their residence at Bithoor. The *Wakeel* of the *Durbar* also is ordered to give this paper to Pandurang to inform him that these people should present themselves before the Magistrate of Cawnpore on 26th April 1860.

Should be sent back to Gwalior.[1]

RAMKRISHNA SON OF PANDURANG FOUND NOT GUILTY

Letter from Major R. J. Meade, Agent Governor General for Central India, to W. H. Havelock, Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay.

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 387 of date 21st instant transmitting copy of a letter, with accompaniment, from the Assistant Resident of Baroda, relative to a person named "Ramchristna *bin* Pandurang" (Ramkrishna son of Pandurang) avowing himself to be a step-brother of Tatia Tope, —who was recently arrested at Baroda, and requesting me to furnish any information in my powers regarding the prisoner and his family, and to test the correctness of statement by separate enquiry.

2*nd*—In reply, I have the honour to state, for the information of His Excellency the Governor in Council, that the

[1] "*Source-Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India*" : Vol. I, 1818-85, Pp. 235-6. Bombay 1957.
[Political Department, Volume 3 of the year 1862, Pp. 111 to 130.]

circumstances related by the prisoner are perfectly true, the capture and subsequent release of the family having occurred, as set forth by him, with my personal knowledge.

3*rd*—I myself furnished the Certificate or *Purwanah*, of which a translation is appended to the accompaniments to your letter under reply, authorizing and directing the several persons named therein to proceed to Bithoor and report themselves to the Magistrate of Cawnpoor.

4*th*—I am of course unable to say that the prisoner is really one of the persons named in this document but from his accurate account of what transpired at Gwalior in regard to himself and his family, I should say that he is the individual he represents himself to be.

5*th*—I should add that strong suspicion naturally rested on this family, as being so nearly related to the Arch-Rebel Tatia Tope, but that no proof whatever was obtained of any of its members having been implicated in the transactions or proceedings of the rebellion.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 79/84 *of* 1862, *dated* 17*th December* 1862, *Baroda Residency, from the Resident to the Acting Secretary to Government, Political Department, Bombay.*

In reply to your letter of the 10th instant No. 407 calling for a reply on the subject of a letter from the Agent Governor General for Central India, I have the honour to refer you to my letter of the 14th November last No. 72/750 suggesting that the person calling himself a step-brother of Tatia Tope should be sent back to Gwalior where he can be directed to proceed to some other destination.[2]

[1] "*Source-Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India*" : Vol. I, 1818-85, Pp. 236-7. Bombay 1957.
[Political Department, Volume 3 of the year 1862, Pp. 111 to 130].

[2] *Ibid.*, p: 237. Bombay 1957.
[Political Department, Volume 3 of the year 1862, Pp. 111 to 130.]

CHAPTER NINE

PROTRACTED STRUGGLE

REVOLUTIONARIES AT GUR SARAI

Letter from Captain F. W. Pinkney, Commissioner of Jhansi Division, to William Muir, Secretary to Government of the N.-W. Provinces, Allahabad, dated Camp near Moth, 6th June 1858. *No.* 222 *of* 1858.

In continuation of my letter No. 217 of the 5th June 1858 I have the honor to inform you, that orders have been received by Major Orr, from Sir H. Rose to proceed with the Heidrabad (Haidrabad) Contingent *via* Jhansie towards Gwalior forthwith.

2*nd*—This will leave the Jhansie district without any troops to move about to put down bands of plunderers, and the country between the Betwa and Dessan (Dhasan) rivers will, I fear, in consequence soon be in a state of utter disorder. I have directed the Goorserae Chief to concentrate his disposable armed followers and guns at and near Goorserae, and to make the best arrangements possible and I have ordered the *Tehseeldar* of Gurrotha, Bundi Ali[1], to take up his quarters also at Goorserae with 200 matchlock policemen which I have authorized him to entertain. As however there is a force of 400 mutineer Cavalry and 300 mutineer Infantry, to which are joined about 1500 insurgent matchlockmen, now at Busnere 8 miles south of Goorserae, I greatly fear that the Goorserae Chief will be able to do little more than hold Goorserae and its immediate neighbourhood, and the country around will all be plundered. The mutineers above mentioned, have come from Rahut[2], from which place I hear they were beaten out by the Chirkari (Charkhari) Rajah.

3*rd*—I am well aware that all minor objects must yield to the important one of reoccupying Gwalior for Scindia, but at the same time if General Whitlock could spare a small light Column on his arrival at Kalpee for the purpose of moving about the south of the Jaloun and north of the Jhansie district, and particularly between the rivers Betwa and Dessan and in the

[1] The correct name would be 'Bunde Ali' or 'Bande Ali'.

[2] This can be read in the original document as 'Rabut' also. Obviously 'Rath' is meant here.

direction of Rahut in Humeerpoor, it would hinder the insurgent *Thakoors* from making much head until matters had been somewhat settled in Scindia's dominions and troops could be spared to utterly crush the insurgents in this division.

TEHRI TROOPS OCCUPY RAMPUR

4*th*—Of the Humeerpoor district I have no reliable accounts, but believe that we have no footing in it whatever, and that it is in great disorder. The Tehree troops have retaken Banpoor for our Government.

5*th*—I beg to observe that now the enemy's armies have been beaten and dispersed, the insurrection will never be put down in this part of the country by large Column of troops. What is wanted are two or three small light Columns under active officers, like Major Orr's Heidrabad (Haidrabad) Column now here moving about the country accompanied by Civil Officers to point out to the Commanding Officers who are and who are not friends to Government, to collect information for him regarding the position of the rebel bands, and to open negociations (negotiations) with the insurgents when beaten.

6*th*—The news of the defection of Gwalior has rendered it impossible for me to get the States bordering on it to furnish levies for police purposes. And I have therefore withdrawn the *Tehseeldar* and *Thannadar* of Mote (Moth) to Chirgong 14 miles near Jhansie where there is an apparently faithful *Thakoor*, who has raised 300 men for us.

7*th*—I have not addressed General Whitlock on the subject referred to in this letter, as in case of my doing so and of his complying, I might unknowingly divert a part of his force from other objects which Government may deem more important. Should however Government deem it advisable that such a small Column be detached by General Whitlock, I will accompany it, as it will have to act in three different districts, and from my office I shall carry more weight with the individual than any other Civil Officer.[1]

[1] File No. 153: "Mutineer Sepoys at Agra and conduct of Nawab of Baoni", Pp. 39-40. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN JALAUN, JHANSI AND CHANDERI

From Captain F. W. Pinkney, Commissioner of Jhansi Division, to William Muir, Secretary to Government, N.-W. P., dated Jhansi, the 23rd June 1858.

In continuation of my letter No. 252 dated 14th June 1858 I have the honor to report as follows:—

JALAUN DISTRICT

2*nd*—In Jaloun all was quiet up to the 21st June the date of Captain Ternan's last report. Burjore Singh of Billawa[1] with a small party of followers was lurking about in the jungle and ravines near Duboh. Revenue is being collected but rather slowly; the chief collections have been from Orai, Koonch, Atta, and Jaloun. Captain Ternan has deemed necessary to arrest Radha Bhae (Radha Bai) of Sirsaee[2], and she is now under surveillance in Kalpee; I have not as yet heard what charge there is against her. Three hundred and fifty men of the 19th Madras Native Infantry have arrived at Kalpee. On the whole the state of the Jaloun district is thus far favorable (favourable).

JHANSI DISTRICT

3*rd*—In the Jhansie District the whole of the large tract of country between the Dessan and Betwa is in open insurrection, save a small tract around Goorserai which is protected by the Goorserai Chief, Kesho Rao. The *Tuhsildar* (*Tahsildar*) of Gurrota (Garotha) has by my orders retired to Goorserai and the *Tuhsildar* of Purwaho to Tori Futtipoor[3], a neighbouring

[1] Apparently *Bilaua*, jagir village, Pargana *Pichhor*, Zila *Gwalior Gird* (*Gwalior State*)—A village in the jagir of the same name in 26° 3′ N. and 78° 19′ E., 4 miles from Antri Railway Station. (*Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1908, p. 209).

[2] Apparently *Sirsi*, Pargana *Bansi*, Tahsil *Lalitpur*, District *Jhansi*—A village in 24° 52′ N. and 78° 25′ E., 13 miles north-east of Lalitpur, on the unmetalled road to Jakhaura. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, p. 317).

[3] Written in the original document as 'Tori Tuttipoor' but it is *Tori-Fatehpur*—A petty sanad State in *Central India*, under the *Bundelkhand Agency*, belonging to the Hasht-Bhaiya Jagirs, with an area of 36 square miles. It is bounded by the Jhansi district of the United Provinces on all sides except the west, where it touches Dhurwai. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, 1908, p. 420).

town in the Tehree State. One party of the insurgents consisting of 300 mutineers Infantry, 350 or 400 mutineers Cavalry and 2000 matchlockmen surrounded the flourishing town and fort of Mow (Rannypoor), 45 miles east of Jhansie, and compelled the *Tuhsildars* and *Thannadars* to withdraw into the fort, where at the head of 200 or 250 police and matchlockmen furnished by neighbouring friendly *Thakoors* they for some time defended themselves; at last they were given up to the rebels by their own men, who on that condition were allowed to go away unmolested. The town has been plundered, and it and the fort are now held by the rebels, who, I hear, have the *Tuhsildars* and *Thannadars* in irons. The disturbances in the country between the Dessan and Betwa are assuming a rather serious aspect, there being other parties of rebels moving about there besides the one at Mow, and I have sent an express to Sir H. Rose calling for troops. Now that Gwalior has fallen I also beg to refer you to paras 3, 5, and 7 of my letter No. 222 dated 6th June 1858.

4*th*—Our *Thannahs* and *Tuhsilees* to the west, north and south of Jhansie are held by us with police and Duttia troops. Very little revenue however can be collected at present.

5*th*—The town of Jhansie is still kept by the military authorities under their administration. As it is now upwards of two months since the place was taken and as the Gwalior's difficulty has been disposed of I beg to recommand (*sic*, recommend) that the town be made over to the Civil authorities.

CHANDERI DISTRICT

6*th*—From the 3rd June until to-day all communication with the Fort of Chandeyree had been cut off. This morning however a messenger arrived with letters from the *Tuhsildar*, posted there dated the 17th June from which I learn that on that date there was detachment of Scindia's Foot with 4 guns and a party of Horse there, who with the *Tuhsildar*, *Thannadar*, and 100 police still held the place for us. A very large body of rebels are at Raj Ghat on the Betwa about half way between Chandeyree and Lallutpoor and there are other large bodies moving about the district. Banpoor Khas and the fort of Morohnee are still held for us by the

Tehree troops. A *Thannadar* is also in each place with some police.....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE NEAR MAURANIPUR

Summary of a letter to the Officer Commanding Jhansi, dated 5th July 1858.

The Officer had been informed that the rebels in the vicinity of Mau Ranipur had been joined by a person from the Rewa direction called the "Jagee Raja" with 4 guns. The officer had also learned that all the powerful *Zamindars* have (*sic*, had) joined rebels. They were said to have 300 rebel sepoys and 150 or 200 sowars with them probably fugitives from the direction of Kalpee. The rebels had been left undisturbed so long that they had gained in numbers and contemplated an advance on "Burwa Sagar". Without reinforcements from Gwalior, no force could be sent against them.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES BETWEEN BETWA AND DHASAN

Summary of the Narrative of Events from 11*th to* 18*th July* 1858, *District Jhansi.*

The officer concerned says that the rebels between the rivers Betwa and Dasan (Dhasan) still hold possession of that part of the country called 'Kavarai' (Kabrai) and commit many crimes of cruelty and oppression. Their chief leader was Runjeet. Bhup Singh, Murut Singh (Murat Singh or Bharat Singh), the Thakur of Banpur by name Ajeb (Ajab) Singh, Bhagwat Singh, Sawant Singh and others threatened the adjoining town. A small force was sent to relieve the town, but a strong force was needed as the strength of rebels was increasing day by day. On 11th Munsaram (Mansa Ram), formerly a servant of the Rani, was seen at a place called 'Mulawai', in *pergana* Pichore with a band of fugitives from Gwalior endeavouring to raise the country which is inclined to quiet down. Kashinath Bya (Kashi Nath Bhaiya) had also taken possession of some villages in *pergana* Pichore with 2,000 men.[3]

[1] File No. 153, Pp. 37-38. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

[2] Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*. Bundle XIII, File No. 77, year 1855-80.

[3] *Ibid.*

DISTURBED CONDITION OF JHANSI

Summary of a letter No. 61 *to Captain Pinkney, Commissioner, dated July* 20, 1858.

The officer reported that the district of Jhansi's some parts in the direction of Runpura[1] were again seriously disturbed for some days. Rebel *Thakurs* have besieged the *Gharry* (*Garhi*) of the town. A small force was sent to relieve the town, but the town, which was flourishing, was completely destroyed. The other parts of the district were comparatively quiet but there was great excitement among the native chiefs as the city of Gwalior had fallen in the hands of the rebels.[2]

JAWAHAR SINGH COMMANDS REVOLUTIONARIES

Summary of a letter No. 140 *to Captain Pinkney, Commissioner, dated July* 20, 1858.

The officer concerned reported that reports had reached him that some villages had been plundered by 200 rebels. He expected daily an attack on Pichore itself. This number was only an advance guard of the rebels who were numbering about 2,000 staying at a village called Pichlonee on the banks of Betwa. The rebels are under the command of Jawahar Singh of Kuela.....[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT MAU RANIPUR

Letter No. 158 *of* 1858, *from Captain F. W. Pinkney, Commissioner, Jhansi Division, to G. H. Freeling, Deputy Commissioner, Hamirpur, dated Jhansi, the* 10*th August* 1858.

I have the honor to inform you that Colonel Liddell (whom I shall accompany) leaves this for Burrawa Saugor (Barwa Sagar) tomorrow, from which place he will at the head of 750 men of all arms proceed against the rebels at Mow Raneepore who wil' probably flee northward and endeavor (endeavour) to cross the Betwa into the West of the Jaloun district; but, as there is now a Detachment at Jaloun, they may perhaps try and cross the Dessan towards Raat (Rath)

[1] It may have been spelt for *Rampura.*

[2] Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny *Basta.* Bundle XIII, File No. 77, year 1855-80.

[3] *Ibid.*

in your district. You had[1] therefore better inform the military authorities of the contemplated movement and in conjunction with them take measures for intercepting the rebels and protecting your own district.

2*nd*— You had[1] also better send an express to the Chirkaree Raja desiring him to hold his troops in hand and to be ready to fall upon the rebels wherever and whenever they cross the Dessan.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE AROUND PANDWAHA

Summary of the Events of the week ending 30th April 1859, dated 3rd May 1859.

The officer concerned saw that the rebels stated to number about 200 or 300 left Gurwari, where they had been stationary for last three weeks and had gone to Remee.

Owing to the frequent visits of rebels and the want of a suitable place in Pundawaha the treasure had been kept in Tori Futtehpur. On the evening of 27th April a party consisting of 1 *Havaldar* and 5 sepoys of the military police were (*sic*, was) sent to take treasure to Jhansi from Tori Futtehpur. When near the town they saw 400 men throwing stones at one another; as the police approached to Tori Futtehpur, people came down upon them pouring from two sides. Four *Chaparasis* anyhow got into the town. The *Havaldar* and sepoys were surrounded; they called out to the mob to leave off throwing stones and let them pass, but they paid no attention to the remonstrance and continued shouting and throwing stones. After this had lasted for about twenty minutes, the *Havaldar*, after finding his remonstrance unheeded and all of his men had been stoned and after warning the mob that he would fire, if not left alone, desired his men to fire; three muskets were discharged and it is reported that one of the Tori Futtehpore people is wounded mortally.

The reporting officer had no authentic information regarding what occurred there actually.

The mob stopped the road and refused to let the police pass.

[1] 'Should' is intended here.

[2] File No. 153, p. 29. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

As soon as they fired the mob dispersed and the police went into the town where they remained that night, and the following evening proceeded with the treasure. The people of Tori Futtehpore it appears have an old custom of engaging in stone throwing.[1]

BIJOR SINGH ACTIVE NEAR DEOGARH

Summary of weekly events of the district of Jhansi during mutiny, dated 17th May 1859.

On 10th Jan. Bijor Singh disturbed at Deogarh[2] by Captain Mac Mahon came down to Muna in the Panchakum *Perguna*. The *Burkundazes* there were seized, but after being plundered were permitted to go, only one of them having received a slight sword cut on the back. Thence Bijor Singh with his followers, who did not exceed some 200, moved west towards Bilhaitri where he remained a day and a half plundering some six villages. After it he turned northward towards his old haunts about Nadyagaon[3].

A force was sent then with co-operation of Jalaun district authorities to prevent Bijor Singh from crossing Betwa. However he went off north without any hinderance.

Chatar Singh after the defeat sustained lately in the Hamirpur district crossed Dhasan to Jaswantpur with his 100 followers. When a small force was sent after him, no trace of his was found or that of his followers.

The *Thakurs* of Chenooni are still in open rebellion. They have taken no notice of the amnesty, but continue to plunder in this district and in Gwalior territory adjoining their estates. The Magistrate of Jhansi proposed that the forts of Bilhera

[1] Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*. Bundle XIII, File No. 77, year 1855-80.

[2] *Deogarh*, Pargana *Balabehat*, Tahsil *Lalitpur*, District *Jhansi*—A celebrated place lying in 24° 32′ N. and 78° 15′ E., close to the south-western limit of the sub-division, 19 miles from Lalitpur and seven from Jakhlon with which it is connected by two and a half miles of unmetalled district road and five of forest tract. (*District Gazetteers*, Jhansi, 1929, Pp. 248-9).

[3] *Nadigaon*—Headquarters of a pargana of the same name in *Datia State, Central India*. situated in 26° 7′ N. and 79°2′ E. on the east bank of the Pahuj river, a tributary of the Sind. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVIII, 1908, p. 283).

and Jigua[1] were to be destroyed before advancing against these *Thakurs*.

The *Thakurs* of Narver (Narwar)[2], Jigua etc. have certainly gone through the form of presenting themselves under the proclamation, but, though they have committed no act of violence, do not obey orders or recognize the authority of Government.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES' ACTIVITY AT MAU

Summary of a letter No. 106 *to the Officer Commanding, Jhansi.*

The officer concerned sent a spy into the rebel camp (at) "Mow", who after returning from that camp gave the following information.

The spy stated that the rebels were about 17 (17000) or 18 thousand men, men of all descriptions. Their first outpost was at Magarwara. It consisted of about 1500 men under the *Thakur* of Kakwara. They had no guns with them at that place. Their next post was at Ranpura[4], where are about 1,000 men with two small guns. Out of this number 50 were sewars, 500 are occupying the *Garhi* and the others in the plain near a small river. In neither of these forces there was not a single of British army rebel *sowari*, or Infantry man.[5] *They were altogether consisted of Bundelas.*

KASHI NATH BHAIYA COMMANDS AT RANPURA

At Ranpura there were about 4,000 men consisting of 200

[1] Apparently *Jigni*—A petty sanad State in *Central India*, under the *Bundelkhand Agency*, with an area of about 22 square miles. It is surrounded by portions of the Hamirpur and Jhansi districts of the United Provinces. Jigni, the chief town, is situated in 25°45′ N. and 79° 25′ E. on the right bank of the Dhasan river, at the confluence of that stream and the Betwa. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 165).

[2] Apparently *Narwar State* (2)—Thakurat in the *Malwa Agency*, *Central India*. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVIII, 1908, p. 398).

[3] Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*. Bundle XIII, File No. 77, year 1855-80.

Note—Names of some of the places occurring in this document appear to have been wrongly spelt.

[4] May be *Rampura*.

[5] Sentence is confusing.

sowars (rebel government sowars) and 300 Bundela sowars and 3500 matchlockmen. The *Garhi* was occupied by 400 men and the remainder were scattered about in different positions near the town of Mow. There were 4 or 8 guns. *They were under the command of Kashinath Bhaiea who is uncle of the adopted son of the late Rani of Jhansi.*

There were 2,000 men on the road leading to Tikamgarh[1] in a village. They had 1 gun and were all Bundelas. On the Banda road at the village of Rawnjor[2] there were 4000 men with 1 gun; but 1,000 men were sent to Rewa direction to fetch 4 guns sent by *Thakur* of Shugther.[3]

On the road leading from Moti (probably Moth) at the village of Toria there are 4000 matchlockmen consisting of Gujars, Hodees[4] and Ahirs, but there was no gun.

ATTACK ON MAU INTENDED

Jamna Bhaiea (Bhaiya)"father of the adopted son of late Rance's" had taken about 400 rebel sepoys and two guns towards Koonch; it is believed that he had gone with the intention of bringing a powerful *Thakur* called the Baleewalla to Mow where the rebels intend to attack.[5]

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE IN TAL BEHAT AND LALITPUR

Extracts from Agra Narrative, Foreign Department, 1853-60.

Para 88—The Superintendent of Jhansi forwarded a report upon the state of affairs in his division and stated that our *thanah* at Lullutpur had been cut up and the rebels were threatening Talbahut where there was nothing to oppose them save about 50 police and 100 or 150 men of Tehree Rani, the latter judging from the manner in which they behaved

[1] *Tikamgarh* (or *Tehri*)—Capital of the *Orchha* State in *Bundelkhand, Central India,* situated in 24° 45′ N. and 78° 50′ E. 36 miles from Lalitpur station on the Midland section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* Vol. XXIII, 1908, p. 359).

[2] Not clearly decipherable .

[3] Appears misspelt for '*Samthar*'.

[4] Not clearly decipherable.

[5] Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny *Basta.* Bundle No. XIII, File No. 77, year 1855-80.

at Lullutpur were not to be depended on, as far as fighting was concerned. Under these circumstances he had instructed Captain McLean to withdraw his *thanah* from any post that he might ascertain to be seriously threatened and which he thought the men of our police and the native states were unable or unwilling to defend.

Para 93—Surrender of the Ex-Rajah of Banpore and Shahgarh.

Para 112—The Commissioner, Jhansie Division, solicited sanction to a reward of Rs. 15000 for the apprehension of Deshputh (Desh Pat)[1] a rebel Rajpoot chief, with powerful connections and belonging to the Chutterpore family.

PECUNIARY REWARDS FOR THE CAPTURE OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES CONSIDERED FUTILE

Para 113— In reply he was informed, that the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor deprecated the offer of large rewards for leading rebels. *During the rebellion, notwithstanding the enormous sums that were offered for offenders, there was, His Honour believed, not a single instance on record, of one man having been brought to justice by these means. On the other hand, the offer of large rewards gave the proclaimed rebel an exaggerated notion of his own importance, and tended to exalt him in the eyes of his followers and of all around him;* while the futile offer was significant of the weakness of the Government, or at all events that it did not possess the sympathy of its subjects[2].

RAJAS OF BANPUR AND SHAHGARH ACTIVE

Summary of weekly report to Captain Pinkney, Superintendent of Jhansi, dated 10th May 1858.

The officer concerned received reports from 'Orcha' authorities that the Rajas of Banpur and Shaghur (Shahgarh)

[1] See File XVIII—29, No. 262 A of 1863 : "Capture of Despat"—Banda Collectorate Mutiny *Basta.*

[2] Agra Narrative, Foreign Department, 1853-60. Narrative of Proceedings of the Govt. of N. W. P. during the 1st Quarter of 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

had destroyed many *thanas* at "Rate"[1] and had gone to the direction of Shaghur with 8 (8000) or 10 thousand followers. There is also a large assemblage of Bundelas* under the son of the Banpur Raja between Jhansi and Talbhet (Tal Behat).[2]

RAJAS OF SHAHGARH AND BANPUR NEAR SHAHGARH

Letter from the Governor General of India to the Court of Directors of the East India Company dated Allahabad, May 28, 1858 *enclosing Narrative of Events dated May* 25, 1858.

Saugor— The rebel Rajahs of Shahghur and Banpore are reported to be close to Shahghur; the former, it is said, has petitioned for life and subsistence, or otherwise, he says he must plunder until he meets death; he promises to do nothing until he gets a reply. The Political Agent has got guns and troops from the Bizaur (Bijaur) Rajah to aid him; this must have been about the 12th or 13th May. On the 14th May, all was still right, and 150 Native Infantry, with supplies, was about to be sent into the Fort of Shahghur. Lullutpore was said to be in the hands of the rebels, and the Jhansi *dak* had been cut off. The Rajah of Banpore was still sixteen miles from Shahghur. On the 17th May, it was reported that Chunda, Lullutpore, and Tal Behut were in the hands of the rebels; the *daks* had been cut off. The Shahghur Rajah was still quiet.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES IN BIJAUR

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Wheler to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Saugor (*Sagar*), *May* 15, 1858.

No authentic intelligence regarding the Rajah's rebel force since my last telegram. They are believed to be at Nakum Khora, in Bijour district, and five *coss* from Shahgurh, the officer commanding at which place was utterly ignorant of

[1] Apparently spelt for *Rath.*

* "Their number is said to be about 2000 strong".—Note in the Original.

[2] Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*. Bundle No. XIII, File No. 77, year 1855-80.

[3] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 1 in No. 16, Pp. 156-7.

danger on the 8th instant. Nonura (is) being provisioned and put into a state of defence.[1]

SHAHGARH CHIEF SENDS PETITION TO R. HAMILTON

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Wheler to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Saugor (Sagar), May 16, 1858.

Letter from Shahghur says the Rajah is within six miles. The Baunpore Rajah fifteen miles off this. Force not mentioned. The Shahghur Rajah sends a petition to Sir Robert Hamilton, praying for life and subsistence, or he must plunder till he meets death. He promises to do nothing till the answer arrives. This gives time. There is little doubt but that the Political Agent, Mr. Thomson, has got guns and troops from Bijour Rajah to aid him, but he was absent from Shahghur, and nothing positively known.[2]

RAJA OF BANPUR SURRENDERS

Telegraphic Message from R. Hamilton, Gwalior, 7th July 1858, *to E. A. Reade, Agra.*

Your message received. Pray tell me where the fugitives were on the sixth. Is General Roberts in pursuit ? The Banpore Rajah has surrendered.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 8th July 1858.

The Rajah of Hampore[4] surrendered himself to Mr. Thornton, Assistant Superintendent of Shahgur (Shahgarh) on the 5th instant.[5]

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 14 in No. 16, p. 160.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 13 in No. 16, p. 160.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Obviously, this has been misspelt for '*Banpore*'.

[5] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

SHAHGARH CHIEF SURRENDERS

Telegraphic Message from R. Hamilton, Gwalior, dated 9th July 1858, *to E. A. Reade, Agra.*

The Ex-rajah of Shaghur has given himself up to Mr. Thornton.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 9th July 1858, 12 *midnight, to E. A. Reade, Agra.*

The rebel Rajah of Shahgurh has given himself up to Mr. Thornton at Noorawar of the Shahgurh territory. A force consisting of H. M.'s Thirty-Second, Seventy-Sixth Punjab Infantry, Lahore Light Horse and half a Troop Royal Horse Artillery with two eighteen-pounders have been moved from Allahabad across the trans-Ganges *Purgunnah* of the District.[2]

MARTAND RAO TATYA—PARTICULARS AND HIS DEATH

CLASH AT RATH

Letter of the Raja of Charkhari : (Addressee's name not given) apparently to the Magistrate, Hamirpur, dated June 5, 1858.

(After usual salutations).....the rebels—rebellious *Tilangas*, fighting horsemen and kinsmen of Rajahs and *Zemindars* of Gohand[3]—who had gathered at Rath have been extirpated by the army sent from this place and Martand Rao *Suba* has been killed. The head of Tatya, for which a reward

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Apparently *Gohad*—Town in the *Tonwarghar* District of *Gwalior State, Central India*, situated in 26° 26′ N. and 78° 27′ E. The town stands on the right bank of the Vaisali river, a tributary of the Sind. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII, 1908, p. 304).

of Rs. 5000 was announced by the Agent, Central India, has been sent for your inspection. Other accounts and the names of other rebels captured will be communicated later. If deemed proper and needful, the head may be sent through the same camel-rider, the bearer of this letter, to Major Ellis, the Political Agent. The people in the army are expectant of the grant of reward. The other *Pandits*, taken captive, and also many inhabitants of Rath have seen the dead body and have stated that it is Tatya's.....(usual ending) .....[1]

PERSONS CARRYING THE DEAD BODY OF MARTAND RAO TATYA CAPTURED

Order of the Magistrate on the letter of the Raja of Charkhari, dated June 7, 1858.

That the reply of the *Kharita* be given to the effect that the camel-rider, who brought the head of Martand Rao here, stated that six Mahrattas and two *Tilangas*, who were carrying away the dead body after he was shot, were all (eight persons) captured. It is, therefore, necessary that they as well as three well-informed persons, who can recognise and confirm that the person killed was Martand Rao, should reach here. The Raja should please despatch to this place at once the mischief makers, three more persons to recognize and also other captured rebels. As the head was giving out a foul smell, I did not consider it advisable to send it to Major Ellis at Tirhwa. Let it also be known that on the receipt of the head, I have sent information to Mr. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Governor General at Allahabad.[2]

* * *

Letter from the Magistrate to the Raja of Charkhari, dated 7th June 1858.

Maharaja Saheb—(usual salutations)—Received your letter and the head of Martand Rao Tatya through a camel-rider. It was learnt from the camel-rider, who had brought the head, that six Mahrattas and two *Tilangas* were carrying

[1] Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*, File 'Martand Rao Tatya'.
[2] *Ibid.*

away the dead body of the above-named, after he was shot dead and that all those eight have been taken prisoners. The presence here of those, along with three others who can recognise that the head is that of the killed Martand Rao Tatya, is necessary. I, therefore, request you that these captives and three identifiers, together with other prisoners, excluding those eight, may please be sent at once. As the head emitted a very foul smell, I did not find it advisable to send it to Major Ellis at Narhwan[1]. Soon after the receipt of the letter I sent information to Mr. Edmonstone, the Secretary to the Governor General at Allahabad.....(ends with salutations etc).[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES CAPTURED AT RATH

Letter addressed to (name not given) Saheb by the Rajah of Charkhari, dated 19th June 1858.

(Usual salutations)—.....Your kind letter, dated June 7 of the current year, acknowledging receipt of Martand Rao Tatya's (head) and stating what has been learnt from the camel-rider viz. six Mahrattas and two *Tilangas* carrying the dead body of Martand Rao Tatya were all the eight persons taken captive, and pointing that the despatch, of these and of three others who have a knowledge of Tatya's being killed and also recognise him, to you is necessary, was received and it conveyed all the information needed. Accordingly, Ramzan Khan, Sheikh Karamat and Sheikh Shubrati, who, knew the above-mentioned Tatya before, and have identified, his dead body, and fourteen out of the fifteen rebels—one of them being dead now—captured at Rath, are being despatched to you.

DETAILS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CAPTIVES

1. Balaji Pant, died of wounds on June 14.
2. Lachhman Rajput, resident of Banda.
3. Makhna *Tanboli*.
4. Mangali Brahman.

[1] This name can be read as '*Tirohan*' also in the Urdu Text.
[2] Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*. File 'Martand Rao Tatya'.

5. Balaji Pandit Mahratta.
6. Ganesh Bhatt Mahratta.
7. Ram Chandra Bhatt Mahratta.
8. Pandoo Bhatt Mahratta.
9. Ramia Bhatt Mahratta.
10. Ganesh Thakur.
11. Shiva Prasad Brahman.
12. Hazari Brahman.
13. Raja Rai Bhatt Mahratta.
14. Chheda Ahir *Tilanga.*
15. Nanak Pant Mahratta.

(Usual Salutations at the end).

(*Seal in Hindi*).

Order on the arrival of the Captured Revolutionaries, dated 22*nd June* 1858.

As it was learnt from the *Harkara* that out of fourteen one died of wounds and thirteen have reached here, therefore

IT WAS ORDERED

that the defendants should be sent to prison and the *Nazir* should be asked to submit the depositions of the prisoners and of the witnesses. The circumstances under which one prisoner died should also be enquired into.[1]

MARTAND RAO TATYA'S CLASH WITH CHARKHARI TROOPS

Letter (*No.* 163 *of* 1858) *from R. R. W. Ellis, Political Assistant for Bundlecund* (*Bundelkhand*), *to Robert Hamilton, Agent Governor General for Central India, dated Camp Banda, the* 24*th June* 1858.

I have much pleasure in forwarding for your information copies of the papers as per margin* (footnote) reporting on an engagement between the troops of the Chirkari Raja and about 700 of the rebels under *Martund Rao Tantia* and the nephew of Desput Bundela at Raat (Rath) upon the 3rd instant,

[1] Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*. File 'Martand Rao Tatya'.
* Marginal notes in the Original—
(I) Letter from Raja of Chirkari, dated 3rd June 1858.
(II) Letter from Raja of Chirkari, dated 12th June 1858.

in which the latter were totally defeated and pursued by the Chirkari sowars for 4 miles.

2*nd*—Fourteen or fifteen of the rebels are reported to have been killed, and 15 made prisoners, all of whom, it appears depose to *Martund Rao Tantia*, a near relation of the Bithur Nana's being among the number killed.

3*rd*—The Raja sent in the head of Martund Rao to Mr. Carne at Banda, as I was absent at Tirhon[1] at the time, and from the enquiries which Mr. Carne then made, there appears no doubt whatever but that Martund Rao was among the parties slain.

4*th*—A reward of 5000 rupees, dead or alive, was offered for the destruction of Martund Rao, by letter No. 400 M. dated 29th Jany. 1858 from the Secy., Govt. of India, and after making further enquiries, I shall do myself the honor of reporting further on the matter.[2]

ENCLOSURES TO LETTER NO. 163 OF 1858 FROM POLITICAL ASSISTANT FOR BUNDELKHAND, TO R. HAMILTON, AGENT GOVERNOR GENERAL FOR CENTRAL INDIA

Copy of Letter from Raja of Chirkari (Chirkhari), dated 3rd June 1858.

About 700 rebels including mutineer sepoys, and sowars and village *Budmashes* of Raat (Rath) with the nephew of Desput, all under Martund Rao Tantia assembled at Raat having 2 small guns with them. Upon hearing of their having collected, I despatched a force under the command of Nonay Arjun Singh; he attacked them to-day when after firing three shots from their guns they all bolted. My sowars followed them up for 2 *kos*; 14 or 15 of the rebels were killed, and others wounded, 5 or 6 were made prisoners, two guns, 4 bullocks and 7 horses were taken from the enemy; other property plundered has been given up to the sepoys; further particulars will be sent hereafter regarding the prisoners etc.

[1] Probably spelt for *Tirohan*.

[2] Foreign Political Consultations, 31st December 1858, Nos. 2139-40. National Archives, New Delhi.

Copy of Letter from Raja of Chirkari (Charkhari), dated 12th June 1859.

In continuation of my letter dated 3rd June, I beg to report that Martund Rao Tantia *Subah*, for whose arrest a reward of 5000 Rs. has been sanctioned by Govt. was killed in the action at Raat upon the 3rd instant. This was reported by the *Tehsildar* and *Thanedar* of Raat as well as all the officers in the forces. His body was identified by other *Pandits*. You were absent at Tirhon at the time, and I sent his head in to Mr. Carne at Banda by a *Shutur Sowar;* I beg that the amount offered for his arrest may be paid to me for distribution among the troops.

Parties killed or arrested in the above action:

1. Balaje Punt, Mahratta, died of his wounds.
2. Lakshmun Rajpoot.
3. Lakha (or Lakhna) *Tamoli*.
4. Mangli Brahmin.
5. Bapooje Pandit, Mahratta.
6. Gunes Bhut (Ganesh Bhat), Mahratta.
7. Ramchund Bhut, Mahratta.
8. Pandu Bhut, Mahratta.
9. Ramjee Bhut, Mahratta.
10. Gunes, Thakoor.
11. Sheoparsad, Brahmin.
12. Harjay (perhaps Hirdey), Brahmin.
13. Raja Siri Bhut, Mahratta, wounded.
14. Cheda, *Telinga*.
15. Binaik Punt (Vinaik Pant), Mahratta.[1]

DEATH OF MARTAND RAO TATYA

Copy of letter No. 2481 from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, to Robert Hamilton, Agent Governor General for Central India.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 297, dated 6th instant, with its enclosure from Political As istant, Bundelkhand, reporting the death of Martund Rao Tantia in an engagement with the Chirkari troops, and in

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 31st December 1858, Nos. 2139-40. National Archives, New Delhi.

reply I am desired to inform you that the Right Honorable the Governor General has been pleased to sanction the payment of the reward of Rupees 5,000 offered for Martund Rao Tantia, as authorized by my letter No. 400 M. of 29th January last.[1]

REWARD ON MARTAND RAO TATYA

Letter No. 266 *of* 1858 *from R. R. W. Ellis, the Political Assistant for Bundelkhand, to G Freeling, Collector of Hamirpur, dated Camp Chatarpur, the* 24*th August* 1858.

I have the honor to request that you will be good enough to pay the sum of 5,000 Rupees sanctioned by the enclosed copy of a letter No. 2481 dated[2] from the Secretary to the Government of India the amount of the reward offered for the arrest or destruction of Martand Rao Tantia to the Raja of Chirkari (Charkhari) on his applying to you for the payment of the same.[3]

DEATH OF MARTAND RAO AND CAPTURE OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter of the Raja of Charkhari, dated November 13, 1858.

Usual salutations—Received your kind letter dated November 9 of the current year, enquiring about the circumstances of the capture of Ganesh Thakur, Manga[4] *Tanboli*, Shiva Prasad and Hirdey Brahman, defendants. The fact is that Martand Rao Tatya *Suba* came with an army of *Tilangas* and horsemen from Kalpi to Rath. The army of this State, which is friendly to you was despatched under the command of Arjun Singh who attacked the enemy, killed Martand Rao and captured fifteen

[1] File 153, p. 24. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

Note—The document does not bear any date. Presumably it was written in the month of August 1858, as this was sent as an enclosure to a letter No. 266, dated 24th August 1858, from R. R. W. Ellis, Political Assistant for Bundelkhand to G. Freeling, Collector of Hamirpur, from his Chhatarpur Camp.

[2] No date is given in this document and blank space has been left.

[3] File No. 153, p. 24. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

[4] 'Lakhna' or 'Lakha' or 'Mangli Brahmin' may be meant here.

persons alive. When information about this was sent to the Political Agent, he wrote that the captives should be sent to Mr. Carne. Accordingly, the above-mentioned captives were sent to the officer named and the papers of the case exclusive of the depositions of the captives were submitted to the Political Agent with the *Kharita* (letter) dated July 7 of the current year, as desired by him. In case, they are required for perusal, they may be called forth from the office of the Political Agent.....(Usual endings).

(*Seal in Hindi*)[1].

DISORDER IN HAMIRPUR

Extract from letter No. 222 *of* 1858 (*copy*) *from Captain F. W. Pinkney, Commissioner, Jhansi Division, to William Muir, Secretary to Government of the N.-W. Provinces, Allahabad, dated Camp near Mote* (*Moth*), 6*th June* 1858.

4*th*— Of the Humeerpoor district I have no reliable accounts, but believe that we have no footing in it whatever, and that it is in great disorder. The Tehree troops have retaken Banpoor for our Government.[2]

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN HAMIRPUR DISTRICT

Extract from letter No. 294 *of* 1858 (*copy*) *from Captain F. W. Pinkney, Commissioner, Jhansi Division, to William Muir, Secretary to Government, N.-W. P., dated Jhansi, the* 23*rd June* 1858.

7*th*—As yet I have had no report from Mr. Freeling the Deputy Commissioner but I hear that the Chirkaree (Charkhari) Raja holds the greater part of the district for us.[3]

*

Letter from F. W. Pinkney, Commissioner, Jhansi Division, dated 24*th June* 1858. (*Presumably addressed to Secretary to Government, N.-W. P.*)

I send you a copy of the last weekly report to Govt. of

[1] Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*. File 'Martand Rao Tatya.'
[2] File No. 153, p. 39. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 38.,

the state of these districts. As two of them Jaloun and Jhansee border on Humeerpoor it is as well you should know how we are getting on here. I fear those scoundrels who are assembled at Mow Rannypoor (Mau Ranipur) and who now I hear amount to 5,000 will do much damage; yet we have managed to assemble about 2,000 matchlockmen of this district and Tehree in our interest at Tori Duttypoor[1] and I have written to the Tehree Ranee to assemble a force at Puteepoor and Bumeri (Bamhori) two of her towns near Mow Rannypoor which, as the rebels have fortunately commenced plundering her country also, I am in hopes she will do. This will keep the rebels in check but they will not be put down till we get more troops for which I have written to Sir H. Rose. Now that Gwalior is taken he can spare them. If the rebels come within a reasonable distance from this we shall make a '*dour*' on them with Europeans, natives and guns, but our force here will not admit of our making extended raids and Mow Rannypoor is 45 miles east of this. I am very glad to hear that you have arrived at Banda and hope you will be able to get General Whitlock to give you some troops. I had put the *Thanna* of Jellalpoor under Captain Ternan as a temporary measure till I heard of you, telling him when you took charge to make it over to you. As Jellalpoor is on the river it is rather an important *Thanna* just now. I hope you will give me all possible information about the state of the Humeerpoor district of which I know absolutely nothing.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE SOUTHERN PARGANAS OF HAMIRPUR

Letter No. 52 *from the Magistrate, Hamirpur, to the Secretary to the Government N.-W. P., dated* 9*th August* 1858.

STRONG POSITION OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

I have the honor to inform you that the rebels in the southern *Perganahs* of the district are pushing on towards the

[1] The name is not clearly decipherable. In some other documents it occurs as '*Tori Futtypore*' which appears correct.

[2] File No. 153, p. 38. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records, Central Records Office, Allahabad.

large city of Raat Khass and that there is nothing to stop their plundering it whenever they choose to do so.

2*nd*—The Rajah of Chirkharee had a very large number of men there and at the other *Tehseelees*, but on my assuming charge I did not think fit to burden Govt. with the very heavy charge the maintenance of such a force amounting to several thousands would have been; I therefore with the Commissioner's sanction applied to the Rajah to allow bodies varying from 25 to 200 to remain temporarily for the defence of the *Tehseelees* and *Thannahs* and this he agreed to do, after mere[1] demur at the smallness of the numbers.

3*rd*—To-day he writes to me to say that after consulting his commanders they decide that it wants thousands instead of to be of any use, and that the men have consequently refused to risk their lives, that he has prevailed on the number I asked for to go for one week, beyond which they will not stay without large reinforcements.

4*th*—The temper of the men quite bears out what I reported to the Commissioner that I doubted their fighting at all save in numbers exceeding those of their enemies, the name however is useful, a...(MSS. torn) as such they are a loss.[2]

RAJA OF CHARKHARI WITHDRAWS HIS MEN

5*th*—I would now report that the rebels have reached Tola Rawut not more than 3 *Coss* from Raat (Rath) itself, and have met with no opposition. The Rajah in reply to a *Khareeta* I sent him asking to drive them out says he has neither men nor money for the purpose and immediately withdrew what men he had in our territory. Raat is therefore without a man beyond the ordinary *Tehseel* and *Thannah* establishments, the 50 men even whom the Rajah promised for a week not having arrived.

6*th*—The effect on the surrounding villages may be imagined; they are tempted to doubt the re-establishment of Government authority in the district. They are squeezed by the rebels, and the inhabitants tortured to disclose their wealth, and look for help from Government but none comes. If

[1] This word is not clearly decipherable. It can be read as 'some' also.
[2] The sentence is not clear.

Raat itself is plundered and I cannot doubt its being so within a day or two, the bad effect will be sadly increased.

7th—In consequence of the circuitous route *via* Jhansee, I send this letter direct furnishing the Commissioner with a copy of it.[1]

* * *

Copy of the letter of Mohd. Ewaz Ali, Darogha of the Thana of Rath, dated July 2, 1858, *to the Magistrate of Hamirpur.*

Usual salutations—Having heard the rumour of the rebels to the side of *Mauzas* Tirka, Khajuraha and Mau, I, after consulting Diwan Durjan Singh, Commander of the troops stationed in Rath, sent to that *Mauza*, Shiva Din *Harkara* and Bhuran Singh *Sipahi* to gather information. They reported back at about 10 P.M. to-night that an army of about 10,000 rebels had collected at *Mauza* Khajuraha and that about a thousand men came to Majhgawan, in *Parganah* Rath, the day back. Har Bans, *Zemindar* of the *Mauza* and the *Thakurs* of Sargaon got ready to drive away the rebels, but they did not enter the town. They have now encamped on the other side of the river at Lahchura. Kashi Nath Pandit at the head of some troops, has retreated from Gwalior and joined them.

Their destination is not known. Previously some news-writers were posted here by the Raja Saheb but there is none now. The *Tahsildar* has also left the place. Necessary order in this connection may kindly be issued immediately.[2]

* * *

Copy of the letter of Mohd. Hadi, Police Officer, Rath, dated July 10, 1858, *to the Magistrate, Hamirpur.*

Usual salutations—Some trusted persons like Jagat Raj, *Rais* of *Mauza* Malhatta and Har Bans Rai, *Rais* of *Mauza* Majhgawan, who were summoned here for the payment of their dues informed that the rebel troops under Jangjit *Thakur* Bhasaniawala camping at *Dang* in *Mauza* Majhgawan and

[1] File No. 38, Pp. 5-6. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

[2] Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*, No. 8, File No. 12.

Sargaon have moved away to Mau-Ranipur two or three days back. They intended attacking Rath proper but they desisted when they learnt that the people here were alert and vigilant. The special messengers sent out for this business have not yet returned. The information they will bring on their return will be communicated in full details.[1]

* * *

Copy of the petition of Mohd. Hadi Ali, Police Officer, Rath, dated 14th July 1858, (apparently) to the Magistrate, Hamirpur.

Usual salutations—In pursuance of your order no. 2 dated July 5, of the current year, *Hukumnamahs* were issued to the names of Jagat Raj, Thakur Din, Ishwari Singh, Abtul Singh[2] and Harbaens Rai, *Ilaqadars* of this *Parganah*; their receipts have been obtained but it was considered unnecessary to submit them to you. This morning I have received the letter from the *Thanadar* of Panwari and have also learnt from persons deputed for gathering information that Desh Pat Bundela, the proclaimed rebel, has taken position with a body of 15 or 20 thousand rebels on the bank of Dhasan river. Chhatra Singh of Kakerbeta, Lachhman Singh of Kathra, Kashi Nath Pandit, Jannoo Bhaiya, Rao Daljit Singh of Alipura, Ganesh Jeo of Bhasena, all rebel leaders and a majority of the *Zemindars* of the country-side of Mau and those of the *Pargana* of Garautha and Harauta have allied themselves with them. They have only a few *Tilangas* but two or three hundred horsemen with muskets, one cannon and a few shells, and intend attacking. Rath and Panwari. I am attaching the *Darogha's* letter for your perusal. I shall face them with my own troops, but, if you can send some reinforcement the power of the enemy will be broken. Otherwise, a letter, asking the Raja of Charkhari to help the *Tahsildar* of Rath at once with men and cannon as and when he asks for them may please be sent.[3]

* * *

Copy of letter of Hadi Ali, Police Officer of Pargana Rath, dated 18th July 1858, to the Magistrate, Hamirpur.

Usual salutations—I received your *Parwana* No. 2, dated

[1] Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*, No. 8, File No. 12.
[2] This name is not intelligible.
[3] Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*, No. 8, File No. 12.

July 5 of the current year. Immediately after my arrival here at Hamirpur I had despatched some trusted persons to get information about the strength of the rebels, their movements and their future plans. They have not yet returned. Hence it is no use sending others before they report back. But in obedience to your *Parwana* received here yesterday, I have communicated the orders to the loyal *Zemindars* whose receipts will be submitted later. Since my arrival here no news of the coming of rebels has been received. During my absence a rumour was afloat that the rebels intended coming over to Rath which was unguarded. You need not entertain any worry about this place. If any of the rebels comes here he will be adequately met and defeated.[1]

* * *

Copy of Report dated 19th July 1858. Roz-namcha (diary) of Thana Rath by Hadi Ali, Police Officer, Rath, and Saiyid Ewaz Ali, Darogha of Police, Rath.

Yesterday at 5 P.M. Ganpat, informer of the camp at *Mauza* Khatali came to the *Thana* and reported that in the morning two hundred musketeers and some horsemen marched away towards Kashipur, passing outside the camp of Katha. About 9 they said they were going to Kashipur. This has been noted down in the diary for your information.

COPY OF THE ORDER OF G. H. FREELING, MAGISTRATE, DATED 21ST JULY 1858.

The Police officer should be asked to find out from the reporter and from other people of the village as to where they come from and also if these sawars belong to Jaghai-wala or to some one else. The detailed information may be sent at once.[2]

* * *

Copy of report, dated July 19, 1858. Roz-namcha of Thana Rath by Mohd. Hadi Ali, Police Officer, and Ewaz Ali, Darogha of Police, Rath. Written by Gaya Prasad, Moharrir, Thana.

Yesterday at 5 P. M. after the close of the diary, Tatya,

[1] Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*, No. 8, File No. 12.
[2] *Ibid.*

informer of *Mauza* Kotha and Umrao informer of *Mauza* Gohani came to the *Thana* and deposed that 1½ *Pahars* after sunrise 200 Foot-soldiers or Horsemen marched away to Kashipur passing by their village. On being interrogated about their identity they replied that they were Peshwa's servants sent for conveying information.

This was noted down in the diary for perusal.

COPY OF THE ORDER OF G. H. FREELING, MAGISTRATE DATED JULY 21, 1858

The Police Officer may be asked to take down the deposition of the reporters in detail.[1]

ACTIVITIES OF DESHPAT

Letter of Maharaja Ratan Singh addressed apparently to some Englishman (name not mentioned) dated July 20.

Usual salutations—Your letter, dated July 16 of the current year reporting your knowledge from the petition of the *Tahsildars* of Rath and Panwari, about the presence of Desh Pat and others near Kashipur on the bank of river Dhasan with the strength of about 15 or 20 thousand rebels, *Tilangas*, Sawars, one piece of Artillery and a few.....(not legible) with the intention of an attack on Rath and Panwari and the issue of *Parwana* to the Police officer Rath for communicating the information to me and to the General Saheb Bahadur stationed at Banda in order that necessary measures may be taken to defeat the rebels, was received here. Before this, a request for posting 200 persons in each *Tahsil* and 1000 Foot-soldiers in Jaitpur was submitted but no reply has been received from you. It is evident that I lack in adequate means to enlist a force fit to oppose 20,000 *Kafirs* (rebels). It is essential to have one thousand men over and above those kept for the protection and administration of the town, in order to reinforce the troops stationed at the *Tahsil*, in case the enemy attacks. There is no money left in my treasury to pay the troops to be employed

[1] Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*, No. 8, File No. 12.

for these purposes. You are requested to consider these matters carefully and to communicate your orders. The army posted in the different *Parganas* cannot execute its work in case it fails to get the salary, and it is ready to resign. No administration is possible in absence of an army. As the rebels have *Tilangas* and sawars with them it is impossible to face them without the help of the *Sarkar's* army. Under these circumstances, if a part of the *Sarkar's* army stationed at Banda is despatched to this side and it launches an attack on them in collaboration with my troops, the rebel army will soon be annihilated..... ...(MSS. torn out).....in case of delay.....(MSS. torn out) they will gain strength and take root, and will destroy the territories of the *Sarkar* and of their faithful friends. Hence their extirpation is a necessity. (Endings).[1]

* * *

Copy of the letter of Muhammad Hadi Ali, Police Officer of Rath, dated August 2, 1858, to the Magistrate of Hamirpur.

Usual salutations—The informers reported to-day that the rebel named Deshpat is staying in the hills between *Mauza* Rori and *Mauza* Ghomti and his army is stationed in *Mauza* Dedwara Bahadur Pura and *Mauza* Beda of *Pargana* Panwari. They make depredations with their army wherever they like. They do not intend to invade this side on account of rains. They will undoubtedly swoop down upon Rath after the rains are over. It has also been reported that Desh Pat has established relations with the *Zemindars* of Gohand[2] and they again wish to create a rebellion in this *Pargana*. They fear that in case of the re-establishment of the Govt. in this *Pargana*, they would be extirpated. The Gohand people threaten the *Zemindars* of other villages that if they paid the revenue to the *Tahsil*, they would get them plundered by Desh Pat. This is why there is delay in the realisation of Govt. dues. I have made every effort to call the *Zemindars* of Gohand and then to have the leaders arrested and sent to you but they do not

[1] Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*, No. 8, File No. 12.

[2] *Gohand*—A large village lying in 25° 42′ N. and 79° 34′ E. on the road from Rath to Mohana and Orai, eight miles north of Rath. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, Pp. 169-70).

respond and in fact they have taken to a wandering life, coming to Gohand only at intervals. Had they been in Gohand they could have been arrested. Consequently, the *Zemindars* of Gohand merit punishment and so long as they are not quelled the realisation of Govt. dues will be obstructed. Last year when the *Zemindars* of *Mauza* Gohand had assaulted and burnt the *Tahsil*, its building and records, they were opposed and driven out by the men of the Raja of Charkhari and a large number of the rebels were killed. But because of their wickedness they do not care for this. I, therefore, request that early measures for the extirpation of and for quelling the power of the Gohand people be made.[1]

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTHERN PARGANAS OF HAMIRPUR

Letter No. 157 *from the Magistrate, Hamirpur, to the Secretary to the Government N.-W. P., dated August* 25, 1858.

CONQUEST OF MAUDAHA FORT

In continuation of my letter on the subject of the state of the district, I have now the honor to report to you the evacuation of Modha[2] Fort by the Company of Madras Troops that Colonel Reece sent to hold it, and to enclose a copy of my letter to the Brigadier Commanding at Banda, which will better than they explain the circumstances.

2*nd*—I thought it right to put on official record my opinion on a step that gives up the district entirely to the rebels, with a fort which although small, Lieutenant Greenway, who has accompanied the Column from Madras through all the Saugor territory states is the strongest he has seen. Colonel Reece garrisoned it temporarily hoping to be relieved from Banda; as, however, this is distinctly refused, and the enemy are so strong, he feels obliged to withdraw.

3*rd*—Regarding the propriety of holding the post or not in a military point of view I venture to give no opinion, but as in some measure responsible for the order and well-being of this district, I deemed it my duty to make the representations I did and now to report to you, the Commissioner being in

[1] Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*, No. 8, File No. 12.
[2] Apparently spelt for *Maudaha*.

camp and any communication passing through his office being so long in reaching Allahabad; a copy of this will hereafter be forwarded to him for perusal.

4*th*—There is nothing now to keep this body of rebels from coming to within musket shot of Hameerpore, that is to the banks of the Betwa, and it cuts away the district as it were from out of my hands.[1]

ACTIVITIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES IN HAMIRPUR

Letter No. 150 *from the Collector, Hamirpur, to the Commissioner, Jhansi, dated Maudaha, 8th October* 1858.

I am sorry to have to report to you that I hear from reliable sources that the rebels, whom the presence of Brigadier Munseg's (or Munsey's) force at Raat (Rath) drove out of the district, are again banding together for another descent; now that force has passed[2] on to Nowgong.

2*nd*—I need scarcely remind you that there is no force to oppose them should they do this, and I doubt not that unless rendered dangerous, they will shortly put their intention into execution. The crops are now just coming ripe, and the loss to Government will be very large; this instalment of the revenue for the *Purgunnahs* Punwaree and Raat alone exceeds I think a lac of rupees of which not a Farthing will then be realized. Mohoba and Jellalpore will likewise be seriously affected if even the rebels do not penetrate into them also; collections will be stopped there too, and a further loss experienced.

3*rd*—The auction purchasers and others who have begun to reoccupy their villages in Raat etc., will have again to flee, our *Thannahs* and *Tehseelees*, just in part reestablished will be beaten out, and after a futile demonstration such as that lately made will prove to be, our rule and power will be more ignored than ever; and what is worse, everyone who has shown any goodwill to us will now indeed pay for it.

4*th*—Another very important view too to take of it is the necessity it will create for further bloodshed; Government cannot pardon further excesses committed in the face of its amnesty and after a display of its power, the country is really

[1] File No. 38, Pp. 2-3. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

[2] Can be read in the original as "pushed" also.

quieting down now if allowed to do so, but another success to the rebels here, and nothing but punishment must ensue, and then too what I would now urge must be done; if done once all this would be spared, (*sic*).

5*th*—Without some troops in small detachments at Jeitpore (now again in the hands of the rebels) and Raat or its neighbourhood or Punwaree[1], what is predicted above must inevitably come to pass, and I fear will do so in a few days. I should have addressed you before, but knew that you had written to General Whitlock on the subject; as his answer (forwarded through me) leaves no hope of his complying with your request, and the necessity is very urgent, I now do so, and forward a copy of the letter for the same reason to the Secretary of Government N. W. P.

6*th*—I have written this day demi-officially to the Officer Commanding at Nowgong, to press his sending a few men to Punwaree but much fear that the General's orders will prevent his doing so. The safety of the district temporarily at least is at stake, and I would urge that no axioms of civilized war be allowed to hazard it, when they are inapplicable to the present circumstances. 50 Europeans and a few natives, with a score or so of Cavalry would at Punwaree keep the rebels from the attempt. That they run from the name of an European is a known fact here, when 1000 men of a native ally, even would he give them, would not keep them in check.

I would again plead the urgency of the case, and my own utter helplessness to do anything to arrest their advance unless the military afford some aid.[2]

BARJOR SINGH

Letter No. 35 *from Lieutenant J. Sawers, District Commandant, Hamirpur Military Police, to G. H. Freeling, Collector of Hamirpur, dated Camp Nauranga, December* 4, 1858.

BARJOR SINGH AT TOLA KANGARON

I have the honor to report for your information that owing

[1] *Panwari*, Pargana *Panwari-Jaitpur*, Tahsil *Kulpahar*—This town was formerly the capital of a pargana and tahsil. The pargana has now been amalgamated with Jaitpur, while the tahsil headquarters were removed from here to Kulpahar in 1857. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, 1909, p. 218).

[2] File No. 14, Pp. 10-11. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records, Central Records Office, Allahabad.

to intelligence received yesterday on the Hummeerpore Field Detachment arriving at Raat, that Burgor Sing with about three hundred (300) followers, fifty (50) of whom were said to be sepoys, still occupied the position he had held for some days at or near the village of Tola Kungaron, the Detachment marched at 3 P. M. from Raat to Nourunga (distant about six miles) and at five this morning marched on Tola Kungaron, the camp and baggage being left at this place under the protection of a guard of the 56th M. N. I. (Madras Native Infantry).

The force as per margin (not included)[1] reached Tola Kungaron about seven o'clock A. M. and was halted at a convenient distance from the village until a reconnaisanse (*sic*, reconnaissance) was made by the Commanding Officer Captain Hilliard, 56th M. N. I., the Officer Commanding the Artillery, and myself.

Whilst so engaged a party of Sowars and Infantry showed themselves in front of the village and fired on us which compelled us to rejoin the Column. The force then advanced covered by a sub-division of H.M's. 43rd Light Infantry, on which the enemy who proved to be an advanced piquet retired on their main body.

The latter were posted on an eminence about one thousand yards to our left front, and were separated from us by ground so cut up by deep ravines that neither guns nor Cavalry could approach, the river Dessaun (Dhasan) being about a quarter of a mile in their rear.

Our guns at once opened, apparently with some effect; as the rebels shortly shifted their position, and a guide having volunteered to conduct the Infantry by the only practicable approach Captain Hilliard immediately determined to attack their camp which was in a small valley in rear of their first position.

RETREAT OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The Infantry having cleared the village of Tola Bungaron[2]

[1] Marginal notes in the Original document, indicating the composition of Madras Artillery, 43rd N. I, 56th M. N. I., Jat Troop etc. have not been given here.

[2] This has been spelt as '*Tola Kungaron*' elsewhere in this document. Apparently it has been misspelt for '*Kungaron*', if another village of the name of '*Tota Bungaron*' is not meant here.

advanced from the west side, two Companies of the 56th M. N. I. covering the advance. After traversing a very strong country the skirmishers were fired on by the enemy who had taken up a new position on high ground close to the river. On being pressed they immediately retired and on the skirmishers crowning the height they were observed in full retreat on the opposite bank of the Dessaun.

The Enfield Rifles of H. M.'s 43rd L. I. here made some good practice. The troops crossed the river in pursuit as fast as possible and the skirmishers who soon came in sight of them again gained on them so rapidly that they were compelled to abandon four horses, several ponies, and part of their baggage. Three horses were also found shot and several men were observed to fall in the jungle.

By this time the morning was far advanced and the country being a complete net-work of ravines covered with dense high jungle the Commanding Officer sounded the halt; on which we recrossed the river, and joined the Cavalry and guns at Tola Kungaron. Having allowed the men time to refresh themselves we returned to camp which we reached at four P. M., amongst other things taken was (*sic*, were) some uniform clothing, specimens of the buttons of which I herewith forward, also two signet rings.

The general effect I consider will be most satisfactory as it will show rebels of this description that they cannot in future rely on such strongholds for safety however impenetrable they may appear. From information just now received I am led to believe that the enemy have fled towards the village of Kuckubai. On receipt of more authentic intelligence I will at once communicate the same to you.[1]

BRITISH OPERATIONS AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARIES IN HAMIRPUR

Letter from the Magistrate, Hamirpur, to the Commissioner, Jhansi Division, dated Camp Pipuree[2]*, December* 6, 1858.

ATTACK ON BARJOR SINGH'S CAMP

I have the honor to enclose a copy of letter No. 35 of

[1] File No. 23, Pp. 1 to 3. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

[2] Not clearly decipherable. May have been spelt for *Pipra*.

4th instant from Captain Sawers, Commandant of the district police detailing particulars of an attack made on the rebel camp of Burjore Sing by the Humeerpore detachment commanded by Captain Hilliard, and with which Captain Sawers is at present, and am glad to be able to add other intelligence equally satisfactory below.

2*nd*—Captain Sawers is both commanding his own police Cavalry and likewise, as demi-officially reported to you by me, acting as Civil Officer, obtaining intelligence etc. and it is greatly owing to his activity that the Column was able to come up with the rebels at all. That the effect will be most salutary there can be no doubt. I have requested Captain Hilliard to remain about the neighbourhood for the present, to prevent Burjore Sing's return, should he now be pressed as is likely from your side (of) the river.

ATTACK ON CHATTRA SINGH AND BAKHT SINGH

3*rd*—On the same date too, the 4th, Brigadier Munsy on information furnished by me (and for which I am indebted to Baboo Madho Pershad of Chirkharee) sent a Squadron of H. M.'s XII Lancers and 2 guns with a few of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry to Kasheepore[1] and Luchoura, where the rebels Chuttur Sing and Bukkut Sing[2] were said to be in force. Mr. G. P. Griffiths, Deputy Commissioner, accompanied the troops who left at 1 o'clock in the morning. They found the rebels as reported but on their approach they ascended a *jungly* hill where Cavalry were useless; their matchlockmen killed two grasscuts[3] and Lieutenant Colonel Oakes commanding sent back a requisition for Infantry. 100 of the 3rd Madras Europeans were sent out but before their arrival yesterday morning most of the rebels had dispersed; some however were in the hill, and these the Infantry killed to the number of about 60 with, I

[1] *Kashipur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Rath*—A considerable village lying on the banks of the Dhasan river in 25° 22′ N. and 79° 20′ E. It is 18 miles distant from Rath on the unmetalled road from that place to Mau-Ranipur in the Jhansi district, and four miles from Lahchura-ghat where the Dhasan is crossed by a ferry. (*District Gazetteers*, Hamirpur, Vol. XXII, 1909, p. 186).

[2] Obviously, 'Bakht Singh' is meant here.

[3] Abbreviated spelling of "grass-cutters".

rejoice to say, no loss on our side. Had Infantry gone at first the slaughter I believe would have been much larger but I cannot but view, what has been done, with much satisfaction shewing[1] the rebels that our late inactivity was no sign of incompetency.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT IMILIA

4*th*—The same morning a little before daybreak I proceeded myself with 20 sowars of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry to a village Imilia in the Alipoora *Jagheer*, where I had certain information that several noted rebels were concealed. We arrived just at right[2] and surrounded the house which was more like a fortress than anything else being of great extent and loopholed. No resistance however was offered, and I had it searched. The owner declared that there was no one there and professed it was empty.

5*th*—I was very careful that no harm should be done to anyone, but on my *Tehsildar* (who behaved very well) searching, Gopal Sing, brother of the notorious rebel Bukkut Sing (Bakht Singh) of Alipoora, and himself a leader, was discovered hid in a dark room; his mare and arms were likewise there; and it appears Bomun *Purohit* one of the very worst of Despath's band and who had our *Chuprassees* murdered, was at the village only the night before. Besides these, there were present in the house the wife and children of Bukkut Sing (Bakht Singh) himself, these I need not say were untouched, as indeed were bundles of plundered property or what was evidently such, piled up in the house. The village being one of Alipoora and our object the capture of the rebel leaders, I contented myself with that. A well known rebel of the Jeitpore district Isree Bajpai (Ishwari Bajpai) was also sitting and smoking there. These with the owner of the house I brought away.

ALIPURA JAGIRDAR

6*th*—What, however, I would particularly draw attention

[1] Old spelling of 'showing'.
[2] It should have been 'right time' or 'night'.

to is the conduct of the Alipoora *Jageerdar*. He visited the camp at Jeitpore, professed the greatest friendship for us, and was so plausible and pleasant that he quite took me in and I believed him loyal. Indeed he begged that any aid he could give I would call for direct and always apply to him without using the Agent as a means of communication.

7th—This man has, since leaving the camp and having as he thought secured himself from suspicion, been the man who has aided the rebels all he could. Bukkut Sing (Bakht Singh) is his half-brother who ousted him in the rebellion, but still he shelters him and helps him to his utmost. Gopal Singh says himself as does the man in whose house they were that it is by the order of Hindooput (the *Jageerdar*) that they are there. The family of Bomun *Purohit* is in another of his villages near, and he himself continually visits there. The party that turned out our *Thannah* at Kasheepore came from Alipoora; all the plunder is concealed in these villages, which, as safe from ordinary search, are a capital receptacle for it. Despath himself has of late been also in the jungles here near Joorun but no information is given (to) me, and they get supplies in abundance. No aid was given to Kasheepore, and even now, when Colonel Oakes' party went to Luchoura which is only a march from Alipoora itself and bordering the territory, supplies could not be purchased nor information obtained.

8th—I have addressed the *Jageerdar* telling him of this report, but would urgently impress on you the fact that it is to these men and the aid, shelter, and supplies afforded by them that it is owing that the rebellion in this district is yet so rampant. The proofs as mentioned in the last para are ample and plain, and I would suggest that steps be taken to force the *Rais* into a decided loyalty.

9th—I send a copy of this letter direct to the Secretary of Govt. N.-W. P. as I believe such is wished in cases where there is any important intelligence to communicate.

10th—I would also mention that the signet rings and buttons mentioned by Captain Sawers, are the former casts from Moorshedabad rupees, the latter of the "VII Scindia's Contingent", "Local Infantry" with the E. I. C. crest and "Punjab Police".[1]

[1] File No. 25, Pp. 5 to 8. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

STATE OF JAITPUR PARGANA HAMIRPUR

Letter No. 145 *from the Magistrate of Hamirpur to the Commissioner, Jhansi, dated July* 2, 1859.

Referring to a remark in my last weekly narrative I have now t. h. (the honor) to bring prominently to your notice the state of the Jeitpore *Pergunnah* and those villages of Punwaree which are near to Jeenjhun and the jungles, as it seems to me right that Government should be informed of the matter.

2*nd*—The rebels have sent notices to all the *Zemindars* to leave their fields uncultivated, saying that those who disobey the order shall pay for it severely; and to shew that they will carry out their threat, they made a descent on Arkut now a few days since, where the warning had been neglected, and some cultivation commenced, and carried off two females and some men also.

3*rd*—The *Zemindars* know that their own lives and honor (honour) are not now safe. The posts of military at Pipera and Joorun as also the police at Jeitpore are useless against a sudden raid on a village 5 or 10 miles off as, before the news even reaches either of these posts, the offenders may be killed, their women outraged, and their property and children carried off into the jungles.

The consequence is reported by the *Tehsildar* to be that all cultivation has ceased, the fields will lie waste, the revenue will be unpaid, jungle increase, and what is worse, the villages will so depreciate in value by the lands falling out that the effects will be felt for some years to come, and that too when a new settlement is not very far distant. Add to this the confidence that the effects of their summons must give the rebels, and the evil to Government is evident.

4*th*—I cannot pretend to suggest a remedy; nothing but a cordon of troops or police round all the rebel haunts will establish confidence in the people, for they say and justly so: 'You are here to-day tomorrow you leave this, the rebels come and we suffer'. They know well that whenever an opportunity is afforded vengeance will be wreaked on them, and until we can ensure them against such an opportunity occurring,

they prefer to be beggars rather than lose their lives; nor do I blame them.[1]

JAITPUR STILL NOT QUIET

Letter No. 162 *from the Magistrate of Hamirpur to the Secretary to the Government N.-W. P., dated July* 17, 1859.

Being about under orders from the Commissioner of Jhansi to proceed at once to Mahoba and Jeitpore for the purpose of trying to bring those *Pergunnahs* to order I h. t. h. (I have the honour) to represent that the late orders of Government have deprived me of any Special Commissioner's powers.

2*nd*—An exception was made in my favour, so that I was not obliged to commit to the Judge at Jhansi, and afterwards from the peculiar circumstances of this district, I was permitted to carry out my sentence without reference to Government, merely reporting all circumstances. This however is I believe cancelled by the more recent orders bringing everything under the operation of the regular courts.

3*rd*—I would now represent *that Jeitpore is as much in rebellion as it was a year ago, that neither life or* (*sic*, should be 'nor') *property are safe. Hundreds of rebels are still in arms, and conflicts with the Government troops and servants often take place; in fact there is just as much need there of full Special Commissioner's powers and being able promptly and at once to carry out sentences as an example as ever there was, if not more; for undoubtedly the cause conjoined with the nature of the country, of rebellion not being put down in these parts, is the comparative impunity they have enjoyed.* The amnesty was proclaimed the very week that I reached Jeitpore, and consequently little was done to punish; as therefore I go by the Commissioner's orders to settle the disturbed parts, I would suggest that little good can arise from my simple presence unless I have power to act, which I would as a special case request.

4*th*—The reply I would ask to be sent direct to me at Jeitpore, *via* Banda and Mahoba, express from Futtehpore, for, until I get orders I can do nothing, and the *daks* are so uncertain, that in any other way it might not reach for a week.[2]

[1] File No. 2, Pp. 52 to 55. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pp. 41, 42.

ACTIVITIES OF REVOLUTIONARIES IN HAMIRPUR DISTRICT

FROM SALKET AND SOVASA VILLAGES

Letter No. 148 *from the Magistrate of Hamirpur to the Commissioner of Jhansi, dated July* 6, 1859.

In continuation of my last weekly narrative I h. t. h. (I have the honour) now to report further outrages in the direction of Mahoba.

2*nd*—On the 29th June the rebels came down on Nonura,[1] *Perg.* (*Pargana*) Punwaree, adjoining that *Perg.* (*Pargana*) and carried off 5 men and one woman with 2 men of Oorwara[2] who were there, and a few days previously did the same at *Moujah* Beree[3] taking away 2 men, a woman and child, these too all the wealthy people and land-owners, doubtless to extort money and ransom.

3*rd*—Then again on the Ist instant a body of 20 or 30 matchlockmen were moving about the *Perg.* (*Pargana*) close to Bumhoree Gosaien and Mahoba itself, and a larger body entered Sijaree.

MAHOBA AND SIJARI

4*th*—The merchants and others of Soopa etc. are already beginning to shew signs of alarm and meditating flight to Chirkharee, as that portion of the district is daily getting more and more disorganised. Captain Sawers has on my representation ordered most of his men who are at Jeitpore to Mahoba, but this is only as a last resource[4], for if the few men of the 31st who are now at Jeitpore move away, that part will be worse than ever. More men are wanted, and more powers, though I doubt if now the latter would not be too late. The people are painfully aware we neither do nor can protect

[1] This word is not legibly written and can be read as '*Nunder*' also.

[2] Not very clearly written in the document.

[3] *Beri*—A petty sanad state in Central India, with an area of about 32 square miles. Beri, the chief town, is situated in 25° 55′ N. and 79° 54′ E., on the north bank of the Betwa river, 18 miles west of Hamirpur. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII, 1908. Pp. 3-4).

[4] Proper word here would be 'recourse'.

them, and the cry from all sides comes up loud, that they cannot cultivate, they cannot and will not take their villages, that their wives and daughters are carried off and nothing done, and I am quite helpless. I report it all duly to you in the weekly narrative. Captain Sawers does his utmost to protect 3 *Pergunnahs*, half of which is jungle, with the few men he has; Mr. Wigram aids admirably, gaining information, accompanying the *Dours* etc. in person; but yet for sheer want of mean (*sic*, means) and the hold that a year's impunity has allowed them to get over the minds and fears of the population, all is of no use, but the rebel rule is, I may almost say, stronger, certainly more feared than ever.

These new disturbers of the peace, or rather those, who have now set to work in a new direction, live in and come from Salket[1] and Sooasa[2] villages of the Gerolee *Jageerdar*; he has been repeatedly told to clear them out, but takes no notice at all; if a body of troops went they would be nowhere, otherwise transferred[3] into harmless villagers; every man who carried a matchlock would call himself a trusted servant of the chiefs, and were one touched there would be an outcry through the Agent, and thus every attempt is baffled; when they followed in hue and cry it would be different, but this they take care to avoid and consequently, as throughout the cold weather, was the case with Chutterpore and the other Native States round save Chirkharee and Logassee. All rebels find them a safe and sure resting place.[4]

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT MAHOBA (1859)

Letter No. 709 *F of* 1859, *from Major F. W. Pinkney, Commissioner of Jhansi Division, to G. H. Freeling, Deputy Commissioner of Hamirpur, dated Camp Mote (Moth), the* 19*th July* 1859.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 157, dated 15th July 1859 and to observe as follows—

[1] Can be read as '*Salhet*' also, in the original document.

[2] Can be read as '*Sovasa*' or '*Sovasu*' also.

[3] Due to overwriting the word is not clearly decipherable. Obviously 'transformed' is meant here.

[4] File No. 2, Pp. 47 to 50. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

2*nd*—In your weekly narrative for the week ending the 2nd July 1859 you state regarding *Pergunnah* Mohoba thus—The *Tehsildar* reports that the whole *Pergunnah* is beginning to feel uneasy, and earnestly asks for troops, or military police to resist the rebels and ensure order. I have separately reported regarding Jeitpore; if the same state of things is established here as there, there will be several lacs lost to government in revenue and the state of the district be worse than ever, etc.

3*rd*—In your letter No. 145, dated 14th July 1859 you state that *Pergunnah* Jeitpore and the neighbouring villages of Punwaree is (*sic*, are) getting so bad that you think it right that Government should be informed of the matter, and further on you write, "The consequence is reported by the *Tehsildar* to be that all cultivation has ceased, the fields will be waste, the revenue will be waste[1], jungle increase, and what is worse, the villages will so depreciate in value by the lands falling out, that the effects will be felt for some years to come, and that too when a new settlement is not very for (*sic*, far) distant etc."

4*th*—Again in your letter No. 148 dated 6th July 1859 you write regarding *Pergunnah* Mohoba etc. thus—"The merchants and others of Soopa etc. are already beginning to show signs of alarm and meditating flight to Chirkaree as that portion of the district is daily getting more and more disorganized", and further on, "The people are painfully aware, we neither do nor can protect them and the cry from all sides comes up loud, that they cannot cultivate, they cannot and will not take their villages, that their wives and daughters are carried off, and nothing done, and I am quite helpless", and lastly, "the *rebel rule is I may almost say stronger, certainly more feared than before*".

5*th*—In short the three southern *Pergunnahs* of the Hameerpore district could hardly be described to be in a more disorganized and unsatisfactory state, and I cannot possibly conceive how the late attack on the rebels, the only ascertained results of which are three rebels killed and the capture of one hundred pairs of shoes, could have suddenly changed the aspect of affairs so much as to render your presence unnecessary. In writing the above I make no reflection whatever on

[1] The proper word would be 'unpaid', and 'waste' appears a clerical error.

Mr. Wigram, who has done excellent service and has shown zeal and energy, but in a state of affairs like the present, even if matters had somewhat mended, it appears to me that the head of the district should at once proceed to the disorganized tracts, judge for himself and take what measures may seem most fitted in his opinion for the pacification of the country, and this I request you will do.

6th—Until matters very decidedly mend in the South, you should keep Mr. Wigram there with you, as he must have acquired much local knowledge. When tranquillity and confidence are in a great measure restored, you can either send Mr. Wigram to the *Sudder* Station, or return there yourself, leaving Mr. Wigram in subordinate charge of Jeitpore, Mohoba etc. It is not unprobable[1], but that the ordinary work of the district may suffer some slight detriment; but this can't be helped in the present crisis, and if you take your *Amla* with you, much arrears will not accumulate.

7th—With regard to the 6th para of your letter now under reply, should your requisitions to the detachments (referred to) to act against the rebels not be attended to, I beg that you report the same to me and I will refer the matter to Government.[2]

DESERTED STATE OF PARGANAS OF HAMIRPUR

Letter No. A from the Magistrate, Hamirpur, to the Commissioner, Jhansi Division, dated Jeitpore (Jaitpur), August 1, 1859.

In obedience to directions contained in your letter on the subject, I, as previously reported to you, started by *Dak* for this place, which I reached on the evening of the 20th ultimo and I have now the honor to report, as requested, on the state of affairs here from actual observation and enquiry.

I find as was to be expected that the loss to be apprehended was somewhat exaggerated by the *Tehsildars*, or to speak more correctly, they reported what the *Zemindars* told them, without making allowance for the effect of their own advice to the people. Thus in most of the villages especially of

[1] Should be 'improbable'.

[2] File No. 2, Pp. 33 to 35. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

Punwaree some cultivation has been arranged; for, the land-owners were warned that the Government dues would be expected whether there was produce or not and no excuses taken, and thus the greater parts have attempted to get in more or less of the *Khureef*, which as you remark is now safe even after the rains; at the same time it appears that this has chiefly been done by a kind of compromise with the rebels, by paying them some small sums as black-mail, by which means they hope to escape the threatened penalty of disobedience, and also be able to meet the Government demand.

But in the jungle villages this even is not the case, they lie for the most part in the same deserted state they were in last year; in many there is not a man to be seen, and others are so near the rebel haunts that any threat of Government weighs as nothing against those of Despath; the one is a possible evil at a future date, the other a present certainty to be avoided at all hazards. The owners of these lands, most of whom live at a distance, declare their inability to go near them or manage them, and the actual residents dread the anger of the rebels, too much to touch a field in the face of their prohibition. In these the worst mentioned in my former letters, must follow, viz., total present loss and permanent depreciation of value. And this I fear no one and no measures can now prevent.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT JINJHAN

4*th*—Of the rebels who are the cause of all this, it appears that Despath himself with his Lieutenant Zalim, most of the sepoys who had joined him and some matchlockmen, taking alarm at my coming here, followed as I was so closely by Captain Sawers and apprehending that some move was to be organised against them, have left Jeenjhun for the south, and went to Tuttuen[1], a Chutturpore village, where there is a "*Kamdar*" of the Ranee, and were expected to take to the *ghats*, as they usually do when pressed hard.

REVOLUTIONARIES' HEADQUARTERS AT JINAWAR

5*th*—This greatly reduces their band of which Oomrao Kangar, Bhowun *Purohit*[2], Nunhee *Dewan* (brother of Despath)

[1] Not clearly decipherable in the Original document.

[2] Spelt as 'Bomun Purohit' in another letter of the Magistrate, Hamirpur.

and Kunjulshah (nephew of Nunhee *Dewan*[1]) are now the leaders; their headquarters are at Jinnawar, a hill near Jeenjhun in the thickest and densest jungle, with a scout always on the top, whence he can see for miles round and note everyone approaching. There is only one path by which this place can be come at; while such is the jungle that they may be within a yard and perfectly concealed, they know too a thousand ways of retreat and so to get a shot at them seems impossible. Besides they have not even leaf huts nor do they remain a day in one place, shifting ground 2 and even 3 times in the 24 hours.

6*th*—They range about at night in the long line of jungle and hills from Hulooa to the Dessan, and make '*Dour*' on the different villages near. Indeed their very roving propensities make them all the more dangerous to the people, no *Zemindar* within 5 or 6 miles can lie down at night certain that before morning he and his women will not be seized, carried off, and illtreated until he satisfies their demands. Should he have disobeyed orders or be suspected of giving information his fate is sealed.

DESHPAT—A SOURCE OF TERROR

7*th*—To deal with such men is the great difficulty; although so few comparatively in number, being, when Despath is with them, at the outside 400, including sepoys and matchlockmen, they are unapproachable; so cautious are they become that they let no one come near them unless they know him for a friend. Their continued changes of ground make any attack on them impossible, and being desperate they do not hesitate to put any one to death whom they suspect.

8*th*—Hearing that there were a number of the more insignificant among them (who) were anxious to come in, if they could be allowed to do so, and it seeming of much importance to weaken their band as well as their mutual confidence, I issued a proclamation and got it circulated in the neighbouring villages to the effect that any of the non-excepted classes, any who were not leaders or concerned in murder, might come to me, enter their arms and swear never to again join the rebels, and then be forgiven. This has not had as much effect as I

[1] Obviously, 'nephew of Despath' is meant here.

hoped owing probably to the fact of few feeling their hands clean enough for the terms to be applicable to them; but a few have come and I am still sanguine that seeing that they have not been molested more will follow.

9*th*—Captain Sawers and I are likewise organising expeditions against those who hold out, the successful result of which I hope soon to be able to report; but as above mentioned these are attended with the greatest difficulty.

10*th*—Still, although these measures may quiet the place temporarily it is undoubtedly only for the time being. Despath is gone, but as soon as ever he sees opportunity or the crops are partially ripe he will return and the same scene of torture, extortion and anarchy will ensue, and this until the Native States about viz., Chutturpore, Gerolee etc. are forced to give him up and aid in exterminating his band. That this can be done there is no doubt were there no other proof that the former of these aid him in every way. The whole of his route from here to the *Ghats* lies through that territory and Tuttuen[1] the village he retired to is there likewise. This and their aid in cutting broad roads through the jungle should be insisted on, and until it is, all efforts from our side will fail in effecting the desired end.

11*th*—With advertence to the detachments at Pipera and Joorun their presence is so far valuable, that they confine the ravages of the rebels within certain limits—the former enables many villages to be cultivated which would otherwise lie waste and the latter keeps Bughora and Joorun from being made the headquarters they used to be, besides in some measure overawing Alipoora. They do not however move out, they will probably say, for want of information and knowing the great difficulty it is to get enough even to act on from here; there is much force in that objection though the other urged, that the jungle is no place for regular troops, seems not so valid. As all being jungle here, it is the same as saying they can do nothing at all.

12*th*—I note from a later communication of yours that you expect to be here in person about the 15th instant or sooner.[2]

[1] Not clearly decipherable in the original document.

[2] File No. 2, Pp. 6 to 13. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

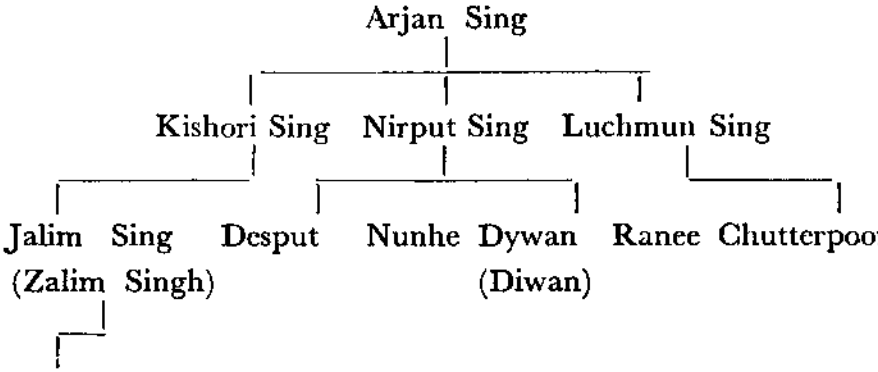
GENEALOGICAL SKETCH OF DESHPAT'S FAMILY

A Letter No. 19 *from C. I. Richardes, Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Hamirpur, to the Commissioner, Jhansi, dated Camp Jaitpur, February* 6, 1860.

I have the honor to acknowledge your Docket No. 63 F. dated 29th ultimo and in reply to inform you that, there are not two Nuney or Nuneyjoo's.

2*nd*—Bikermajheet (Vikrmajit) Desput's cousin's son being the youngest of the Desput's relatives with the rebel band, is occasionally called Nuney and Nuneyjoo is a term synonymous with "Youngster". It is very rarely that he is called by this epithet but his late brother Bhemjhoo, who was hung (*sic*, hanged) was more frequently called Nuneyjoo.

3*rd*—The relationship you request information of is shewn (old spelling) in the following Genealogical sketch.



REWARDS FOR THE CAPTURE OF DESHPAT AND NANNHEY

Copy of Letter No. 96 *F. of* 1860 *from Major F. W. Pinkney, Commissioner, Jhansi Division, to C. Couper, Secretary to the Government, N.W. Provinces, Allahabad, dated Jhansi, 7th February* 1860.

With reference to the favorable (favourable) change which has taken place in the feelings of the people in the disturbed *Pergunna* of Jeitpore and to the surprise[2] and killing of the two

[1] File No. 93, Pp. 14-15. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records Central Records Office, Allahabad.

[2] It should be 'surprising'.

rebel leaders Oomrow Sing (Umrao Singh) and Zalim Sing by the Military Police under Lieutenant Hennessey reported in my weekly narrative of this day's date, I have the honor to submit for the consideration of His Honor (Honour) the Lieutenant-Governor whether this is not a favourable occasion for the offer of a large reward for the capture of Desput and of his nephew Nunney *Dewan*.

2*nd*—When I formerly applied for a reward for the capture of Desput circumstances were different, but now, when the people are evidently turning against the rebels and a great success has been gained, it appears to me that the reward may be offered with fair hopes of success.

3*rd*—Should His Honor be of opinion that my view is a correct one, I beg to recommend that the reward offered for Desput be large—not under Rupees 10,000, a reward of Rupees 3,000 would be sufficient for Nunneh[1] *Dewan*.

4*th*—I may add that although Rs. 10,000 may seem a very large reward for Desput, yet, if not taken, he will yet cost Government much more in the pay of police and loss of revenue.[2]

DESHPAT HELPED BY LOCAL ZEMINDARS

Letter No. 57 *from the Magistrate, Hamirpur to the Commissioner, Jhansi, dated Camp Lealgown*[3], 15*th May* 1860.

I have not forwarded you the weekly narratives of events in this district during the past weeks as they would have been nearly blank, though the Police have been kept up in their efforts to hunt down rebels, whether singly or in bands.

2*nd*—I have the pleasure now to inform you of the result of the search after the band of rebels headed by the Raneepoorah *Thakores* who have kept this part of the country in disquiet.

[1] Spelt as "Nunney Dewan" above in this very document. The correct name would be "Nannhey Diwan".

[2] File No. 17, Pp. 26 and 27. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

[3] Not clearly decipherable in the Original; can be read as '*Lealowa*' also.

REVOLUTIONARIES ASSISTED BY THE JAGIRDAR OF GIROLI

2*nd*—Since their offence of carrying off the Boy[1] from Sorah they have been so closely followed that daily one or more of the band were caught. This continued until the remainder hid in the *Gurhee* of the *Jagirdar* of Girolee. The day that I had traced them there, I heard from Dr. Stratton, that the *Jagirdar* meant to give them up if they came into his hands; this was on the 26th April. After waiting until the 11th May and no surrender being made, I wrote to Dr. Stratton informing him of the length of time these rebels had been in the *Gurhee* suggesting that he would take measures with the *Jagirdar* who was deceiving him. As the *Jagirdar* had not informed him of the rebels being in his *Gurhee*, though so many days had elapsed in fact that the *Jagirdar* was hiding the rebels having so arranged that in the event of their being found in his *Gurhee* he would be blameless, I recommended Dr. Stratton to surround the *Gurhee*, (and offered him the services of Captain Hennessey's Police, for that purpose) and then to search it. Dr. Stratton moved up the Columns under Lieutenant Cragy and peremtorily (*sic*, peremptorily) demanded that the *Jagirdar* should give up the rebels. The *Jagirdar* complied with this to a certain extent sending in 8 of the rebels. I informed Dr. Stratton that I knew that some of the others and probably all of them were hid in this (*sic*,) *Gurhee* and subsequently 3 others were surrendered.

SOME REVOLUTIONARIES STILL AT LARGE

3*rd*—These eleven together with the 5 captured in this district by the Police makes (*sic*,) up in all sixteen and only one or two, among whom is Pahelwan Sing, are still at large. These rebels have been active enemies since the mutiny and their capture is a very decided step in quieting this part of the country. There are rewards of 100 Rs. each, on the heads of 5 of these rebels and as you will infer from the above account, and analysis of correspondence with Dr. Stratton, informers were employed and that but for them this capture

[1] This is not clearly decipherable; can be read as 'Brig' also. But 'Boy' appears to be more correct.

of rebels might not have been effected. To enable me to reward these men and to ensure further intelligence I beg to propose that half the sum of 100 rupees is allowed for disbursement.

4*th*—In regard to other rebels there is Anund Rao of Tikerya, a murderer, who stays about and disturbs the inhabitants. I have some hopes of apprehending him.

5*th*—Desput and Kungal[1] Shah—Desput's cook, and fourth a stranger who has lately joined are in the Jheejhen[2] jungle; their traces have been found to corroborate the information. I have again called to account the *Zemindars* of the villages which are known to feed Desput, and have aclaimed (*sic*, acclaimed) the headmen of each village allowing two of their number to go from each community with a *Thanehdar* in pursuit. If very stringent measures amounting to martial law, but without hanging, were directed to be taken with these men who are know[3] to feed and protect Desput, his capture might be effected. The prevailing feeling is fear but disaffection is also allied with it.[4]

KOTA REVOLUTIONARIES AT DHORI

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, to R. Hamilton, Gwalior, dated 15*th July* 1858.

A letter from the *Dewan* at Kerowlee[5], states that the Kota rebels, who came back from Gwalior have the Rajah

[1] Can be read as 'Kunjal' also.

[2] Spelt as '*Jeenjhun*' in other places.

[3] This word is not legibly written. It can be either 'keen' or 'known'.

[4] File No. 55, Pp. 58 to 61. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

[5] *Karauli State*—State in the east of *Rajputana*, lying between 26° 3′ and 26° 49′ N. and 76° 34′ and 77° 24′ E., with an area of 1,242 square miles. It is bounded on the north by Bharatpur; on the north-west and west by Jaipur; on the south and south-east by Gwalior; and on the east by Dholpur. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV, 1908, p. 25).

Karauli Town—Capital of the State of the same name in *Rajputana*, situated in 26° 30′ N. and 77° 2′ E., equidistant (about 75 miles) from Muttra, Gwalior, Agra, Alwar, Jaipur, and Tonk. It is also the headquarters of the Sadr Tahsil. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV, 1908, p. 34).

of Nirwur (Narwar) with them and are in the *Dhang* of Dhoryèe towards Ahmeta which borders with Shahabad and Shoopoor[1].*

CONSPIRACY AT GWALIOR

Copy of Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, 6th September 1858.

At Gwalior four sepoys of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, Hindoos of Oudh, being instigated by a Brahmin to induce their Regiment to join the Nana, informed their officers, pretended to join the plot, were introduced to several conspirators, and induced them to come near Cantonments, and show to the Havildar-Major a *Perwannah* from the Nana. As arranged beforehand, two officers appeared, and the conspirators were seized. Other arrests also have been made by the Political Agent at Gwalior, and the *Perwannah* which bears date May last, is in his possession.....[2]

GANGA SINGH AT SEHOR

Telegraphic Message sent by E. A. Reade to Major Macpherson, dated Agra, 25th September 1858.

The *Dewan* at Dholpoor confirms the intelligence sent this morning. By the latest accounts the rebels were at Sehore[3] on the old Bombay road. The leader Gunga Singh joined with the Toorgurh people. They are said to have Horse, Foot and 2 or 3 guns.[4]

[1] Apparently spelt for *Sheopur*.

*Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade, Agra, from 11th May to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Sehore* (*Sihor*)—British military station and headquarters of a State tahsil and of the *Bhopal Agency*, situated in the *Nizamat-i-Maghrib* or Western district of *Bhopal State, Central India*, in 23° 12′ N. and 77° 5′ E., on the Ujjain-Bhopal Railway, 1,750 feet above sea-level (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, 1908, p. 160).

[4] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

GANGA SINGH JOINED BY TURGARH ZEMINDARS

Telegraphic Message sent by E. A. Reade to Major Macpherson, dated Agra, 25th September 1858.

The road between the Chumbul and Gwalior is reported to be unsafe, a body of rebels, said to be led by Gunga Sing, and joined by the *Zemendars* (*Zamindars*) of Toorgurh is reported from various quarters to be assembling for mischief. Is anything being done from Gwalior to put this down ?[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message sent by E. A. Reade to G. F. Edmonstone, dated Agra, 25th September 1858.

A large body of rebels is assembling across the Chumbul on the old Bombay road, and by the latest accounts are at Sehoree about 9 miles distant from that river. The leader is said to be the notorious Gunga Sing, joined by the turbulent *Zemindars* of Toorgarh. This intelligence first given by the signaller, at the Chumbul has been confirmed by the Putteala (Patiala) *Deewan* at Dholpoor, who has placed a guard on the ferry boats. The telegraph communication with Gwalior is still working.[2]

GANGA SINGH MOVING TOWARDS SOUTH-WEST

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade to G. F. Edmonstone, dated Agra, 27th September 1858.

Major Macpherson reports that the body of rebels with Gunga Sing as leader are making their way to the south-west. This is confirmed by intelligence from Dholpoor. The Gwalior road is clear, and the wire after a temporary interruption is working.[3]

[1] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

REVOLUTIONARIES HEADING TOWARDS KUNCH

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Showers, Mynpooree (Mainpuri), 12th Decr. 1858, 10 P. M., to E. A. Reade, Agra and R. Napier, Major Macpherson, Gwalior.

The rebels are reported to have escaped the Kooaree at Bhujye. They stated their destination to be Koonch. The position of your detachment may probably drive them back to the Chumbul when they will try to reach Rajpootana by the banks of that river. I will return to Agra through Bal Pinahut[1] *Purgunnah* to watch the north bank. Let me know through Mr. Reade the route, the rebels take. *A rebel of high rank called the Moulvie, evidently Fuzl Haq, is reported to have been killed in the fight on the 8th.*[2]

[1] The correct name is a *'Bah Pinhaat'*.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

CHAPTER TEN

ROAD TO WILDERNESS

STATEMENTS OF JHANSI DIVISION FOR THE YEAR 1859

Letter No. 568 *F of* 1860 *from F. W. Pinkney, Commissioner, Jhansi Division, to Secretary to Government, N. W. P., Allahabad, dated Jhansi, the 8th June* 1860.

I have the honor to forward herewith the Police Report and statements of the Jhansi Division for the year 1859.

JAITPUR DISTURBED

2*nd*—At the beginning of 1859 the Jhansi and Jaloun districts were quiet, all the rebel leaders having for the time been driven out either into Gwalior or Duttia (Datia). The southern part of the Humeerpoor district particularly the *Jungly Pergunnah* Jeitpoor was however in great disorder and about one thousand or fifteen hundred rebel matchlockmen were reported to be assembled in the jungle villages Bugora and Aree under the rebel leaders Chuttur Sing, Bukht Sing and Oomrow Sing (Umrao Singh); small detached parties of plunderers also roamed about the *Pergunnahs* of Jeitpoor and Punwaree. The rebel leader Desput (Deshpat) who has more influence than any other in these parts, resided occasionally in Jeitpoor and occasionally in the Chutturpoor and other Native States (which encouraged and supported him) as his interests dictated. In the Chundeyree district, Rao Humeer Singh of Palee, the Nanukpoor *Thakoors*, the Rana and Dabee Sing with some other leaders still held out, each at the head of parties of rebels varying from 50 to 300 men. Their chief force was in the Balabehut *Pergunnah* which is hilly and covered with dense jungle.

3*rd*—On the 5th January a detachment of Madras troops under Captain Hilliard accompanied by Captain Sawers, Commanding Humeerpore Military Police, attacked and surprised the camp of Desput, Chuttur Sing, Bukht Sing etc., near Bugora in Jeitpoor. Upwards of 50 rebels were counted dead on the field and many more were wounded; 46 horses, 4 camels, 2 Swivel guns and many arms were taken

and for the time the rebels in this part were completely broken up. On the 6th January Captain Forrest with a Bombay detachment defeated the rebels in the north of the Chundeyree district. On the 11th January the rebel Burjore Sing (Barjor Singh) with 200 matchlockmen made an irruption from Duttia or Gwalior into the Jaloun district but was intercepted by Lieutenant MacInroy of the 19th Madras N. I. at the head of some Seik (Sikh) Cavalry and Military Police Sowars who killed 40 of the rebels and took 28 horses and several arms etc. On the 20th January Colonel Liddell, Commanding at Lullutpoor, having got information that the rebels of the Chundeyree district were assembled in force near Palee in the Balabehut jungles marched against them. On his approach however they returned deep into the jungle and no further trace of them could be obtained.

4*th*—On the 8th February some 300 rebels under Chuttur Sing and Bukht Sing plundered *Mouzah* Gingee *Pergunnah* Punwaree *Zillah* Humeerpoor.

RAO SAHEB NEAR PALI

5*th*—On the 13th March the Rao Sahib having been hard-pressed in the south about Seronge reached Murrowey near Palee 25 miles S.-E. of Lullutpoor. Colonel Liddell immediately sent a party of troops against him which Captain Tenton, Deputy Commissioner, accompanied. On our force reaching Palee the Rao Sahib's force broke up, he himself with 400 men made for the Gwalior territory and the rest under a mutineer *Ressuldar* made towards the Native States to the eastward. On the 18th March a large body of rebels under Chuttur Sing and Bukht Sing who gave out that they belong (*sic*,) to the Rao Sahib's army, which probably some of them did, came from the Native States of Chutturpoor, Geroli, or Allipoora, which are all intermixed and crossing the Dessan at Sonukpoora (which they plundered) into the Jhansee district, plundered Sijaree, killed six and wounded five men and then immediately made off in the direction from whence they came. About this time also the rebels in Jeitpoor carried off Musammat Joorawun the *Malgoozarin* of Kondar and her daughter and after ill-using them put them both to death. On the 18th March Anunt Rao, the rebel *Zemindar* of Tekerio in Jeitpoor at the head of 50 men attacked that village, killed

two men and carried off the *Putwary;* two sowars of Lieutenant Colonel Hindes' Rewa Police were also cut down and several travellers plundered between Jeitpoor and Nowgong, in consequence of which Captain Sawers, moved to that neighbourhood with a body of Police Horse and Foot.

6*th*—Early in April Lieutenant MacInroy's Banda Horse came up with a detached party of Burjore Sing's band near Mhow Mahoni on the Pahooj river, killed five rebels and took two camels and some ponies. Burjore Sing and the other rebel leaders (*sic*, leader) of the Jaloun district, Dowlut Sing, took to the ravines of the Scinde River on the Gwalior bordor (*sic*, border). The Jeitpoor *Pergunnah* still remained in disorder and an attempt to surprise a large body of rebels under Chuttur Sing failed and on the 24th April 400 rebels under Bukht Sing attacked *Mouzah* Roorhee Kulan (Kalan) in Punwaree, killed one man and carried off 3 others whom they afterwards put to death in cold blood.

BARJOR SINGH AND DAULAT SINGH'S ACTIVITIES

7*th*—On the 4th May Bukht Sing surprised a marriage procession at Kunkooa in Punwaree and carried off the bridegroom and others, intending to extort a large ransom but on the 16th May Captain Sawers with the Military Police surprised Bukht Sing's camp near Joorun of Allipoorah, killed two rebels, took several prisoners with all the rebels' baggage ponies etc. and released bridegroom and others. On the 14th May the Jaloun Military Police under Captain Swinney attacked the rebels some 1000 strong under Dowlut Sing and Burjore Sing on the Scinde River near Seonda of Duttiah. The attack failed and the Military Police were repulsed with a heavy loss. On the 24th May Burjore Sing with 600 men entered the Bhandere *Pergunnah* of Jhansee and began plundering and burning but on a detachment from Jhansee proceeding against him a part of the rebels under Dowlut Sing fled to the Gwalior territory and another part under Burjore Sing made for the ravines at the confluence of the Dessan and Betwa rivers. Plundering still continued in *Pergunnahs* Jeitpoor and Punwaree of Humeerpoor.

8*th*—On the 1st June Burjore Sing and his party tried to cross to the south of the Betwa near Seidnuggur Kotra but was (*sic*, were) prevented by the Goorserai Chief. He afterwards

crossed some miles higher up on which the Goorserai Chief's son went in pursuit and he fled through Erich in (*sic*, on) the Betwa plundering a marriage party on the way. On the 9th June Burjore Sing and his band joined that of Chuttur Sing and the two made a sudden swoop on Gurotha and plundered and burned about 50 shops belonging to *Bunneahs* (*Banias*) and traders. A large proportion of the population of Gurotha is formed of Boondela *Thakoors* who could easily have beaten off the rebels if they had liked, but they did nothing and the rebels left them unmolested. On the 10th June Burjore Sing and Chuttur Sing partially burned Kurora[1] and killed a *Chuprassay*. During all this time they were followed up by the Deputy Magistrate Neaz Ali (Niaz Ali) with Military Police and Goorserai troops with as much expedition as possible but he could not come up with them. On the 12th June these two leaders fled across the Dessan into the Humeerpoor district. On the 19th June Major Davis, Divisional Commandant, and Lieutenant Hawthorne[2] 24th Bombay N. I. at the head of a detachment of Military Police and regular troops surprised Chuttur Sing and Burjore Sing on the Dessan River 5 miles S.-W. of Allipoora and killed twelve on the field amongst whom was Burjore Sing's foster-brother---a man of note. Burjore Sing fled westward, crossed the Betwa, was surprised by Lieutenant Catania of the Jaloun Military Police and lost all his baggage and plunder near Bellahie and in his flight from that officer Burjore Sing fell in with a party of Military Police from Bhandere (Bhander) in Jhansee who killed a rebel *Soubadar* and took two rebels prisoners. Burjore Sing then fled to the Duttia territory. On the 3rd June a party of rebels under Nunee (Nannhey) (Desput's brother) and Zalim Sing (Zalim Singh) attacked a party of Govt. *Chuprassies* in Mowabund in Jeitpoor, killed one and made another prisoner. Mr. Wigram immediately assembled what men he could and went after the rebels but they got off. One of their prisoners however was released. On the 15th June the rebels attacked Koolpahar and killed 3 and wounded 6 *Chowkeydars*. Dowlut Sing having crossed the Scinde entered the Jaloun district and took possession of the town and fort of Indoorkee on the Scinde river from

[1] Apparently spelt for *Karera*.
[2] This name can be read as 'Hawthome' also.

which however he was driven out on the 27th June by a party of Military (Police)[1] under Lieutenant Osborne.

9th—Two rebel leaders Dakunjoo and Guneshjoo *Thakoors*, *Maafeedars* of Gooswaiea[2] in the western extremity of the Jhansee district and close to the Gwalior border, had long kept round them a band of rebels who plundered in Scindia's country frequently. Attempts to surprise them had been made from the Jhansee side without success as an extensive open country had to be crossed, but on the 1st July a Detachment under Major Meade marched against them from Sippree (Sipri), from which side they did not except (*sic*, expect) an attack, completely surprised them and killed the two leaders and upwards of 80 armed rebels. On the 5th July Dowlut Sing (2nd) a rebel of the Shahgurh district made an inroad into the Chundeyree district and plundered Koomere. On the 10th July a Detachment accompanied by the Deputy Commissioner marched against Humeer Sing's encampment in the Balabehut jungles and burned it, but the rebels got off. Plundering still continued in the Jeitpoor and Punwaree *Pergunnahs* to a great extent and the rebels during this month were in considerable force, there being supplied with provisions etc. by the Chutturpoor and Geroli States into which they always retired on being pressed by our troops. On the 31st July Burjore Sing with a band of rebels passed through the Duttiah state into our territory, plundered the two British villages of Budrowa and Poora near Talgong of Jaloun, carried off 12 of the principal inhabitants for ransom and then made off into the Duttiah State and ravines of the Scinde river.

10th—On the 2nd August 500 rebels under Feroze Shah having passed through the Saugor district entered the Balabehut jungles of Chundeyree in which a considerable body of rebels under Rao Humeer Sing, Dabee Sing and others of the Chundeyree district had always found a retreat. The people of the *Pergunnah* received them well and supplied them with provisions freely. After some fruitless attempts to come up with Feroze Shah, Colonel Nott, Commanding 19th M. N. I. (Madras Native Infantry), completely surprised him at Putrai 4 miles N. W. of Narhut, killed twenty-five of his band and

[1] This word is effaced in the Original document.

[2] This word can be read as '*Goorwaiea*' also, in the Original document.

took all their horses, tents and several stand arms. The remains of the band at once fled from our territories, leaving only local rebels in Chundeyree namely about 150 under Rao Humeer Sing and 100 under Dabee Sing. About this time the rebel leader Tiloke Sing of Soonowree was taken in the north of the Chundeyree district. The rebels still continued in great force at Jheenjhun and Salhet[1] in the south of the Humeerpoor district and during this month plundered several villages and committed many murders.

11*th*—During the early part of September, *Pergunnahs* Jeitpoor and Punwaree, continued in great disorder, the Agent to the Governor General Sir R. Shakespear reached at Chutturpoor about this time and took measures with the Ranee of Chutturpoor and Geroli Chief to prevent their affording an sylum[2] and support to the rebels in their possessions when driven from our territories. A large reinforcement of Military Police having been sent by His Honor from the Cawnpoor and Futtehgurh districts a strong double line of posts was established in the Jeitpoor *Pergunnah*. In consequence of these measures the mass of the rebels left the Jeitpoor *Pergunnah* and made for different hilly and jungle tracts in the Native States to the south. During this month several expeditions were made by the Military Police of Chundeyree against the rebels in the Balabehut *Pergunnah* with more or less success, in one of which Maheep Sing, the *Kamdar* of Rao Humeer Sing was captured. At this time with the sanction of Government the cutting of broad roads in several directions through the *Jungly Pergunnahs* of Balabehut and Jeitpoor was begun; these roads by opening out the different retreats of the rebels have done much towards the pacification of those tracts which were for months the chief seats of the disturbances.

12*th*—On the 8th October the rebels from the Balabehut jungle made an attack on Palee and killed 4 men. Owing to the misconduct of a *Jemadar* of the Military Police, who has since been punished, they got off scatheless. On the 10th Burjore Sing, who had found refuge in the Gwalior and Duttiah States and recruited his band, crossed the Scinde river into the Jaloun district and plundered and partially burned the British

[1] At some places the name appears as 'Salket' also.
[2] The correct word should be 'asylum'.

village of Burra, and recrossed the Scinde into the Duttiah territory. On the 24th October in consequence of Brigadier Wheeler's force moving against the rebels of Central India sheltered in the Native States along the Cane (Ken) and Sonor rivers, I sent for and met Captain Sawers, Commanding Humeerpoor Military Police at Allipoora and that Officer made arrangements so that in case anybody of them in escaping from Brigadier Wheeler should attempt to break into the Humeerpoor district he could oppose them with a respectable force of Military Police.

13*th*—On the 3rd November a large body of rebels headed by Furzund Ali (Farzand Ali) and others, which was trying to escape from Brigadier Wheeler, reached Biterreah 10 miles from Sreenuggur (Srinagar) with the intention of entering the Humeerpoor district and taking refuge in the Jeitpoor jungles. Mr. Freeling informed Captain Sawers of the fact and that officer immediately marched against them. On his approach they retreated on the 5th November to the ravines of the Kale river near Tarouti in Chutturpoor where at 8 P. M. they were intercepted and cut up by Colonel Turner, Commanding one of Brigadier Wheeler's Columns. Captain Sawer's prompt movement effectually covered the Humeerpoor district, prevented the rebels from entering it and drove them on Colonel Turner. At the end of this month no rebels remained in the Humeerpoor district save a few local ones in *Pergunnah* Jeitpoor under Oomrow Kungar and Zalim Sing, Desput's Lieutenants. On the 7th November the Morowra *Pergunnah* of Shahgurh was made over to Chundeyree and on the 23rd Novr. Dowlut Sing (2nd) of Shahgurh and his band seized some 12 or 13 travellers near Putha on the Saugor and Chundeyree borders and cut off the noses of all.

14*th*—Dowlut Sing (2nd) continued to infest the Morowra *Pergunnah* of Chundeyree during December. On the 15th Captain Sawers and Lieutenant Hennessey of the Military Police surprised a small party of rebels in the Jeitpoor jungles, killed three, took several prisoners and 7 matchlocks and a small gun. During this month the Duttiah State was fined by the Agent to the Governor General on account of Burjore Sing having been allowed to remain with his band in the Duttiah territory from which he made an inroad into the Jaloun district and burned and plundered Burra. This proceeding of the Agent effectually put a stop to the officials of the Duttiah

state assisting Burjore Sing any longer and his family, which up to that time were quietly living there, were secured; since then Burjore Sing himself has not resorted to the Duttiah territory *thus clearly showing that if the officials of this state and others had acted heartily towards the British Government from the first reoccupation of the Jhansee district the disorders would speedily have been suppressed.*

15*th*—At the end of 1859 the state of the Jhansee Division was as follows : the Jhansee and Jaloun districts perfectly quiet, the rebel leaders Dowlut Sing and Burjore Sing having fled either to Scindiah's territory or to Kurrowlee. The Humeerpoor district also quiet with the exception of a small part of Jeitpoor where there was a rebel band of 50 or 60 under Desput's Lieutenants Oomrow Kungar and Zalim Sing. Both these leaders have since been killed and their band destroyed; Humeerpoor is now quite quiet. The Chundeyree district quiet with the exception of *Pergunnah* of Balabehut and the lately annexed one of Morowra in which there were three small bands under Rao Humeer Sing, Dabee Sing and Dowlut Sing (2nd) respectively.

16*th*—*From the above sketch it will be seen that the Chief difficulties in this division arose either from the active assistance afforded by some ill-affected Native States, such as Chutturpoor and Geroli to the rebels, or from the lukewarmness of the officials of other States such as Duttiah and Gwalior.* Nobody of rebels was even allowed to rest in any part of the Jhansee Division. They were hunted by the different officers Civil and Military from one district to another, and when hard pressed they took refuge in neighbouring Native States, where they recruited themselves and were in some instances supplied with ammunition etc. and from whence, when opportunity offered, they made fresh inroads into our territory to be followed with the same results. This state of things was frequently reported by me to His Honor, and, as frequently represented by His Honor to the Agent of the Governor General; and on that officer towards the full[1] of the year making some of these Native States feel that they could not with impunity give shelter and aid to rebels against the British Government, the bands of rebels quickly melted

[1] The phrase is not clear.

away and now rebel incursions from Native States have all but ceased.

17*th*—No fair comparison can be made of the results shown in the statements of 1859 with those of the former year 1858, as the Jhansee district was not occupied till April, the Jaloun district till May, the Humeerpoor district till June, and the Chundeyree district finally till November of 1858, and even after those periods, considerable portions in all four districts were at times in the hands of the rebels.[1]

SHAHZADA FIROZ SHAH

PARTICULARS ABOUT FIROZ SHAH SHAHZADA OF DELHI

Extracts from Office Notes from the Assistant Secretary, Political and Secret Deptt., India Office, dated 24th May 1877, *No.* 568.

Feroze* Shah was a son of the ex-King of Delhi. From the beginning of 1858 to the beginning of 1859 he took an active part against the British forces first in the North-Western Provinces and afterwards in Central India. In March 1859 a messenger purporting to have come from him presented himself to Sir R. Hamilton with the object of treating for his surrender and to this messenger Sir R. Hamilton gave some copies of Her Majesty's Proclamation. Nothing came of this negotiation, and Feroze Shah was again heard of as having come into collision with Sir R. Napier and other British leaders, (and) was afterwards defeated by General Whitlock.

In 1860 Feroze Shah was heard of in Candahar(Qandahar)[2] making his way to Persia. In 1861 he was reported to be in Bokhara, and at the end of 1862 he turned up near Tehe1an where he remained for some time.

In reply to a reference from Persia in January 1863, whether any reward had been offered for Feroze Shah's apprehension, the Government of India stated that it would not be expedient to undertake any such proceedings in a foreign territory.

[1] File No. 52—(Annual Criminal and Police Administration Reports), Pp. 21 to 27. Jalaun District Court Mutiny Records, Central Records Office, Allahabad.

* "K. W. Secret, December 1872, Nos. 364-71."—Note in the Original.

[2] In *Afghanistan* Country.

Feroze Shah was next heard of in Herat, then in Bokhara, and in 1868 made his way to Swat and thence to Cabul (Kabul). He was sent off towards Badakshan by the *Ameer* of Cabul, and was subsequently reported to have been seen in Samarcand (Samarqand).

In October* 1872 Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople reported Feroze Shah to be residing there.

Captain Hunter† of the Bengal Staff Corps, who accompanied the Kashgar Envoy on his journey to Constantinople and England, reported about him in July 1875 as follows :—

"It is commonly reported in Stamboul that Feroze Shah left for Mecca with Mirza Mahomed Bey some months ago. The fact that he is still here is only known to the Hindustanies and to such of the Turks as are personally acquainted with him. My informant was taken to see Feroze Shah by Sultan Ibrahim and sat with him for some time. He describes him as a broken down looking man, blind, or nearly so, of one eye, and lame.....".

Since then we have heard that Feroze Shah‡ has died at Mecca. Regarding him the writer of the memorandum above alluded to says :—

"There is also at Mecca the Shahzada Feroze, who likewise took part openly in the same mutiny. He fought the English both at Lucknow and Delhi, and he ultimately succeeded to escape safely to Mecca".[1]

FIROZ SHAH INTENDS TO ENTER BUNDELKHAND

Letter No. 5053 *from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, to the Deputy Commissioner of Humeerpore (Hamirpur), dated Allahabad, the* 6*th Decr.* 1858.

I have the honor to forward for your information the annexed copy (quoted on next page) of a Telegraph Message

Marginal notes in original—

* Secret, December 1872, No. 368.

† Secret, September 1875, No. 92.

‡ Foreign Department Telegram to Her Majesty's Consul General, Cairo, Alexandria, No. 1780 P, dated 25th July 1877.

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, September 1877, Nos. 5-9. National Archives, New Delhi.

despatched to the Political Agents at Gwalior and Rewah, and to the Agent to Governor General for Central India : "Feroze Shah with 1500 Sowars, fled from Biswah in Oude, and was making, when last heard of, for the Ganges, intending to cross near Kanoje (Kanauj) and enter Bundlecund and join Tantia Topye. Notice has been sent to Cawnpore, Mynpoory (Mainpuri) and Agra".[1]

DARING ESCAPE OF FIROZ SHAH

"So much has been said of late in dispraise of the Commander-in-Chief that moderate men were commencing a reaction in his favour. They turned almost with disgust from wild charges that Lord Clyde, an English soldier, left loopholes that Nana might escape; deliberately planned his own failures. They saw that one half of the discontent arose from that ignorant impatience of all but victory, which, if one source of the national strength, is the greatest embarrassment of a commander .....No sane man believes that the Commander-in-Chief wanted Feroze Shah and two thousand men to escape, that he wished to see the Dooab once more ravaged, that he had any desire to add a formidable force to the marauders who under Tantia Topee are now pouring into Guzerat. The escape was made in spite of him, and indicates, to say the least, a deficiency, in his arrangements. That deficiency moreover does not appear to have been inevitable. There was no escape for the Shahzada, except by crossing two rivers, one wholly impassable, without the aid of boats. He crossed them both as if they had been ditches between two great stations, not seventy miles apart; and at the point of all others whence he had the readiest means of escape into the interior of the country. He crossed moreover by a river more than a mile or two from a line of telegraph in working order.....[2]

FIROZ SHAH'S BID TO JOIN TATYA

A telegram from Allahabad of 8th December announces

[1] File No. 8, p. 5. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records. Central Records Office, Allahabad.

[2] "*The Friend of India*",16th Dec. 1858, page 1181—"The last mistake in Oude". National Library, Calcutta.

that Feroze Shah has broken through all our posts and crossed the Ganges at Bithoor. He has 1500 Sowars, and intends to traverse Bundelcund and join Tantia Topee. He was last heard of at Huttiah, whither he has been pursued by the Magistrate of Cawnpore with some troops. They will not of course come up with him.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, dated Menar Ka Serai, the 8th December 1858.

.....Ferozshah with a large force crossed the Mullach, and Suneela road on 3rd instant having been defeated by English force. There seems to be no doubt of Ferozshah's having been with the force which crossed the Ganges on the 5th and 6th instant. There is a rumour that Tantia Topee is either this side of the river Jumna or at all events on the right bank to render assistance to Ferozshah.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), the 9th December 1858, 9 *A. M., to Brigadier Showers, Agra.*

I have received information that the rebels under Ferozshah have gone south. From the Calpee road Brigadier Herbat[3] with a few Cavalry is watching them, but cannot attack for want of force.....[4]

BRITISH PRECAUTIONS ON CHAMBAL

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier General R. Napier, dated Gwalior, the 9th December 1858, *to Brigadier Showers.*

Captain McMohan[5] 14 Dragoons is at Amear near the junction of the Chumbul.....He has orders to look

[1] "*The Friend of India*", Dec. 16, 1858, p. 183—"Weekly Epitome of News, Dec. 9". National Library Calcutta.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Appears to have been misspelt for 'Herbert'.

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] Spelt as 'MacMahon' also elsewhere.

out for the rebels coming across to move out at the shortest notice.[1]

FIROZ SHAH MARCHING TO SIKANDRA

Service Message from G. F. Edmonstone to C. Beadon, Calcutta; H. C. Anderson, Bombay; T. Pycroft, Madras; E. A. Reade, Agra; J. Lawrence; Lieutenant Colonel Davidson, Hyderabad; G. Plowden, Nagpur; dated Allahabad, 16th December 1858.

The Rebel Force under Feroze Shah since they crossed the Ganges at Kumoogrie on the 10th have continued their march by the left bank of the Jhooi river. They passed through Sohar on the 11th making for Secundra. The chiefs of the districts through which they have passed have remained loyal and shew (shown) no disposition to join them. Brigadier MacDuff has arrived with his Force at Waller and was to have left it yesterday morning for Secundra.[2]

FIROZ SHAH AT TEHRI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, the 20th December 1858, *to E. A. Reade, Agra.*

On the 16th Brigadier McDuff pursued and drove from their position some two or three hundred rebels under Durjore Sing[3] who were plundering villages in the vicinity of the Scinde river. Several men of the rebels were killed and wounded. Night prevented the Brigadier from pursuing the rebels further. They fled into the dense jungle. In their rear, a force has been sent from Goonah by Captain Mayne towards Esaughur. The rebels under Feroze Shah being reported to be at Teeree[4]

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Note :—In the copy of this Telegram attested by the Offg. Under Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, 'Ganges' has been deciphered as 'Jumna', 'Kumoogrie' as 'Taingori', 'Jhooi river' as 'Phorj river', 'Secundra' as 'Scunda', 'to join them' as 'to join their cause', and 'Weller' as 'Jaloun'.

[3] Appears misspelt for 'Burjore Singh'.

[4] Apparently, spelt for *Tehri.*

eight *koss* north of that place. Intelligence from Gwalior just received states that on the 7th Sir Robert Napier's force beat and pursued with slaughter for eight miles the rebels under Feroze Shah.....[1]

FIROZ SHAH ATTACKS THE ENGLISH NEAR GUNA

Telegraphic Message from Major Macpherson, dated Gwalior, the 22nd December 1858.

Lieutenant Stack, 1st Bombay Lancers was attacked between Gona and Seronke[2] on the 20th by Ferozeshah's Cavalry estimated at 15 hundred when three Lancers were killed and a portion of his camels and carriage taken.[3]

RAO SAHEB AND FIROZ SHAH REACH PARON[4]

Memo. of Intelligence from C. L. Showers, Officiating Political Agent, dated Meywar (*Mewar*) *Agency Camp, the 5th March* 1859.

The Rebel Force under the Rao Saheb and Shahzada Feroze Shah took a north-easterly course from Roneeja[5] and pursued the same *via* Misrolee, Lonail (or Sonail), Ryepoor (Raipur), Asnawud (near Cheepa Barode) where they suddenly doubled south, and pursued their way by the circuitous route of Munohur *Thannah*, Chachoura, Loutalia[6], crossed Parbuttee at the Kherar Berar Ghat and thence through the jungles arriving on the 28th at Parone which is situated in the heart of the jungle tract lying between Shahabad and Bamoree Rampoora. They were halted at Parone on the 1st March, being under the protection of the rebel Rajah of that place,

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Obviously, misspelt for '*Seronge*'.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *Paron* (or *Narwan*)—Mediatized Chiefship in the *Central India Agency*, under the Resident at Gwalior. It is a minor state, about 60 square miles in area, surrounding the village of Paron. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XX, 1908, p. 7).

[5] Can be read as *Ranuja* also.

[6] Can be read as *Sontalia* also.

Bonwurjee. His horsemen who formed a chain of vidette round the rebel Camp gave the following information to the spies who were stopped by them and turned back (agreeably to their orders), *that the Rao had been joined in the jungles by Tantia and was going to Jhansee, that Feroze Shah was with them.* But a prisoner taken at Munohur[1] *Thannah*, falling sick there, as the rebels passed through, has deposed *that the Rao kept aloof, with* 400 *men both marching and resting, from Feroze Shah and the rest, mistrusting the latter after the late negociations (negotiations) for surrender, and surrender of his (Feroze Shah's) principal followers Peer Zahoor Alli and Moulvee Wazeer Khan;* 1800 *of the rebel force said to be of Feroze Shah's party. Abdool Sutar Khan (Abdul Sattar Khan) of Jowra broke off with* 10 *men during the flight near Sadree*[2] *and entered the Banswarra jungles.* This is corroborated by the surrendered rebels.

From the above it seems probable that if the Rao Sahib and his party proceed as the spies reported to be their intention towards Jhansee, *Feroze Shah may still remain in the Parone jungles to treat for terms.* We have yet no certain information that Major-General Mitchel's guarantee of his life equally with that of the Rao Sahib, has ever reached their hands. Messengers with the same are endeavouring to convey it into their Camp.

The force with General Mitchel will march to Soosnair tomorrow.[3]

REPORTED TERMS OF SURRENDER BY FIROZ SHAH

Memo. of Intelligence from Shahamut Alli (Shahamat Ali), Asstt. to Agent Governor General, Central India, dated 2nd June 1859.

A spy who had been sent out in search *of Feroze Shah*

[1] *Manoharpur*—Chief town of an estate of the same name in the *Sawai Jaipur Nizamat* of the State of *Jaipur, Rajputana*, situated in 27° 18′ N. and 75° 57′ E. about 28 miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur City. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVII, 1908, p. 200).

[2] *Sadri*—Town in the *Desuri* district of the State of *Jodhpur, Rajputana*, situated in 25° 11′ N. and 73° 27′ E. close to the Aravalli Hills and the Udaipur border, and about 80 miles south-east of *Jodhpur* City. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 349).

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 1st April 1859, Cons. No. 607, Enclosure No. 67 of 1859. National Archives, New Delhi.

returned this morning, and reports, that he was with Dungul Sing (Dangal Singh) about 14 *coss to the north of Seronge*[1] *in a thick jungle.* When he was in their Camp they were staying near a *Munder* situated in the Jhareewah a distance from any village in that neighbourhood.[2] Their party consisted of about 50 *Welaitees*, 200 *Teelungas* and 300 other men. They are very watchful and seldom stay in one place. The Bummun *Karkoon* of Burwane[3] who had been carried away is said to have been liberated on paying Rs. 1000/- partly in cash and partly in kind.

It is understood that Feroze Shah is willing to surrender if he can secure his terms, which are : full liberty to reside wherever he liked and a suitable provision for his future maintenance.

By the latest account Chuttur Lal was encamped with about 600 men near Deirgurh and Berragurh not far off from Muksoodungurh[4].

Nothing as yet known of the concealment of Rao Sahib.[5]

* * *

[1] *Sironj District*—One of the *Central India* parganas of the State of *Tonk*, *Rajputana*. It lies between 23° 52′ and 24° 21′ N. and 77° 17′ and 77° 57′ E., being bounded on the north-west and east by Gwalior, on the south by Bhopal and Gwalior, and in south-east corner by an outlying portion of Kurwai. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, 1908, p. 38).

[2] Sentence not clear.

[3] *Barwani State*—A guaranteed chiefship in *Central India*, lying between 21° 36′ and 22° 7′ N. and 74° 28′ and 75° 16′ E., along the left bank of the Narbada river. It is bounded on the north by the Dhar State, on the north-west by Ali Rajpur, on the east by a portion of the Indore State; and on the south and west by the Khandesh district of Bombay. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, 1908, p. 90).

Barwani Town—Capital of the State of the same name, in *Central India*, situated in 22° 2′ N. and 74° 54′ E., 3 miles from the left bank of the Narbada, and 80 miles from Mhow on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, 1908, p. 53).

[4] *Maksudangarh* (*Naiakila*)—Petty State in *Central India* under the *Bhopal Agency*, with an area of about 81 square miles. It lies in Malwa and takes its name from chief town. The chief town is Maksudangarh, situated in 24° 4′ N. and 77° 18′ E., about 1,700 feet above sea-level. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, 1908, p. 52).

[5] Foreign Political Consultations, 17th June 1859, No. 292 A. National Archives, New Delhi.

Translation of a Purwanah (Parwana) from the Lord of World and Mankind, the son of the holy preceptor of the Universe and its inmates, Mirza Mahomed Feroze Shah Bahadoor (Mirza Muhammad Firoz Shah Bahadur) to his confidential servant Moulvee Mahomed Wazeer Khan, (Maulvi Muhammad Wazir Khan), dated 3rd Zikad, 1275 A. H. (4th June 1859).

As your petition has been received and the contents learned, I write certain conditions. Should these be agreed to, and full assurance obtained I have no objection in coming to terms.

What arrangement has been made for my maintenance ?

2*nd*— I should be allowed full liberty, that is, I should be allowed to remain or go wherever I like, without molestation.

3*rd*— The arms of my followers, about ten or twenty in number, will not be given up. After obtaining an answer to the above conditions give me information.

On a former occasion, I had sent a man to Indore from whom I have not heard to this hour. Enquire about him and communicate to me the result of your enquiries.[1]

FIROZ SHAH'S TERMS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE BRITISH

Letter from Colonel R. Shakespear, Agent Governor General for Central India, to Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Govt. of India, Foreign Deptt., dated Indore Residency, the 15th of June 1859.

I have the honor to forward copy and translation of a *Perwannah* to his Agent by Feroze Shah. You will observe that he adopts all the titles of a Prince of the House of Timour Shah (Taimur Shah). He makes many stipulations that are altogether inadmissible.

The only notice I have taken of it, is to send Mir Shahamut Ally a letter No. 1594 of this date enclosing purport and translation of a Telegram from Secretary to Govt. of date 10th instant.

Had Feroze Shah worded his conditions of surrender in more humble and reasonable terms, I should have felt disposed to offer him (on my own responsibility) a provision, for it is obvious that some allowance must be made for one so utterly

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 1st July 1859, No. 172, National Archives, New Delhi.

unable to gain his own bread; but to do so now might have a bad effect in encouraging his unreasonable request.

I hope the instructions by post will fix an allowance for Feroze Shah.[1]

MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCE TO FIROZ SHAH ACCEPTABLE TO BRITISH

Letter from Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Govt. of India, to Brigadier-General R. C Shakespear, Agent to the Governor General for Central India, dated Fort William, the 1st of July 1859.

In reply to your letter No. 299 of the 15th ultimo I am directed to state in continuation of my telegram dated the 10th ultimo that Feroze Shah, if he gives himself up, will not be allowed to choose his own place of residence but will be kept under surveillance and will have an allowance made to him sufficient for his maintenance.[2]

DEATH OF FIROZ SHAH AT MECCA

Excerpt from letter from W. H. Beyts, H. M.'s Acting Consul at Jeddah, to Brigadier General Lock, H. M.'s Political Resident, Aden, dated Jeddah, 7th September 1878.

Haji Feros (Firoz) *bin* Sultan Mirza Backt (Bakht) otherwise known as "Feroz Shah" of Delhi was well known at Mecca as a Member of the ex-Royal Family of Delhi and connected with the Mutiny; he arrived at Mecca during the month of June 1875 (*Jamad-ul-Aweal* 1292) and has remained in the city until his death which took place on the morning of the 17th December 1877 (12th *Zilhij* 1294). It appears that he was in a state of poverty and almost dependent on an allowance made to him by the High Sheriff of Mecca; he also at times received assistance from the Indian Sheikhs and people. The only relation he has left at Mecca is a wife, to whom the Governor General of Hedjaz has made an allowance of 7 per mensem.

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 1st July 1859, No. 171. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 173. National Archives, New Delhi.

It is also stated that Feroz Shah has left another wife and daughter in India.[1]

GRANT OF A PENSION TO THE WIDOW OF FIROZ SHAH

The widow of Feroz Shah named Nawab Tooklakha* Sultan Zamani Begum requested the Government from Mecca to grant to her a pension for maintenance. This request was declined in December 1878.[2]

* * *

In November 1881 sanction was accorded for the payment of Rs. 5/- P.M. to the widow of Feroz Shah as compassionate allowance. Not to be allowed to return to Delhi.[3]

* * *

The matter was reconsidered in 1882 because His Majesty's Consul at Jeddah (Captain Moncrieff) felt that the grant of so small a pension as Rs. 5/-P.M. might give rise to unwelcome comment amongst the people at Mecca who might be against H. M.'s Govt. He suggested a pension of Rs. 30/- or Rs. 50/- or even Rs. 100/- P.M. Lord Ripon, the Governor General, sanctioned on 31st March 1882 the payment of Rs. 100/- to the widow. The widow was not to be permitted to return to Delhi.[4]

* * *

The payment of this pension was made to the Begum from 10th November 1881. The grant of the pension was meant for her only and was not to be treated hereditary.[5]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings B, January 1879, Cons. Nos. 39-42. National Archives, New Delhi.

* "Also spelt as 'Tooklai'.—Note in Original.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings B, January 1879, Cons. Nos. 44-46. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Foreign Department Proceedings, Financial B, November 1881, Cons. Nos. 28-30. National Archives, New Delhi.

[4] Foreign Department Proceedings, Financial B, April 1882, Cons. Nos. 32-33. National Archives, New Delhi.

[5] Foreign Department Proceedings, Financial B, June 1883, Cons. Nos. 122-123. National Archives, New Delhi.

STEPS TO BE TAKEN AGAINST RAO SAHEB AND TATYA TOPE

Extracts from a letter No. 4146 *from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, to R. Hamilton, Agent to the Governor General for Central India, dated Allahabad,* 29*th October* 1858.

If the Rao Sahib should be taken prisoner, the Governor General directs that he be tried by a Court-Martial convened under Act XIV of 1857; *the sentence which may be passed by the Court, is not to be carried into execution, without previous reference to the Governor General, whose orders must be awaited.*

If the Rao Sahib should tender submission on guarantee of his life, the guarantee may be given.....[1]

RAO SAHEB

AT TAL BEHAT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7*th*—After he was beaten at Sindowah and pursued to the vicinity of Baunpoor, Tantia Topey, General Michel writes, made for Tal Behut but finding they could not cross the Betwah he moved rapidly down to Jaklone. Jaklone is a fort in very strong position surrounded by a dense jungle at the gorge or the Hills, on the right bank of the Betwah. Major General had reached Lullutpoor where this information reached him and marched at once 27 miles to Deogur. The rebels moved on to Duriakhera near Kimlassa, I imagine by the Berugree[1] Ghat which turns off near Gona (perhaps Goonah), from whence they pushed on plundering Chandpoor and were next heard of at Bagrode on the Saugor and Mhow road 13 miles south-west of Rautgurh.

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

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

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

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

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

12*th*—Colonel Becher was thus able to push on to Bagrode. He writes me from Ghauspoor under date 27th that after getting on the track of the rebels he had almost reached them but was obliged to hold the Kemdev[1] pass where the Hills open on the Saugor road, the jungle coming down and being very thick for some distance and in the morning reached Bagrode as their rear guard was leaving their encampment. He at once attacked them; his men behaved admirably, they killed a number of the late Gwalior Cavalry and 5th Irregulars, took some camels and horses, and the rebels fled towards Sewass; from hence they moved rapidly towards Nawab Bassowda (Mahomed Ghur Bassoda of the maps) and here they divided into two parties—one would seem to be making towards the Nerbudda, and the other west. Colonel Becher was moving on Bhilsa where he expected to arrive on the 29th.

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

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

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

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

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

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

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

The rebels moving to the Nerbadda as reported by Colonel Becher, and at Gyrulghur[1]. *

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

. . . . . Joining Ferozeshah and the 12th Irregular Cavalry at Mahmoodabad we turned towards this side (south). When crossing the Ganges we met with some British Cavalry one of whom was killed and the rest retreated. On reaching the Jumna Canal we were engaged with the British force which was there with Mr. Hume, the Collector of Etawah on which occasion Lieutenant Dayle and some sowars were killed and Mr. Hume with the Infantry and guns retreated into a *Ghuree* (*Garhi*). We continued our march and arrived at Juffaon.[2]

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

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

[2] Name not clearly decipherable.

Crossing the Jumna we halted on the other bank. The following morning we were surprised there by a British force. Retreating and crossing the Chumbul we passed between Jhansee and Dutteea (Datia) and went towards the Bujrungurh jungles. At Narode *en route* we met with a British force where we lost some elephants and other property. It was at this place we missed Moulvie Fuzzul Haq, whether he was taken prisoner or killed is not known. While marching we plundered some stores of the British *en route*. The following day when encamped in the dense jungle we were surprised by British troops where we lost 3 elephants and other property. Proceeding on westward we crossed the Chumbul and reached Indurgurh. Here we expected Rao Sahib and halted two days for him when he joined us. We then marched all together towards Jeypore at Daussa. When about to march in the morning we were surprised by a British force; retreating we arrived at Seekree and were surprised there again. We then took our course towards Beekaneer in which territory we received a *Hookumnama* from the Rajah to the effect that an amnesty was granted and notifications had been issued by the British Govt. on the subject. On receiving this paper all the leaders agreed among themselves and deputed Mohamed Vuzeer Khan, Surmust Khan, Gowree Sunker and Deisai Gungadhur Puth[1] to Beekaneer with letter from Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah, but the *Russaldar* of Beekaneer somehow or other sent the deputation back.

We then took our course towards the south. Two days after the 12th Irregular Cavalry got separated from us and returned and we continued our march. Arriving at a village we were again surprised by the British troops. From thence we went to Peepleea Ghata but the Bheels there would not allow us to pass. Turning to another *Ghata* 6 or 7 *koss* (from) Peepleea which was closed and unknown to us we opened it and got through with great difficulty one by one. From thence we passed Kunkrolwee and Akola and halted two *koss* from the latter place. Here we discussed the question of surrender and deputed two *Vakeels* to Neemuch. On passing near that station in our flight reaching Roaneeja we received a notification from Captain Showers but hearing that a British force was advancing from the Augur direction, though Rao Sahib and Ferozeshah went away,

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

myself and followers remained back to await the arrival of the *Vakeels*. On their return with a guarantee of safe conduct from General Michel we left for the British camp at Boorha and surrendered ourselves there.[1]

NEGOTIATIONS FOR SURRENDER

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

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

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

TERMS OFFERED TO RAO SAHEB

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

I have received your letter dated 23rd instant, in reply to mine. It gave the account of one Marohee[3], *Hazoorya* of the rebel Rao Sahib with a request to you that I have nothing to do with Rao Sahib or the Nana Sahib. Of course I have to do with Rao Sahib as long as he remains within the limits of the Central India Agency and the order of the Governor General with regard to him is as follows—

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

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

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

[3] Name not clearly decipherable.

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

CAPTURE OF RAO SAHEB

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

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

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

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

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

Further information has been sought for from Cawnpore and Gwalior.

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

NEGOTIATIONS FOR SURRENDER AND AFTER

Deposition of Rao Sahib.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Answer—He did not specify the cases.

Question—What were your conditions ?

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

Question—Did you ever go to Hyderabad Deccan ?

Answer—I had never been there.

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

Answer—I do not know the man.

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

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

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

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

Answer—I do not know their names.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Answer—I have no witnesses.

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

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

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

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

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

Answer—I was neither a rebel nor a leader of the rebels and never fought against the Government. The real state of affairs is this:—During the Mutiny of 1857, I was working at Bithoor. Nana left me at Bithoor with the instructions, "If a critical moment overtakes, you will shift away with ladies and children to any place you choose, at the time I send a message to you". My name, at first, was Sita Ram but Baji Rao adopted me as his son and changed my name as Pandurang Rao. The servants and other people called me 'Rao Saheb'. When he adopted me, I received at first no allowance but I was being brought up like real sons. At Baji Rao's death Nana became the head of the family and he treated me as before. He let my boarding and lodging arrangements remain as before, but allowed Rs. 200/- p. m. extra for my monthly expenses. Still he granted me no allowance (salary). During the Mutiny, I continued to receive these Rs. 200/- p. m. When Nana Rao and Bala Rao had fled from Kanpur to Bithoor, Bala Rao had a bullet wound. Nana, accompanied by all the ladies and myself, went to Patkapur[1] and there we crossed the river by small boats. We stayed on the other side of the river in a court-yard built by the Nana. The next day, Jessa Singh and Bhopal Singh heard about us and reached there, took us to Fatehpur Chaurasi and kept us in Bhopal Singh's house. Some days after, elephants and vehicles were sent by the Begam from Lucknow, and they took all of us there. (Then the deponent amended his statement and said that): Nana sent only the ladies to Lucknow and Tatya Tope, Nana, Bala Rao and myself remained at Fatehpur Chaurasi. After this Bala Rao went to

[1] A *Mohalla* in *Kanpur* city.

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

Sheorajpur[1] and Bilhore[2] are in the Dewar territory. At the same time Jwala Prasad, the *Karinda* of Nana Saheb came to realise the dues. He made his entrenchments somewhere in the *Ilaqa* of Sheorajpur or Bilhore. When Tatya Tope and Bala Rao crossed at Kalpi and came close to Akbarpur, they called Jwala Prasad to themselves and Nana sent me for realisation of dues to Sheorajpur and Bilhore in *Pargana* Dewar. He also sent (a) Company of troops (Johnstone's) with me for my protection.

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

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

Question—Were these men under you or not ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Question—Why did Nana send you to atya Tope ?

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

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

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

Question—Was a mendi ant hanged at Kalpi ?

Answer—I do not kno

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

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

Question—To which *Paltan* did this belong ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Banda and myself accompanied by some army fled and halted at a place 13 or 14 *Kos* from Gwalior. Two or three days after, the English army together with some of the Raja's troops got to this place as well. We fought and again fled to a place 10 miles off. All our field-pieces were captured by the English. Then we reached the territory of Jeypur[1] through the forest, then went to Bondi[2] and after this reached Rampur in the Holkar territory. Then we went to Jhala Patan[3]. Then Mussulmans of Patan, may be *Wilayatis* (foreigners) or of any descent, came to us 10 *Kos* from Patan and took us together with our army to Patan. The Raja of Patan did not give us supplies. We fought him and his army came over to our side. Tatya Tope made the Raja captive and brought him to me. Then he suggested to me, "I shall use harsh words and you should use gentle language to the Raja so that he may yield money".

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

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

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

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

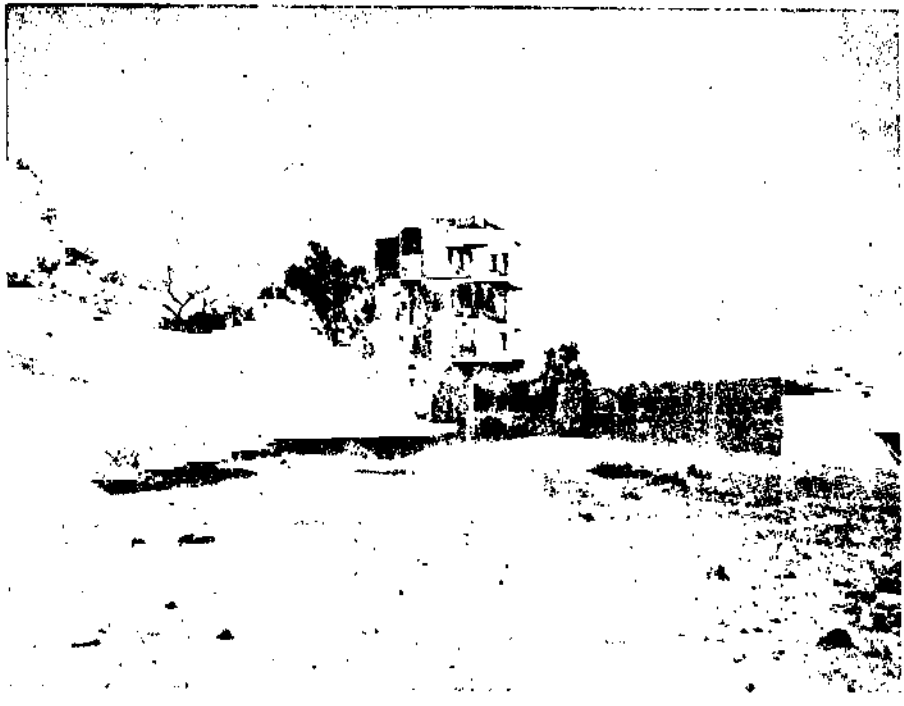
[3] *Jhalrapatan Chhaoni* (or Cantonment)—Chief town and official capital of the state of *Jhalawar, Rajputana*, situated in 24° 36′ N. and 76° 10′ E., on a rising stretch of rocky ground over 1,000 feet above the sea, between the fort of Gagraun (in Kotah) and the town of Jhalrapatan. (*Imperial Gazetteer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

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

The Raja promised to give a few lacs and Tatya Tope sent him home under the escort of the army. In two or three days the Raja first gave us some money but then he fled away by winning over the people of the army. His family still remained there. His *Karindas* arranged with the money-lenders and supplied us the money. Now we marched out of Patan accompanied by horses, elephants and baggage. Then two battles, one at Bilwara (Bhilwara) and another at Kotwara were fought against the English by Tatya Tope. I do not remember if these two battles were fought before the fight at Patan or after it. From Patan we came to Rajgarh and thence to Biawara (or Bilwara). On the way there was a battle with the English army and they captured all the field-pieces Tatya Tope had. Thence we fled to Sironj where we stayed for eight days and then went to Isagarh. Tatya Tope fought the army of the Raja of Gwalior at this place. His army broke open the door of the boundary wall of the town, made entry in and plundered. The next day Tatya Tope left Isagarh and marched out to Chanderi where he fought the army of the Raja of Gwalior. He ordered me to go to Bundelkhand with the ladies and to stay there. We reached Lalitpur from Saugor and a battle took place at Khajauri[1]. Tatya Tope fled with his army once again, Nawab Banda, Tatya Tope and myself again came to the side of Sironj and 10 *Kos* away Sironj there was another battle. Tatya Tope and myself again took to flight. Nawab Banda, Tatya Tope and myself then crossed the Nerbadda and reached Fatehpur. Then we reached the bridge of the Pali river through the forest. *Now the Nawab of Banda wanted to present himself before the English, but the officers of the army intervened. Then he deserted us and presented himself before the English.* Now Tatya Tope and myself came from Khargon[2] to Indore. There 200 horsemen came over to Tatya Tope's side and, while yet on the way, we fought the English army. The next day, we crossed the Nerbadda and marched towards Baroda.

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

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



Fortress Gate at Isagarh
(*Gwalior Gazetteer*)

Tatya Tope fled from this place to Banswara and plundered some chattels there. Then another engagement with the English army took place at Partabgarh and Tatya Tope fled. Fourth day, after, there was again a battle against the English army and Tatya Tope fled. Four or five days after we crossed the Chanbel (Chambal), and reached near a fort in the Jeypur territory. *Now we met Firoz Shah and Tatya Tope. Firoz Shah and myself came to Jeypur territory where we again faced the English army.* Then we came flying to Dhousa. There was again a battle with the English. One night Tatya Tope left us, un-informed, with half of the army and since then we have not met. *I said to Firoz Shah that we might present ourselves before the English if he so wished;* and he consented. Then we both came towards Sironj. Firoz Shah said that he had sent his *Vakil* for establishing good relations with the English. Then I sent my servant Mohd. Ishaq as a *Vakil* to the General at Sironj, with a verbal request of presenting myself. The General sent a *Parwanah* to me asking me to go to him and that would not be detrimental to me. Several times I made up my mind to do so but the people of my army did not let me do it. The *Parwanah* is no more with me; it has been lost. The people of the army did not allow me to draft the reply in (the) manner I wished, rather they sent one against my intentions. The next day Mohd. Ishaq who was sent to deliver the reply came back and told me that my request was not conceded to by the *Sarkar* and that the General had ordered that I should present myself (before him) within a period of 10 hours. But the people of the army did not allow me to present myself there. The next half of the army left me but about 200 or 300 men were still present. Next day I took 10 or 12 of my chief men with me and left the army. After this, they also dropped on the way and only three persons remained (with me) namely Umrao Mussulman, Ganesh Brahman and Pokar Ahir, my personal servant. I wandered about, disguised as a mendicant, in the territories of Gwalior and Tonk. Then in that jungle, Umrao Mussulman and a few days after Ganesh Brahman also, left me. Umrao Mussulman brought my wife and her old mother to me in the jungle. Now, considering my stay in the forest improper, I came to Pushkar[1] near Ajmer.

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

After this, we reached Thaneshwar[1] *via* Ajmer, Jeypur and Delhi. I had adopted the name of Lachhman Das Pandit. For 15 days we stayed at Thaneshwar then we went to Jwalaji, from there to Kangra[2], and then to Pur Mandal, Soodh and Mahadeo in the Jammu territory and then to Tirkata. I had a mind to go to Kashmir and therefore went to Chandenee. I sent the old lady along with a man to Kashmir and I with my pregnant wife still remained at Chandenee in the Jammu territory. Madho Rao Brahman accompanied me from Pushkar but he fell ill at Pur Mandal. I came from Chandenee to Pur Mandal to take him. Then I and Madho Rao reached Jammu to buy a buffalo. Thence we reached Sialkot, bought a buffalo and returned to Chandenee. The new temple is 1½ *Kos* from Chandenee where I used to go for worship frequently. Here Bhim Rao who was with Tatya Tope met me in the guise of a mendicant. He recognised me although I did not. When I came out of the temple and was going to ride my horse, he accosted me thus, "I am your old slave who had tasted your salt. Now I have come to you after much wandering about". He stayed with me for 1½ months at Chandenee and then said, "I am a rebel, but as rebellion has subsided, rebels are no more being brought to account. I shall, therefore, now go to my home". Two or two and a half

Rajputana, situated in 26° 29′ N. and 74° 33′ E. 2,389 feet above sea-level. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 1).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Question—Did he not write, in which cases ?

Answer—No.

Question—What were your terms ?

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

Question—Did you ever go to Hyderabad Deccan ?

Answer—Never.

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

Answer—I do not know who he was.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Question—Do you have a witness for anything ?

Answer—None.

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

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

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

Answer—I did not recruit any army.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

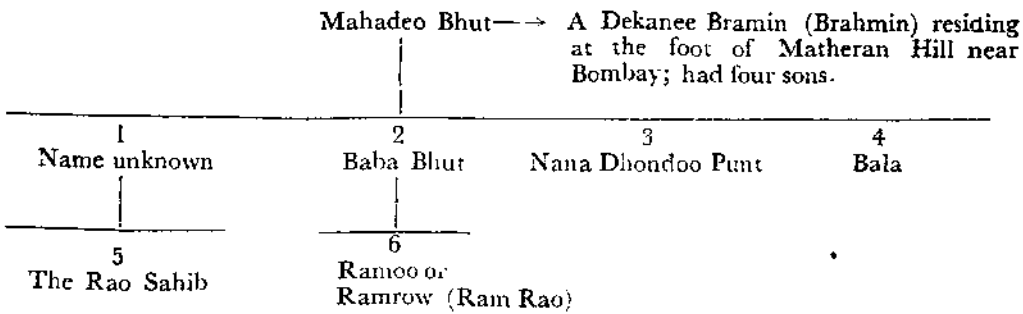
Answer—There were many in the army. But now I have none.

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

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

APPENDIX I

GENEALOGY OF RAO SAHEB



Remarks—

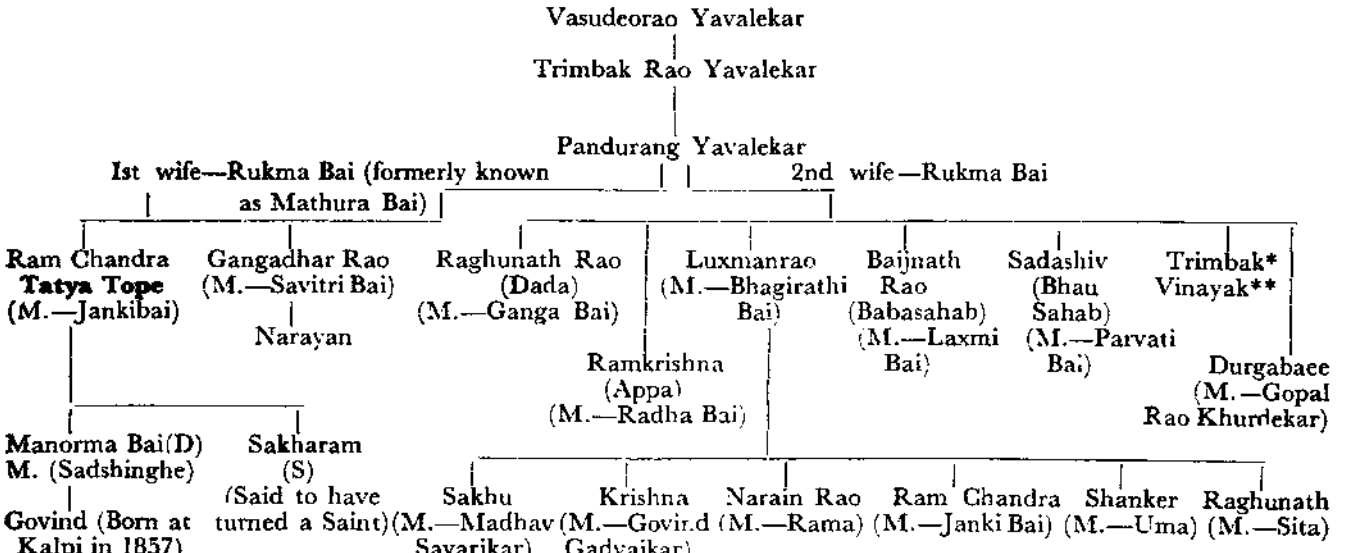
1. Died long before the Mutiny of 1857.
2. Was engaged in massacre at Cawnpore but is now dead.
3. Reported dead, but supposed by many to be alive.
4. Dead.
5. Dead.
6. My prisoner—who admits he is a Dekhany Bramin and about 30 or 32 years old; he looks that age, answers to the description on roll, except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

Sd/—*Illegible*
Magistrate.[1]

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

APPENDIX II

GENEALOGY OF **TATYA TOPE**

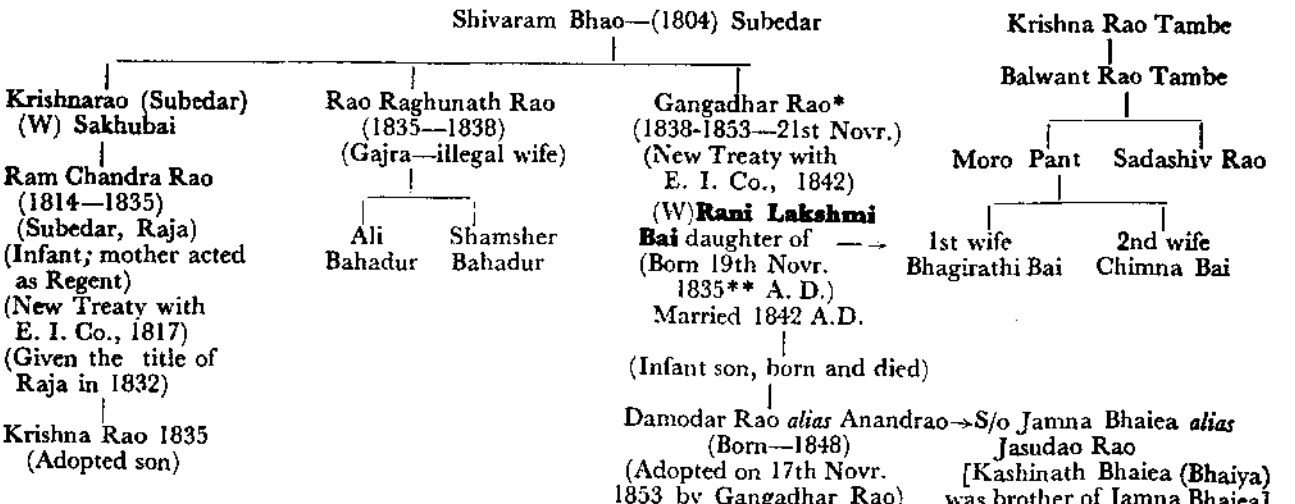


**Vide Permit issued in the name of Ramkrishna Pandurang Tope and other members of Tatya's Family. *"Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India"*, Vol. I, 1818-1885. Bombay 1957. And information supplied by Sri Narain Rao Tope of Bithoor, and from various Marathi sources through the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

*According to Sri Narayan Rao 'Vinayak'.

APPENDIX III

THE JHANSI RAJ (Genealogical Table)



---

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

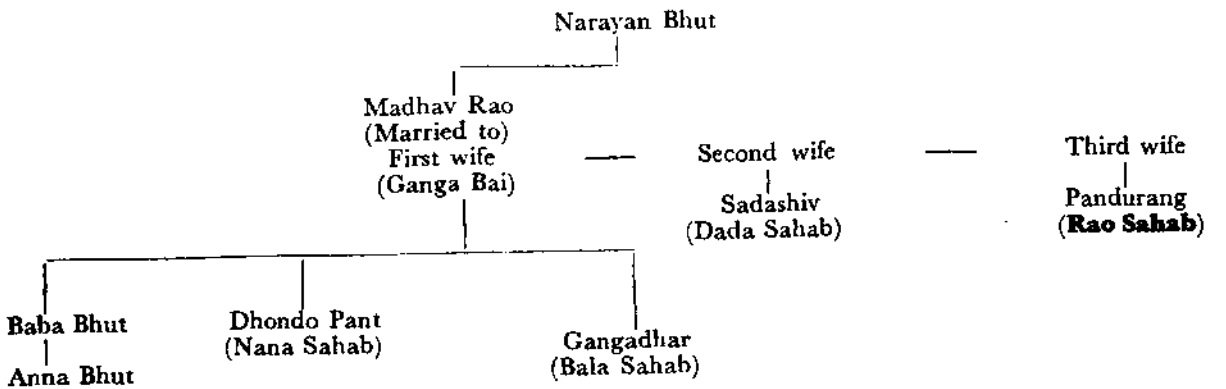
W—Stands for wife.

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

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

APPENDIX IV

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



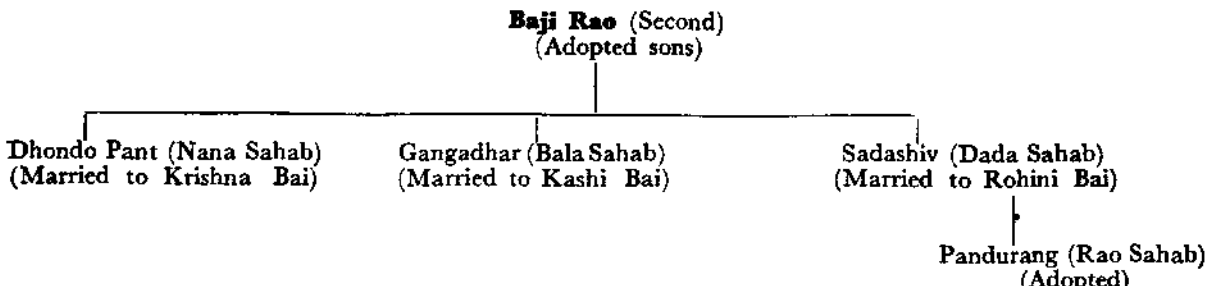
Explanation:—

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

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

APPENDIX V

FAMILY CHART OF THE LAST PESHWA BAJI RAO



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

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

Appendix VI

MEMORANDUM

family of NANA SAHEB

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

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

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

All these, enumerated in the list were present at the massacre at the Ghat on the 27th June 1857.[1]

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ORIGINAL RECORDS

PROCEEDINGS

(Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow)

I—*Agra, Foreign Department Proceedings* :

(i) Agra Narrative : Foreign Department 1836.
(ii) Agra Narrative : Foreign Department 1841-1844.
(iii) Agra Narrative : Foreign Department 1845-1852.
(iv) Agra Narrative : Foreign Department 1853-1860.

II—*N. W. P. and Agra Proceedings* :

(i) Agra Narrative : Foreign Department, December to April, 1834-1835.
(ii) Agra Narrative : Foreign Department 1836.
(iii) Agra Narrative : Foreign Department 1841-1844.

III—*N. W. P. Foreign Department—Political Proceedings* :

(i) N. W. P. Political Proceedings, MSS. 1838.
(ii) N. W. P. Political Proceedings, MSS. 1842-1843.
(iii) N. W. P. Political Proceedings, MSS. 1845.
(iv) N. W. P. Political Proceedings, MSS. 1846-1859.
(v) N. W. P. Political Proceedings, Printed, July 1860 (Home Department Proceedings)
(vi) N. W. P. Political Proceedings, Printed, Sept. to Dec. 1860. (Home Department Proceedings)
(vii) N. W. P. Political Proceedings, Printed, Jan. to Dec. 1860 (Home Department Proceedings).

IV—*N. W. P. Foreign Department—General Proceedings* :

(i) N. W. P. Foreign Department : General Proceedings, MSS. 1845.
(ii) N. W. P. Foreign Department : General Proceedings, MSS. 1846.
(iii) N. W. P. Foreign Department : General Proceedings, MSS. 1847-48.
(iv) N. W. P. Foreign Department : General Proceedings, MSS. Jan. to Oct. 1849.
(v) N. W. P. Foreign Department : General Proceedings, MSS. 1850-51.

(vi) N. W. P. Foreign Department : Proceedings, MSS. Jan. to April 1858.

V—*N. W. P. Foreign Department—Civil Judicial Proceedings :*

(i) N. W. P. Civil Judicial Proceedings, MSS. 1842-43.
(ii) N. W. P. Civil Judicial Proceedings, MSS. 1846-49.
(iii) N. W. P. Civil Judicial Proceedings, MSS. 1850-1858.

VI—*N. W. P. Judicial Abstract Home Department :*

(i) N. W. P. Judicial Abstract Home Department : 1859.
(ii) Judicial Home Department Civil Abstract Proceedings, MSS. Jan. to Aug. 1860.
(iii) Home Department (N. W. P. Civil Judicial Proceedings), Printed, May 1860.
(iv) Home Department (N. W. P. Civil Judicial Proceedings), Printed, October 1860.

VII—*N. W. P. Foreign Department—Judicial Criminal :*

(i) N. W. P. Judicial Criminal, MSS. 30th March to 9th November 1850.
(ii) N. W. P. Judicial Criminal, MSS. 30th March to 9th November 1858.

VIII—*Home Department—Judicial Criminal :*

(i) Home Department Judicial Criminal, MSS. January to June 1859.

IX—*N. W. P. Foreign Department—Police Military Proceedings :*

(i) N. W. P. Police Military Proceedings, MSS. 1858.
(ii) N. W. P. Police Military Proceedings, MSS. 1859.
(iii) N. W. P. Military Abstract Proceedings, MSS. January to May 1860.

X—*N. W. P. Home Department (Revenue) :*

(i) N. W. P. Revenue and Miscellaneous Abstract Proceedings, MSS. 1837.
(ii) N. W. P. Revenue and Separate Revenue, MSS. April to May 1842-1843.
(iii) N. W. P. Revenue, Separate Revenue, MSS. 1845 to 1858.
(iv) N. W. P. Revenue Proceedings, Printed, 1860.

Mutiny *Bastas* of Telegrams and Bulletins 1857-59

(*Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow*)

(*A*) *Original Telegrams* :

(i) 1858 : Telegrams sent to E. A. Reade.

(ii) 1859 : Telegrams sent to E. A. Reade.

(*B*) *Copies of the Original Telegrams* :

(i) 11th May 1858 to 12th Jan. 1859 : Telegrams sent by E. A. Reade.

(ii) 24th May 1858 to April 1859 : Telegrams sent by E. A. Reade.

(*C*) *Daily Bulletins* :

(i) March to July 1858—Issued by E. A. Reade.

(ii) May to July 1858—Issued by E. A. Reade. (Printed).

Mutiny *Bastas* of the District Courts of U. P.

1. Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Bastas*.
2. Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records, Central Records Office, Allahabad.
3. Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny *Bastas*.
4. Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny Records.
5. Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Bastas*.
6. Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records, Central Records Office, Allahabad.
7. Jalaun District Court Mutiny Records, Central Records Office, Allahabad.
8. Kanpur District Court Mutiny Records.

Records in National Archives, New Delhi

Foreign Department, Political and Secret Consultations 1857-59, Home Department Public Proceedings 1857-59, Military Department Consultations 1857-59. The Original Consultations were copied in the proceeding books also, and comprise several volumes.

Government Gazettes

Government Gazette N. W. P., Vol. I, No. XV, Allahabad June, 1858,
Government Gazette N. W. P., Vol. I, No. XXII, Allahabad July, 1858.

Parliamentary Papers

"Further Papers (No. 4) relating to the Mutinies in the East Indies.
"Further Papers (No. 5) ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
"Further Papers (No. 6) ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
"Further Papers (No. 7) ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
"Further Papers (No. 8) ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
"Further Papers (No. 11) ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
Native Princes of India

PUBLISHED WORKS

English

General and on Bundelkhand and the Adjoining Territories

Adye, Gen. Sir J.;*The Defence of Cawnpore, by the Troops under the orders of Major General Charles A. Windham.* (London 1859).

Allen, C.; *A few words about the Red Pamphlet.* (London 1858).

Argyll, Duke of; *India Under Dalhousie and Canning.* (London 1865).

Arnold, Edwin; *The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India.*

Atkins, J. B.; *Life of Sir W. B. Russel.* 2 Volumes. (London 1911).

Atkinson, Capt. G. F.; *The Campaign in India,* 1857-58. (London 1859).

Baldwin, Rev. J. A.; *Indian Gup.* (London 1897).

Ball, Charles; *History of the Indian Mutiny.* 2 Vols. (London and New York).

Barker, General Sir G. D.; *Letters from Persia and India,*1857-59.(London 1915).

Bell, Maj. E.; *The English in India : Letters from Nagpore written in* 1857-58. (London 1859).

Bourchier, Col. G.; *Eight Months' Campaign Against the Bengal Sepoy Army, during the Mutiny of* 1857. (London 1858).

Brock, W.; *A Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock.* (London 1858).

Browne, J.; *Cawnpore and the Nana of Bithoor.* (Cawnpore 1890).

Campbell, G.; *Memories of My Indian Career.* 2. Vols. (London 1893).

Campbell, R. J. R.; *India: Its Government Mis-Government and Fortune Considered.* (London 1858).

Carey, W. H.; *The Mahomedan Rebellion.* (Roorkee 1857).

Chattopadhya H.; *The Sepoy Mutiny* 1857.

Chaudhuri, S. B.; *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies,* 1857-1859. (Calcutta 1957).

Chick, N. A.; *Annals of the Indian Rebellion,* 1857-58. (Calcutta 1859-60).

Colvin, Sir Auckland; *Life of John Russell Colvin.* (Oxford 1895).

Coopland, Mrs. R. M.; *A Lady's Escape from Gwalior and Life in the Fort of Agra during the Mutinies of* 1857. (London 1859).

Dodd, G.; *History of the Indian Revolt* (Known as Chamber's History 1859).

Dharam Pal, Dr.; *Tatya Tope.* (1958).

Duberly, Mrs. H. F.; *Campaigning Experiences in Rajpootana and Central India, during the Suppression of the Mutiny,* 1857-58. (London 1859).

Duff, Dr. A.; *The Indian Rebellion; Its Causes and Results.* (London 1858).

Edwards, Michael; *The Necessary Hell.*

Edwards, W.; (*i*) *Facts and Reflections connected with Indian Rebellion.* (1859)
(*ii*) *Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion.* (London 1858).

Edwards & Merivale; *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence.* (London 1875).

Eyre, Sir Vincent.; *Letters and Despatches.*

Fitchett, W. H.; *Tale of the Great Mutiny.* (London 1939).

Forbes, Archibald; *Havelock*. (London 1890).
Forbes, Mitchell, W.; *Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny, 1857-59, including the relief, siege, and capture of Lucknow*. (London 1897 and 1904).
Forjett, C.; *Our Real Danger in India*. (London 1877).
Forrest, G. W.; (*i*) *A History of the Indian Mutiny*. (London 1904).
(*ii*) *Real Danger in India*.
(*iii*) *Selections from the Letters, Despatches and Other State Papers, preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India*, 1857-58. (London 1893)
Fortesque, Sir John; *History of the British Army*, Vols. XI-XIII.
Fraser, Col. H. E.; *Our Faithful Ally, the Nizam*. (London 1865).
Ganguly, D. C.; *Select Documents of British Period of Indian History*. (1958).
Gilbert, H.; *The Story of the Indian Mutiny*. (London 1916).
Gimlete, Lt. Col. G. H. D.; *A Postscript to the Records of the Indian Mutiny*. (London 1927).
Goldsmidt, (Sir F.; *James Outram*, 2 Vols. London 1881).
Government of Bombay; *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India*. Vol. I. (Bombay 1957).
Government of Madhya Pradesh; *The History of Freedom Movement in Madhya Pradesh*. (1956).
Grant, Sir Hope; (*i*) *Incidents in the Sepoy War*, 1857-58. (London 1873).
(ii) *Life with Selections from his Correspondence*. (1894).
Groom, W. T.; *With Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow*. (1894).
Hansard; *Parliamentary Debates*. (Relevant Volumes).
Hare, Augustus; *Two Noble Lives, George Allen*. (1893).
Havelock, Allen; *The Main Military Questions of the Day*.
Hedayet Ali; *A few words relative to the late Mutiny of the Bengal Army and Rebellion in the Bengal Presidency*. (Calcutta 1858).
Hilton, Richard; *The Indian Mutiny* 1857.
Holloway, J.; *Essays on the Indian Mutiny*. (London 1864).
Holmes, T. Rice.; *History of the Indian Mutiny*. (London 1904).
Hope; *The Story of the Indian Mutiny*. (1896).
Innes, J. J. Mcleod; (*i*) *Indian Mutiny Cuttings from Newspapers published during Mutinies*.
(*ii*) *The Sepoy Revolt: A Critical Narrative*. (London 1897).
Jones, Capt. O. J.; *Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India*. (London 1859).
Jwala Sahai; *The Loyal Rajputana*. (Allahabad 1902).
Kaye, Sir John W.; (i) *A History of the Sepoy War in India*. 3 Vols.
(*ii*) *Lives of Indian Officers*. 2 Vols. (London 1867).
Kaye, Sir John W. and Malleson, G. B.; *History of the Indian Mutiny*. 4 Vols. (1859).
Keene, H. G.; *Fifty-Seven*. (London 1883).

Kineard, C. A.; *Lakshmi Bai, Rani of Jhansi.*

Knight, A. E.; *The Romance of Colonization: India from the Aryan Invasion to the Great Sepoy Mutiny.* (London 1897).

Lang John; *Wanderings in India.* (London 1859).

Lawrence, T. B.; *Six Years in the North-West from* 1854 *to* 1860: *Being extracts from a private diary, with a glimpse of the Rebellion of* 1857-58.

Lecky, Edward; *Fictions connected with the Indian Outbreak of* 1857 *Exposed.* (Bombay 1859).

Lowe; *Central India During the Rebellion of* 1857 *and* 1858. (London 1860).

Mackey, J.; *From London to Lucknow : with Memoranda of Mutinies, Marches, Flights, Fights and Conversations.* 2 Vols. (London 1860).

Mackenzie, (Col. A. R. D.); *Mutiny Memoirs.* (1892).

MacMunn, Lt. General. Sir G. F.; *The Indian Mutiny in Perspective.* (London 1931)

Majendie, Maj. V. D.; *Up Among the Pandies ; or a year's service in India.* (London 1859).

Majumdar (R. C.); *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of* 1857. (1957).

Mafet, H. P.; *Lost Links in the Indian Mutiny.* (London 1867).

Malleson; *Kaye's and Malleson's History of the Indian Mutiny of* 1857-58. (London 1889).

Red Pamphlet or The Mutiny of the Bengal Army. (London 1857).

The Indian Mutiny of 1857. (London 1894).

Mariam; *A Story of the Indian Mutiny of* 1857 *reproduced by J. F. Fanthome.* (1896).

Mariwalla, C. L.; *When the Storm Came*—1857.

Marshman, J.C.; *Memoirs of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock.* (London 1860).

Martin, R. Montgomery; *The Indian Empire.* 3 Vols. (London 1858-61).

Martin, W.; *Why is the English Rule Odious to the Natives of India.*

Maude, F. C. M. and J. W. Sherer; *Memories of the Mutiny with the Personal Narrative of John Walter Sherer.* 2 Vols. (London 1894).

McLeod, Maj. General A.; *On India.* (London 1872).

Mead, H.; *The Sepoy Revolt: Its Causes and Its Consequences.* (London 1857).

Medley, Capt. J. G.; *A Year's Campaigning in India from March* 1857 *to March* 1858. (London 1858).

Mehta, Ashoka; 1857, *The Great Rebellion.*

Mercer, Major. E. S.; *A Letter to Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Ellenborough.*(London 1861).

Mersey, Viscount; *The Viceroys and Governor Generals of India.* (1757-1947).

Montalembert; *A Debate on India in the English-Parliament.* (Published at the office of the Continental Review, Bedfort Street Strand, London. 1858).

Mowveray Thomson; *The Story of Cawnpore.* (1859).

Muir, Sir William; *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of*

the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of 1857, edited by William Coldstream. (1902).

Mukherjee, Hirendra Nath; *India Struggles for Freedom.* (Bombay 1946).

Mukhopadhya, S. C.; *The Mutinies and People.* (1905).

Mukherjee, Haridas and Uma; *The Growth of Nationalism in India,* 1857-1905.

Muter, Mrs. D. D.; *My Recollections of the Sepoy Revolt* 1857-58. (London 1911).

Narrative of Indian Revolt from its Outbreak to the Capture of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell.

Norton, J. B.; *The Rebellion in India.* (London 1857).

North, Major; *Journal of an English Officer in India.* (London 1858).

Prichard, J. T.; *The Mutinies in Rajpootana.* (London 1860).

Raikes, C.; *Notes on the Revolt in the N. W. P. of India.* (London 1858).

Roberts, Field Marshall, Lord.; *Forty-one years in India* (Bentley, London 1897). *Letters Written during the Indian Mutiny.* (London 1924).

Robertson, H. D.; *District Duties During the Revolt in the North-West Provinces of India in* 1857. (London 1859).

Russell, William Howard; *My Diary in India in the year* 1858-59. 2 Vols. (London 1860 and Calcutta 1906). Reprinted Indian Portion.

Savarkar, V. D.; *The Indian War of Independence* 1857. (Bombay 1947).

Seaton, Sir Thomas; *From Cadet to Colonel.* 2 Vols. (1866).

Sedgwick, Lt. Col. F. R.; *Indian Mutiny of* 1857. (London 1908).

Sen, S. N.; *Eighteen Fifty-Seven.* (1957).

Shadwell, General.; *Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde.* 2 Vols. (London 1881).

Shepherd, W. J. ; *A Personal Narrative of the Outbreak and Massacre at Cawnpore.* (London 1879).

Sherer, G. M.; *Brief Narrative called for by Sir James Outram showing how* 73rd *Native Infantry was saved etc.* (Jersey 1860).

Sherer, J. W.; *Daily life during the Indian Mutiny. Personal Experiences of* 1857. (London 1910).

Showers, (Lt. General, C. L.); *A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny.* (London 1888).

Sita Ram; *From Sepoy to Subadar.* (Trans. by Norgate. 1911).

Smith, George; *Twelve Indian Statesmen.* (1898).

Smith, R. B. Sworth; *Life of Lord Lawrence.* (London 1883).

Syed Ahmed Khan; *An Essay on the Causes of the Indian Revolt.* (Trans. by Captain W. N. Lees, Calcutta 1870).

Sylvester, (J. H.); *Recollections of the Campaign in Malwa and Central India.* (1860).

Temple, Richard; *Lord Lawrence.* (London 1889).

Men and Events of My time in India. (London 1882).

Thackeray, Col. Sir E. T.; *Two Indian Campaigns in* 1857-58. (Chatham 1896).
Reminiscences of the Indian Mutiny. (1916).
Thompson, E.; *The Other Side of the Medal*. (London 1930).
Thompson, M.; *The Story of Cawnpore*. (London 1859).
Thornhill, M.; *The Personal Adventures and Experiences of a Magistrate's Diary, The Indian Mutiny*. (1884).
Trevelyan, G. O.; *Cawnpore*. (London 1899).
Urquhart, D.; *The Rebellion in India*. (London).
Vincent, Benjamin; *Haydu's Dictionary of Datas*. (22nd Edition 1898).
Walker, T. N.; *Through the Mutiny*. (London 1907).
Wilberforce, R. G.; *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*. (London 1894).
Wylly; *Neill's Bule Caps*.

ARABIC

Maulana Fazli-Haq Khairabadi; *Saurat-ul-Hindiya*. (Badaun 1947).

BENGALI

Bandopadhaya, Durga Das; *Bidrohe Bengali*. (Calcutta 1925).
Panckkari, Sipahi Bidroha.
Bhattacharya, Mahashweta; *Jhansir Rani*. (Calcutta 1956).
Gupta, Rajani Kanta; *Sipahi Guddher Itihas*. 5 Vols. (Calcutta 1886-1900).
Tagore, Jyotirindranath; *Jhansir Rani*. (Calcutta 1900).

HINDI

Kalyan Singh; *Lakshmi Bai ka Raso*.
Nagar, A. L.; *Ankhon Dekha Ghadar* being the Hindi translation of *Majha Pravas*. (Lucknow 1957).
Verma, Bindraban Lal; *Maharani Lakshmi Bai* (Jhansi).

MARATHI

Godse; *Majha Pravas*. (Poona 1948).
Parasnis, D. B.; *Maharani Lakshmi Bai Saheb*.
Hyanche Charitra (Satara 1894).

URDU

Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Sir; *Resalah Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind*. (1858).
Saiyid Kamal-ud-Din Haider; *Qaisar-ut-Tawarikh*. (Lucknow 1897).

NEWSPAPERS

ENGLISH

1. *The Hindu Patriot*.
2. *The Calcutta Englishman and Military Chronicle*.
3. *The Bengal Hurkaru and the India Gazette*.

4. *The Hindu Intelligencer.*
5. *The Overland Bombay Times.*
6. *The Friend of India.*
7. *Bombay Guardian and Bombay Gazette.*
8. *Naval and Military Gazette.*
9. *The Delhi Gazette.*
10. *The Agra Ukhbar* (1843, 1845, 1846).

PERSIAN

1. *Siraj-ul Akhbar*—Delhi.

URDU

1. *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*—Delhi.
2. *Habib-ul-Akhbar*—Badaun.
3. *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*—Delhi.
4. *Sihr-i-Samri*—Lucknow.
5. *Tilism-i-Lakhnau*—Lucknow.

JOURNALS

Blackwood's Magazine:

Alison, A.; Lord Clyde's Campaign in India. October 1858.
Indian Mutiny, the Last Phase, Vol. 191. (1912).
MacMunn; Some New Light on the Indian Mutiny, Vol. 224, (1928).
Our Indian Empire. December 1857.

Calcutta Review :

A Judicial trial during the Indian Mutinies, Vol. 115. (1902).
Chattopadhyaya, H. P.; The Sepoy Army; its strength, composition and recruitment on the eve of the Mutiny of 1857. May, July-September, 1956.
Cust, R. N.; A District during a Rebellion. September 1858.
Keene, H. J.; the Literature of the Rebellion. March 1859.
Mackenzie, Mrs. C.; English Women in the Rebellion. September, 1859.
Moegling, T.; The Indian Crisis of 1857. December 1857.
Sir Hugh Rose, Vol. 41. 1865.
Smith, G.; The Poetry of the Rebellion. December 1858.

Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceeding :

Banerjea, B. N.; The Last Days of Nana Sahib. Vol. XII. 1929.
Bhargava, K. D.; A note on Tantia Topi, Vol. XXIV. 1948.
Two Unpublished Proclamations of Nana Sahib, Vol. XXV. 1948.
Datta, K K.; A Contemporary Account of the Indian Mutiny.

Datta, K. K.; Some Original Documents relating to the Indian Mutiny of 1857-59, Vol. XXX. 1954.

Taimuri, M. H. R.; Some Unpublished Documents on the death of the Rani of Jhansi and the Mutiny in Central India, Vol. XXIX. 1953.

Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research:

Lang, A. M.; Diary and Letters, Vol. X. 1951.

GAZETTEERS

1. *District Gazetteer of U. P.* (Relevant Volumes).
2. *Gwalior State Gazetteer.*
3. *Rajputana Gazetteers.*
4. *Rewa State Gazetteer.*
5. *Eastern States*—Bundelkhand—*Gazetteer.*
6. *Indore State Gazetteer .*
7. *Central Provinces District Gazetteer.*
8. *Western States Gazetteer*, (Malwa).
9. *Imperial Gazetteer of India.* (Relevant Volumes).
10. *Bhopal State Gazetteer.*

GLOSSARY

Adawlut —A Court of Justice.
Ahalkars —Officials.
Akhbar Nawis—News-writer.
Ameer—Chief, Richman.
Amil—An official, particularly a revenue official.
Amla—Officials of the Court.
Amlahs—See Amla.
Asadh—The fourth month of the Indian Calendar commencing when the Sun enters Gemini.
Asar—See Asadh.
Atta—Flour, any grain ground to powder.
Aumil—See Amil.
Ayah—A female attendant for children.
Baboo—A word used for a gentleman.
Baheli—Bullock-cart.
Baisak (Vaishakh)—The second month of the Indian Calendar.
Bakhshi—A pay-master.
Bara (Barha)—An enclosure.
Bara Saheb—Chief European Officer of the district, now any head of an office.
Batta (Bhatta)—Allowance.
Bazar—A market.
Beebee—Wife, a mistress, a lady.
Begum Sahib—A woman of high rank particularly a Muslim.
Bhang—Leaves of hemp.
Bhishti—One who carries water in a leather-bag.
Budmaash—Wicked, immoral, a hooligan.
Buggy—A four-wheeled carriage drawn by horses.
Buniyas—Grocers.
Burkundaz—A soldier wielding a matchlock.
Burra Sahib—See Bara Saheb.
Chaprasi—Peon.
Charpoy—Cot.
Chobdar—Mace-bearer, a gate-keeper.
Choukee—A guard, a watch, a police station, an outpost, a watch house, a custom house.
Chowdry—The head-man of a village, a chieftain.
Chuttree—An umbrella, an ornamental pavilion,
Classy—See Khalasi.
Comasdar—See Kamasdar.
Cossid (Qasid)—A messenger; express courier.
Cumpoo—A camp, encampment, cantonment, barracks.
Cutcherry—Courts of Justice.
Cutcherry Chupra sees—Court peons.
Daks—Posts.
Dakshina—Reward, donation, present given to a Brahmin.
Dargah—Threshold, a royal court, a shrine, a tomb.
Darogha —Overseer or Superintendent of Privy Council. Now an officer of a police station.
Dashehra—The tenth day of the month of *Jyestha*, the tenth day of the bright half of the month of *Ashwin*.
Dawa—Claim, a law suit.
Dawk—Post.
Deen—Religion.
Deen ka Chor—A thief of religion, an irreligious man.
Deen ka Chy—Down with the Religion.
Deen ka Jai —Victory to Religion.
Desee—Pertaining to a country, native, not foreigner.
Devee—A goddess, Durga, a consecrated queen, term of respect for Indian ladies.

Dewan—A royal court, a court minister.
Dharmashalas—A house for pilgrims; hospice; alms-house.
Din—See Deen.
Doli—A kind of closed litter used for ladies.
Dorogah—See Darogha.
Dour (Daurh)—Surprise attacks by Military or Police parties.
Duffadar—An official in the Indian army.
Durbar—A royal court, hall of audience.
Duroga—See Darogha.
Elaka—A tenure of several villages, jurisdiction.
Elakadar—An officer of an *Elaqa*, one who holds an *Elaqa*.
Fakeer—Mendicant, a beggar.
Farrashkhana—A place where furniture is kept.
Faujdar—Commander of an army, used adjectively in Faujdari-adalat, a Criminal Court.
Feringee—Frank, an European.
Gaddi—A seat, a throne, a stuffed pad or cushion.
Ganga—The Ganges, a sacred river of India.
Gangajali—A goblet of metal to keep Ganges water.
Garhi—A small fort.
Gari—A cart.
Ghari—A space of 24 minutes' time.
Ghat—A ferry, ford.
Ghazee—A conqueror, hero, gallant soldier (specially combating infidels), a general leader of an expedition.
Gora—White, fair skinned a white man, an European.
Gosain—God, monarch, a saint.
Guddee—See Gaddi.
Gullies (Galis)—Lanes.
Gurhees—See Garhi.
Harkara—See Hurkara.
Haveli—A house, a mansion.
Havildar—A petty officer in an Indian army or armed police.
Hindee—Pertaining to India, the Indian Language.
Hookaburdar—A servant who takes care of a hubble-bubble.
Hookumnama—Notice, order.
Hoondee—See Hundi.
Hundi—A bill of exchange, a draft.
Huqqabardar—See Hookaburdar.
Hurkara—A runner, a fore-runner; a carrier, a post-man.
Jageerdar—See Jagirdar.
Jagheer(Jagir)—A rent-free grant given by Government as a reward for some service, grant.
Jagirdar—A grantee.
Jamadar—See Jemadar.
Janeu—The sacred thread of a Brahman, the ceremony in which the sacred thread is worn.
Jemadar—A petty official of an Indian army.
Jeth—The third month of the Indian Calendar.
Jeyet—See Jeth.
Jungly—Wild, barbarian.
Kafir—An infidel, Europeans in those days were generally called kafirs by Hindus and Muslims both.
Kaldar—A rupee (metal coin).
Kamasdar—The official in charge of the revenue Sub-division called Kamasdari, Pargana or Tahsil.
Kamdar—A manager, an agent.
Karkun—Manager, officer-in-charge of records, an agent.
Kartick Soodee—See Kartick Sudi.
Kartick Sudi—The eighth lunar month of the Indian Calendar.
Keranee—An Eurasian, used for Indian Christian also particularly one in the British employment.
Khalasi—A coolie, a tent pitcher, a servant on board a ship.
Khansaman—A steward, a butler.
Kharifa—See Khureeta.
Khat—Letter.
Kherkie (Khirki)—A window.
Khidmatgar—A domestic male servant.

Khillut—A robe of honour bestowed by a king.
Khitmutgar—See Khidmatgar.
Khundsarees—Those who deal in sugar.
Khureeta (Kharita)—The silk bag in which a noble encloses his letter, also a letter.
Khureetah—See Khureeta.
Khut—See Khat.
Killadar—The commander of garrison.
Koran—The sacred book of the Muslims, and believed by them to be the inspired word of God.
Kos—See Koss.
Koss—A distance of two miles.
Kotee—See Kothi.
Kotewal—Highest police officer of the city.
Kotharee—Official incharge of provisions.
Kothi—A mansion; a dwelling house.
Kotwal—See Kotewal.
Kotwalee—The Chief Police Station in city, the status or business of a kotwal.
Kutchery—See Cutcherry.
Laddoo—A sweetmeat of the shape of a ball.
Lala—A term of address used for a Kayastha or a grocer, a clerk.
Lushkar—An encampment used for soldiers also.
Maaffeedars—One who holds a freehold land, a yeoman.
Madrassa—A school.
Mahajan—A money-dealer, a banker.
Maidan—An open field, a battlefield.
Mashalchi—A torch-bearer
Mauza—Villlage.
Mekranee—Apparently people belonging to Mekrana district in Rajputana which is famous for its marble.
Mem Sahib—An European lady, madam.
Mofussil—The suburb of a town.
Mohur—Seal, gold coin.
Mohurrir—A scribe, a clerk.
Mohurrum—The first month of the Arabic (Hijri) year which is held sacred by Muslims.
Mookhtar—An attorney; an agent.
Moonshif (Munsif)—A Judge.
Moonshrif (Mushrif)—An official of a treasury.
Moosahib—A companion, an *aide-de-camp*.
Morcha—A moat dug up round a fort, a place of protection, a battery.
Morchabandi—Entrenchment, fortification.
Muharrir—See Mohurrir.
Mukhtar—See Mookhtar.
Munim—An accountant,an assistant.
Musnud—A throne, a large cushion.
Mussalchee—See Mashalchi.
Naib Soobah—Assistant to a provincial chief.
Najib—A militia man.
Nalas—See Nullahs.
Nayak—A Military Officer of the lowest rank.
Nazim—Head of a district who had very wide executive and judiciary powers.
Nazir—Supervisor, officer of scribes.
Nishanburdar—A standard-bearer.
Nuddee (Nadi)—River.
Nujeeb—See Najib.
Nullah—A ravine, a rivulet.
Nuzur—A gift, an offering, a present.
Nuzzurana—Present, gift.
Padshah—King.
Paegah—A stabble.
Pahar—Duration of three hours' time.
Paigah—See Paegah.
Paltan—A battalion, regiment, corps.
Paltanwala—Man of the battalion or corps.
Panchayat—Village assembly, arbitration.
Pandee—A term used by the Europeans for Indians during the Struggle of 1857.

Pargana—A unit composed of a number of villages.
Parwana—See Purwanah.
Parwangiwala—A man who takes or issues orders.
Pergunnah—See Pargana.
Peshkar—A court official, an agent, a reader in Indian courts.
Peshwai—Reception of a guest, the office or function of a Mahratta chief or Peshwa.
Poorbeas—Easterners, Sepoys of Bengal army were generally called Poorbeas.
Poorbeeah—See Poorbeas.
Poorbia—See Poorbeas.
Pooree—Unleavened cake fried in clarified butter (*ghee*) or oil.
Pultan—A brigade, corps, battalion, regiment.
Pultun—See Pultan.
Pultunwalas—Persons belonging to a Paltan.
Punchayets—See Panchayat.
Pundit—Learned, a Brahmin.
Purabias—See Poorbeas.
Purgunnah—See Pargana.
Puri—See Pooree.
Purohit—Priest.
Purwanah—A command, an order, a royal edict.
Putwarry—A person who keeps a record of villages.
Qasid—A messenger, an express courier.
Rais (Raees)—A noble man, a grandee, a rich person.
Raj—Rule, administration, government, kingdom.
Resaldar—See Rissaldar.
Ressala—A troop of horses.
Ressaldar—See Rissaldar.
Rissala—A troop of horses.
Rissaldar—An officer of Indian Infantry.
Riyasat—Estate.
Roomal—A handkerchief.
Saees—See Sayees.
Saheb Bahadur—An European.
Sahib—Master, when used separately a term applied to Europeans.
Sahib logs—Europeans.
Sahookar—A money-lender, a wealthy merchant.
Sahukar—See Sahookar.
Sait—See Seth.
Sambut—See Samvat.
Samvat—An era.
Sari—A long piece of cloth worn by Indian ladies round the waist passing over the head.
Sarishtedar—The superintendent of a Vernacular office in Indian Courts during the British Regime.
Sarkar—Government, particularly British Government.
Sarkari Amaldari—British Rule.
Sar Soobah—A provincial chief.
Sat Narain ke Katha—A religious assembly of the Hindus where the exploits of the God Vishnu are recited.
Sawars—Horsemen.
Sayees—A groom.
Serishtadar—See Sarishtedar.
Seth—A great merchant, a wealthy person.
Shakar—Sugar.
Shastra—A code of law, institutes of religion, a sacred book.
Sheristadar—See Sarishtedar.
Shooka—A letter, specially from a superior.
Shoqua—See Shooka.
Shukur—See Shakar.
Shurbut—Syrup, a drink.
Shureek (Sharik)—A partner, a sharer, an associate.
Shutur sowar—A fast messenger who carries message on camels.
Sipahi—A soldier.
Sirdar—A leader, commander.
Sirkar—Government.
Soobadar—See Soobedar.
Soobah—Province, Provincial Chief.
Soobedar—Governor of the Province.
Sonar—Goldsmith.
Soubah—See Soobah.
Sowaree—A procession, riding.

Sowkar —See Sahookar.
Subadar—See Soobedar.
Sudder—Chief, Principal.
Sultan—King.
Sunnud—A grant, a charter, a certificate, a diploma.
Syce—See Sayees.
Tahsil—The office or court of a Tahsildar or Collector of Revenue.
Tahsil Chaprasis—See Tuhseelee Chuprassees.
Tahsildar—Collector of Revenue.
Talwar—Sword.
Tamboli—One who sells betel leaves.
Teelungas—See Tilangas.
Tehseeldar—See Tahsildar.
Tehsildar—See Tahsildar.
Telingas—Indian Soldiers.
Thakoor—See Thakur.
Thakur—A landlord, chief, a respected person, a title of a kshatriyas, idol.
Thakurani—Wife of a Thakur.
Thanadar—An officer of Thana.
Thuggee—Swindling, cheating.
Tilangas—See Telingas.
Tilungas—See Telingas.
Top—A cannon, a gun.
Topkhana—The place where cannon and artillery are kept or stored, ordnance.
Tosha Khana—A store room, a wardrobe.
Tuhseeldar—See Tahsildar.
Tuhseelee Chuprassee—A peon of a Tahsil.
Umla—See Amla.
Urdu Parwana—A royal edict written in Urdu.
Urzee (Arzi)—Petition.
Vakeel—Agent.
Vakil—See Vakeel.
Velaetees—Vilayat or Wilayat literally means a kingdom or a country or a province. As the Afghans specially applied this term to their country they were known in India as Vilaietees or Vilayatees.
Wardi—Uniform, dress.
Wazeer—Minister.
Wilaiytees—See Velaetees.
Wyllaitees—See Velaetees.
Zamindar—Landlord.
Zari—A cloth woven with gold thread.
Zemindar—See Zamindar.
Zenana—Harem, wife, feminine.
Zila—District.

IMPORTANT DATES

		Page No.
May 1857		
15.	Consequences of the news of the King of Delhi's leadership of the struggle reaching Agra	171
19.	Revolt by the 9th N. I. at Aligarh	172
23.	100 sepoys of 9th N. I. move to Delhi from Aligarh	172
26.	Disaffection noticed in Gwalior Contingent	128
28.	Uprising expected at Gwalior	176, 181
30.	Letter from Brigadier Ramsay to the Agent to the Governor General for Central India regarding unrest at Gwalior	128—132
June 1857		
1.	Scindia's guard deserts for Delhi	178
4.	Outbreak at Jhansi	3, 4, 6
4.	Revolt by the 7th Contingent Infantry at Neemuch along with Bengal Brigade and their March to Agra	178—179
5.	Outbreak at Jhansi (Some Different Versions)	8, 14, 16, 20, 35, 42, 43, 61, 67, 71
6.	Jhansi Jail broken	68
7.	Jhansi Ranee's rule proclaimed in the town	23
7.	News of Jhansi Outbreak reaches Mow	9
8.	Jhansi Massacre	7, 16, 22, 61, 68
9.	Agitation amongst the troops at Sagar and Jabalpur	72
10.	Outbreak at Naugaon	4
11.	Outbreak at Jalaun	86
11.	Jhansi Revolutionaries leave for Delhi	108
13.	Outbreak at Lalitpur	179
13.	Jhansi troops reach Moth and arrest Niaz Ali, the Deputy Collector	108
13.	Raja of Banpur and his troops at Lalitpur	112
13.	Prisoners released from Hamirpur Jail	115
14.	Outbreak at Gwalior	167, 182, 203
15.	Advance guard of Jhansi troops reaches Orai	108
16.	Macpherson, Hill etc. flee to Mhow	133
17.	Outbreak at Sipri	179, 191

		Page No.
June 1857		
19.	G. Passanah, Dy. Collector of Jalaun and Griffiths brought as prisoners to Orai	89
20.	Troops from the Nana come to Hamirpur	118
21.	Revolutionaries proceed to Kanpur	109
21.	Revolutionaries reach Orai	112
21.	Nana's troops carry the treasure to Kanpur from Hamirpur	118
28.	Nagode Jail Broken	65
July 1857		
1.	Nana Sahib's rule proclaimed at Hamirpur	118
2.	*Kharita* from Commissioner Sagar Division to Rani of Jhansi	69-70
2.	Pearson's Battery and Cavalry revolt at Agra	179
3.	5th Contingent Infantry's revolt at Agra	191
3.	Attack on Indore Fort expected	140
3.	Two Cavalry Corps revolt near Agra	190
4.	Hamirpur landholders ordered to pay revenue to Nana's Agent	118
5.	Neemuch sepoys fight with Brigadier Polewhele at Agra	179, 188, 204
17.	Neemuch Brigade moved from Mathura to Delhi by this date	190
19.	Intelligence regarding Nana's flight from Kanpur received at Kalpi	99
22.	Sepoys of the 42nd N. I. from Sagar arrive at Kalpi	99
25.	Shahgarh Raja threatens Capt. Gordon to join Revolutionaries	111
29.	Cavalry Corps which revolted near Agra on 3rd July reaches Gwalior	190
31.	Sepoys from Mhow and Indore arrive at Gwalior	191
August 1857		
10.	Tehri forces take Mau-Ranipur	112
25.	Feroz Shah Shahzada placed on the Musnud at Mandsore	151, 156
October 1857		
10.	Revolutionaries from Mhow and Indore attack the British Camp at Agra	194
12.	News reach Mhow that a body of Rohillas was to move on Mandlesar	147
19.	Kunwar Singh with the 40th N. I. reaches Kalpi *via* Banda	93
29.	Tatya Tope with Gwalior Contingent arrives at Jalaun	93

		Page No.
November 1857		
3.	Shiva Ram Tatya imprisoned at Kalpi by Kunwar Singh's party	93
4.	5th Contingent Infantry leaves Gwalior to join the Revolutionaries at Jalaun	160
7.	Gwalior sepoys coalesce with Kunwar Singh and 40th N. I.	93
15.	Neemuch Revolutionaries proceed towards Kanpur	204
21.	Gwalior force begins to cross the Jamna at Kalpi according to the telegraphic message from Windham	159
December 1857		
1.	Revolutionaries from Gwalior reach Kanpur	196
31.	Circular letter from Tatya Tope to different Rajas	211
January 1858		
2.	Circular letter to the Chiefs of Bundelkhand by Muhammad Ishaq appealing for concerted action	211—212
2.	Tatya's letter to Bundelkhand Chiefs for joining hands against the English	213—214
6.	Banpur Chief leaves Jhansi for Banpur	219
8.	Bakhshish Ali takes service with Banpur Chief	218
12.	Telegraphic message from Lieutt. Governor informing the presence of Tatya Tope and Bala Bhat near Kalpi	214
19.	Telegraphic message from Political Agent Bundelkhand intimating the rewards for the capture of Tatya and others	257, 256
23.	Revolutionaries reported mustering at Kalpi	214, 215
29.	Reward of 5000 Rupees offered for the destruction of Martand Rao	616, 618
February 1858		
9.	Abstract of Intelligence from Tehri stating Rani of Jhansi's help to Raja of Banpur	223
10.	Lalitpur Bazar plundered	250
13.	Abstract of intelligence from Datia regarding Revolutionaries pouring into Jhansi	224
14.	Rani's proclamation—"Victory of Religion"	225-227
16.	Tatya Tope intends to halt at Mhow	254
21.	Chief of Shahgarh and Banpur reported to be near Dhamoni	255

February 1858		*Page No.*
22.	Rani prepares to fight the English, according to the intelligence from Ganeshi Lal at Datia	227
23.	Translation of a letter from Banda Nawab to Nana Sahib intimating his help to Tatya Tope in the siege of Charkhari	238
25.	Telegram from Edmonstone, to Chief of the Staff Kanpur reporting the presence of the Nana at Kalpi	345
March 1858		
1.	Tehri Troops beaten by Rani's force	112
1.	Charkhari captured by the Revolutionaries	241
4.	Translation of a circular letter from Pandurang Rao Sada Shiv to Tai Bai etc. informing the victory of Tatya over Charkhari	247
4.	Alipura attacked by the Revolutionaries	283
6.	Intelligence from Jhansi regarding the capture of Barwa Sagar by Revolutionaries	283
7.	Capture of Mow Ranipur and defeat of Tehri troops reported to Ranee	284
8.	Letter from Punjab Singh to Dhir Singh intimating the march of Revolutionary forces towards Panna	286
10.	Revolutionary Detachment of Jaitpur reaches Maheywa	288-289
11.	Richard Monsley killed during the assault of the fort of Chanderi	277
13.	Raja of Shahgarh reaches Maheywa	289
14.	Son of the Chief of Banpur reaches Mhow	289
14.	Son of the Raja of Narwar reaches Jhansi with a big force	290
14.	Rani's officials return to Jhansi from Mhow	291
14.	Hamilton reaches Tal-Behat	293
14.	Council of Rani's officers	292
15.	Mardan Singh with his force reaches Jhansi	291-292
16.	Mardan Singh meets the Rani	291
16.	Rani's force at Lohat	292
17.	Assault of the fort of Chanderi	296
18.	Revolutionaries reported to have left Charkhari	294
19.	Revolutionaries reach Kulpahar	294
20.	Raja Mardan Singh and Narwar chief reach Baragaon	296
20.	Rani's men repair to Jhansi	299

		Page No.
March 1858		
20.	British troops enter the district of Jhansi	302
21.	H. Rose with force, encamped at Jhansi	302
23.	Deshpat and son of Banpur chief expected at Mhow	295
25.	Tatya with large force intends to march from Jaitpur and to halt at Chirwari	305
26.	Jhansi attacked by H. Rose	308
27.	Tatya with his force halts at Mhow	306
27.	Telegraphic message from Edmonstone to Reade intimating Rani's departure from Jhansi	346
28.	Tatya at Mhow	306
29.	Advance of Peshwa's *Paltans* from Orai to Moth reported	348
30.	One Regiment of Revolutionaries at Ait	347
30.	Narwar Chief at Bhander	355
31.	Tatya at Barwa Sagar	308
31.	Tatya's force marches from Barwa Sagar to Lohat in night	309
31.	Tatya comes to Bhander	355
April 1858		
1.	Encounter between Tatya's and British forces near Jhansi	309, 322, 571
1.	Tatya attacks the British camp	300
1.	Concentration at Gur Sarai	347, 348
2.	Revolutionaries at Arjar Lake reported by a *Harkara* from Chhatterpur	347, 348
3.	Jhansi Town stormed and captured by the British	300, 321, 323
3.	Tatya Tope with his force reported to be at Bhander	348
3.	Umrao Singh leaves Bhander for Kunch	349
3.	Narwar Chief reaches Bhander	351
4.	Rani with her force tries to dash out of the fort	324
5.	Jhansi fort taken by the British	324, 346
5.	Rani reaches Bhander in male dress with her son	346, 351, 355
5.	Umrao Singh leaves Bhander and reaches Kunch	351
5.	Rani leaves Bhander for Kunch and joins Tatya Tope at midnight	351
5.	Tatya Tope leaves Bhander, reaches Koonch and starts for Kalpi	353
5.	Rani reaches Kunch	353
6.	Jhansi Revolutionaries flock at Kalpi	347, 353
7.	Telegraphic message from Hamilton intimating Rani's flight towards Jalaun from Jhansi	346

April 1858		Page No.
9.	Letter from Tatya Tope to Dhir Singh giving him instructions	351
11.	Proclamation issued to all Brahmins requesting them to join Revolutionaries	356
17.	Proclamation of Rao Saheb to Chiefs of Bundelkhand	359
19.	Engagement at Bhowragarh	369
28.	Tatya, Rani etc. encamped at Kunch to oppose Hugh Rose's advance	369, 370
28.	Rao Saheb encamped at Jalalpur to oppose Whitlock	369, 370
May 1858		
7.	H. Rose's force attacks Rani and Tatya's troops	370,
7.	Kunch lost by the Revolutionaries.	372
8.	Kunch occupied by the British	379
13.	Telegraphic message from Reade intimating Rani's and Tope's flight to Kalpi	371
17.	Chanda, Lalitpur and Tal Behat under Revolutionaries	610
21.	Col. Smith's march against Chanderi	384
22.	Revolutionaries attack H. Rose at Gulauli	446
22.	Revolutionaries attack from Kalpi on outposts	380
22.	Jhansi Rani starts off Kalpi	381
23.	Rao Saheb and Banda Nawab leave Kalpi	381
23.	Kalpi occupied by Hugh Rose	94, 379, 380, 383
25.	Hamirpur occupied by the British	384
26.	Rao Saheb joined by Lalpuri Gosain at Gopalpur	446
27.	Chanderi and its fort evacuated by the Revolutionaries	384, 410
29.	Kalpi and Indoorki Revolutionaries about 12 kos from Gwalior	410
29.	Revolutionaries move on to Dehgaon	448
30.	Revolutionaries move to Sipowli	448
30.	Telegraphic message from Reade informing Tatya and other Revolutionaries' crossing Scinde river and intending the attack of Gwalior	410
30.	Kalpi Revolutionaries near Gwalior cantonment Nawab of Banda, Rani, Nana's nephew with them	411
31.	Kalpi and Indoorki Revolutionaries arrive at Gwalior	411
31.	Revolutionaries advance to Baragaon	449

June 1858		*Page No.*
1.	Skirmishes between Scindia and Revolutionaries	411
1.	Revolutionaries in possession of Lushkur and Gwalior fort and Scindia leaves for Dholpur	413
2.	Communication from Gwalior intimates that Rani, Tatya etc. capture Lushkur	412
3.	Guard of the Revolutionaries at Kati Ghati Pass and on the road to Sipri	421
3.	Engagement between troops of Charkari Raja and Revolutionaries under Martand Rao Tatya and Nephew of Deshpat at Rath	615
3.	Martand Rao Tatya killed in the action at Rath	617
4.	Message from Reade shows that Tatya occupied the *musnud* at Gwalior	420
6.	News from Etawah intimating Ganga Singh's appointment as *Nazim*	423—424
6.	Proclamation issued by Revolutionaries in Peshwa's name requiring submission of officials in Gwalior territory	427
7.	Pay and reward distributed to Revolutionary troops	427
10.	Nana at Lucknow	426
11.	Rao Ram Kishan, the deposed minister of Dholpur, said to have joined the Revolutionaries	421
13.	Intelligence from Agra intimating Tatya Tope's presence at Segauli	422
13 and 14.	Gwalior news reports that Maulvi formerly in Nana's service at Bithoor appointed minister of Justice at Gwalior	430
14.	Baiza Bai at Punniar with Sipri Column	432, 435
14.	Balaji Pant dies of wounds	614
16.	Engagement between Revolutionaries and H. Rose's forces at Gwalior	434
17.	Rani of Jhansi killed	437, 441, 462-463
18.	Telegraphic message from Hamilton intimating the death of the Rani of Jhansi	435
18.	Bhawani Prasad reports Rani's death	435-436
18.	Force under Rao Sahib moves towards Agra	463
19.	Gwalior reoccupied by the British	464
20.	Scindia regains Gwalior	442, 464-45
21.	Telegraphic message from Diwan Nihal Chand intimating flight of Tatya Tope and Banda Nawab from Gwalior	443

		Page No.
June 1858		
25.	Revolutionaries move from Machalpur to Bhorepur	471, 473
26.	Revolutionaries from Machalpur to Hindaun	473
28.	Revolutionaries at Hindaun	473
July 1858		
2.	Telegraphic message from Reade intimating Revolutionaries' concentration at Lalsoont	474
3.	Revolutionaries leave Lalsoont for Tonga	476
4.	Revolutionaries said to be at Chatsoo	476-477
5.	Revolutionaries at Gurdwyee and Tatya Tope seen with them	477
5,	A letter reports that Revolutionaries in the vicinity of Mau Ranipur joined by Jagee Raja	603
5.	Banpur Raja surrenders	611
6.	Revolutionaries in the neighbourhood of Jullai	478
7.	Revolutionaries marching towards Tonk	478
9.	Eden reports that Revolutionaries occupied Tonk and Shahzada Firoz Shah was heard with them	479
9.	Revolutionaries towards Buneta	481
9.	Telegraphic message from Hamilton intimating the surrender of Shahgarh Chief	612
11.	Eden intimates Revolutionaries' presence at Rampura	481
12.	Revolutionaries proceed to Kustulla	482
13.	Kerowlee letter mentions Kota Revolutionaries near Shivpur	482
14.	Petition of Muhammad Hadi Ali mentions that Desh Pat Bundela taking position with large force on the bank of Dhasan river, was joined by other Revolutionaries	623
14.	Telegraphic message from Reade intimating the presence of Kota Revolutionaries at Dhori	647
17.	News from Shivpur about march of Revolutionaries under Tatya Tope to Lackeria (or Lakheri)	483
17.	Revolutionaries cross Nej river and reach Kathgarh	484
18.	Two hundred musketeers and some horsemen march towards Kashipur	624, 625
18 or 19.	Revolutionaries reach Bundi	484
28.	Revolutionaries at Bharatpur	485

August 1858		*Page no*
3.	A party of Revolutionaries under Jhansi Rani's brother at Mhow	488
6.	Telegraphic message from Reade intimating the arrival of the Revolutionaries at Singauli	486
12.	Telegraphic message from Reade intimating presence of the Revolutionaries at Bhilwara	490
12.	Revolutionaries at Kukurauli	491
15.	Members of Tatya's family brought to Gwalior	595
18.	Revolutionaries at Bijapur	491
19.	Revolutionaries reach Neemree *via* Ratangarh	493
27.	Revolutionaries reach Jhalra Patan and attack the Cantonment	493-494
31.	Revolutionaries leave Jhalra Patan for Shivpur	494
September 1858		
5.	Battle at Bijapur near Guna	495
6.	Message regarding Revolutionaries' march from Jhalra Patan towards Raipur	496
7.	Telegraphic message from Reade about Tatya Tope's rule at Jhalra Patan	494
7.	Telegraphic message from Edmonstone intimating Tatya's march towards Bhopal	496
13.	Telegraphic message intimating Tatya Tope's presence at Zirapur	497
13.	Revolutionaries between Keehlepore and Rajgarh	499
25.	Telegraphic message by Reade intimating Ganga Singh's presence at Sehore	648
28.	Main body of Revolutionaries leaves Sironj in the direction of Kutchwar Sarai	500, 508
28.	Tatya Tope, Banda Nawab, Rao Saheb, etc. move towards Moghal Sarai	507
October 1858		
2.	Tatya Tope attacks and takes Yusufgarh	508, 509
5.	Rao Saheb leaves Yusufgarh for Chanderi	510
6.	Message intimating that Tatya follows Rao Saheb and will reach Chanderi in the night	510
6.	Tatya at Pechore	510
7.	Tatya's march for Karera.	510
7 to 9	Chanderi Fort attacked by a part of Tatya's army	511, 512
8.	Tatya at Siras Ghat	511
12.	News about Rao Saheb's crossing Betwa at Siras Ghat and Tatya crossing it near Mangrauli	513

October 1858		*Page No.*
16.	Revolutionaries under Tatya, Banda Nawab etc. towards Lalitpur and Tehri	516
16.	Tatya leaves Lalitpur	515
18.	Pinkney writes about Tatya's movement to Tal Behat	513, 514
25.	Revolutionaries at Rath	519
30 and 31.	Peshwa's army crosses the Narmada	537
31.	Tatya with his force crosses the Narmada at Soriah Ghat for Deccan	519
November 1858		
6.	Tatya crosses Tapti	520
6.	Revolutionaries reach Burdhai	534
7.	Revolutionaries reach Multai	534
19.	Banda Nawab in Mitchel's Camp	546
24.	Telegraphic message from Edmonstone intimating the presence of Tatya and Rao Saheb at Kindal	524
27.	Revolutionaries crossing Narmada	547
27.	Telegraphic message from Edmonstone intimating Tatya Tope and Rao Saheb's march towards Barwani instead of Sindwa	546
27.	Hamilton's message regarding Tatya's movement towards Amjhera	546
27.	Revolutionaries cross Narmada	540
29.	Revolutionaries reach Dewhatti	548
30.	Revolutionaries enter Udaipur, Tatya believed to be with them	548
December 1858		
1.	Tatya invades Gujrat Province	539
1.	Tatya leaves Udaipur for Banbra	539
2.	Revolutionaries at Bariah	549
2.	Revolutionaries at Babra	549
3.	Firoz Shah crosses Mullach and Sandila road	664
4.	Message regarding the presence of Barjor Singh at Tola Kangaron	630-31
7.	Revolutionaries plunder Jhallode	541
8.	Maulvi Fazl Haq killed in the fight	650
8.	Telegram reporting Firoz Shah's crossing the Ganges at Bithoor	663-64
10.	Information of the advance of the revolutionaries towards Kushalgarh and Banswara	551
10.	Banswara plundered by Revolutionaries	551

		Page No.
December 1858		
10.	Force under Firoz Shah crosses Ganges at Kumoogrie	665
11.	Revolutionaries at Banswara	541-542
11.	Force under Firoz Shah passes through Sohar for Sikandra	665
18.	Revolutionaries towards Mongoura	552
20.	Revolutionaries reported to have left Mongoura for Peepulkhoota	552
24.	Engagement at Partabgarh	552
29.	Battle of Zirapur	553
January 1859		
11.	Barjor Singh tries to make an irruption into Jalaun district	654
February 1859		
8.	300 Revolutionaries under Chhattra Singh and Bakht Singh at Gingee	654
28.	Revolutionaries' forces under Rao Sahib and Firoz Shah arrive at Parone	666
March 1859		
1.	Revolutionaries' forces under Rao Saheb and Firoz Shah halt at Parone	666
13.	Rao Saheb reaches Murrowey	654
18.	Revolutionaries under Chhattra Singh and Bakht Singh at Sijari	654
20.	Letter from Hamilton offering the terms to Rao Saheb	677
April 1859		
6.	Tatya Tope at Gogal	562,-563
7.	Capture of Tatya Tope	560, 564, 565
18.	Sentence and execution of Tatya Tope at Sipri	567
24.	Revolutionaries under Bakht Singh attack Roorhi Kalan	655
May 1859		
27.	Trial of the family members of Tatya Tope	595
June 1859		
1.	Barjor Singh and his party try to cross Betwa	655
9.	Barjor Singh's party joins Chhattra Singh and attack Garotha	656
10.	Barjor Singh and Chhattra Singh burn Karera	665
12.	Barjor Singh and Chhattra Singh move across Dhasan into the Hamirpur district	63

		Page No.
June 1859		
15.	Revolutionaries attack Kulpahar	656
29.	Revolutionaries at Nonura	637
July 1859		
1.	A body of matchlockmen moving close to Bamhori Gosain and Mahoba and a larger body enters Sijari	657
5.	Daulut Singh plunders Koomere	657
31.	Barjor Singh passes through Datia and plunders Budrowa and Poora	657
August 1859		
2.	500 Revolutionaries under Firoz Shah enter the Bala Behat jungles	657
October 1859		
8.	Revolutionaries from Bala Behat Jungle attack Pali	658
November 1859		
3.	Revolutionaries under Farzand Ali and others reach Biterreh	659
1860.	Firoz Shah—heard of in Qandahar	661
1861.	Firoz Shah in Bokhara	661
April 1862		
9.	Letter from Davies mentions the Capture of Rao Saheb at Chaneni	678
1868.	Firoz Shah to Swat	662
June 1875	Firoz Shah arrives at Mecca	670
December 1877		
17.	Firoz Shah's death at Mecca	670

INDEX

Abbott, Captain; 269, 319, 334, 399.
Abdool Sultan Khan Buxee(Bakhshi); 151.
Abdoola Jeo; 561.
Abdul Sattar Khan; 677.
Abdulla Aziz, Shaikh; 578.
Abha-Dhanuk Dhari; 681, 682, 691.
Abtul Singh; 623.
Achelong; 518.
Achhnera; 684.
Achhroni; 297.
Ackbarpore (Akbarpur); 87, 156, 684.
Aden; 670.
Adil Muhammad Khan (Adil Muhammad Nawab); 55, 225, 227, 291, 305, 497, 501, 507, 509, 525, 527, 568, 589.
Admaid Poor (Etmadpur); 24.
Afghanistan; 661.
Agar; 191.
Ageet (Ajit); 294.
Agnihotri; 340.
Agra iii, 11, 20, 24, 73, 90, 117, 127, 131, 157, 158, 160, 165, 166, 166, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 177, 178, 179, 180, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 203, 204, 218, 293, 300, 307, 308, 346, 358, 359, 369, 372, 373, 374, 378, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 410, 411, 412, 413, 415,417,420,422,424,427,428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 440, 441, 442, 443, 455, 456, 458, 460, 461, 463, 465, 466, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 499, 507, 508, 515, 520, 521, 565, 567, 577, 583, 600, 608, 611, 612, 647, 648, 649, 650, 664, 665, 673, 674, 686, 687.
Agra Narrative; 64, 108, 609.
Ahar; 222.
Ahhora; 349.
Ahmad Ali; 49.
Ahmad Husain; 17, 20, 23, 35, 36
Ahmadabad; 541, 550.
Ahmad Ulla Khan; 487.
Ahmed Ali Khan alias Munwwar-ud-Dawla; 361.
Ahmen Singh, Havildar Major; 4.
Ahmeta; 648.
Ahssan Ali; 219.
Ainslie, Colonel; 516.
Ait; 105, 106, 215, 217, 347.
Ajab; 603.
Ajaigarh (Ajeygurh); 13, 233.
Ajeetmul; 413.
Ajit Mahommed Khan; 497.
Ajit Singh; 560, 576, 589.
Ajmer; 148, 150, 197, 258, 436, 481, 485, 487, 492, 680, 687, 689, 690.
Ajoodhia (Ayodhya); 115.
Ajoodhia Sing; 261.
Ajoodhia Pershaud Pundit (Pandit Ayodhya Prasad); 38, 49, 224.
Akbarabad; 436.
Akbarpur; See Ackbarpore.
Akeymull; 23, 41.
Akhey Chund(Akhai Chand); 21,23.
Akola; 676.
Akot; 521.
Alampur (Alumpore); 103, 104, 105.
Alejjapur; 261
Alexander, Captain; 130.
Ali Bahadoor; See Nawab of Banda.
Ali Bux; 116, 121.
Aligarh; 172, 181, 197, 448, 478.
Alipura; 252, 256, 283, 294, 295, 623, 633, 634, 643, 654, 655, 656, 659.
Ali-Rajpur; 544, 548, 549, 550, 668.
Allahabad; 4, 74, 82, 100, 101,

102, 113, 115, 138, 139, 140, 214, 236, 248, 305, 306, 307, 313, 321, 336, 345, 346, 351, 365, 369, 372, 373, 376, 378, 382, 383, 385, 386, 410, 411, 429, 495, 496, 499, 507, 508, 510, 511, 512, 514, 515, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 524, 528, 539, 540, 546, 565, 566, 567, 583, 584, 599, 600, 603, 605, 611, 612, 613, 614, 618, 619, 620, 622, 628, 631, 634, 636, 643, 644, 645, 647, 648, 653, 661, 662, 663, 665, 672.
Altaf Husain; 362.
Alwar; 472, 474, 482, 490, 647, 687.
Amain; 428, 431, 441, 447, 448.
Aman-i-Shah; 476.
Aman Khan; 24.
Amanat Ali; 189.
Amar Chand; 458.
Amarchand Batia; 423, 505.
Amargarh; 497.
Amar Singh; 63.
Amba Panee; 509.
Ambarpur; 307, 308.
Ameen Mull; 425.
Amir Chand; 423, 424, 426, 442.
Amjheera; 547.
Amjhera; 143, 477, 547, 568.
Amolee; 511.
Amraoti; 521, 534, 535, 538.
Amrode; 273.
Anagowree (Anagauri); 231.
Anderson; 113, 116, 507, 521, 548, 549, 550, 665.
Anderson, Miss; 114, 117.
Anderson, Mrs; 113.
Andrews, Robert; 8, 9, 27, 33, 36, 38, 41, 44.
Angora; 483.
Angriah; 456.
Anguri; 231.
Anjye; 496.
Annas river; 541, 542.
Annual Criminal and Police Administration Reports; 661.
Annund Ram; 84.
Annund Rao; 647.
Antorir; 135.
Antree; 418, 425, 426, 601.
Anunt Ram; 459.
Anunt Rao; 654.
Anunt Singh, Babu; 232.
Anyno; 434.
Aorcha; See Orchha.
Appa Sahib; 550.
Appa Scindia; 453, 454, 458.
Aravalli Hills; 485, 667.
Aree; 653.
Arjar Lake; 347, 348.
Arjun Singh; 616, 618, 644.
Armstrong, Lieutenant; 312.
Arnode; 552.
Aron Jagir; 252.
Artillery, 2nd Brigade; 277.
Asair; 349.
Asattee; 288.
Ashta; 518, 675.
Asirgarh; 25, 26, 521, 674.
Asit (Ajit) Singh; 576.
Asnawud; 666.
Atarra; 233.
Attah; 90, 91, 92, 98, 376, 377, 601.
Auba Gate; 332.
Augor; 195.
Augur; 496, 676.
Auraiya; 307, 378, 379.
Aura Maoo; 685.
Ausan Singh, Captain; 134.
Awadh; See Oudh.

Baba Apte; 154, 155, 677.
Baba Balwant Rao; 181.
Baba Bhaoo Pundit; 291.
Baba Mohurghur; 180, 203.
Baba Sahib; 149, 292, 428.
Babar; vi.
Babbra; 549.
Babeena (Babina); 291, 292, 296.
Baem, Captain; 271.
Babhoot Rao; 530.
Baboo; 238.
Badakshan; 662.
Badaun; 487.
Badausa; 375.
Baee Ghat; 354.
Baee of Jhansi; See Lakshmi Bai, Rani.
Bagain; 233.
Bageode; 519.
Baghaira; 13.

Baghelkhand; 501.
Baghot; 288.
Bagore; 491.
Bagree; 91.
Bagrode; 568, 673, 674, 675.
Bagru; 481.
Bah; 417, 421.
Bah Pennahut; 423, 650.
Bahadur Shah; 169.
Bahadurce Press; 227.
Bahmoree; 252, 253.
Bailuch; 489.
Baiswara; 18, 26, 135.
Baitha; 252, 253.
Baitool; 526.
Baitwah; 348.
Baiza Baee; 177, 192, 412, 414, 416, 422, 423, 428, 432, 435, 442, 447, 448, 449, 455, 457, 461, 467.
Bajee Rao, Peshwa; i, 531, 570, 571, 574, 575, 581, 582, 683.
Bajore Sing, Takore; 488.
Bakaria; 509.
Bakee Lall; 118.
Baker Beg; 27.
Bakhshish Ali; 9, 17, 19, 21, 22, 25, 28, 39, 55, 63, 217, 218, 285.
Bakht Bali, Raja Bahadur; 211, 349.
Bakht Singh; 632, 633, 634, 653, 654, 655.
Bakhtawar Singh; 423.
Bakhtawar Tiwari; 132.
Bakija; 509.
Bakuja; 509.
Bal Kishan Gorey; 528.
Bala Bhow; 253, 297.
Bala Rao; 546, 581, 692, 694.
Bala Sahib; 584, 585.
Balabehat; vi, vii, 214, 219, 223, 291, 370, 513, 517, 600, 606, 653, 657, 658.
Balajee Pundit; 581, 615.
Baldew Singh Thakoor; 186, 203.
Balee; 250.
Ball, Charles; 4, 522.
Balpinahut; 650.
Baluwa Ghat; 354.
Balwant Rao; 210, 356, 365, 428, 450, 451, 452, 453, 456, 459.
Baman Rao; 235, 264, 265.
Bamhinpur; 4.
Bamhori; 283, 295, 513, 514, 620, 666, 672.
Bamnia Hill; 262.
Bamungaon; 486, 488.
Bamun Rao; 362, 365.
Bana; 617.
Banaira; 489.
Banas; 478, 479, 485, 486, 488, 489, 492, 492.
Banbra; 539.
Banda; i, 6, 13, 15, 92, 113, 114, 115, 120, 122, 138, 139, 160, 161, 162, 192, 193, 210, 214, 215, 218, 221, 230, 233, 240, 245, 247, 248, 251, 252, 255, 257, 262, 345, 351, 364, 369, 372, 374, 375, 376, 377, 389, 396, 409, 411, 429, 433, 444, 500, 524, 608, 614, 615, 620, 625, 626, 627, 636, 655.
Banda Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*; 609.
Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records; 162, 163, 164, 165.
Banda District Gazetteer, Vol. XXI; 215, 230, 233, 248.
Banda Nawab; 163, 237, 240, 247, 286, 369, 370, 378, 379, 380, 381, 387, 388, 404, 412, 416, 422, 428, 435, 436, 442, 444, 446, 447, 459, 471, 480, 481, 482, 507, 512, 516, 520, 523, 524, 525, 529, 546, 578, 586, 675, 688.
Bande Ali; 599.
Bandhogurh; 261, 262, 288, 351, 375.
Banganga; 479, 487.
Bangra; 13, 91, 106.
Banhora; 295.
Bankat Singh; 433.
Banpoor Khas; 602.
Banpur (Baunpoor); viii, 11, 26, 77, 82, 110, 111, 138, 196, 213, 216, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224, 235, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 264, 283, 284, 285, 286, 289, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 303, 349, 350, 352, 353, 356, 368, 369, 371, 412, 413, 419, 502, 503, 511, 512, 514, 515, 585, 600, 603, 609, 610, 611, 619, 672, 673.

Bansi; i, 488, 502, 506, 601.
Bansidhar; 355.
Banswara; 540, 541, 550, 551, 552, 554, 588, 667, 689.
Bantia, Ameerchund; 423.
Baonee; 114, 119, 362, 600.
Baonee Nuwab; 600.
Bapote; 548.
Bappoo Awar; 453, 456.
Bapoo Garur; 455.
Bapooje Pandit; 617.
Bar; i.
Baragaon (Baragong); 10, 206, 250, 311, 332, 349, 422,449, 453.
Baran; 127, 197, 382.
Barauda; 148.
Baree; 496.
Bareilly; 24, 181, 281, 422, 429, 448, 449, 461.
Bareilly Nawab; See Khan Bahadur Khan.
Baretta; 111.
Barigurh; 119, 232.
Bariya; 549.
Barjor Singh; 601, 629, 630, 631, 632, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660.
Barkhera; 148.
Barlow, Captain; 12.
Barma; i.
Barnagar; 235.
Barninwas; 475.
Barnoch; 541.
Baroda; 487, 518, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 550, 566, 590, 591, 594, 595.
Baroda Records Office; 548, 550, 551.
Baroda Residency; 539, 548, 550, 551, 596.
Barodia Naonagar; 53.
Baron Von Meigern; 139.
Baronee; 56, 478.
Barra; 234, 237, 240, 263, 287, 288, 300, 301, 351, 366, 367, 368, 369, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376.
Barriah; 549, 550.
Barroonee; 489.
Barrow, Major; 679.
Barwa Sagar; See Burwa Sagar.
Barwani; 104, 544, 546.
Baryah; 307, 308.
Basada; 250, 518, 519, 674.
Basantpur; 132, 133.
Basawa Singh; 4.
Basdeo Bhat; 368.
Basdeo Bhao, 293.
Basdeo Pundit; 366.
Basdeo Punt; 356.
Bashahr; 690.
Bassein; i.
Batasur; 418.
Baugh, Captain; 570.
Bawal pargana; 474.
Bawegaun; 546.
Bayana; 479.
Bayley, E. C.; 345.
Beadon, C.; 64, 307, 517, 566, 665, 678, 679.
Beatson; 674.
Beda; 626.
Beecher; 519, 521, 527, 568, 674, 675.
Beerbhowdar; 492.
Behari Lal; 51, 365, 448, 449.
Bellahie; 686.
Belooch; 491.
Bema; 519.
Bemoree (Bomoree); 514.
Benaika; 111.
Benares; 175, 593, 594, 681, 691.
Bendikur; 363.
Bengal; 42, 144, 174, 176, 391, 498, 519, 532.
Bengal Cavalry, 1st; 150.
Bengal European Regiment; 517.
Bengal Infantry; 50, 113.
Bengal Infantry, 12th; iv.
Bengal Irregular Cavalry; 46.
Bengal Irregulars, 5th; 399.
Bengal Native Infantry; 73, 81, 89.
Bengal Native Infantry, 32nd; 370
Bengal Native Infantry, 52nd; 370, 388, 495.
Bengal Native Infantry, 56th; 370.

Benson, Colonel; 518, 551, 552, 553, 674.
Beora; 496, 497, 499, 500, 501, 674.
Berar; 521, 534.
Berarghat; 666.
Berha; 488.
Beri; 637.
Beri Gaon; 51.
Berugree Ghat; 673.
Betna; vii, 219.
Betul; 520, 521, 527, 534, 535, 568, 569.
Betwa; i, ii, 10, 13, 112, 115, 119, 127, 215, 307, 308, 310, 320, 322, 306, 354, 358, 382, 507, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 516, 517, 518, 599, 601, 602, 603, 606, 607, 628, 637, 655, 658.
Beypoor; 288.
Bhaeea Dewan; 221, 222.
Bhagalpur; 378.
Bhagwat Singh; 603.
Bhairon Singh; 456.
Bhakipra; 547.
Bhan Pratap Singh; 255.
Bhander; 13, 40, 180, 224, 346, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 355, 585, 655, 656.
Bhanpura; 377.
Bhao Biswas Rao; 93.
Bhao Gaickwar; 458.
Bhao Powar; 285.
Bhao Ramchunder (Ram Chandra); 141.
Bhao Sahib; 261.
Bhar; 502, 503, 504.
Bharapura; 197.
Bharat Singh; 603.
Bharatpur; 433, 436, 472, 475, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 485, 647, 687.
Bhasena; 623.
Bhawani Prasad; 435.
Bhawani Singh; 15.
Bheel; 515, 540.
Bheema Baee Boolia Sahibah; 103.
Bheer; 592.
Bhemjhoo; 644.
Bhilhaur; 308.
Bhilsa; 250, 517, 518, 674, 675.
Bhilwara; 485, 490, 491, 557, 588, 688.
Bhima; 519.
Bhim Rao; 680, 682, 690, 691, 694.
Bhind; 5, 40, 87, 294, 353, 417, 418, 421, 435, 488, 577.
Bhognee; 87, 354.
Bhojpoor (Bhojpur); 26.
Bhola; 423.
Bholey; 40.
Bholey Lalla; 252.
Bhonsla; 536.
Bhoojbul (Bhujbal) Sing; 285.
Bhopal; 53, 104, 127, 157, 189, 435, 496, 499, 507, 518, 532, 568, 648, 668, 674, 675, 688, 692, 693, 694.
Bhopal Cavalry; 504.
Bhopal Contingent; 104, 105, 146.
Bhopal Infantry; 503, 504, 507.
Bhopal State Gazetteer; 518.
Bhopawar; 104, 147, 544, 550.
Bhorejee; 259.
Bhorepoor; 471, 473.
Bhossawar; 547.
Bhossawar Levy Cavalry; 547.
Bhow Aptya (Bhao Apte); 423.
Bhow Tambekar; 566.
Bhowel; 232.
Bhownee Kuttree; 362.
Bhowraghur; 369.
Bhugolo Lall; 39, 41.
Bhugwan (Bhagwan) Brahmin; 28.
Bhujye; 650.
Bhundsee; 595.
Bhup Singh; 603.
Bhuran Singh; 622.
Bhuwanee (Bhawani); 67, 69, 259.
Biawara; 557, 688.
Bicher; 527.
Bichore; 223, 224, 251.
Bigrie; 420.
Bijai Bahadur; 19.
Bijaigarh; 139, 140, 294, 300, 301, 349.
Bijairaghogarh; 373, 374, 382.

Bijai Singh; 13.
Bijapur; 491, 495.
Bijaur; 610.
Bijawar; i, ii, 245, 255, 291.
Bijor Singh; 606.
Bijrowlee Ghat; 363.
Bikaner; 489, 496, 676.
Bikermajit; 644.
Bilaspur; 690.
Bilaua; 601.
Bilhera, 606
Bilhaitri; 606.
Billawa; 601.
Bilsa; 517.
Bina, river; 53, 197, 382.
Bina 139.
Binaik Damooder (Vinaik Damodar); 573.
Bindua; 693.
Bir Singh Dev; 15.
Birrehna; 488.
Bishanpal Singh, Kunwar; 641.
Bisheshur; 366.
Bishnoor; 527, 535.
Bissasu Luchmun; 106.
Bissram; 21.
Biswah; 663.
Biswas Rao; 88, 99.
Biswas Rao Lachman; 249.
Biterreah; 659.
Bithora; 253.
Bithoor (Bithur); i, 93, 100, 107, 109, 190, 430, 447, 450, 531, 570, 571, 573, 574, 575, 577, 578, 582, 584, 591, 593, 594, 595, 596, 616, 664, 683.
Blake; 130, 176, 181, 182, 439,
Blogg, Lieutenant Colonel; 526.
Blyth; 319.
Boda; 289.
Bodh Sing; 220, 285.
Bodri; 519.
Bohorun Sing (Bahoran Singh); 196.
Boileau, Major; 302, 331.
Bokhara; 661, 662.
Bola Fort; 52.
Bola Nath (Bhola Nath); v, 57, 58.
Bolton, Captain; 559.
Bombay; 128, 139, 142, 293, 382, 391, 394, 412, 418, 432, 461, 472, 487, 507, 508, 520, 521, 525, 532, 534, 542, 545, 546, 548, 549, 550, 565, 590, 594, 595, 596, 648, 649, 654, 675.
Bombay Artillery; 331.
Bombay Cavalry; 466.
Bombay Cavalry, 30th; 480.
Bombay European Regiment, 3rd; 312, 323.
Bombay Horse Artillery; 329.
Bombay Infantry; 324.
Bombay Lancers; 462.
Bombay Light Cavalry, 3rd; 314, 397, 405.
Bombay Native Infantry, 9th; 561, 578.
Bombay Native Infantry, 10th; 462, 463, 495.
Bombay Native Infantry, 25th; 274, 316, 396, 397, 398, 401, 405, 464, 465, 495, 648.
Bombay Native Infantry, 29th; 314, 316, 334, 463, 656.
Bombay Presidency; 104.
Bombay Sappers; 147, 279, 323.
Bombay Times; 63.
Bombay Troop Horse Artillery, 1st; 397.
Bomun Purohit; 633, 634, 641.
Bonwurjee; 667.
Boomgurh; 479, 480, 481.
Boondelah; 286.
Boordhye; 534.
Boorha; 677.
Borassa; 674.
Bonus, (Boners or Bonus), Lieutenant; 549.
Brigade Ist C. I. F. F.; 279.
Brigade, 2nd; 302.
Broach; 550.
Brown; 11, 34, 88, 90, 94, 102, 104, 115.
Browne, Lieutenant; 549.
Browne, Miss; 17, 20.
Buckle, Captain; 521.
Buddeia (Budhia) Koree; 117.
Budhek; 101.
Budree Bajpey (Badri Bajpai); 24.

Budrowa; 657.
Bughora; 643, 653.
Buggarnughur; 501.
Bugrees, Captain; 6, 7, 17, 20.
Bugroo; 259.
Bugwan Dass; 6.
Bujkhara; 216.
Bujnath; 595.
Bujrungurh; 676.
Bukhta (Bakhta); 28.
Bukshee Khooman Sing (Bakhshi Guman Sing); 142, 143.
Bukshi Maharao; 366
Buldeo Prohit; 50.
Buldeo Singh; 459.
Bulgong; 216.
Bulwant Rao Baba Joosee (Joshi); 230, 249.
Bulwant Rao Jhusee Walla; 203.
Bumbhora; 95, 283.
Bumboree; 289, 350.
Bumhoree Gosaien; 637.
Bunaira; 490.
Bunde Ali; 599.
Bundelkhand; i, ii, iii, 4, 6, 74, 91, 94, 104, 127, 138, 158, 161, 167, 169, 189, 194, 213, 215, 217, 221, 239, 245, 248, 251, 256, 260, 306, 325, 351, 357, 358, 359, 368, 379, 383, 413, 447, 492, 501, 516, 601, 607, 608, 615, 616, 617, 618, 664.
Bundelkhand Eastern States Gazetteer, Vol. VI A; 245, 255, 688.
Bundi; 197, 483, 484, 485, 486, 488, 557.
Buneta; 480, 481.
Bungunja; 253.
Bunseedhur; 40.
Bunter; 113, 116, 117.
Bunter, Mrs; 113, 116.
Bunwaro 288.
Bupoba; 310.
Burda; 546.
Burgor Sing; 630.
Burhanpur; 25, 520.
Burlawas; 489.
Burora, Pahar; 36.
Buroojoo; 346.
Burra; 659.
Burragatta; 309.
Burreh; 493.
Burssittee; 518.
Bursud; 499.
Burton, Lieutenant; 137, 674.
Burwanee (Barwani); 546, 668.
Burwarra; 482.
Burwa Sagar; ii, 6, 51, 112, 283, 284, 286, 288, 289, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 322, 348, 349, 585, 603, 604
Busnere; 599.
Bussie Goreya; 493.
Buxee; 290.
Buxee Inamoola Khan; 490.
Byas (Vyas) Jeo; 259.

Cabul; See Kabul.
Calcutta; iv, 46, 74, 128, 159, 168, 173, 174, 435, 440, 442, 472, 497, 507, 564, 565, 566, 567, 570, 667.
Calinger; See Kalinjar.
Calpee; See Kalpi.
Campbell; 8, 43, 171, 390, 392, 409, 435.
Candahar; See Qandahar.
Cane; See Ken.
Canning, 435, 440, 442.
Carne; 6, 50, 119, 121, 122, 241, 617, 619.
Carshore, Mr.; 42, 46.
Carthew, Brigadier; 532.
Catania; 656.
Cavalry, 1st; 172.
Cavalry, 2nd; 179.
Cavalry, 14th; 8.
Cawnpoor; See Kanpur.
Central India; ii, 15, 83, 94, 103, 104, 113, 127, 128, 141, 147, 149, 150, 151, 153, 155, 157, 168, 245. 270, 276, 277, 302, 307, 313, 321, 325, 329, 381, 405, 414, 437, 440, 443, 484, 498, 501, 502, 516, 523, 542, 544, 547, 551, 552, 569, 595, 596, 601, 606, 607, 608, 612, 613, 615, 616, 617, 637, 648, 659, 663, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 672, 677, 678, 679, 688.
Central Provinces; ii, 104, 111,

138, 139, 498, 519, 520, 521, 531, 532, 533.
Central Provinces District Gazetteers; 53, 111, 216, 218, 223, 251, 255.
Central Records Office, Allahabad; 162, 163, 164, 165, 302, 600, 603, 605, 618, 619, 620, 622, 631, 634, 636, 643, 644, 645, 647, 661, 663.
Chachoura; 666.
Chain Singh; 285.
Chakarnagar; 421, 488.
Chaksoo; See Chatsoo.
Chamba; 690.
Chambal; See Chumbal
Champaner; 487, 488.
Chandani; 680, 681.
Chanderi; ii, iii, vi, vii, 11, 12, 72, 73, 112, 219, 250, 255, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 276, 277, 278, 285, 289, 290, 293, 296, 297, 314, 325, 326, 348, 352, 371, 382, 384, 389, 410, 416, 421, 430, 500, 502, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 517, 518, 587, 601, 602, 653, 654, 657, 658, 659, 660, 672, 673, 688, 690.
Chandni; 25.
Chandpoor; 673.
Chandrabhaga; 687.
Chandra Raghuraj Singh; 374.
Chaneni; 678.
Chap, river; 541.
Chapra Baraud; 588.
Charda; 296.
Charkhari; ii, iii, 6, 114, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 210, 216, 224, 228, 229, 230, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 245, 246, 249, 254, 256, 257, 266, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 294, 298, 299, 305, 306, 307, 310, 345, 346, 353, 365, 585, 599, 605, 614, 616, 617, 637, 638, 639, 672, 686.
Charwah; 536.
Chatsoo; 476, 477.
Chatta Singh; 686.
Cheda; 617.
Cheepa Barode; 666.
Chelout; 518.
Chenooni; 606.
Chester; 13.
Chhabra; 478, 498.
Chhatarpur; 4, 15, 138, 245, 252, 347, 349, 517, 518, 609, 618, 638, 641, 643, 653, 654, 657, 658, 659, 660.
Chhatarsal; 245.
Chhatar Singh; ii, 209, 229, 265, 287, 288, 301, 372, 374, 606, 623, 632, 653, 654, 655, 656.
Chhattisgarh; 498.
Chhedu Kunwar; 59.
Chhipaner; 518.
Chhota Udaipur; 539, 540, 544, 548, 588.
Chhickulda; 547.
Chikla; 588.
Chilla Tara; 215, 248, 260, 354, 363, 364, 365, 380.
Chimman Rao; 459.
Chimna Rajah; 457.
China; 189.
Chindwara (Chhindwara); 519, 525, 526, 527, 531, 532, 533, 534, 537.
Chindwara Hills; 537.
Chintamun Bhow, General; 529
Chirgaon; 10, 13, 297, 348, 349, 350, 600.
Chirkaree; See Charkhari.
Chirki; 585.
Chirwaree; 305.
Chitor; 479, 489, 491, 492.
Chitrakot; 230, 238, 257, 262, 368, 372, 374.
Chobey Pur; 681.
Cholaira; 251.
Chomair; 315.
Chonee (Chunni); 17, 22.
Chok; 445.
Choudri Bhopal Singh; 584.
Chourasee Goombuz; 354, 372.
Chowdree Khait Singh; 222, 251.
Chowrani; 321.
Chowrasi; 321.
Chuha; 410.
Chukurnuggur; See Chakarnagar.
Chumar Khirkee; 296.

Chumbal; 127, 158, 171, 181, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 192, 193, 197, 204, 417, 420, 421, 424, 430, 433, 441, 471, 482, 483, 484, 485, 491, 493, 497, 499, 553, 572, 586, 649, 650, 676, 689.
Chunda; 519, 618.
Chundail, Pulwen Sing; 260.
Chundrapore; 519.
Churkhi; 446.
Churr; 515.
Chussolee; 427.
Chuttur Lal; 668.
Chynee; 485.
Clyde, Lord; 297, 663.
Cocks; 384.
Collier, Captain; 548.
Collins, Captain; 548, 550.
Company, Bombay Sappers and Miners; 314.
Company, Royal Engineers, 21st; 397, 401, 562.
Constantinople; 662.
Contingent Cavalry, 1st; 172.
Contingent Infantry, 1st; 172.
Contingent Infantry, 4th; 179.
Contingent Infantry, 5th; 159.
Contingent Infantry, 7th; 178.
Coopland, Mrs.; 183.
Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859; 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 497, 498, 648, 649.
Cornet, Goldsworthy; 437, 439.
Cosserat, Captain; 5, 85.
Couper, G.; 644.
Cragy, Lieutenant; 646.
Crawford; 9, 16, 113.
Cumming, Captain; 515.
Cutty Ghatty; See Kuty Ghatty.

Dabee Rao Hurkara (Devi Rao Harkara); 253.
Dabhaura; 261.
Dabla; 490.
Daboh; See Damoh.
Dafla; 490.
Dahgaon (Dahegaon); 410, 448.
Dajuba Bhoos Kootee; 149.
Dakunjoo; 657.
Dalhousie (Lord); iii.
Dalput; 553.
Dalput Singh; 251.
Dal Thummun Singh (Dulthmnson Sing); 261.
Damayanti; 139.
Damodar; 346.
Damodar Parusram; 259.
Damoh; 5, 77, 78, 81, 82, 92, 106, 111, 138, 139, 234, 263, 532.
Damoria; 514.
Damras; 5.
Danda; 114.
Dandautia (Dundowetteah); 186, 203.
Dangal Singh; 668.
Dapooree; 509.
Darigapur; 521.
Daryabad; 133.
Datia; 15, 35, 38, 40, 41, 50, 51, 52, 92, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224, 228, 245, 251, 263, 284, 292, 300, 347, 412, 422, 423, 602, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 676.
Daula Jeo; 52, 284, 291.
Daulat Rao Sindhia; vi.
Daulatpur; 215, 476, 477.
Daulat Singh, Kunwar; 377, 409, 420, 488, 585, 655, 656, 657, 659, 660.
Dausa; 588, 676.
Davidson, Lieutenant Colonel; 521, 665.
Davies, R. M; 678.
Davis, Major; 656.
Dayle, Lieutenant; 675.
De Celto, Lieutenant; 570.
Debi Sahai; 134.
Debi Singh; 18, 26, 653, 657, 658, 660.
Debi, Sipahi; 133.
Debidin, Captain; 134.
Deccangunj; 521.
Deccan; 300, 693.
Dedwara Bahadurpura; 626.
Deengurthal; 479.

Degora; 514.
Deirgurh; 668.
Dekhooa; 482.
Delawar Khan; 574.
Delhi; 8, 10, 12, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 48, 66, 69, 70, 75, 90, 108, 109, 110, 118, 121, 129, 130, 132, 146, 148, 150, 157, 158, 162, 163, 172, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180, 182, 184, 187, 189, 190, 191, 194, 202, 240, 300, 350, 351, 352, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 366, 367, 368, 369, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 382, 412, 413, 415, 419, 423, 426, 444, 466, 476, 477, 502, 507, 508, 509, 524, 531, 538, 543, 545, 547, 554, 560, 564, 565, 566, 567, 580, 582, 583, 590, 616, 617, 661, 662, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 675, 677, 678, 679, 680, 684, 685, 690.
Dennehy, T. Captain; 263, 287, 288, 300, 301, 351, 366, 367, 368, 369, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 677.
Deogarh; 488, 606, 673.
Deogarh Bari; 588, 589.
Deokee Nundun (Deoki Nandan); 39.
Deokhari; 487.
Deoli; 478, 486, 487.
Deolia; 488, 489.
Deopoora; 444.
Deora Sagar; 413.
Desh Pat; 533, 534, 609, 615, 616, 623, 625, 626, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 647, 653, 659.
Deshpat, Divan; 120, 121, 245, 295, 305, 585.
Dessan; See Dhasan.
Devi Prashad (Davee Persaud); 259.
Dewar; 498, 684.
Dewas; 104, 127, 142, 145, 518.
Dewhatti; 548.
Dhamobe Ghaut; 349.
Dhamna; 6.
Dhamoni; 255, 256.
Dhanuk Dharee; 289.
Dhar; 104, 118, 127, 147, 148, 542, 568.
Dharanagari; 157.
Dhasan; i, ii, 10, 256, 289, 599, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 607, 622, 625, 630, 631, 632, 642, 654, 655, 656.
Dhikoli; 13.
Dhipree Ghat; 482.
Dhir Singh; 232, 236, 239, 240, 286, 287, 288, 300, 301, 351, 366, 367, 374, 375.
Dhiraj Singh; 232, 301, 372, 373, 374.
Dhobin Antnair; 534.
Dhokul Sing, Thakoor; 456.
Dholpur; 127, 131, 157, 166, 183, 413, 417, 419, 420, 421, 424, 426, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 440, 441, 442, 443, 455, 456, 461, 462, 471, 472, 473, 481, 493, 495, 496, 497, 648, 649.
Dhomsay, Dajeeba; 591.
Dhonda Khan; 480.
Dhora; 348, 370.
Dhousa; 189.
Dhovakur; 252.
Dhoyree; 648.
Dhurwai; 601.
Diapoora; 391, 392, 393.
Dick, Lieutenant; 157.
Dildar; 21.
Dinara; 350, 352.
Dinkar Rao Diwan; 409, 413, 423, 428, 448, 466.
Dirk, Lieutenant; 323.
Doab; 380, 663.
Dogore; 513.
Doharkand; 52.
Dohud; 540, 550.
Dohund; 549.
Dokrai; 673.
Dola, Thakoor; 21, 217.
Donald Grant, Mr.; 113.
Dongra; 219.
Doodan Said (Saiyid); 149.
Doonduree; 265.
Doorga Purshad Lalla (Lala Durga Prasad); 253.

Doorga (Durga) Singh Jamadar; 259.
Doorgabaee; 595.
Doosawannee; 527, 533, 535.
Double, Mr.; 106, 109.
Douglas; 336.
Dowker, Lieutenant; 324, 335.
Dowlut Ram; 228.
Dowlut Singh; 86.
Dowlutpoor; 478.
Dragoons, 14th; 463, 465.
Dubhooee; 545.
Dubhoree; 544.
Duboh; 601.
Dudinewaj, river; 303.
Dukrani; vi.
Dularey Lal (Doolary Lall); 223.
Duleep Singh, Lalla; 252, 255.
Dum, Captain; 272.
Dumoh; 76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 382, 516.
Dungar Shah; 423.
Dungarpur 550, 552.
Dunlop; 3, 8, 18, 24, 29, 30, 31, 39.
Durand, H. M., Colonel; 104, 105, 142, 146, 147, 148, 150, 153, 155.
Durga Persad; 102.
Durgavati, Rani, 135.
Duriakhera; 673.
Durjan Singh; 622.
Durjore; 665.
Durryawnd; 552.
Durwaza, Ranee; 31, 33.
Duttia; See Datia.
Dysort, G. S.; 547.

East India Company; 49.
East Indies; 62, 75, 103.
Eden, Captain; 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 493, 494.
Edmonstone, G. F.; 14, 70, 71, 83, 138, 153, 155, 165, 306, 307, 345, 346, 369, 372, 373, 376, 377, 378, 380, 382, 383, 385, 386, 410, 411, 429, 445, 495, 496, 497, 499, 507, 508, 510, 511, 512, 514, 515, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 523, 524, 539, 546, 564, 566, 611, 612, 613, 614, 617, 648, 649, 662, 665, 672.
Edwards, Lieutenant; 271, 276, 401.
Eesagarh; See Isagarh.
Elcock, General; 277.
Ellichpur; 521, 527, 535, 538.
Ellis, Major; 71, 91, 94, 234, 244, 246, 368, 613, 615, 618.
Elphinstone; 435, 440, 442, 509.
Emam Ali; 586.
England; iv, 525, 582, 662.
Ensign Fowler; 336.
Erachh (Erichh, Irrich); 13, 656.
Erskine, W. C., Major; 8, 14, 64, 70, 71, 75, 76, 78, 135, 136, 137, 234.
Esagarh; See Isagarh.
Esanuggur; 289, 294.
Etawah; 5, 85, 127, 129, 172, 180, 264, 265, 378, 413, 417, 418, 419, 421, 424, 431, 433, 488, 675.
Etawah Column; 378, 379, 423.
Etmadpur, 24.
Etowa; 390.
Etowrah; 90.
Etunda; 577.
European Regiment, 3rd; 332, 333.
Ewaz Ali, Mohd; 622, 623.

Farukhabad; 237, 265, 327, 365.
Farukhabad, Nawab; 629.
Farzand Ali; 659.
Fatehgarh; 214, 378, 658, 664.
Fatehpur; 118, 123, 215, 234, 636, 684, 688.
Fatehpur Chaurasi; 683, 684, 692.
Fattyabad; 267, 273,
Fawcet, Lieutenant; 495.
Fazal Ahmad; 89.
Fenton; 511.
Fenwick; 273.
Ferozepoor; 490.
Field, Captain; 317, 318, 319.
Filose, Captain; 456.
Firoz Shah, Shahzada; 53, 141, 146, 148, 150, 151, 152, 191, 227, 267, 270, 272, 276, 479, 526, 527, 557, 588, 589, 657, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 668, 669, 670, 671, 676, 677, 679, 680, 689, 692.

Fleming; 45.
Foot, 71st; 463.
Foot, 86th; 463.
Foot, 95th; 462.
Forbes; 269, 335, 396.
Foreign Department Abstract N. W. P.; 516, 517, 520.
Foreign Department Proceedings, Financial B; 671, 675.
Foreign Department Telegram; 662.
Foreign Political Consultations; 163, 166, 212, 289, 291, 292, 325, 547, 616, 619, 670.
Foreign Political Proceedings; 211, 214, 221, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240, 247. 248, 249, 250, 254, 257, 260, 261, 263, 266, 272, 273, 275, 276, 277, 280, 283, 287, 288, 300, 301, 351, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 367, 368, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 419, 444, 466, 502, 508, 509, 531, 538, 543, 545, 554, 560, 564, 565, 566, 567, 582, 617, 667, 671, 677, 678, 679.
Foreign Political Proceedings (Supplement); 293.
Foreign Secret Consultations; 149, 216, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 228, 250, 254, 255, 256, 263, 286. 295, 297, 300, 308, 350, 352, 356, 371, 377, 378, 382, 412, 413, 423, 426, 507, 524, 662, 668, 672.
Foreign Secret Proceedings; 214, 308, 350, 366.
Forrest; 45, 46, 128, 148, 409. 412, 654.
Forting; 271.
Fort William; 64, 70, 153, 155, 524, 670, 677, 678, 679.
Freeling; 113, 604, 618, 619, 624, 625, 629, 638.
Fox, Lieutenant; 323.
Francis; 57, 277.
Further Papers relative to Mutinies in the East Indies; 68, 104, 106, 107, 132, 158, 159, 160, 257, 258, 308, 347, 380, 384, 385, 409, 410, 411, 422, 435, 440, 610, 611.
Futtehpore; 115.
Fuzulolla Khan; 490.
Fuzzul Haq, Moulvie; 676.
Fyz Ali; 17.

Gadheri; 111.
Gadra; 253.
Gaekwar; 539, 543, 545, 549, 593.
Gagraun; 553, 687.
Gajadhar; 348.
Gajja Raja; 456.
Gajsutra; 368.
Gall; 314, 327, 334, 389, 399, 404, 405.
Gambhir; 479.
Gandharva Singh; 368.
Ganesh Bhatt Mahratta; 615, 617.
Ganesh Brahman; 680, 689.
Ganesh Darwaza; 33.
Ganesh Jeo; 56, 284, 285, 291, 623.
Ganesh Ji; vii, viii, 352, 557.
Ganesh Rao; 52.
Ganesh, Sipahi; 133.
Ganesh Thakur; 615, 617, 618.
Ganesh Tiwari; 133.
Ganeshee Lall; 227, 422.
Ganga; 226.
Ganga Baee; 595.
Ganga Deen; 116.
Ganga Dhar 38, 290, 356, 374, 455, 485, 676.
Ganga Dhar Bhaiya; 51, 52, 53, 55, 60, 63, 67, 69, 285, 286, 299.
Ganga Dhar Punt; 272.
Ganga Dhar Rao; iii, iv, 292.
Ganga Sahai; 116.
Ganga Singh; 134, 421, 423, 424, 435, 648, 649.
Ganga Singh, Thakur; 589.
Gangapoor; 490.
Ganges; 74, 127, 128, 152, 174, 225, 246, 308, 384, 387, 583, 584, 585, 592, 663, 664, 665, 675, 681, 684, 685, 691.
Gangrone; 494.
Ganpat; 624.
Ganput Rao (Gunput Rao); 150, 252, 256.
Gardener, Colonel; 674.
Garha-Kota; ii, iii, 251, 302.

Garhamandla; 135.
Garhi-amapani; 53.
Garotha; 9, 10, 51, 62, 252, 350, 352, 353, 356, 412, 413, 493, 497, 599, 601, 623, 656.
Garrauli Jagir; ii.
Gauri Shankar Shukul; 364, 447, 685, 693.
Gawilgarh; 521.
Gaya; 175.
Gaya Prasad; 624.
Gaytri Paltan; 209, 685.
Ghadamau; 233, 234, 237, 240, 265, 287, 288, 300, 301, 366, 367, 368, 369, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376.
Ghan Garaj; 50.
Ghatampur; 257.
Ghatrma; 346.
Ghatwar; vii.
Ghauspoor; 674
Ghokolee; 493.
Ghour; 481.
Ghunsi; 478.
Gibbon, Lieutenant; 570, 571, 579.
Ginjee; 654.
Gird Gwalior; 223, 252, 260, 284, 288, 426, 601.
Giroli; 638, 643, 654, 657, 658, 660.
Girwan; 233.
Gobind; 589.
Godawari (Godavery); 189.
Godra; 487, 540, 541, 550.
Godse, Vishnu Bhatt; 11, 468.
Gogal; 562.
Gohad; 35, 253, 418, 612, 626, 627.
Gohani; 625.
Gond; 673.
Gonowlee; 483.
Goojeenee; 147.
Goolzar Khan; 21.
Gooman; 285.
Goorwaiea; 557.
Gopalpur; 40, 41, 446, 488, 585.
Gopal Rao; 35, 40, 54, 219, 221, 363, 364.
Gopal Rao Pandit; 54, 55.
Gopal Sharan; 364.
Gopal Sing; 633, 634.
Gordon; ii, iv, viii, 1, 5, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 57, 63, 67, 68, 71, 72, 80, 109, 110, 111, 112, 271, 274, 276, 317, 523.
Gosset, Lieutenant; 276.
Goverdhun; 488.
Government Gazette North Western Provinces; 305, 313.
Gowree Sunkur Abustee (Awasthi); 365, 676.
Grand Deccan Road; 139.
Grand Trunk Road; 684.
Grant; 115, 116, 117.
Griffiths; 11, 97, 632.
Gudranath; 253.
Gudrolee; 289.
Guhrwassa; 478.
Gujerat; 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 548, 569, 587, 663.
Gulam Gaus Khan (Ghulam Ghaus Khan); 52, 300.
Gulam Khuda Bux Kour (Goolam Khuda Bux Kour); 36.
Gulam Maheeooddeen; 151.
Gulam Mahomed; 21.
Gulauli; 313, 377, 379, 383, 386, 389, 390, 391, 392, 395, 396, 397, 444, 445, 446.
Guman Singh; 141.
Guna (Gunah); 73, 135, 256, 263, 313, 314, 382, 395, 496, 501, 502, 508, 509, 510, 565, 566, 665, 666, 673.
Gunajee Khanna; 38.
Gungadhur Narine (Narain); 368.
Gunga Persad, Moonshee; 579.
Gunjari; 300.
Gur Bakhsh Misra; 24.
Guraria; 150.
Gurdaspur; 690.
Gurgaon; 472, 474, 490, 687.
Guronda; 351.
Gurowee; 499.
Gursarai; 9, 10, 13, 62, 84, 86, 88, 91, 93, 94, 97, 103, 107, 109, 196, 294, 295, 297, 318, 347, 348, 350, 353, 371, 559, 601, 655, 656.
Gurwari; 605.

Gwalior; v, vi, 3, 5, 15, 35, 36, 40, 51, 56, 83, 84, 87, 92, 93, 96, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 127, 128, 132, 133, 134, 135, 139, 140, 143, 148, 149, 150, 155, 157, 159, 160, 162, 165, 167, 169, 170, 173, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 209, 210, 218, 222, 223, 224, 250, 252, 253, 260, 261, 288, 289, 290, 293, 294, 295, 296, 300, 303, 350, 353, 358, 359, 365, 370, 371, 376, 382, 386, 387, 388, 405, 407, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 456, 457, 458, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 466 471, 473, 477, 479, 480, 483, 484, 486, 488, 494, 495, 498, 500, 506, 507, 509, 510, 513, 514, 515, 524, 542, 543, 557, 558, 567, 568, 569, 571, 577, 578, 584, 585, 586, 587, 590, 591, 593, 594, 595, 596, 599, 602, 603, 604, 606, 612, 620, 622, 647, 649, 650, 653, 655, 657, 658, 660, 663, 666, 668, 674, 678, 680, 686, 687, 689.

Gwalior Contingent; ii, 93, 97, 227, 404, 446, 464, 474, 481, 495, 577, 654.

Gwalior Contingent (6th Regiment); 72, 132, 146, 150, 166, 168, 209, 313, 320, 322.

Gwalior Contingent, Horse; 456.

Gwalior Light Railway; 179.

Gwalior State Gazetteer; 3, 5, 35, 36, 40, 51, 87, 128, 135, 139, 143, 148, 149, 150, 179, 186, 191 196, 209, 222, 223, 235, 250, 252, 253, 254, 260, 288, 289, 290, 293, 294, 295, 303, 350, 353, 365, 382, 412, 417, 425, 426, 430, 431, 432, 434, 441, 442, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 601.

Gyrulghur; 675.

Hallole; 550.

Halwaipura; 339.

Hameer Singh, Rao; 653, 657.

Hamilton; viii, 14, 20, 104 109 143, 165, 166, 227, 293, 297, 298, 299, 307, 309, 310, 314, 321, 333, 337, 346, 373, 377, 379, 380, 383, 405, 413, 414, 432, 435, 441, 442, 443, 445, 457, 459, 463, 465, 490, 491, 500, 512, 517, 519, 521, 523, 524, 546, 547, 551, 559, 560, 561, 565, 566, 611, 612, 615, 616, 617, 647, 661, 671, 677, 679.

Hamirpur; i, iii, 5, 6, 90, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 215, 216, 218, 220, 234, 235, 257, 294, 306, 345, 346, 362, 363, 365, 380, 384, 385, 600, 604, 606, 607, 612, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 624, 627, 628, 629, 631, 632, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 644, 645, 653, 654, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662.

Hamirpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*; 613, 614, 615, 619, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627.

Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records; 600, 603, 605, 618, 619, 620, 622, 628, 629, 631, 634, 636, 638, 640, 643, 644, 645, 647, 663.

Hamirpur District Gazetteer; 6, 120, 216, 226, 235, 256, 294, 629, 632.

Hamirpur Field Detachment; 630.

Hamir Singh; ii.

Hampton, Major; 514.

Hanburry, Lieutenant; 495.

Hanoman Singh; 4.

Haojrah; 265.

Har Singh Dev; 15.
Harauta; 623.
Harbans Rai; 623.
Hardari; 370, 371.
Hardeo Singh; 57.
Harding, Lieutenant; 438.
Hardwar; 691.
Hare, Captain; 329, 335, 391, 402.
Hari Mohan; 116.
Harpalpur; 15, 234, 252, 255.
Hart, Colonel; 522.
Hasan Fatehpur; 584.
Hathras; 172, 181.
Havelock; 115, 190, 595.
Hawkins, Captain; 130, 182.
Hawthorne, Lieutenant; 656.
Hawthorne, Lieutenant; 656.
Hedjaj; 670.
Helbert, Captain; 547, 567.
Heming; 106, 109.
Hencage, Captain; 437, 438, 439.
Hennessey; 645, 646, 659.
Henry; 132, 172, 271, 565.
Henry Ki Pultun; 320.
Herat; 662.
Herbert; 521, 664.
Hicks, Colonel; 439.
Highlanders, 72nd; 492.
Hilbook, Captain; 546.
Hill; 133, 526, 527.
Hilliard, Captain; 630, 632, 653.
Himmutghur; 432, 433.
Hindaun; 473, 474, 477, 484.
Hindes, Colonel; 655.
Hindu Pat, Rajah; 162, 211.
Hindu Sing; 259.
Hindupat; ii, 163, 634.
Hindustan; 226, 227, 445.
Hingan, Sheikh; 32.
Hingona; 417, 430, 432.
Hira Lal; 430.
Hira Singh; 258, 358, 360, 433.
Hirapoor; 251.
Hirdey Brahman; 617, 618.
Hirgorah; 185.
H. M.'s 32nd (Regiment); 612.
H. M.'s High Land Light Infantry, 71st; 314.
H. M.'s Lancers, 17th; 568.
H. M.'s Light Dragoons; 318.
H. M.'s Light Dragoons, 14th; 147, 303, 316, 317, 319, 334, 389, 397, 404.
H. M.'s Light Infantry, 43rd; 630, 631.
H. M.'s Regiment, 80th; 400.
H. M.'s Regiment, 85th; 333.
H. M.'s Regiment, 86th; 86, 147, 269, 270, 271, 272, 274, 275, 279, 313, 316, 336, 396.
H. M. Regiment, 91st; 538.
H. M.'s Regiment, 95th; 437.
Holkar; 104, 105, 127, 140, 141, 143, 144, 148, 187, 191, 557, 587, 593.
Holkar's Troops (Holkar's Force); 146, 189.
Holmes; 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 489, 490, 491.
Hope, Colonel; 496.
Horat; 516.
Hoshangabad; 519, 526, 532, 533, 568, 569, 674, 675.
Hoshiarpur; 690.
Hosht Guddee; 348.
Howra; 514.
Hulooa; 642.
Hukerpore; 307.
Humayun; 150, 151, 156.
Hume, Mr.; 675.
Humeed-oo-Zuman; 90.
Humeer Sing, Rao; 657, 658, 660.
Hungerford, Captain; 105, 140, 143, 144.
Hunivanteea; 284.
Hunter, Captain; 550, 662
Hurdowi; 388.
Hurnath; 456.
Huroo; 511, 517.
Hussars, 8th; 437, 438, 462, 492, 495.
Hussun Alli Khan(Hasan Ali Khan); 296.
Hutchinson, Captain; 143, 435, 547, 551.
Hutchinson, Mrs.; 143.
Huttee Sing; 558.
Huttiah; 664.
Hyderabad; 304, 391, 393, 397, 521, 525, 527, 529, 538, 665, 681, 691.

Hyderabad Cavalry; 147, 313, 314 403, 404, 466.
Hyderabad Cavalry, 3rd; 399, 405.
Hyderabad Cavalry Flying Camps; 333.
Hyderabad Contingent; 332, 599.
Hyderabad Infantry; 335.

Ibrahim; 662.
Icha Sing; 229.
Ichhawar; 518.
Imam Ali; 589, 693.
Imilia; 633.
Imperial Gazetteer of India; 15, 25, 138, 139, 197, 417, 472, 476, 478, 479, 481, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 491, 496, 498, 519, 520, 521, 522, 531, 532, 533, 540, 542, 544, 549, 550, 551, 553, 601, 606, 607, 608, 611, 637, 647, 648, 666, 667, 668, 684, 687, 688, 690.
Indargarh; 483, 586, 588.
Inder Singh; 459.
India; 60, 69, 70, 83, 88, 144, 147, 212, 213, 217, 298, 307, 309, 380, 387, 388, 395, 424, 478, 525, 531, 554, 564, 565, 567, 569, 570, 571, 618, 648, 661, 662, 669, 670, 671, 672, 675, 677, 678.
Indoorkee; 86, 92, 409, 410, 411, 417, 420, 421, 423, 426, 427, 460, 488, 586, 656.
Indoorkee Ghat; 425.
Indore; 51, 74, 103, 104, 105, 127, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 153, 155, 158, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 204, 300, 314, 382, 435, 490, 500, 507, 515, 517, 521, 524, 532, 547, 566, 567, 591, 593, 668, 669, 674, 688.
Indore Darbar; 103.
Indore Residency; 523, 578.
Indore State; 104.
Indore State Gazetteer; 105, 142, 156, 377.
Indurgurh; 483, 676.
Infantry, 2nd; 130.
Infantry, 7th; 150, 178.
Ingoi, 106,
Irregular Cavalry, 3rd; 77, 633.
Irregular Cavalry, 5th; 388, 445, 446, 449, 454, 463, 586, 589, 677.
Irregular Cavalry, 12th; 676.
Irregular Cavalry, 14th; 9, 12, 42, 43, 62, 71, 97, 113.
Irregular Cavalry, 31st; 77.
Irregular Cavalry, 42nd; 77.
Irwin, Captain; 109.
Isagarh; 51, 150, 235, 252, 263, 289, 365, 382, 586, 587, 665, 688.
Ishri Bajpai; 433.
Ishwari; 134.
Ishwari Prasad; 547.
Ishwari Singh; 623.
Ismail Mahommad; 6.
Itaura; 87.
Itawa; 235, 587.
Itwa; 235.

Jabalpur; 8, 12, 50, 51, 52, 64, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 234, 244, 245, 284, 501, 502, 516, 519, 526, 527, 532, 534.
Jacha Singh, Subadar; 258.
Jacklone; 502, 504, 517, 587, 606, 673.
Jackson, Lieutenant; 13.
Jadu Kunwar (Jadoo Koowur); 285.
Jagat Raj; 623.
Jagmanpur; 41, 92, 215, 265, 377.
Jagu Raja; 603.
Jahangir Khan; 184, 185, 186.
Jahazpur; 486, 489.
Jai Dayal; 419, 433.
Jai Kunwar; 56.
Jaipur; 187, 197, 258, 436, 443, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 480, 481, 482, 484, 485, 487, 491, 492, 493, 494, 557, 576, 585, 647, 667, 676, 679, 687, 689, 690.
Jai Singh (Kunwar); iii.
Jaitpur; i, iii, 119, 120, 121, 234, 256, 288, 294, 305, 625, 629, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 639, 640, 644, 653, 654, 655, 657, 658, 660.
Jakhlaun; vi, vii.
Jakhaura; 601.
Jakholi; 106.

Jaklon; 250, 306.
Jalalpur; 120, 135, 136, 137, 215, 216, 249, 365, 369, 370, 380, 390, 393, 397, 398, 402, 403, 444, 620, 628.
Jalaun; i, iii, 5, 11, 40, 41, 60, 62, 65, 76, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 120, 158, 160, 194, 195, 196, 215, 217, 218, 220, 223, 224, 230, 246, 247, 259, 265, 306, 308, 318, 346, 347, 353, 355, 358, 365, 370, 377, 379, 380, 381, 402, 405, 420, 423, 445, 446, 488, 585, 599, 601, 604, 606, 620, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661.
Jalaun District Gazetteer; 5, 6, 40, 41, 87, 91, 92, 106, 215, 217, 265.
Jalaun District Mutiny Records; 661.
Jalgaon; 521.
Jalit; 489.
Jallai (Jullai); 477, 478.
Jalna; 538.
Jamai (Jamye); 527, 529, 530, 533, 536.
Jamaloodeen, Molwee; 151.
Jamboogbora; 519.
Jameson, Lt. Col.; 73.
Jamieson, T. W.; 79.
Jamoo Bhaeea (Jamoo Bhaiya); 252, 284, 297, 608.
Jamuna; 678, 680, 690.
Jamna Bhaiea; Same as Jamoo or Jamoo Bhaiya.
Jamnie; 512.
Jamud; 435.
Janardan Rao; 257, 258.
Jangjit; 622.
Jankie Persad; 365.
Janoo Koowar (Jann Kunwar); 20, 22, 27, 28, 49, 52, 54, 56, 59.
Janow Bhaeea; 297, 350.
Jaora Alipur; 443, 465, 586.
Jasood; 591.
Jaswantpur; 606.
Jatara; iii.
Jata Shankar; 382.
Jaulumpore; 308.
Jaura; 430, 432, 542.
Jawahar Singh; vii, viii, 35, 52, 55, 56, 281, 290, 291, 293, 346, 352, 604.
Jawala Persad; 584, 685.
Jawud; 150, 155, 489, 492.
Jeddah; 670, 671.
Jeengunge; 422.
Jeenjhun; 121, 635, 641, 642, 647, 658.
Jeithore; 514.
Jenkins, Major; 79.
Jeoraha; 119.
Jeremiah; 113, 117.
Jessa Singh; 683.
Jewara; 148, 254, 288.
Jey Deen Singh; 18, 26.
Jey Singh; 18, 26.
Jhajpoor; 486, 489.
Jhalasar; 197.
Jhalawar, 687.
Jhalra Patan; 469, 484, 493, 494, 496, 497, 499, 543, 544, 553, 557, 586, 687, 688, 693.
Jhandu Kunwar; 59.
Jhansi; i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 35, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 83, 84, 86, 88, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, 106, 107, 108, 112, 113, 119, 158, 159, 160, 165, 166, 174, 179, 180, 182, 194, 210, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 231, 247, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256, 263, 264, 283, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 305, 306, 308, 309, 314, 320, 326, 330, 336, 338, 339, 340, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 356, 358, 359, 370, 371, 384, 389, 393, 394, 396, 409, 411, 412, 418, 427, 430, 435, 437, 438, 447, 461, 462, 480, 488, 502, 507, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 516, 517, 518, 544, 571, 574, 576, 585, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 610, 619, 620, 622, 628, 631, 635, 636, 637,

638, 644, 645, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 660, 661, 667, 676, 686, 693 694.
Jhansi Baee; See Lakshmi Bai, Rani.
Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*; 604, 606, 607, 608, 610, 678.
Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny Bundle; 603.
Jhansi Collectorate Mutiny Records; 347.
Jhansi District Gazetteer; 9, 10, 11, 13, 58, 94, 108, 150, 219, 252, 253, 256, 263, 291, 297, 512, 601, 606.
Jhansi Ranee; See Lakshmi Bai,Rani.
Jhansi Ranee Sahib; See Lakshmi Bai, Rani.
Jhareewah; 668.
Jharoo Cumar; 44, 59.
Jhokun Bagh; 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 33, 34, 40, 41, 46, 50, 63, 112.
Jhooi; 665.
Jhujar Singh; vii, 241.
Jhullode; 540, 541, 542.
Jhuseewallah; 181.
Jigni; 315, 435, 455, 607.
Jigua; 607.
Jilpy Annair; 526.
Jinjhan; 641.
Jinnawar; 641, 642.
Jodhpur; 491.
Johan, Brigadier; 543.
Johar Singh; 256, 285.
Johnstone; 684.
Jokeliare; 139.
Jola; 582.
Jonwardan Rao; 257.
Joojhar Sing (Jujhar Singh); 241.
Joorah (Jaura); 139, 148, 156.
Joonea; 485.
Joorawun; 654.
Joorun; 635, 643, 655.
Joura; 551.
Jowla; 478.
Jubundun; 115.
Juffaon; 675.
Jugdeespore; 93.
Jugmohunpore; 381.
Jugmunpore Ghat; 265.
Jujhar Singh; vii, 241.
Julapore; 215.
Jules, Sergeant; 133.
Jullai; 478, 480, 481.
Jullundur; 690.
Julwar; 592.
Julwauna; 546.
Jumna; i, iii, 41, 74, 115, 120, 127, 159, 196, 214, 215, 218, 220, 234, 246, 247, 265, 321, 354, 363, 377, 378, 379, 382, 383, 384, 385, 387, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 395, 396, 398, 402, 403, 405, 409, 423, 424, 444, 445, 446, 493, 664, 675, 676.
Jumnee; 514.
Junnoo Bhaiya (Bhave); 251, 252, 623.
Juspoora; 380.
Jwala Prasad; 684.
Jwalaji; 690.
Jyagee; 554.
Jymunwunt Rao, Rajah; 529.

Kabrai; 6, 603.
Kabul; 240, 662.
Kachhwagarh; 359.
Kachola; 490.
Kagdi, Stream; 541.
Kahoo Tehree; 330.
Kahree Singh (Kehri); 38.
Kaimur, Scarp; 262.
Kaintree Ghat; 185, 186.
Kairwa; 284, 291.
Kaisar Singh; 588.
Kaitha; 353.
Kajuria; 587.
Kakajee; 261.
Kakerbeta; 623.
Kakoopoor; 592.
Kakwara; 607.
Kala Kankar; 584.
Kalaras; 300.
Kale; 659.
Kali Sind; 553.
Kalka; 690.
Kalka Prasad; 134.
Kalingar; 4, 161, 233.
Kalley Khan; 512.
Kallu Khan; 62.
Kallu, Sheikh; 57.

Kalol; 487, 550.
Kalpi; 54, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 107, 112, 119, 122, 133, 135, 158, 159, 195, 196, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 220, 222, 225, 230, 235, 237, 242, 245, 247, 257, 263, 266, 297, 305, 306, 307, 308, 313, 314, 318, 319, 320, 321, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 358, 359, 360, 363, 364, 365, 366, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 375, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 401, 402, 403, 404, 409, 410, 411, 417, 418, 420, 421, 422, 423, 429, 432, 443, 444, 445, 446, 450, 460, 466, 574, 584, 585, 586, 599, 601, 603, 618, 664, 684, 685, 686, 692.
Kalpi Column; 426.
Kamasin; 248.
Kampta; 240.
Kamptee; 72, 73, 75, 79, 83, 526, 527, 532, 534, 535, 538.
Kamraj; 449.
Kamta Nath; 230.
Kamta Pershad; 58, 351, 366.
Kanar; 41.
Kanauj; 663.
Kangar; 641.
Kangra; 680, 690.
Kanhan, river; 532.
Kanpur; i, ii, 5, 6, 10, 13, 15, 26, 27, 28, 61, 65, 82, 87, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 107, 109, 117, 118, 120, 133, 134, 158, 159, 181, 189, 190, 194, 195, 196, 204, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 220, 237, 250, 251, 297, 302, 307, 308, 345, 369, 373, 382, 383, 395, 409, 445, 452, 554, 566, 567, 570, 571, 573, 575, 582, 583, 584, 585, 595, 596, 658, 663, 664, 678, 684, 692.
Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*; 557.
Kanpur District Court Mutiny Records; 102, 210.
Kanwas district; 553.
Kanwur Haree; 425.
Kapasun; 492.
Kapoo Tekri; 327.
Kapoora; 548.
Karai; 517.
Karak Bijli (Karhak Bijli); 22,28,50.
Karamat, Sheikh; 614.
Karera; 3, 24, 30, 51, 60, 349, 350, 352, 447, 510, 511, 656.
Karim Ulla Khan (Kureemoollah Khan); 259.
Karkarey; 339.
Karnal; 690.
Karwi; 230, 248.
Kashgar; 662.
Kashi; 340, 593.
Kashi Nath (Kashee Nath); 39, 40, 56, 63, 286, 288, 289, 290, 297.
Kashi Nath Bhaiya; 51, 53, 56, 253, 603, 607, 608.
Kashi Nath Hari (Hurree); 285, 290, 292.
Kashi Nath, Pandit; 622, 623.
Kashipur (Kasheepoor); 256, 624, 625, 632, 634.
Kashmir; 678, 680, 690.
Kasim Aly; 455.
Kasseesun; 492.
Kastulla; 482.
Katailee; 352.
Kataria; 492.
Kataura; 110.
Katha; 624.
Kathehrawala; 58, 59.
Kathgarh; 484.
Kathiawar; 548, 549, 550, 551, 569.
Kathra; 623.
Kathura; 57, 58.
Katiawala; 52.
Katighati; See Kuty Ghaty.
Katighati Gate; vi.
Katni; 139.
Kayet; 293.
Keatinge, Captain; 521.
Keating, Captain; vi, 147, 267, 270, 276, 277, 524, 546.
Kechlepore; 499.
Kemdev; 174.
Ken; i, 215, 658.

Kerchiff; 13.
Kerowlee; 157, 430, 433, 436, 441, 471, 472, 473, 475, 477, 481, 482, 485, 647, 660, 687.
Kerr, Lieutenant; 518, 568, 675.
Keshaw Bhatt Mondavgane; 338.
Kesho Ram; 100.
Kesho Rao; 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 109, 601.
Kesho Rao Luggur; 453, 458.
Kesree (Kesri); 36.
Khadim Husain; 363.
Khairwa; 352.
Khait Singh, Chandree; 225, 251, 255, 263.
Khajuraha; 622.
Khajuri; 688.
Khan Bahadur Khan; 412, 480, 481.
Khandesh; 104, 520, 531, 543, 544, 550, 558, 569, 668.
Khandwa; 25, 148, 150, 521.
Khanilasa; 251.
Khargon Basti; 587
Kharun, river; 498.
Khatali; 624.
Khera; 585.
Kherar; 666.
Khichi; 498.
Khichipur; 498.
Khichiwara; 498.
Khimlassa; 517, 518, 673.
Khooman Singh; 141, 219.
Khoorassa; 273.
Khoord (Khurd); 119.
Khooshee Ka Mahul; 267.
Khooshially; 578.
Khub Chand; 56.
Khuda Baksh (Khuda Bux); 40, 122, 363.
Khulla; 284.
Khuni Darwaza; vi.
Khurai; 216, 218, 223, 519
Khurshed Ali (Koorshaid Ali); 285.
Khurug Jeet Sing (Kharag Jit Singh); 423.
Khushali (or Khush Ali); 578.
Khwaja Sundal's tank; 354.
Khyra; 488.
Kichlepore; 499.
Kilwari; 588.
Kimhose; 377.
Kimlasa; 218.
Kindal; 524.
Kirat Sagar; vi.
Kirk, Dr.; 183.
Kirpa Ram; 122.
Kishangarh; 687.
Kishori Lall; 558.
Kishori Singh; 644.
Kolaras; 300.
Kolwar; 310, 311.
Komira; 514.
Kondar; 654.
Konkan; 468.
Kooaree; 650.
Koodaree; 90.
Kooer Singh; See Kunwar Singh
Kooksee; 547.
Koolpahar; 656.
Koonaria; 521.
Koomere; 657.
Koonderee; 482.
Koorai; 674.
Koorasee; 267.
Korai; 519.
Koseethul; 491.
Koshthipur; 341.
Kot Kasim; 687.
Kot Putli; 474.
Kotah; 188, 197, 258, 300, 313, 314, 382, 384, 388, 416, 419, 432, 433, 446, 477, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 487, 498, 553, 625, 647, 687.
Kotah Brigade; 371, 377, 386.
Kotah Contingent; 404, 495.
Kotah ke Sarai; 462, 463.
Kotgarh; 690.
Kothari; 491.
Kotra; 5, 217, 233, 289, 315, 347, 353, 586.
Kotra Ghat; 673.
Kotwar; 455.
Kotwara; 686.
Kova; 412.
Kovra; 252.
Krishn Rao; 458.
Kuchmardha (Kuchmardhar); 160.
Kuchnar Sarai; 508.
Kuchwa; 421.

Kuchwaghur (Kachhwagarh) 86, 92, 103, 180, 220.
Kuchwar Serai; 508, 509.
Kuchwaya Kharwala; 585.
Kuckubai; 631.
Kudoorah; 362.
Kudora; 348.
Kudowra; 119, 122.
Kuela; 604.
Kukarowlee; 491.
Kukraj; 481.
Kullcanpoor; 503, 505.
Kullooah; 116.
Kulpahar; i, 6, 120, 296, 629.
Kumara; 510.
Kumbhala Garh; 485.
Kumharsain; 690.
Kumira; 510, 514.
Kummod Singh; 294.
Kumona; 448.
Kumoogrie; 665.
Kunara; 41.
Kunch (Konch; Koonch); 40, 82, 91, 92, 103, 105, 106, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 347, 349, 351, 352, 353, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 379, 381, 388, 389, 401, 409, 444, 445, 585, 601, 608, 650, 686.
Kunchunpoor (Kanchanpur); 139.
Kundhear; 477.
Kundi; 688.
Kundula; 587.
Kunjal; 647.
Kunjulshah; 642.
Kunkrowlee; 676.
Kunwanah; 139.
Kunwar Singh; 93, 138.
Kurai; 518.
Kuraira; 295, 300, 309.
Kurara; 216.
Kurda; 521.
Kurrair; 477, 488.
Kurwai; 668.
Kushalgarh; 540, 542, 551.
Kutaira; 348.
Kutchwar Sarai; 500.
Kutta, pass; 138.
Kuty Ghaty; vi, 267, 268, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 279.
Lachhman Gir; 528.
Lachhman Rajput; 614, 617.
Lachhman Singh; 110, 476, 523, 644.
Lachman Dass, Pandit; 680, 690.
Lachora; 252.
Lackaria; 483.
Ladhera; 348.
Lagassee; 257.
Lahar; 5, 87, 173, 292, 353, 488.
Lahchura; 622.
Lahchura Ghat; 9, 252, 256, 632.
Lahore; 507, 521.
Lahore Light Horse; 612.
Lake of Dhamonee; 256.
Lakha (Lakhna) Tanoli; 617, 618.
Lakheri; 483, 484.
Lakshmi Bai, Rani; iv, 38, 61, 92, 93, 112, 160, 211, 223, 227, 228, 247, 341, 346, 353, 355, 368, 371, 377, 378, 379, 381, 384, 386, 387, 414, 416, 421, 422, 425, 427, 428, 435, 436, 441, 444, 446, 459, 462, 463, 467, 468, 488, 529, 530, 574, 576, 578, 585, 586, 608, 628, 686.
Lal Bahadur (Lall Bahadoor); 17, 22, 26, 28.
Lal Chand; 259.
Lal Muhammad; 134.
Lal Puri Gosain; 446.
Lall Dhurey (Dhari) Singh, Maharaj Konwur; 260.
Lalsoont; 474, 475 476, 477.
Lalitpur; i, ii, vii, 26, 34, 65, 72, 107, 108, 110, 112, 138, 179, 181, 190, 218, 219, 223, 250, 253, 256, 263, 291, 370, 421, 502, 503, 504, 506, 512, 514, 515, 516, 517, 587, 602, 606, 608, 609, 610, 654, 673, 688, 692-694.
Lalu Bakshi (Lalloo Bakshie); 37, 38, 48, 49, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 210, 223, 224, 251, 284, 285, 290, 292, 295, 297.
Lamb; 11, 60, 88, 103.
Lancers, 1st; 464.
Lancers, 19th; 551.
Larmah; 521
Laury, Lieutenant; 271.
Lawrence, John; 442, 507, 521, 665, 677.

Layard, Mr.; 83, 84.
Le Cocq, Lieutenant; 437, 439.
Lealgown (or Lealowa); 645.
Learmouth, Major ; 551, 674.
Leo; 507, 508.
Lewis; 270, 272, 279, 324, 336.
Liddell, Colonel; 394, 420, 511, 512, 513, 514, 516, 517, 518, 604, 654, 673.
Liddell's Column; 672.
Light Cavalry, 1st; 191.
Light Cavalry, 3rd; 335, 398.
Light Dragoons; 271.
Light Dragoons, 14th; 394, 399, 405.
Light Field Battery; 18, 318.
Light Field Battery, 4th.; 397, 400, 402.
Light Field Battery, 18th; 405.
Light Foot, Captain; 312, 315, 317, 402.
Lindsey, C. R.; 378, 664.
Lindwar; 515.
Little, Capt.; 266, 268, 270, 272, 278.
Lock, Brigadier General; 670.
Lockhart; 494, 496, 497, 498, 499, 524, 670.
Lodhora; 516.
Logassee; 638.
Loharu; 687.
Lohut; 309.
Loll Pandey (Lal Pandey), Soobedar, (Subedar); 259.
Lonail; 666.
Lonawarra; 541.
London; 83.
Lontalia; 666.
Low, Colonel; 271.
Lowth; 313, 316.
Loyd; 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 122.
Luchmun Punt, Nana; 447, 458.
Luchmun Rao; 37, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 63, 222, 285, 286, 297.
Luchman Rao Bhao; 250.
Luchora; 252, 632, 634.
Lucknow; 3, 4, 5, 18, 26, 60, 61, 62, 64, 103, 157, 170, 181, 188, 226, 227, 237, 265, 301, 321, 345, 346, 370, 372, 373, 376, 378, 379, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 410, 411, 412, 413, 420, 421, 423, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 440, 442, 443, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 524, 546, 547, 584, 609, 611, 612, 648, 649, 650, 662, 664, 665, 666, 683, 684.
Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta;* 133, 134, 135.
Ludhunter, Mr.; 498.
Ludlow, S. O. E.; 80.
Lukwa Aheer (Ahir); 488.
Lulloo Asharam, Foujdar; 591.
Lushkar; 87, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 412, 413, 416, 422, 424, 427, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 442, 448, 449, 453, 454, 458, 459, 461, 463, 464, 465, 467.
Lutchmen Gate; 293, 328.
Luxman; 595.

Maboodea; 560, 565.
MacDuff, Brigadier; 665.
MacInroy, Lieutenant; 654, 655.
MacLean, Captain; 108, 673, 675.
Machal Rai's Garden; 354.
Mackellar, Dr.; 182.
Mackenzie, Surgeon; 271.
MacMohan, Captain; 606.
Macnaughtan; 123.
Macpherson; 128, 129, 131, 133, 135, 157, 165, 166, 169, 185, 308, 413, 435, 442, 443, 444, 483, 484, 494, 495, 513, 557, 563, 565, 567, 593, 648, 649, 650, 666.
Madanpur; 303.
Madaora; 253, 256, 263, 291.
Madar Bux; 23, 32, 34, 38, 57, 60.
Madari Lal Bakht; 356.
Madho Pershad, Baboo; 632.
Madho Rao; 427, 500, 680.
Madho Rao Brahman; 690.
Madho Rao Hundey; 458.
Madhogarh; 87, 91, 92, 215, 236, 261, 265, 488.
Madhoorajpoora; 477.

Madhopur; 477, 481, 482, 586.
Madhorao Gulwute; 149.
Madras; 8, 72, 73, 75, 80, 81, 128, 290, 507, 521, 627, 653, 665.
Madras Column; 82, 83.
Madras Europeans, 3rd; 632.
Madras Horse; 500.
Madras Infantry; 73, 534.
Madras Irregular Cavalry; 73.
Madras Light Cavalry; 534.
Madras Native Infantry, 7th; 533.
Madras Native Infantry, 19th; 601, 654, 657.
Madras Native Infantry, 39th; 324.
Madras Native Infantry, 56th; 630, 631.
Madras Regiments; 164.
Madras Sappers and Miners; 323.
Magarwara; 607.
Magurdora; 254.
Magurpore; 349.
Maha Deo; 356, 690.
Mahadeo Shastri; 445.
Mahadji Baba Scindia; 468.
Mahagaon; 288, 294, 431.
Maharab Shah; 151.
Maharaja of Gwalior; 163.
Maharaja Sahib Peshwa Bahadoor; 213.
Maharajpur; 181.
Maharolee; 253.
Mahatgaon; 255.
Maheep Singh; 251, 658.
Maheywa; 288, 289, 294
Mahinder Singh, Rana; 265.
Mahma; 102.
Mahmoodabad; 675.
Mahoba; iii, 4, 6, 15, 119, 120, 294, 380, 628, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640.
Mahodra; 572.
Mahomed, See also Mohammad and Muhammad.
Mahomed Bey, Mirza; 662.
Mahomed Bux; 39, 40, 63.
Mahomed Eshaq; 363, 364, 377, 447, 457, 458.
Mahomed Ghur Bassoda; 674.
Mahomed Irak, Meer; 258.
Mahomed Kasim; 151.
Mahomed Nawab; 524.
Mahomed Sanah; 23.
Mahomed Wazeer Khan, Moulvie; 669.
Maholi; 219, 250.
Mahona; 377, 413, 418, 447, 460.
Mahoodra; 560.
Mahrolee; 412.
Mahroni; i, 253, 256, 291.
Mahudia; 557, 560 589.
Maihar; 13, 582.
Mainpuri; 384, 413, 417, 420, 650, 663.
Maizdy; 526.
Majhgawan; 247, 622.
Makhna Tanboli; 614.
Makrani; 56.
Maksudangarh; 668.
Malagarh; 19, 24, 27, 48, 148, 150.
Malhatta; 622.
Mailigaun; 538.
Malputa; 517.
Malthaun; 223, 250, 303, 382, 502, 515, 516, 518.
Malthone; 253.
Malwa; 104, 141, 142, 143, 146, 147, 148, 150, 189, 195, 196, 204, 258, 436, 438, 472, 476, 489, 498, 509, 521, 541, 542, 544, 551, 607, 668, 677, 687.
Malwa Bheel Corps; 547.
Malwa Contingent; 156.
Malwa Contingent Artillery; 156.
Mama Sahib; 20, 22, 39, 53, 54, 55, 56, 151, 284, 285, 288, 290, 297.
Mama Sahu; 289.
Mamoo Sahib; 334.
Man Singh; 218.
Mandalgarh; 487, 489.
Mandasor; 253.
Mandi; 690.
Mandleshwar; 147, 521, 523.
Mandu; 147.
Manga Tanboli; 618.
Mangali Brahman; 614, 617, 618.
Mangrol; 387, 512, 513, 587.

Manikpur; 139.
Manjha Prawas; 341, 468.
Manjkhore; 114.
Manoharpur; 667.
Manpur; 36.
Mansa Ram; 56, 285, 603.
Mansfield; 302, 387, 565.
Manson, Colonel; 531.
Maoli; 479.
Maraura; 100.
Mardan Singh; vii.
Markuan; 9.
Marohee; 677.
Marootee; 265.
Marowrah; 502, 516.
Martand Rao Tatya; 256, 257, 258, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619.
Marwar; 575, 588.
Mastura; 288.
Matharis, R. D. T.; 515.
Mathura; 357, 472, 647.
Mathura Bai; 580, 595.
Mau; 6, 9, 10, 58, 94, 106, 135, 247, 252, 289, 348, 607, 622, 623.
Mauboodia; 564.
Maudaha; 120, 122, 380, 627, 628.
Maun Singh; 495, 524, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 572, 573, 574, 576, 585, 588, 589, 675.
Maurauipur (Mowrancepoor); ii, 9, 94, 112, 217, 221, 222, 223, 256, 283, 284, 323.
Maxwell; 307, 308, 378, 380, 381, 383, 389, 390, 391, 392, 395.
Maxwell's Column; 382.
Mayne, Mr.; 114, 496, 497, 499, 500, 507, 508, 509, 665.
McLean, Captain; 514, 609.
McMahon, Captain; 318, 664.
Meade, 129, 131, 183, 415, 442, 464, 557, 560, 564, 565, 567, 570, 571, 572, 579, 580, 582, 589, 590, 591, 593, 595, 657.
Meade's Horse; 461, 465, 495, 570, 571.
Mecca; 662, 671.
Meca Khan (Mian Khan); 98.
Meel Ghaut; 534, 536, 537.
Meer Amanat Ali (Mir Amanat Ali); 284.
Meer Hamid Alli; 571.
Meerut; 8, 104, 168, 178.
Mehidpur (Mehidpore); 150, 156, 157, 160.
Mehidpur Contingent; 104, 217.
Mehtab Singh; 4.
Melghat; 521.
Menar Ka Sarai; 664.
Merjwaties; 196.
Mesarwa; 133.
Mewar; 492, 494, 541, 552, 666.
Mewatis; 196
Mhow; 51, 62, 104, 105, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 153, 155, 191, 192, 193, 194, 204, 219, 252, 253, 294, 295, 305, 306, 310, 349, 473, 498, 499, 500, 510, 521, 523, 569, 655, 673.
Mhow Column; 494, 497.
Mhow Mahoni; 655.
Michel (Mitchel); 498, 499, 500, 501, 508, 509, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 523, 524, 527, 535, 537, 546, 565, 667, 672, 673, 674, 675, 677, 679, 694.
Mickle, John, Lieutenant; 271, 323.
Middleton, Major; 384, 385.
Miloff; 116.
Miles, Lieutenant; 270, 279.
Military Department Proceedings; 580, 590.
Millar, Colonel; 77, 79.
Miners, under Lt. Gordon; 279.
Mir Shahamut Ally; 669.
Mirza Bakar Beg (Baqar Beg); 27.
Mirzapur; 6, 65, 74, 77, 81, 248, 345.
Mirza Rahemit (Rahmat) Beg; Subah; 257.
Misrolee; 666.
Misrolee ; 666.
Mitho Singh Jamadar; 219.
Moghul Serai; 507, 508, 509.
Mohammad, See also Mahomed and Muhammad.
Mohammad Hadi Ali; 622, 623, 624, 626.
Mohammad Ishaq; 680, 689, 692.

Mohommad Solah (Saleh); 9, 23, 27, 63.
Mohona; 5, 260, 358, 421, 426.
Mohpoora; 547.
Mohul; 258.
Mohummud Hossain; 90.
Mohunea; 560, 564.
Mohurkur; 423, 428, 450, 452, 456.
Moncrieff, Captain; 671.
Mondavgane; 338.
Mongair (Monghyr); 18, 26, 117.
Mongoura; 552.
Monsley Lieutenant; 270, 274.
Montgomery, Martin, R.; 4.
Moolchand (Mul Chand); 89.
Mor Pahlad; vi, vii.
Morar; 28, 209, 216, 217, 222, 258, 259, 355, 410, 411, 416, 425, 427, 434, 435, 438, 442, 448, 450, 453, 454, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 578, 584, 684, 685, 686.
Morar, river; 209.
Moradabad; 181.
More; 485.
Morena; 434.
Moro Bulwunt; 20, 21, 37, 56, 63.
Moroluce; 603.
Moroo Punt; 447, 448, 449, 458.
Morowra; 660.
Morrur (Murar); See Morar.
Moshcrea; 564.
Motah; 526.
Mote; See Moth.
Motee Jheel; 442.
Moth; 325, 347, 348, 430, 599, 600, 608, 619, 638.
Moti; 608.
Mouhur (Mauhar) Singh; 249.
Moura Nulla; 40.
Mow; 9, 11, 62, 219, 289, 291, 350, 352, 353, 413, 488, 608.
Mowabund; 656.
Mowdha; See Maudaha.
Mow Ranecpore; 356, 602, 603, 604, 620, 623, 632.
Moth; ii, 10, 13, 108, 263.
Mudaree Dowa; 122.
Muddunpore (Madanpur); 263, 285.
Mudinpore; 303, 304.
Muhammed; See also Mahomed and Muhammad.
Muhammad Ali; 110.
Muhammad Ishaq; 87, 93, 211.
Muir; 91, 308, 322, 369, 501, 599, 601, 619.
Mukhun Comman; 106.
Mukund Jemadar; 528.
Mulawai; 603.
Mullah; 552, 664.
Multai; 526, 527, 529, 534, 535, 537, 538, 568.
Multan (Mooltan); 86.
Muna; 606.
Munder; 668.
Mundesore; 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 196, 197, 204, 227, 494, 542, 551, 552, 588.
Mundesore Shazada (Shahzada); 151.
Mundlah; 81.
Mundlapore Pass; 514.
Mundrace; 441.
Mungaoli; 150.
Mungul Khan; 21.
Mungul (Mangal) Singh; 285.
Munjhley Rao (Manjhley Rao); 289.
Munniah; 116.
Munohar; 666, 667.
Munpoora; 36.
Munsa Ram Goojur (Mansa Ram Gujar); 284.
Munsey, Brigadier; 628, 632.
Munsookh; 117.
Munvaun Dildar; 40.
Murat Singh; 603.
Murdan Khan; 36.
Murdan Sing; 211, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 295, 296.
Muridhar, Chaudhry; 425.
Murowra; 303.
Murray; 113, 179, 183.
Murray, Mrs.; 116, 131.
Murrowey; 654.
Murrya, Chourasee Goombuz; 354.
Murshidabad; 634.
Mushairi; 582, 590.
Muskira; 119, 216.
Mutchulpoor; 471, 472, 473, 497, 553
Muthra Chowbey; 117.
Mutiny Narrative—N.W. Provinces; 137.
Mutiny Narrative North Western

Provinces, Hamirpur District; 123.
Mutiny Narrative North Western Provinces, Jalaun District; 91, 94, 101.
Mutiny Narrative Saugor-Nerbudda Territories; 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83
Mutlow, Mr.; 16, 18.
Muttery; 497.
Muttia Foreea; 39.
Muttoor; 527, 533.
Muttra (Mathura); 190.
Myapoor Pass; 673.
Myeir; 582.
Myhere (Maihar); 139, 140, 582.
Myra (Myta); 488.

Nabb, Mc., Mr. 678.
Nabha; 474.
Nadigaon; 606.
Naehur; 488.
Naepur; 488.
Nagarkot; 690.
Nagode; 6, 13, 65, 70, 72, 113, 137, 138, 162, 163, 233, 287, 288, 366, 367, 375, 514.
Nagpur (Nagpore); 73, 77, 79, 81, 111, 164, 226, 315, 410, 498, 519, 521, 525, 526, 527, 528, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 569, 665.
Nagpur Irregulars; 73.
Nagpur Irregular Cavalry; 526, 527, 538.
Nagpur Irregular Cavalry, 1st; 533.
Nahargarh; 572, 573, 588.
Nahir Sing; 294.
Naiakila; 668.
Naigovan; 252.
Naij, Nuddee; See Nej.
Nakum Khora; 610.
Nalgaon Deoha; 51.
Namli station; 551.
Nana Mau ki-Ghat; 585.
Nana Sahib; i, 56, 81, 93, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 109, 113, 117, 139, 149, 158, 159, 161, 189, 190, 194, 195, 204, 209, 210, 214, 216, 217, 237, 238, 246, 247, 248, 256, 257, 258, 260, 287, 289, 292, 297, 301, 305, 307, 309, 345, 365, 367, 373, 374, 378, 379, 387, 388, 395, 410, 412, 414, 416, 419, 421, 426, 427, 430, 435, 444, 445, 446, 471, 512, 517, 528, 529, 530, 531, 537, 538, 554, 572, 573, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 589, 590, 592, 616, 648, 663, 677, 678, 683, 684, 685, 692, 694.
Nanak Pant Mahratta; 615.
Nanakpoor; vii, 653.
Nandwas (Nanduai); 104.
Nannu Khan; 588.
Napier; 463, 464, 465, 466, 479, 480, 482, 494, 495, 498, 500, 510, 513, 515, 518, 558, 560, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 650, 661, 664, 666.
Narain Rao; 89, 93, 237, 238, 361, 375, 376, 500.
Narain Rao Vishnoo; 90.
Naraini; 233.
Narait; 251, 413.
Narayan Singh, Thakur; 589.
Naraowlee; 216, 223.
Narbudda (Narmada); 70, 71, 81, 82, 106, 127, 147, 156, 382, 519, 521, 525, 526, 528, 532, 533, 536, 539, 540, 544, 545, 546, 547, 550, 568, 572, 588, 668, 674, 675, 688.
Narhut (Narhat); 253, 256, 303, 515, 657.
Narhut Pass; 283, 303.
Narhwan; 614.
Narioli; 223.
Narode; 676.
Naroo Ramchund Atowlee (Athavle); 257.
Narpat Singh (Narput Singh, Raja); 211, 233.
Narsinghpur (Nur Singpoor); 81, 82, 83, 138, 519, 532.
Narsingh Rao Appa; 426.
Naru Patel (Naroo Pathel); 261.
Naruka; 474.
Narut; 303.
Narwar; 3, 55, 139, 179, 186, 204, 222, 223, 290, 291, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 300, 305, 350, 351, 352, 353, 355, 356, 456, 461, 474, 484, 561, 607, 648, 672.
Nasik; 592.
Nasirabad; 476, 485, 486, 487, 491.
Natchingaon; 534, 535.
Nathdwara; 478, 492, 586.

Nathhe Khan (Nattho Khan); ii, 55, 56, 220.
Nathoo Singh (Nathu Singh); 35, 38, 49.
National Archives New Delhi; 7, 14, 20, 24, 27, 28, 34, 39, 41, 48, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 74, 84, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155, 157, 163, 166, 211, 213, 214, 216, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240, 247, 248, 249, 250, 254, 255, 256, 257, 260, 261, 263, 272, 273, 275, 276, 277, 278, 280, 283, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291, 292, 293, 295, 297, 300, 301, 308, 345, 350, 351, 352, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 366, 367, 368, 369, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 382, 412, 413, 419, 421, 423, 444, 466, 502, 507, 508, 509, 524, 531, 538, 543, 545, 547, 554, 560, 564, 565, 566, 567, 580, 582, 590, 616, 617, 662, 667, 668, 669,670,671,672, 675,677,678,679.
National Library, Calcutta; 663, 664.
Native Infantry, 12th; 8, 11, 12, 18, 42, 43, 71, 106, 179.
Native Infantry, 19th; 172.
Native Infantry, 23rd; 191.
Native Infantry, 25th; 147, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272.
Native Infantry, 31st; 73, 516.
Native Infantry, 32nd; 445, 446.
Native Infantry, 40th; 93.
Native Infantry, 42nd; 73, 99, 516.
Native Infantry, 52nd; 73, 75, 76.
Native Infantry, 53rd; 89, 181.
Native Infantry, 72nd; 150.
Native Infantry, 200th; 480.
Native Princes of India; 167, 247.
Naubatganj; 684.
Naugaon (Nowgong); i, 3, 4, 9, 12, 13, 15, 72, 89, 107, 113, 119, 245, 252, 307, 310, 628, 629, 655.
Naulakha Garden; 421.
Naunkee Rao; 365.
Naurang Singh (Noorung Singh); 18, 26.
Nauranga; 629, 630.
Nawab of Ambapani; 589.
Nawab of Banda; 36, 94, 161, 162, 163, 165, 209, 210, 221, 234, 235, 237, 238, 247, 260, 320, 365, 523,
Nawab of Baoni; 122.
Nawab of Jowra (Jaora); 151, 155.
Nawab of Raatgurh; 237.
Nawab of Tonk; 586.
Nawab Bassowda; 674.
Nawabganj; 148.
Nayagaon; 289, 294, 486.
Naya Kima; 497.
Naylor, R.; 432, 442.
Nazim Hoosein; 23, 37.
Neeim; 366.
Neeladur (Neeladhar); 31, 34.
Neemree; 493.
Neemuch; 105, 146, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 178, 181, 188, 190, 204, 253, 486, 489, 491, 492, 493, 494, 497, 499, 543, 552, 588, 676, 677.
Neemuch Brigade; 492.
Neill; 100.
Nej, Nuddee; 484, 486.
Nepal Singh; 443.
Newaj; 498.
New Delhi; See under Delhi.
Newur river; 480.
Niaz Ali; 108, 656.
Nihal Chand, Diwan; 434, 443, 471, 472, 473.
Nija Kila; 586.
Nilohi; 4.
Nimar; 25, 104, 520, 521, 532, 534, 554.
Nimbahera (Neembharah); 155, 478.
Ninore; 552.
Niranjun Singh; 211, 249, 265, 488, 558.
Nirput Sing; 644.
Niwari; 288, 349, 475.
Niya Serai; 508.
Nizam; 535.
Nizam Cavalry, 3rd; 156.
Nonay Arjun Singh; 616.
Nonura; 611, 637.
Noonee; 304.
Noonere; 35.
North Western Provinces (N.W.P.);

64, 71, 81, 88, 108, 118, 157, 168, 227, 322, 345, 451, 501, 564, 565, 599, 601, 609, 619, 620, 627, 629, 634, 636, 644, 653, 661.
Nuhsiniya; 497.
Nuja Serai; 508.
Nundavara; 353.
Nunder; 637.
Nunee (Nanhey); 656.
Nuney; 644.
Nunher; 35.
Nunhey Dewan; 641, 642, 644, 645.
Nurabad; 425, 434.
Nusserabad; 181.
Nusseerabad Brigade; 475.

O'Brien, Dr.; 109.
Oakes, Lieutenant Colonel; 632, 634.
Oghlan, Lieutenant; 552.
Okeefe; 495.
Ommaney, Captain; 271, 316, 319, 330, 403.
Onow Gate; See Unnao Gate.
Oodgaon; 35.
Oodgowan; 349.
Oogean; See Ujjain.
Ooldun; 252.
Oomed Alee; See Ummed Ali.
Oomra Singh (Amar or Umrao Singh);63.
Oomrao; See Umrao.
Oomrao Singh; See Umrao Singh.
Oomree; 315.
Oomrao Singh, Soobadar; 224.
Oomur Duraz Alee; See Umar Daraz Ali.
Ooniara; 480, 481, 484.
Oonow; See Unnao.
Oontara; 484.
Oorwara; 637.
Oorayh; 307.
Orai; 5, 11, 65, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 112, 115, 181, 196, 215, 217, 220, 265, 318, 347, 348, 353, 354, 358, 370, 373, 389, 418, 626.
Orchard, Lieutenant; 570.
Orchha (Orcha); ii, iii, 16, 35, 37, 38, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 60, 72, 220, 221, 223, 251, 283, 284, 291, 294, 306, 309, 328, 352, 608, 609.
Orchha Gate (Orcha Gate); 43.
Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade 1858; 321, 346, 373, 378, 379, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 410, 411, 420, 429, 432, 434, 435, 440, 442, 443, 472, 473, 474, 476, 483, 484, 490, 495, 496, 497, 499, 500, 501, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 524, 546, 547, 611, 612, 648, 650, 664, 665, 666.
Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858; 411, 420, 421, 424, 425, 427, 428, 430, 431, 434, 435, 442, 471, 474.
Orr, Major; 156, 304, 315, 318, 335, 336, 371, 390, 393, 461, 579.
Orr's Field Force; 314, 316.
Orr's Hyderabad Column; 600.
Osborne, Lieutenant; 138, 367, 368, 375, 535, 657.
Osman Khan; See Usman Khan.
Oudh (Oude); 89, 189, 196, 361, 380, 387, 409, 428, 447, 554, 648, 663.
Outram; 101, 566.
Owen Burne, Sir; 297, 298.

Pachesi; 436.
Pachmarhi; 533.
Page, Lieutenant; 495.
Pahargarh; 442.
Paharn; 349.
Pahelwan Sing; 646.
Pahuj; 1, 40, 87, 606, 655.
Pailani; 215.
Paisuni; 1.
Pali; vii, 250, 251, 513, 653, 654, 658, 688.
Paloir; 309.
Panchakum, pargana; 606.
Panch Mahals; 487, 550.
Pandoo Bhatt Mahratta; 615, 619.
Pandoorang Rao (Pandurang Rao) Sada Sheo ; 209, 237, 247, 249.
Pandoorung Rao Tatya; 365, 580, 582, 583, 590, 591.

Pandourna; 526, 527.
Pandurang Bolee; 595.
Pandwaha; ii, 62, 605.
Panniar; 412, 416, 432, 435.
Panjpoora; 488.
Panna; ii, iii, 15, 138, 233, 252, 255, 256, 257, 286, 287, 300, 301, 307, 366, 375.
Panwar; 57.
Panwari ; i, iii, 120, 294, 623, 625, 628, 629, 635, 637, 641 653, 654, 655, 657, 658.
Paprail; 553.
Parbati; 480, 487, 498, 518, 562, 666.
Pareechut Kunwar; 101, 120, 294.
Parke; 324, 334, 491, 493, 519, 521, 537, 539, 541, 547, 549, 550, 674, 675.
Parke's Column; 546.
Parola, Pundit; 41.
Paron; 300, 484, 560, 561, 563, 572, 573, 575, 576, 578, 588, 589, 666, 667.
Parshotamgarh; 294.
Partabgarh; 488, 542, 552, 588, 689.
Parteepore; 511.
Passanah; 11, 86, 94, 98, 99, 100, 107, 108, 109.
Patan; See Jhalra Patan.
Patha; 349.
Patiala; 417, 426, 441, 443, 472, 474, 496, 649, 687.
Patkapur; 683.
Patna; 137, 248.
Patoda; 582.
Patrick; v.
Pavagarh; 487.
Payanghat; 521.
Peepleea Ghat; 676.
Peepulkhoota; 552.
Peetum Singh; 433.
Persia; 661.
Petman, Lieutenant; 329.
Phon Singh; 347.
Phooj; 422.
Phool Bagh; 184, 416, 421, 424, 443, 448, 450, 455, 457, 459, 462, 463, 464, 465, 467.
Phool Chund (Phul Chund); 285.
Phorj, river; 665.
Phulkeeah; 456.
Pichhor; v, 223, 260, 284, 290, 291, 297, 426, 508, 510, 601, 603, 604.
Pichlonee; 604.
Pierce, Captain; 570.
Pierson, Lieutenant; 183.
Pike, Mrs.; 183.
Pinhaat; 417, 418.
Pinkney, Captain; 63, 80, 86, 92, 106, 301, 302, 322, 370, 502, 511, 512, 513, 514, 517, 518, 599, 601, 604, 609, 619, 644, 653.
Pipera; 635, 643.
Piplod; 521, 540.
Pipra; 631.
Pipuree; 631.
Pirawa; 478.
Pirohan; 210.
Pirthipal; vi.
Pirthipura; 253.
Pir Zahur Ali (Peer Zuhoor Ali); 46.
Platt, Colonel; 144.
Plowden; 73, 521, 525, 531, 665.
Poker Ahir; 680, 689.
Polewhele, Brigadier; 179, 188.
Pooch; 309, 314.
Poois; 214.
Poona; 63, 118, 391, 414, 436, 438, 530, 538.
Poor; 490.
Poora; 488, 657.
Poorau Kahar; 115.
Poore, Captain; 438, 439, 495.
Poorshotum's Corps; 459.
Porsa; 181.
Powars; 218, 219, 220.
Powen; 227.
Power, Lieutenant; 7.
Powree; 484, 488, 493, 495, 561.
Powys, Captain; 8, 45.
Prabhulal; 558, 561, 563, 580.
Praim Gir Goosaeen; 355.
Pran Kunwar, Rani; 15.
Prem Narain; ii, 110.
Pretty John, Captain; 319.
Prior, Brigadier; 77.
Procter, Lieutenant; 183.
Puchore; 499.
Puchowlas; 483.
Pultoo; 116.

Punch; 10, 13, 106.
Punchar; 434.
Punjab; 472, 678, 690.
Punjab Infantry, 76th; 612.
Punjab Sing; 239, 240, 300, 366, 368, 372, 374, 376.
Punth Sree Rajdhur; 165.
Punwaree; 120, 289, 294.
Pur Mandal; 680, 690.
Purcells; 8, 41, 44.
Purna river; 521.
Purshotam Rao; 449, 453, 455.
Purwa; 135.
Purwaho; 601.
Purwanee; 546.
Purwar; 39, 40, 432.
Pushkar; 680, 689, 690.
Putchai; 509.
Putchraj; 509.
Puteepoor; 620.
Putha; 659.
Putrai; 657.
Pycroft, T.; 507, 521, 665.

Qandahar; 661.

Raat; See Rath.
Radha Bhaee(Bai); 595, 601.
Radha Govind; 500.
Radha Krishna Chaubey; 357, 358.
Rafi Ullah; 459.
Raghogarh (Ragooghur); 270, 497, 498.
Raghunathpur; 487.
Raghunath Rao; 595,
Raghunath Shah; 136.
Raghunath Singh; 35, 52, 285, 349.
Raghuraj Singh; 367, 375.
Rahat; 223, 599, 600.
Rahat Garh; 53, 216, 223, 224, 225, 237, 251, 291.
Raheem Ali; 409, 416, 448, 480, 481, 507.
Raheem Bux (Rahim Bakhsh); 27.
Raheemdad Khan; 456, 526, 527.
Raheemoollah; 122.
Rai Bhatt Mahratta, Raja; 615.
Raikes; 115.
Raines, Colonel; 437.
Raipur; 496, 498, 552, 666.
Raj Rana of Jhalra Patan; 494, 496.
Raj Sree Narain Rao; 238, 247.
Raja of Banpur; ii, vi, vii, 11, 110, 113, 223, 228, 250, 255, 284, 293, 305, 307, 524, 610, 673.
Raja of Baroda; 487.
Rajah of Bijairaghogarh; 262, 301, 372.
Rajah of Bijour; 611.
Rajah of Budhek; 86, 101, 102.
Rajah of Charkhari (Churkuree); 2, 120, 121, 122, 229, 231, 235, 247, 249, 264, 612, 613, 614, 615, 617, 618, 619, 623, 627.
Raja of Chhatarpur; 380.
Rajah of Cheekane; 214.
Rajah of Datia; 92.
Rajah of Gwalior; 132, 163, 686, 688.
Rajah of Hutchwa; 162.
Rajah of Jalaun; 97.
Rajah of Jughra; 216.
Rajah of Nagode; 140.
Rajah of Nurwar, 196, 261, 484, 488.
Rajah of Pain; 693.
Rajah of Punna; 161, 163.
Rajah of Rewa; 162, 262.
Rajah of Satara; 581.
Rajah of Shahgurh; 111, 161, 255, 263, 611, 612.
Rajah of Udaipur, 588.
Rajah Bhao of Sikenderah; 249, 262.
Rajaghat; 186, 354.
Rajapur; 247, 248, 293, 366.
Rajdhan; 220.
Rajdhur Bhola Nath; 253.
Rajgarh; 197, 496, 498, 499, 500, 557, 586, 587, 602, 688.
Rajpur (Rajpoor); 318, 546, 588.
Rajpurghat (Rajpore Ghat); 247.
Rajputana (Rajpootana); 104, 127, 146, 147, 148, 150, 168, 303, 384, 432, 472, 474, 476, 478, 479, 481, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 491, 496, 509, 521, 540, 541, 542, 550, 551, 553, 647, 650, 667, 668, 677, 687, 690.
Rajputana Gazetteers; 157, 473, 474, 476, 487, 489, 552.
Raju, river; 514.
Rajwarah; 684.
Ram Bhao; 56.

Ram Chandra Bhatt, Mahratta; 615, 617.
Ram Chandra Pandoorang; See Tatya Tope.
Ram Chandra, Seth; 426.
Ram Chund; v, vi, 48, 580.
Ram Chund Rao; 361.
Ram Chunder Pant; 531.
Ram Chunder Rao Martund (Ram Chandra Rao Martand); 103, 142, 145, 148.
Ram Hindooput (Rao Hindupat); 295.
Ram Krishna; 590, 595.
Ram Krishna Pandurang; 593.
Ram Krishna Tope; 591.
Ram Nagar; 261.
Ram Persad (Ram Prasad); 27.
Ram Naraen (Ram Narain); 89.
Ram Nugger; 267.
Ram Rao; 48, 589.
Ram Rao Govind; 353, 421, 447, 458, 585, 586.
Ram Rao Powar; 457, 458.
Ram Sahai; v.
Ram Rao Tatya; 149.
Rambaz Khan; 279.
Ramdhar Singh; 496.
Rameswar; 485.
Ramhiz Khan; 272.
Ramia Bhatt, Mahratta; 615.
Ramjee Bhut, Mahratta; 617.
Ramjee Choubey; 238.
Ramjee Chowthey, Jamdar; 414, 457.
Ramnuggur; 214.
Rampur (Rampore); 90, 115, 369, 557, 600, 673, 687.
Rampura (Rampoora); 87, 92, 149. 151, 152, 156, 196, 215, 265, 377, 480, 481, 482, 491, 492, 604, 607, 666.
Rampura, Rajah, (Rampoora Rajah); 87.
Ramsay, Brigadier; 128, 175.
Ramun Rao; 235.
Ramzan, Shaikh; 577.
Ramzan Khan; 614.
Rana Sheoraj; 102.
Rana of Dholpore; 426, 496.
Ranee Chutterpoor; 644, 658.
Ranee Gate; 32.
Ranee Ghat; 514.
Ranee of Budhek; 101, 102.
Ranee of Jaitpur (Rani of Jeitpore); 120.
Ranee of Jhansi (Rani of Jhansee); See Lakshmi Bai, Rani.
Ranee of Luhur; 87.
Ranee of Tehri; 108, 608, 620.
Raneepoorah; 645.
Ranipur; 6, 9, 62, 94.
Ranipur Road; 349.
Ranjit Singh; ii.
Ranmast Singh; 366, 368, 500.
Ranode; 673.
Ranuja; 666.
Rao Amree; 258.
Rao Bukht Singh (Rao Bakht Singh); 256.
Rao of Beheree (Rao of Beheri); 122.
Rao of Kota; 484.
Rao Ramkishun; 421, 430.
Rao Sahib, Srimant Peshwa; 54, 96, 102, 209, 260, 261, 264, 305, 345, 357, 359, 365, 369, 370, 378, 381, 387, 396, 414, 416, 419, 422, 423, 426, 427, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 457, 458, 459, 462, 467, 468, 471, 507, 509, 512, 516, 517, 522, 524, 526, 530, 531, 537, 554, 557, 559, 562, 572, 575, 578, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 654, 666, 667, 672, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 681, 683, 693.
Rao Satya Pat; 58.
Raojee Chowdha, Jamadar; 248.
Raol; 518.
Rasul Khan (Rasool Khan); 151, 156.
Rasulpur; 354, 396.
Ratan Singh; ii, iii, 625.
Ratangarh; 489, 493.
Rath; i, iii, 119, 216, 252, 254, 256, 518, 519, 599, 604, 610, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 628, 629, 630. 632.
Ratlam; 148, 541, 542, 551.
Rautgurh; 673.
Rawnjor; 608.
Reade, E. A.; 157, 306, 307, 346,

369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 376, 378, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 410, 411, 412, 413, 419, 420, 423, 424, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 432, 433, 434, 435, 440, 441, 442, 443, 471, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 499, 507, 508, 513, 517, 520, 521, 611, 612, 647, 649, 650, 665.
Reece, Colonel; 627.
Regent Ranee; 512.
Regiment, 2nd; 176.
Regiment, 3rd; 132, 133.
Regiment, 4th; 177, 178.
Regiment, 6th; 109, 112.
Regiment, 50th; 138.
Regiment, 52nd; 4, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 137.
Regiment, 56th; 114.
Regiment, 71st; 314.
Regiment, 86th; 316, 317, 333, 495.
Regiment, 95th; 479, 495.
Regiment Bengal Irregular Cavalry, 5th; 526.
Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, 23rd; 336.
Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, 52nd; 320.
Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, 9th; 570.
Regiment Hyderabad Cavalry, 3rd; 317, 319.
Regiment Light Cavalry, 1st; 5.
Regiment Nagpur Irregular Infantry, 1st; 528.
Regiment Native Infantry, 25th; 279–80.
Regiment Native Infantry, 53rd; 96.
Regiment of Beatson's Horse, 1st; 568.
Regiment of Infantry, Gwalior Contingent, 3rd; 179.
Rehil Tahsil; 111.
Rehree; 392, 396, 403.
Reilly, Lieutenant; 438, 439.
Remington, Lieutenant; 234.
Rendhar; 40, 91.
Reora Tollag; 499.
Residency, Gwalior; 455.
Revolt in Central India; 554.
Rewa Kantha; 541, 544, 549, 550, 552.
Rewah; 5, 74, 104, 138, 139, 140, 163, 232, 236, 237, 240, 261, 262, 281, 286, 287, 351, 366, 367, 368, 374, 375, 603, 608, 655, 663.
Rewah Force; 232.
Rewah State Gazetteer; 261, 262.
Rewari; 687.
Reyun; 484.
Rice Homles, J.; 299.
Richardes, C. I., Major; 644, 674.
Riddell, Colonel; 378, 379, 405, 420, 429, 461, 463.
Rijohan; 218.
Ripon, Lord; 671.
Rizawi, M. H.; 436.
Roah; 517.
Roaneeja; 676.
Roatghur; 517.
Roberts; 83, 298, 328, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 495, 540, 543, 611, 679.
Robertson; 316, 317, 384, 385, 397, 401, 405, 422, 423, 429, 531.
Rohilkhand (Rohilcund); 90, 387.
Romee; 605.
Romerce; 114, 118.
Roneeja; 666.
Ronnuck Alee (Raunaq Ali); 89.
Ronoopoor; 512.
Roognath Sing Kooar (Kunwar Raganath Singh); 288.
Roop Singh; 249, 265.
Roorhee Kulan; 655.
Roorkee; 46.
Rori; 626.
Rose, Hugh; vi, 53, 94, 112, 165, 297, 298, 299, 302, 308, 309, 313, 322, 323, 325, 333, 336, 337, 345, 346, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 377, 378, 379, 380, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 409, 410, 411, 426, 428, 429, 430, 431, 433, 434, 436, 440, 441, 443, 445, 446, 460, 461, 463, 464, 465, 543, 571, 599, 602, 620, 672.

Roshun Ali (Roshan Ali); 36.
Roshun Lall; 219.
Ross; 400, 403, 441.
Royal Artillery; 570.
Royal Horse Artillery 568, 612, 674.
Ruheem-ood-deen; 114.
Rumzan Khan; 576, 577.
Runjeet, 603.
Runmust Sing (Ranmast Singh); 256.
Rup Singh; 488, 493.
Rus, General; 436.
Rutlam; 148, 149, 156.
Ruttan Sing (Ratan Singh); 211.
Ryley, Serjeant; 8.

Saadat Khan (or Shahadat Khan); 98.
Saadut Khan; 191.
Sabalgarh; 441, 474, 475.
Sada Sewak; 683.
Sada Shiv; 595.
Sadashiv Rao; 51, 60.
Sadri; 667.
Sagar Gate; See Saugor Gate.
Sage, Brigadier; 73, 77.
Sahib Khan; 259.
Sahib Rai; 6.
Sahibood-deen (Sahibuddin); 20.
Sahoo Maharaj; 581.
Saier (or Syur) Gate; 29.
Saigwa Road; 356.
Sailana; 551.
Saile Khan; 151.
Saiyid Nagar; 10, 353.
Sale, Captain; 109.
Saleh Mahomed; 9, 23, 27, 63.
Salhet; 638, 658.
Salket; 637, 638.
Salomar; 588.
Salombra; 551.
Salon; 4.
Samarcund (Samarqand); 662.
Samroth; 132.
Samthar; ii, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 61, 353, 412, 453, 608.
Sandgode; 480.
Sandli; 376.
Sandmore, Colonel; 510.
Sanganair; 476, 477, 490.
Sangri; 690.
Sanjit; 148.
Sankhera; 548, 549.
Sanwar; 486, 487.
Sarai; 303, 305.
Saraswati; 104, 690.
Sardarpur; 147.
Sarcela; 122, 350.
Sargaon; 622.
Satanwara Kalun; 293.
Satara (Sattara); 118.
Satna; 15, 234, 245.
Satpura; 25, 519, 533.
Saugor; ii, v, vii, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 34, 36, 51, 53, 62, 64, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 82, 99, 106, 110, 111, 112, 135, 138, 146, 164, 166, 191, 196, 198, 216, 218, 222, 223, 228, 240, 241, 245, 251, 253, 255, 263, 264, 286, 291, 302, 303, 305, 306, 325, 328, 348, 382, 477, 490, 502, 506, 509, 514, 518, 532, 610, 611, 627, 657, 659, 673, 674, 675, 688, 694.
Saugor Force; 81.
Saugor Garrison; 218.
Saugor Gate; 28, 36, 37, 39, 55.
Saugor Mint; 305.
Saugor Road; 6, 81.
Saugor Troops; 14.
Saunders, Captain; 533.
Sawant Singh; 603.
Sawers; 629, 632, 634, 637, 638, 641, 643, 653, 655, 659.
Schlazenthwart; 263.
Schwalee, W. S.; 271.
Scinde River; 410, 428, 429, 447, 460, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 665.
Scindiah; vi, vii, 92, 127, 131, 144, 146, 154, 155, 157, 158, 160, 162, 163, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 218, 222, 293, 308, 404, 409, 410, 411, 413, 414, 422, 423, 425, 426, 429, 430, 433, 435, 436, 441, 442, 444, 445, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 463,

464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 481, 484, 495, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 542, 552, 571, 577, 585, 587, 591, 592, 593, 599, 600, 602, 657, 660.
Scindiah's Jyagee Regiment; 554.
Scindiah's Contingent; 25.
Scindiah's Contingent, 7th; 634.
Scindiah's Corps; 185.
Scindiah's Forces; 199, 200, 263, 293.
Scindiah's Mahomedan Horse; 192.
Scindiah's Regiment; 495.
Scindiah's Regiment, 2nd; 181, 455.
Scott; v, 4, 8, 11, 32, 35, 38, 41, 44.
Scudamore Major; 303, 311, 327. 510, 514, 516, 673.
Secretariat Records Room (Lucknow); 3,5,61, 62, 64, 103, 157, 227, 301, 321, 345, 346, 370, 372, 373, 376, 378, 379, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 410, 411, 412, 413, 420, 421, 423, 425, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 440, 442, 443, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 524, 546, 547, 611, 612, 648, 649, 650, 664, 665, 666.
Secundra; 665.
Seeansared; 252.
Seeawaree; 252.
Seegowlie; 422.
Seekree; 676.
Seepree; 179, 223.
Seerus; 290, 291.
Seeta Buldee; 527, 531, 533, 534, 535.
Seeta-Buldee Column; 526.
Seeta Ram Nana (Sitaram Nana); 92.
Seeta Ram Nunha; 95.
Seetamow; 151.
Sehat Rai; 6.
Sehore; 105.
Seidnuggur Kotra; 655.
Sekurwaree; 181.
Selections from State Papers, Vol. IV; 405, 409, 414, 437, 440.
Seonee; 73, 82.
Seoni Serai; 302, 532.
Seraital; 421.
Seraee; 251, 252, 253.
Seras Ghat; 295, 511, 512, 513, 514.
Serawon; 377.
Seriah Ford; 532.
Serolee Ghat; 380.
Seronje; 73.
Seronke; 666.
Serowlee; 119.
Serowlee Buzoorg; 120.
Setowleah; 456.
Setuluta; 261.
Sewai; 33.
Sewai Jaipur Nizamat; 687.
Sewak Singh; 4.
Sewass; 674.
Seymour, Major; 518.
Shahabad; 377, 484, 495, 561, 648, 666.
Shahaboodeen (Shahab-Uddin); 17.
Shahamat Ali; 667.
Shahgarh; i, 72, 77, 82, 110, 111, 138, 161, 163, 165, 222, 235, 250, 251, 256, 263, 264, 283, 284, 285, 286, 289, 294, 295, 302, 303, 305, 315, 349, 350, 352, 353, 356, 368, 369, 371, 413, 419, 516, 524, 585, 609, 610, 611, 612, 657, 659.
Shahjehanpore; 181.
Shaik Lall; 279.
Shajapur; 191, 289, 295, 303, 478.
Shakespear; 142, 517, 526, 527, 533, 534, 535, 539, 543, 548, 658, 669, 670, 673, 678, 679.
Sham Sahee; 376.
Shamu-Ju dev; 234.
Shamsee Khan; 257, 258.
Shamshergarh; ii.
Shankar Shah; 135, 136, 137.
Sharghur (Shergarh); 308.
Sheer (Sher) Ghat; 405.
Sheikh Aman Ali; 364, 365.
Sheikh Daud (Daood), Captain; 511.
Sheikh Lall; 272.
Sheilock, Surgeon; 439.
Shekerwarra; 423.
Shekhawati; 489.
Sheo Chund Kotaree; 494.
Sheo Ram Tatya; 91, 92, 93, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 108.

Sheodeen (Shivdin), Shewdeen; 24.
Sheodeen Sing (Shiv Din Singh); 229.
Sheopur; 36. 196, 197, 204, 425, 432, 433, 441, 442, 443, 475, 481, 482, 483, 487, 494, 508, 509, 562, 586, 648.
Sheorajpur; 384, 584.
Sher Singh, Dewan; 284, 293.
Sherer, Mr.; 90, 159, 369.
Shergarh; 307, 308, 384, 385, 446, 447.
Shergarh Ghat; 246, 413.
Sheriff; 182.
Shiva Churan Kotharay; 151.
Shiva Din; 219, 622.
Shiva Nath Buldev; 259.
Shiva Prasad; 615, 617, 618.
Shivadaspur; 447.
Shivarajpur; 684.
Shobha Singh; 133, 259.
Showers, Brigadier; 456, 490, 492, 493, 494, 496, 497, 552, 565, 650, 664, 665, 666.
Shubrati, Sheikh; 614.
Shugther; 608.
Shujalpur; 303.
Shujnah; 504.
Shumsher Khan; 36, 40, 229, 258.
Sialkot; 678, 681, 682, 690, 691.
Siawari; 252.
Sidhwaya; 694.
Sihore; 435, 518, 521, 648, 649, 674.
Sijaree; 637, 654.
Sikandar Jehan Begum, Nawab; 435.
Sikandara; 235, 665.
Sikar; 557.
Sikri; 557.
Sikroda; 430, 433.
Simla; 690.
Simpson, R; 336, 525, 565.
Simra; 325.
Simson, R; 677.
Simthari; 297.
Sinclair, Captain; 304, 324, 335.
Sindh, river (Sind); 127, 215, 265, 314, 612.
Sindia; See Scindiah.
Sindowah; 672, 673.
Sindwaha; 513-515, 546.
Sindwar; 515.
Sindwara; 515, 568.
Singhora; 514.
Singolee; 486.
Sipoli; 431, 433, 448, 449, 451.
Sipra; 104, 148, 149.
Sipri; 3, 132, 133, 134, 135, 179, 186, 191, 251, 293, 300, 377, 416, 418, 421, 432, 433, 435, 436, 438, 441, 447, 455, 461, 474, 479, 480, 481, 484, 495, 497, 498, 510, 511, 558, 559, 560, 563, 564, 567, 570, 571, 573, 576, 586, 657.
Sipri Brigade; 421, 430.
Sipri Column; 432, 434.
Siras; 290.
Siras Ghat; 672, 673. See also Seras Ghat.
Sironj; 478, 497, 498, 500, 501, 507, 508, 509, 560, 562, 565, 572, 575, 586, 587, 589, 654, 666, 668, 674, 680, 688, 689, 694.
Sirpur; 586.
Sirsa Ghat; 693.
Sirsa Mau; 558, 564.
Sirsi; 601.
Sirsona; 133.
Sitamau; 151.
Sitapur; 650.
Sita Ram; 683.
Sitlaha; 261.
Skene, Captain; iii, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 63, 67, 68, 71.
Sleeman; 76, 77, 78, 447.
Sleemanabad; 137.
Smith; 313, 384, 414, 436, 438, 455, 461, 462, 463, 464, 479, 480, 481, 495, 500, 508, 509, 510, 524, 565, 673.
Smith's Brigade, 483.
Sneyd, Captain; 517.
Sohagpur; 139, 140, 261, 533, 552.
Sohar; 665.
Sohit; 498.
Sohit Raee; 6, 7.
Soktee; 285.
Sonail; 666.

Sonar; 111.
Sonda; 289, 377, 430.
Sonjna; 253.
Sonkach; 303.
Sonkheira; 543, 544, 545.
Sonpat; 217, 219.
Sontalia; 666.
Sontra; 482.
Sonukpoora; 654.
Soobah (Shobha) Sing; 259.
Soodh; 690.
Soodh Hurrun; 259.
Sookowlee; 432.
Sookrenser; 496.
Soonowree; 658.
Soopa; 637, 639.
Soorkee; 107, 592.
Sooruthram Nathram (Suratram Nath Ram); 259.
Soosnair; 497, 498, 667.
Sorah; 646.
Soriah Ghat; 519.
Souldeno; 521.
Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement in India, Bombay 1957; 548, 550, 551, 594, 595, 596.
Sovasa; 637, 638.
Soyrage; 305.
Spoawes; 432.
Sravun; 446.
Sree Jee Rao; 257.
Sree Krishen Chunder (Shri Krishna Chandra); 261, 262, 366, 375.
Sree Muttra (Sree Muttree); 471, 472, 473.
Sri Bhut, Mahratta, Raja; 617.
Srinagar; 581, 659.
St. James Hall; 83.
Stack; 323, 666.
Stamboul; 662.
Star Fort; 3, 14, 16, 18.
Star Gate; 28.
Stewart (Stuart); 155, 156, 182, 183, 247, 266, 314, 315, 316, 317, 325, 334, 335, 388, 390, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 402, 403, 422, 423, 429, 495.
Stratton, I. P.; 548, 646.
Strutt, Lieutenant; 331.
Stuart's Battery; 179,
Sucalee; 390.
Sucha Singh; 257, 258.
Sudh Mahadeo; 680.
Sudurooddeen Moulvee (Maulwi Sadr-Uddin); 13.
Sueyd, Captain; 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 517.
Sugur Tal; 427.
Suhara; 474.
Suhloot; 485.
Sujangarh; 489.
Suket; 690.
Sukhnai Nadi; 9, 94.
Sukoonda Ghat; 493.
Sultanpur; 41, 587.
Sultan Pursad; 102.
Sultunwaree; 293.
Sumarpur; 120, 122, 234.
Sumerset, Henry; 440.
Summud Khan; 151, 152.
Sumurreea; 261.
Sunder Lal (Soondar Lall); 35.
Sundewan; 514, 515.
Suneela; 664.
Sunker Tatya; 432, 433, 442.
Sunnoo Moosulman; 37, 38.
Suprar; 9.
Surauli; v, vi, 397.
Surauli Buzurg; 234.
Sureela Ghat; 519.
Surmust Khan; 676.
Surreo Ghat; 510.
Surssinda; 252.
Surwallee Ghat; 234.
Susner (Susnair); 295, 496.
Sutherland, Major; 544, 546, 547.
Swat; 662.
Swinney, Captain; 655.
Syed Kootubshah Moalvie, 225.
Syed Mahomed Ishaq; 211.
Syur Gate; 28.

Tahrolee; 412.
Tahuraka; 355.
Tai Bai (Taee Baee); 86, 88, 89, 90, 93, 97, 218, 220, 353, 355, 377.
Taingori; 665.
Tal Tahsil; 148,

Talaur; 219.
Talbehut (Talbehat); vi, 108, 112, 250, 251, 290, 291, 293, 303, 305, 502, 506, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 587, 608, 610, 672, 673.
Talgong; 657.
Tanardin, Peshwa; 258.
Tankot Gubvia; 348.
Tapti; iii, 520, 521, 534, 537.
Tareechur; 349.
Tarikha Ghat; 354.
Tarkata; 680.
Tarauti; 659
Tatya Gangoley; 93.
Tatya Goorbolay; 581.
Tatya Pundit; 363.
Tatya Tope; iii, 91, 93, 107, 113, 120, 195, 196, 209, 210, 211, 213, 214, 216, 217, 220, 228, 230, 231, 232, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 247, 248, 249, 253, 254, 256, 264, 265, 285, 286, 287, 288, 290, 291, 293, 295, 297, 299, 300, 301, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311, 312, 314, 320, 322, 323, 335, 345, 346, 348, 350, 351, 353, 354, 355, 362, 364, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 377, 378, 379, 381, 409, 410, 412, 414, 416, 419, 420, 422, 428, 430, 431, 432, 433, 435, 436, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 450, 452, 458, 459, 462, 466, 467, 468, 469, 471, 477, 480, 481, 483, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 525, 526, 527, 529, 530, 531, 533, 535, 537, 538, 539, 540, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 550, 551, 554, 557, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 662, 663, 664, 672, 673, 680, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 692, 693, 694.
Tatya Turwa; 428.
Taylor; 16, 19, 24, 29, 30, 31, 43.
Teheran; 661.
Tehree; 72, 73, 110, 111, 112, 114, 121, 217, 219, 220, 222, 223, 228, 245, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 284, 286, 288, 289, 294, 295, 306, 334, 350, 356, 370, 391, 393, 397, 399, 402, 412, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 511, 512, 513, 514, 516, 517, 518, 600 602, 603, 608, 620, 672, 673.
Tehree, Rani; 108, 608, 620.
Tehrolee; 252, 348.
Tej Singh; 413.
Tekait Singh; 488.
Tekerio; 656.
Tenton; 502, 511, 512, 654.
Teonthar; 261.
Ternan, Captain; 86, 88, 91, 101, 620.
Thakur Din; 132, 623.
Thakurpura; 51.
Thaneshwar; 690.
Tharro; 186.
The Friend of India; 520, 663, 664.
The History of Freedom Movement in Madhya Pradesh, 1956; 138.
The History of the Indian Mutiny; 521.
The Indian Mutiny 1857-58; 128, 144, 148.
The Native Princes of India; 167, 247.
The Revolt in Central India, 1857-59; 146.
Thoke Terose; 119.
Thomson; 611.
Thornton; 8, 61, 94, 524, 611, 612.
Tikamgarh; i, ii, 9, 608.
Tikerya; 647.
Tiloi; 134, 135.
Tiloke Sing; 658.
Tilor; 219
Timins, P. G.; 150.
Timour Shah; 669.
Tirhose Romeree; 116.
Tirhwa; 613.
Tirka; 622.
Tirkata; 690.
Tirohan; 247, 261, 366, 369, 375, 611, 616, 617.
Toda Bhim; 484.
Todah; 483.
Tola Bungaron; 630.

Tola Kangaron; 529, 530, 531.
Tola Rawut; 621.
Tom Andrews; 8.
Tomkinson, Lieutenant; 181.
Tonaghur; 418.
Tonga; 474, 475.
Tonk; 197, 474, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 647, 680, 687.
Tons; 261.
Tonwarghar; 35, 139, 253, 425, 430, 434, 442, 612.
Tooklakha Nawab; 671.
Toonkooa; 489.
Tori Futtipoor (Fatehpur); 601, 605, 606, 620.
Tori Tuttipoor; 601.
Toria; 608.
Trambak Rao, 55.
Travers, Colonel; 104, 105.
Trial Proceedings in the Case Govt. Vs. Rao Sahib; 557, 694.
Trimbak Bhutt; 595.
Tritanee; 489.
Trumbuk Rao (Trambak Rao); 219.
Tumbrill; 324.
Turgarh; 435, 648, 649.
Turnbull; 7, 312, 324, 332.
Turner, 506, 659.
Tuttuen; 641, 643.

Udai Pathak (Oodee Pathak); 259.
Udaipur; 104, 150, 197, 475, 478, 479, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 543, 548, 549, 550, 588, 667, 687.
Udit Singh (Oodeet Singh); 284.
Ujjain; 149, 191, 235, 288, 494, 518, 648.
Uldan; 252.
Umar Daraz Ali (Oomar Duraz Alee); 92.
Umaria; 261.
Umatwara; 498.
Umballa; 690.
Umberpore; 307, 308.
Ummed Ali (Oomedalee); 89.
Umoo Jan; 490.
Umptapallee; 509.
Umrah, Fort; 10.
Umrao Kungar; 659, 660.
Umrao Singh (Oomrao Singh); 63, 349, 351, 352, 625, 641, 644, 653, 680, 689.
United Provinces; ii, 417, 472, 601, 607, 684.
Unnao (Oonow); 323.
Unnao Gate (Onow Gate); 334.
Unoop Chund Moolchund (Anup Chand Mulchand); 259.
Unundee Lall (Anandi Lal); 219.
Usman Khan (Osman Khan); 259, 420.

Vaisali; 612.
Vanrenen, D.C., Captain; 75, 77, 78.
Verrier, Mr.; 109, 111.
Vikrmajit; 644.
Vilayut Alee; 89.
Vinaik Pant, Mahratta; 617.
Vindhya; iii, 55, 138, 219.
Vindhyan; vii, 143, 219, 256.
Vishnu Pant; 356.
Vishwas Rao Bhao; 377.
Vuzeer Khan, Muhammad; 676.

Waghoria; 543, 544, 545, 548.
Waheedoozuman (Wahiduz-zaman) Sheik; 90, 118.
Waller; 665.
Wardha; 410, 527, 534.
Wardi-Major; 586, 589.
Waris Mohd. Khan, Nawab; 157.
Wasdeo Bhow (Vasudev Bhau); 293.
Wauhas; 98.
Wazeer Khan, Moulvee; 667.
Wazeerpore; 473.
Wazir Alli; 218.
Webber; 271.
Webster, Captain; 570
Weller; 665.
Western, Major; 77.
Western States Gazetteer (Malwa), Vol. V; 142, 147, 148, 151.
Wetherall, Colonel; 402.
Wheeler, Brigadier; 514, 516, 519, 610, 611, 659.
Whitlock, General; 307, 368, 369, 370, 385, 397, 510, 517, 518, 599, 600, 621, 629, 661.

Wibber, Lieutenant; 276.
Wigram, Mr.; 638, 640, 656.
Wilayat Khan; 347.
William, Colonel; 566, 567.
William Bentinck, Lord; 333.
William Mansfield, Major General; 313.
Wilson; 180.
Wilton; 42.
Windham, General; 159, 196, 409.
Woolcombe, Captain; 316, 336.
Woollcomte, Captain; 271.
Woordie, Major; See Wardi Major.
Yewla; 592, 594.
Yewlaykur; 593.
Yusufgarh; 500, 508, 509, 510.

Zahid Khan; 37, 38.
Zahoor Alli, Peer; 667, 675.
Zainulabdin Khan; vii, viii.
Zalim, Lieutenant; 641.
Zalimpur; 111.
Zalim Singh; 285, 644, 656, 659, 660.
Zamani Begum, Sultan; 671.
Zirapur; 497, 551, 553, 588.