FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN UTTAR PRADESH

SOURCE-MATERIAL

VOLUME IV
Eastern and Adjoining Districts
1857-59

INFORMATION DEPARTMENT, UTTAR PRADESH
LUCKNOW

August 15, 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.

RUPEES FOURTEEN

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LUCKNOW

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 four separate volumes on Freedom Struggle in 'Avadh', 'Bundelkhand', 'Eastern U. P.' and 'Western U. P.' could also be brought out. In accordance with this revised plan, the Second and Third Volumes on "Freedom Struggle in Avadh and Bundelkhand" were published on 15*th August* 1958 *and* 26*th January* 1959 *respectively. The Volume on Eastern Districts is being published now. The Volume relating to the Western Districts and Rohilkhand will be published on* 26*th January* 1960.

The present Volume like the previous ones unfolds many important aspects of the struggle, bringing to surface the popular nature of the movement, the role of many heroes who had hitherto been consigned to oblivion and in some cases not judiciously depicted. The organisational aspect of the movement is also reflected herein.

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.

30*th July* 1959 *Kamalapati Tripathi*

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CONTENTS

Review of the Sources		xi—xvi
	Part A	
Introductory		3–14
Chapter		
ONE	Outbreak in Eastern Districts	17—165
TWO	Banaras Division in Ferment	169—289
THREE	Gorakhpur Division in Ferment	293—399
FOUR	Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh	403—494
	Part B	
FIVE	Outbreak in Allahabad Division	499–582
SIX	Revolutionary Government in Allahabad Division	585—632
SEVEN	Protracted Struggle	635—749
EIGHT	Hectic Efforts	753—866
Bibliography		867—878
Glossary		879—881
Important Dates		883—906
Index		907–958

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Pictures

1.	Nana Saheb	*Fly Leaf*
2.	A page from P. Walker's Diary	47
3.	Kunwar Singh	71
4.	Kunwar Singh on horseback	404
5.	Tatya Tope	510
6.	Ganga Mahal, Bithoor	533
7.	Daryao Singh ki Garhi	742
8	Letter of Nana Saheb	776

Maps

1.	District Varanasi	18
2.	,, Azamgarh	84
3.	,, Jaunpur	122
4.	,, Mirzapur	248
5.	,, Ballia	274
6.	,, Gorakhpur	294
7.	,, Ghazipur	458
8.	,, Kanpur	502
9.	,, Allahabad	539
10.	,, Fatehpur	561
11.	,, Banda	566
12.	Action of Bithur	696
13.	Action of Cawnpore	714

REVIEW OF THE SOURCES

The material relating to the Freedom Struggle of 1857-59 in U. P. as brought forth in the preceding volumes bears ample testimony to the fact that the movement was not a sporadic outburst of hostile feelings of some disgruntled elements, nor a localised affair only. The banner of Independence as planted in Delhi and held aloft at Kanpur by Nana Saheb was carried to almost every nook and corner of the province, rather beyond it to Behar and the greater part of Northern India. The Eastern Region of the Province with its adjoining districts, too, responded to the call to shake off the British yoke. The Struggle spread with all its intensity to the whole of this region and brought to the fore a galaxy of heroes—Kunwar Singh, Raja Iradat Jahan, Muhammad Hasan, Meghar Rai, Maulvi Liaqat Ali, Raja of Gonda, Menhdi Hasan, and so many others—who staked their all at the altar of freedom. They were inspired by the Nana, the Rani of Jhansi, the Avadh Revolutionary Govt. and in turn inspired others in their own spheres to action, organised them, and led them to the battle field. Kunwar Singh, Amar Singh and others enjoyed popular support in their cause. But for this support, they could not have continued a protracted struggle and a guerilla warfare with dazzling success in the initial stages.

An analysis of the activities of these leaders as well as the general masses in this region on 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 struggle. An attempt has been made to present, in this volume, some important documents which focus our attention on the true nature and organisational aspect of the movement as well as the achievements of some of the chief 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. Eastern districts have been grouped into two divisions, Varanasi and Gorakhpur. Allahabad, Kanpur, Fatehpur and Banda form the adjoining districts of the Eastern Region. A separate chapter has been devoted to the activities of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh. 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 *e. g.*, Trial proceedings against Bhondu Singh, Raja Iradat Jahan, Jhuri Singh, *Zamindars* of Gahmar, Maulvi Liaqat Ali, Rao Saheb, Meghar Rai etc. 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 Nana, Begam or some 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 defence 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, stoutly resisted the foreign government and carried on a guerilla warfare against it. 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 punishment, 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 with the descendants 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 the Eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh 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 Britishers.

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 prophetic vision of their scribblings being ever preserved and put to any use, after the judgments were pronounced. Their '*Shikast*' is horribly carelessly written 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 many cases not free from these defects.

Correspondence of the leaders of the movement passed through either in Persian, Urdu or Marathi. 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, Dowson and Beveridge. 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. Statement of Muhammad Hasan, correspondence passed between Saiyid Khairuddin, Deputy Magistrate, and Muhammad Hasan, are some of the important documents, included in this volume, photostat copies of which have veen acquired from the National Archives.

U. P. Government Secretariat Records Room

The Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow, contains a *Basta* of original telegrams and bulletins dealing with the day-to-day activities of the revolutionaries throughout the then North-Western Provinces and Agra. Many of such telegrams have been incorporated in this volume with a view to tracking the revolutionary activities of the leaders, Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh in particular. Due to 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. Foreign Department, N.W.P Abstract Proceedings for the year 1858 have yielded valuable original information for this volume.

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. Relevant excerpts from *Hindu Intelligencer*, *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, *The Hindoo Patriot* and *The Friend of India* have been incorporated in this volume.

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 State Archives of Uttar Pradesh Allahabad, are also very useful. Relevant material relating to the events at Gorakhpur, Ghazipur, Azamgarh, Mirzapur and the letters exchanged between the Nawab of Banda and Raja of Shahgarh etc., have been obtained from the State Archives and included in this volume. *Diary of P. Walker* relating to day-to-day events in Mirzapur,

Fatehpur Diary maintained by Probyn, Macnaughten and others have formed a very useful original source for this volume.

Diaries and 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 and in intensely pathetic words while the chivalrous activities and organising capabilities of the Indians who were nick-named as '*Shohdas*', '*Badmashes*' and '*Pandies*' etc., were generally suppressed. Published contemporary works is Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Marathi, 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, may it be prompted by their adherence to their own rules of phonetics, to present every Indian name in a peculiar spelling 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. Indian names of persons and places as available in these documents may sound somewhat odd and ridiculous to the modern Indian readers, *e.g.*, Gopiganj has been spelt as Gopeegunge, Gorakhpur as Gooruckpoor, Azamgarh as Azimghur, Ghazipur as Ghaziepoor, Auraiya as Ooreah, Bhadohi as Bhudoee or Bhudowhey, Ayodhya as Adjoodeea, Ballia as Bulleeah, Jagannath as Juggernauth, Bhairon Prasad as Byroo or Bairon Pershaud, Makhdum Bakhsh as Muckdoom Buksh, Jageshwar Bakhsh as Juggessur Buksh, Bindeshwari Singh as Bindasurie Sing, Jhuri Singh as Jhooree or Joorye Singh, Arjun Singh as Urjoon or Urgun Singh, Kunwar Singh as Koour or Koer or Koor Singh, Amar Singh as Ummur Singh, Kishan Kishore Chand as Keesshon Keeshore Chund, Malik Hidait Husain as Mulick Heedaet Hussain, Alimuddin as Ulleeoomoodeen, Imam Ali as EmamUllee, *pargana* as *pergunnah*, *parwana* as *purwannah* etc. 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 farfetched or twisted 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 in the heading 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 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. Important 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 adjustment of boundaries could not be given. A map of each district based on the relevant '*Gazetteer*' has also been given for the convenience of the readers.

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

PART A

BANARAS (VARANASI) AND GORAKHPUR DIVISIONS

INTRODUCTORY

BANARAS DIVISION

.....Having, in India, been precluded from offering warning or advice, the writer, in common with many others, foresaw at an early stage that the system adopted by the Supreme Council of Calcutta, so far back as March 1857, of coquetting with mutiny and with mutineers, would inevitably lead to disaster. There was not an officer in Bengal, living out of the charmed circle of official red-tapeism (*sic*,-tapism), that did not scent from afar the stormy blast; and although the revolt in all its magnitude was anticipated, probably, by none, still there was a deep conviction on the minds of many, that something dangerous was impending.

The crisis came. At first, apparently, a mere military mutiny, it speedily changed its character, and *became a national insurrection*. The Rajpoot villages in Behar, those in the districts of Benares, Azimgurh (Azamgarh), Goruckpore (Gorakhpur), in the entire Doab, comprising the divisions of Allahabad, Cawnpore, Meerut, and Agra, in the provinces of Rohilcund (Rohilkhand) and Oudh (Avadh), shook off our rule and declared against us. But the men who administered the affairs of India refused to admit the existence of events which were clear to all around them; they persisted in governing as though there were no disorder in the civil districts, and feigned to believe that the cultivators of the soil—the class from which the sepoys are selected were, to a man, in our favour. Their tactics were at once detected; but no sooner had their exposure been threatened by the local press, than the fourth estate was summarily silenced by the authoritative application of a Press Act.....[1]

INSURRECTIONS AT AZAMGARH, JAUNPUR AND BANARAS

The little stations of Azimgurh and Juanpore (Jaunpur), forty miles apart, constituted our advanced posts on the south frontier of Oudh. With the larger towns of Benares and Ghazeepore, they formed a square based

[1] *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, An Historical Narrative popularly known as *Red Pamphlet*, p. 63.

upon the Ganges. Thus the natural action of a detachment beaten at Juanpore would be to retreat on its main station, Benares; of a force overwhelmed at Azimgurh to retire on Ghazeepore. This latter station and Benares, likewise forty miles apart, and based on the Ganges, constituted thus the heart on which the smaller arteries of Juanpore and Azimgurh depended for a constant supply of vitality.

To the north again of Azimgurh, sixty miles from it, and abutting on the Oudh and Nepal frontiers at the extreme front of our territory, was the station of Goruckpore; this was held merely by two Companies of the 17th Native Infantry, and a small party of Irregular Horse. The remainder of the 17th Native Infantry, and a detail of Native Artillery guarded Azimgurh. Juanpore was defended by a detachment of Sikhs.

As soon as the events of Meerut and Delhi became known at Azimgurh, the demeanour of the sepoys of the 17th assumed a form not to be mistaken. They had always been a most indifferent regiment, and it was now their misfortune to be commanded by a man totally unfit to have charge even of a Company. The consequence was that disorder reigned rampant; the sepoys behaved exactly as they chose, and became the terror, instead of being the safeguard, of the European inhabitants.

Such was the state of affairs at the end of May. It was known that every station in India was "shaky", that no native troops could be depended upon. Yet at this epoch, the Accountant of the North-West Provinces, a civilian, wiser in his own conceit than his neighbours, issued an order for the removal of ten lakhs of treasure from Goruckpore and seven (lakhs) from Azimgurh to Allahabad: that is to say, at a time that native troops were known to be disaffected, he placed the entire treasure of the Azimgurh and Goruckpore districts under their charge, directed them to march with it through a country surging as it were against us, and to convey it to another station where only native troops were posted. It was, in fact, to give the insurgents the very opportunity they were seeking for, of plundering the whole.

However, the orders of the Accountant must be obeyed. The ten lakhs of treasure were therefore brought from Goruckpore to Azimgurh by an escort, under the command of Lieutenant Palisser of the Irregular Cavalry: here they took charge of the seven lakhs. But the 17th Native Infantry were not going to lose this money without a struggle. On the 2nd of June they made a desperate effort to prevent the party leaving Azimgurh; but the tact and coolness of Lieutenant Palisser, and the staunchness of the troopers of the Cavalry, quite paralysed them, and they were compelled for the moment to forego their intentions. But, though baffled, they were not defeated. On the night of the 3rd the treasure party started : it consisted of two Companies of the 17th and Palisser's Horse. They had scarcely marched three hours when the six Companies left behind rose in revolt,

killed Lieutenant Hutchinson, their Quarter-Master, and, letting loose the prisoners from the jail, accompanied by them and by all the Police, set off after the treasure.

It had been Lieutenant Palisser's intention to disarm the two Companies of the 17th with him; but on his intimating his resolve, they went down upon their knees and swore that they would stand by him to the last. At that time we were not so well acquainted with the value of native oaths and with the estimation to be placed on native honour as experience has subsequently made us, and Palisser believed them. They were, therefore, not disarmed. The consequence was that when the excited crowd, pouring out from the station, came near him, all armed to the teeth and thirsting for blood, Palisser was helpless. His troopers stood by him so far as to defend him and the officers with him (Lieutenant Simpson and Mr. Turner), but no more. They would not act against their countrymen. He was compelled, therefore, to draw off, and abandon the treasure : his troopers retired with him.

But it did not suit the object of the mutineers to permit these officers to retire unmolested. Their avarice was even surpassed by their desire for blood They therefore did all in their power to persuade the sowars to give up their officers; they appealed to religion, nationality, love of money; even offered 5000 £. for each head : but all in vain. The sowars were negatively faithful : they would neither act for us or against us, and, resisting all temptation, safely escorted their officers into Benares. The very next day they deserted. Sensible perhaps that they had done but half their duty, and secretly sympathising with the rebels, they had gone, probably after having seen their officers safely disposed of, to swell their forces.

On the mutiny breaking out at Azimgurh, the lives of the residents were in great danger, and had it not been that the sepoys were primarily intent on securing the treasure, but few of them would have escaped. As it was, one only who went amongst them was killed; the others barricaded themselves till the mutineers had started after the treasure party, and then set out for Ghazeepore,—Mr. Astell, the Judge, leading the way in his carriage, most of the others following as best they might. However, all, who started, reached in safety. On arriving at Ghazeepore it was discovered that some of the indigo-planters and the poorer class of Christians had been left behind. As it was known that the 17th Native Infantry would return to plunder the place, great anxiety was felt on their behalf by one, at least, of those who had escaped. This was Mr. Venables, an indigo-planter residing in the neighbourhood of Azimgurh, a gentleman of large property and of a very high character. Fearing for the unfortunates who had been left behind, Mr. Venables endeavoured to persuade Mr. Astell, Mr. Horne, and others, to return with him. They were most unwilling, and pleaded

fear of the Commissioner's anger, if they should return without his sanction. A message was instantly despatched for that sanction. But the Commissioner, Mr. Tucker, comprehending in an instant the feelings of his subordinates, sent back a reply to the effect that "he had no objection to Mr. Venables' going, but the civilians were on no account to risk their lives".

Thus privately and officially left to himself, this noble-hearted man determined to go alone. He started the next day, went direct to his estate at Doorie Ghat, some two and twenty miles on the Goruckpore side of Azimgurh, assembled his ryots*, armed them, marched at their head, and recovered Azimgurh. He did more; he held it : and whilst the apathetic civilians had retired into Benares, and were allowed to continue to draw their immense salaries- Mr. Astell alone 250 £. per mensem— Mr. Venables, the indigo-planter, remained at their proper station, did all their work, even collected the revenue which they ought to have collected, restored order where all was chaos : and whilst these men were whining over the loss of their own private property, he employed himself in restoring the power and re-asserting the prestige of Government.

And yet he was one of those "adventurers" whom the Government of India takes every opportunity of insulting. Mr. Venables held this district, reinforced only by a small detachment of native troops, for about six weeks. At the end of that time the civilians were most unwillingly compelled to return. The events which subsequently happened will be related in their proper place. It is time now to notice the effect which the events at Azimgurh produced on Benares and its out-stations.

The city of Benares, distant four hundred and twenty miles north-west of Calcutta, and nearly eighty east of Allahabad, is on the left bank of the river Ganges. It is the metropolis of Hinduism, sacred to the votaries of that religion. Thither do they proceed, that, by presents to the Brahmins and bathing in the holy water of the Ganges, they may be purified from their sins. Thither they are taken to die, convinced that the departure of the soul in the stronghold of Brahmanism ensures a certainty of eternal bliss. The population may be estimated at 300,000, of whom four-fifths are Hindoos. These, it may easily be imagined, are almost entirely under the influence of the priests : by them the poorer class are kept in rigid subjection, whilst the richer are permitted to atone for defalcations and indulgences by offerings of no mean value in the various temples. The cantonment of Benares, denominated Jeecole, is three miles inland. Here were stationed in May, 1857, the 37th Regiment Native Infantry, the Sikh Regiment of Loodhiana, an Irregular Cavalry regiment, and half a Company

*Tenantry.

of European Artillery, or about thirty men. Thus, notwithstanding the warnings that had been given, the Government of India, in the early part of May, considered that thirty European gunners were sufficient to hold in check three native regiments, and a city—the hot-bed of Brahminism—containing 300,000 inhabitants.

There were other considerations which ought to have inspired a far different arrangement.

Benares, in addition to its sacred character, might be styled the city of dethroned monarchs. Hither came the despoiled princes of Sattara; the ex-royal family of Nepal, a branch of the royal family of Delhi, boorg rajahs[1] and Sikh chieftains, to seek an asylum in their misfortunes. All these were elements of mischief. Some of them were princes whom we had dethroned, or grand seigneurs whom we had deprived of their estates. Intrigue was their delight, they could not live without it; treachery had been familiar to them from their childhood, and it might have been surmised, without any great stretch of imagination, that no opportunity would be lost by them of exercising their talents with effect against us.

The inhabitants of Benares were a proud turbulent race, fond of ancient ways, and very impatient of innovation. Previous to 1851 they had successfully resisted all attempts to trench upon any of their customs. Thus they would prefer that filth should lie in their streets rather than that the novel system of draining should be introduced ; that the highways should remain unlighted at nights, their roads encroached upon by filthy huts, than that a clear thoroughfare should be made. Many magistrates had endeavoured to remedy these evils; but, after several trials, the population, or rather the bourgeoisie backed up by the priests, who looked upon improvement as the first step to undermine their religion, were too much for them : the magistrates were baffled, and receded from their orders.

But in 1851 a gentleman was appointed to the post of magistrate, who did not like to be baffled. He too ordered improvements after the manner of his predecessors : unlike them, he carried them out. This was Frederic Gubbins of the Civil Service.

His first attempt had been unpromising : the inhabitants, according to custom, resisted his innovations, and, finding that he did not succumb, the very next time he came into the city, they pelted him out of it. He had in fact to fly for his life. But he still persisted in his plan. The bourgeoisie, not to be beaten, resolved to starve him out; they shut all their shops and sent to stop their supplies of grain from all quarters. As the troops were dependent upon their regimental bazars, and these again dependent on

[1] They could not be identified.

the city of Benares for grain, it was supposed that, on the failure of the three or four days' supply laid up in the bazars, the magistrate would be glad to give in. But Mr. Gubbins resolved to fight them with their own weapons : he sent to Mirzapore and other places for grain; and finally, hearing that the leading members of the insurrection were about to hold a meeting to concoct a further scheme of opposition, he sent down two Companies of sepoys, caught them in the act, and lodged them in jail.*

The next morning he rode through the city and opened all the shops. From that moment, not only was the insurrection at an end, but Mr. Gubbins was lord of Benares. He had inspired a conviction of his power, his earnestness, his energy, such as if a native once imbibes he exaggerates,—he never loses the feeling. From that time forth, the idea reigned supreme in the minds of the people of Benares that it was impossible to organise a successful opposition against Mr. Gubbins.

It is necessary to mention this, because in every phase of the insurrection at Benares, this influence is visible, not only preventing the townsmen from joining the insurgent troops, but overawing them subsequently, when all the surrounding districts had risen. At the time of which I am writing, Mr. Gubbins was Judge, Mr. Lind, an able active zealous officer, was Magistrate; the troops were temporarily commanded by Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Gordon of the Sikh Corps, a very steady capable commandant; the Commissioner or civil ruler of the district was Mr H. C. Tucker, a most amiable good man, but ill adapted to rule in the emergency which was now approaching. Very soon after the news of Delhi and Meerut reached Benares, it became visible that, of the troops, the 37th were "gone"; the Sikhs mostly faithful, but some of them even wavering; the Irregular Cavalry doubtful. How to maintain order amongst these and in the city, with the aid and by the sole means of thirty European Artillerymen with three guns, was a problem which required solution.† With this view, a meeting of the principal members of the society was held. There one gentleman proposed to abandon the station, and to retreat upon Chunar, a fortress thirteen miles distant, and on the opposite bank of the river : he was supported at first by two others; but the idea was so strongly combated by Messrs. Gubbins and Lind, to whom it appeared in the light of a shameful abandonment of the most important city between Calcutta and Lucknow, that it was given up, and a resolution adopted to make a stand where they were, taking every precaution against an emergency.

* "I received all these particulars from a gentleman who was at Benares at the time" Note in Original.

† "On the authority of an officer who was at Benares at the time"—Note in Original.

The first of these precautions was to despatch an urgent requisition to Dinapore, 130 miles distant, for troops. This was attended to, and two Companies of Her Majesty's 10th Foot, about 150 strong, were at once sent up by steamer.

There was unfortunately no defensible position in Benares; but arrangements were made that in the event of an outbreak, the ladies and others should repair on the first alarm to the Mint, a very large oblong brick building, proof against fire, and capable of being defended against men unprovided with Artillery.

Towards the end of May the symptoms of disaffection amongst the native troops became even more strongly marked; *the agents of the king of Delhi were found to be busy amongst the Mahomedan sepoys; the Hindoos went openly to their temples, and prayed for the time to arrive when they might murder us; placards were posted up calling on the people to rise, and every thing indicated the approach of a crisis.*

On the 3rd and 4th June, reinforcements of the Madras Fusiliers, sixty men in all, arrived, and it appeared that the time had now come when stronger measures might be adopted. It was felt that an insurrection was imminent; that it would not be deferred much longer; it was therefore thought that with 240 Europeans at their disposal, with the Sikhs believed to be staunch, and with the 13th Irregulars in whom their officers had every confidence, the measure might be adopted of disarming the 37th Native Infantry. About a fortnight before, Colonel Gordon had been superseded in command of the station by Brigadier Ponsonby, a Cavalry officer. Both these officers, Mr. Tucker and Mr. Gubbins debated these questions on the afternoon of the 4th June. In the height of the discussion, suddenly the Brigade-Major rushed in with the startling intelligence that the 17th Native Infantry at Azimgurh, sixty miles distant, had risen in revolt, and plundered the treasure. This decided them. It was unanimously resolved to disarm the 37th Native Infantry the following morning, and a plan of operations was arranged by which that measure could be effected, it was believed, without the effusion of blood.

All was settled. Brigadier Ponsonby had gone to his own house to issue the necessary orders, when the sudden arrival of one man changed the whole aspect of affairs. This man was Lieutenant-Colonel Neill, commanding the Madras Fusiliers.

As Colonel Neill is one of the characters figuring in the suppression of this mutiny, who rose at once to the surface, and never sank below it, it may be as well to give some brief outline of his character.

It is told in a very few words, and may be illustrated by one example. Colonel Neill was the type of a resolute, determined, energetic Englishman—a man of very quick observation and an iron will. He saw the true bearings

of a question in an inconceivably brief space of time, and acted always at once; he was not to be trifled with when he gave orders : he always knew that he would be obeyed. His character was quickly appreciated by those with whom he came in contact.

The illustration is as follows :—When he arrived in Calcutta at the head of the Madras Fusiliers he was ordered up with a detachment by railway. The train was to start at a certain hour; but, owing to some delay on the part of the authorities in procuring boats, a portion of the detachment seemed likely to be a few seconds behind time. Colonel Neill had already arrived. The station-master, addressing him, stated that he was behind time, and could not wait for his men, and that the train should go without them. As he rose to execute this threat, Colonel Neill ordered his men to seize and detain him till the rest of the detachment should arrive. When they came up, the station-master was let go, the men got into the carriages, and the train started. A military man who could thus brave the civil power, was not likely to shrink before mutineers. When, therefore, Brigadier Ponsonby detailed to Colonel Neill his plan for the following morning, and the grounds upon which it had been formed, the latter inquired the reason for delaying the measure even so long. "Why", said he "give the 37th, who will hear, or have heard, of the Azimgurh mutiny, the opportunity of rising to-night ?" He strongly urged that the measure should be carried out at once. Convinced by his arguments, the Brigadier yielded, then and there altered all his arrangements, and sent orders to the regiments to parade that same evening.

The lines of the 37th were in the centre of the parade, about midway between those occupied by the Sikhs and by the Artillery. At the hour appointed, and before the 37th had come out in front of their lines, the Artillery advanced from the left, the Sikhs and Irregular Cavalry from the right. As they came near, the sepoys of the 37th were directed to place their muskets in the bells of arms appointed to receive them : some obeyed, but as the Europeans still continued to advance, they appeared to repent, for, rushing forward, they recovered their muskets, many of which were loaded, and commenced a brisk fire from the whole line on their officers and the advancing Europeans. Some of their officers, confident of their loyalty even then, went amongst them to smooth them down; but upon these also they fired, and even went at them with their bayonets.

The Sikhs and Irregular Cavalry were now approaching. The commanding officer of the former, Captain Guise, riding in front of them near the lines of the 37th, was shot dead. Captain Dodgson, the Brigade-Major, seeing the catastrophe, rode up to them, and intimating that he had been sent by the Brigadier to take the command, called on them to follow him. They flashed their swords in reply, giving vent to a low equivocal murmur.

At the same moment, one of them drew his pistol and fired at Captain Dodgson; the shot took effect in his sword arm, paralysing it for the moment. The sowar then rode up and was about to cut him down, when another interfered, and both were lost in the *melee*.

The sound of that pistol-shot had not yet been borne away on the winds, when the Sikhs, hitherto standing firm, brought up their muskets to the shoulder, and opened an indiscriminate fire on their own officers and the Europeans. Our guns, which, up to this time, had been blazing away at the 37th, then turned upon the Sikhs; these latter dashed forward to charge them, but were repulsed and broken. The Irregular Cavalry, most of whom had joined the mutineers, were also put to flight and dispersed. The 37th likewise fled in terror and confusion. Brigadier Ponsonby, in an early part of the day, had fallen, striken apparently by the sun, on the ground, and the command had been assumed by Neill, who directed the arrangements which ensured the defeat and flight of the rebels.

Whilst this was going on on the parade ground, the civilians, with their wives and families, had, according to previous arrangement, assembled on the roof of the treasury, distant about two miles, and there abided the fortunes of the day. Just before the firing commenced, Soorut Singh, a Sikh detenu, had left Mr. Gubbins; but on the booming of the first gun, he returned to the place where he and the others were collected; and, taking a double-barrelled gun from the hands of that gentleman, announced his intention to share his fate. His arrival was most opportune. A quarter of an hour had not elapsed before it was announced to the Sikh-guard stationed over the treasury, on the roof of which the civilians were standing, that our guns had been turned on their countrymen, who were being slaughtered in every direction. Already the Sikhs began to feel that they at least were capable of avenging their comrades, when Soorut Singh (Surat Singh), going amongst them, pointed out to them that the attack must at all events have been unpremeditated, or the civilians would not have placed themselves and their families in their power. He stated his firm belief in the sincerity and good faith of the English, and announced his intention to stand by them. These arguments, proceeding from one of their own countrymen, himself a detenu, had the desired effect, and the men never afterwards attempted to swerve from their duty.

The presence of Messrs. Gubbins and Lind on the roof of the treasury that evening, undoubtedly saved the building from plunder. Had they not been there the Sikh-guard, hearing of the massacre of their comrades, would at once have made the best of their time, and have helped themselves, previous to making off. There would have been no one to prevent them. But the presence of Mr. Gubbins primarily and of Soorut Singh secondarily,

saved the station from that catastrophe—a catastrophe which might have been the prelude of (*sic*,—to) a greater.

In the cantonment, meanwhile, the ladies and non-combatants, on the first sound of fire, had hurried into the mint, which had been prepared for their reception: here also congregated, after the mutiny had been crushed, the officers and civilians. Every bungalow was deserted; but it is a fact that speaks decisively as to the effective manner in which the *emeute* had been suppressed, that, though all the houses were deserted and every door left wide open, not a single robbery took place that evening.

The revolt of the sepoys had, indeed, been effectually put down; but no sooner had it become known in the districts around that there had been an insurrection, *than the whole country rose as one man*: communication was cut off with the neighbouring military stations, and it appeared as if the ryots and *zumindars* were about to attempt the execution of the project in which the sepoys had failed. All depended on the deportment of the city. It was at this epoch that the character and influence of Mr. Gubbins came fully into play. The memory of the fruitless revolt of 1852, and of the punishment meted out to the ringleaders, had its full effect. The powers with which, in their eyes, Mr. Gubbins was endued, were sufficient to discover and overturn any cabal; and what was really the effect of untiring zeal, undaunted energy, and clear-headedness unmatched, was attributed by them to the supernatural.

They saw, indeed, that Mr. Gubbins exposed himself as much or more than any one else. One shot would have brought him low; and on his death the insurrection of the city would have followed as a matter of course; but the shopkeepers and the *canaille* had fired at him in 1852; he had laughed at their miserable attempts; he had baffled, he had punished them. They feared the same result now.

So argued the commonalty. With the superior class his influence was of a higher order. There were two native noblemen in Benares at that time, both of them of great wealth and immense influence, and one of them possessing, in addition, strong sense and ability of no common order. This was the Rao Deo Narain Singh; the other was the Rajah of Benares. Everything that the former possessed he placed at the service of Government. After the mutiny he and the Sikh Sirdar, Soorut Singh, actually lived in the same house with Mr. Gubbins. The former procured for us excellent spies, first-rate information, and placed all his resources, and they were great, whatever he possessed in the world in fact, at the service of our Government. Soorut Singh almost gave his life, at least he offered it; but as will be subsequently shown, the rebels were content with paralysing a limb. As for the Rajah of Benares, he behaved throughout like a loyal subject. Although not so personally active as the Rao, he was equally liberal with his resources,

which were even greater, and never, in our darkest hour, did he hang back from assisting us.

It has been stated that the entire district rose at the sound of the cannon at Lecrole. But in this emergency our countrymen were not wanting to themselves. A small number of the Irregular Cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant Palisser, had remained faithful; but they were suspected by every one. At this crisis Mr. Chapman, an indigo-planter, came forward and offered to accompany them anywhere; he even proposed to take a portion of them under his command, and surprise and attack the Azimgurh mutineers. But this proposal, after due consideration, was rejected by Colonel Neill, who had arrived at a very correct appreciation of native troops. But this gallant volunteer's services were not refused. He was endowed with the powers of a magistrate, and sent first with the Irregulars, and afterwards with detachments of Europeans, against the surrounding districts, and with marked success. Three gibbets were erected at Benares. Again the name of Mr. Gubbins became a proverb for swift stern justice. Neither rank nor caste protected any man; and by this means, and the success of the flying parties who were sent out, order was temporarily restored in the Benares division. Meanwhile Colonel Neill, having driven away the rebels, and in the short space of three days made every department as efficient as possible, set out for Allahabad, making over the command to Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon.

Before we follow him in his travels, or relate the cause of his prompt departure, we may refer to the occurrences at the little station of Juanpore (Jaunpur).

Juanpore lies, as I have already stated, forty miles from Benares, in the direction of Oudh, and was at the time of the outbreak garrisoned by a detachment of the Loodhiana Regiment of Sikhs under Lieutenant Mara. The station had remained tolerably quiet up to the 5th June. But on the morning of that day some indigo-planters, who lived three miles from the station, galloped in with the information that the 37th mutineers had attacked their factory. All the residents at once assembled in the treasury, over which was a Sikh-guard. The men of this guard shook hands with our countrymen, and swore to protect them. Soon, however, information reached them how their comrades had been shot down on the Benares parade ground. They forthwith mutinied, commencing by shooting their own officer, Lieutenant Mara, and progressing by pillaging the treasury. At this crisis Mr. Guppage, a young civilian, going outside in the direction of the jail, was shot dead by the Sikh sentry on duty. The other residents remained in the enclosure of the magistrate's *cutcherry** until the Sikhs had

* "Office"—Note in Original.

gone off, when, at the instigation of Mr. Fane, the Magistrate, they gave up their arms, and started in the direction of Benares. Had they retained their arms, and pushed on like Englishmen, little opposition would have been offered. As it was, they were reduced to the most humiliating straits, being compelled to give up their watches and personal ornaments to natives, who but the day before had crouched before them. They were finally compelled to take refuge with one Hingan Lall, a native of some power and influence. In this pitiful state they remained, until, intelligence of their situation having reached the Benares authorities, a party was organised to go out and bring them in — a movement which was effected without loss.[1]

[1] *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, An Historical Narrative popularly known as *Red Pamphlet*, pp. 83-92.



Nana Saheb

(From Shepherd : *A Personal Narrative of the Outbreak and Massacre at Cawnpore*)

CHAPTER ONE

OUTBREAK IN EASTERN DISTRICTS

BANARAS

Extracts from Narrative of Events dated 15th October 1858 by Robert Taylor, Offg. Joint Magistrate, Jaunpur, communicated by B. Gubbins, Commissioner, 5th Division, to William Muir, Secretary to Govt. N. W. P.

PREPARATIONS

9th- Thus May passed away; but on its last night, the first open evidence of the coming disturbances appeared: for at 1-30 A. M. the lines vacated by the 67th N. I., were seen to be in flames. Yet this was not wholly unexpected; for Major Guise (commanding the Irregular Cavalry) had been warned that it was intended, and also that the 37th N. I. meant to seize the guns in the confusion.

10th—This brought to light an earlier step in the plot: for, next day some men, who were seen consulting near the spot where the fire had broken out, were tracked, and one party traced to the "*Shiwala*", where most of the Delhi princes lived. These men, a branch of that wretched family which had fled from Delhi some fifty years before and taken refuge at Benares, who ever affected all the state of royalty, and treated Englishmen with lordly scorn, now thought they did no wrong to the Government which had saved their lives and cherished them with lavish care, in concerting with its mutinous menials the ruin of that very Government, in daily, nay in hourly interviews, of the most familiar character, which they gave freely to any who might ask.

37TH NATIVE INFANTRY DISARMED

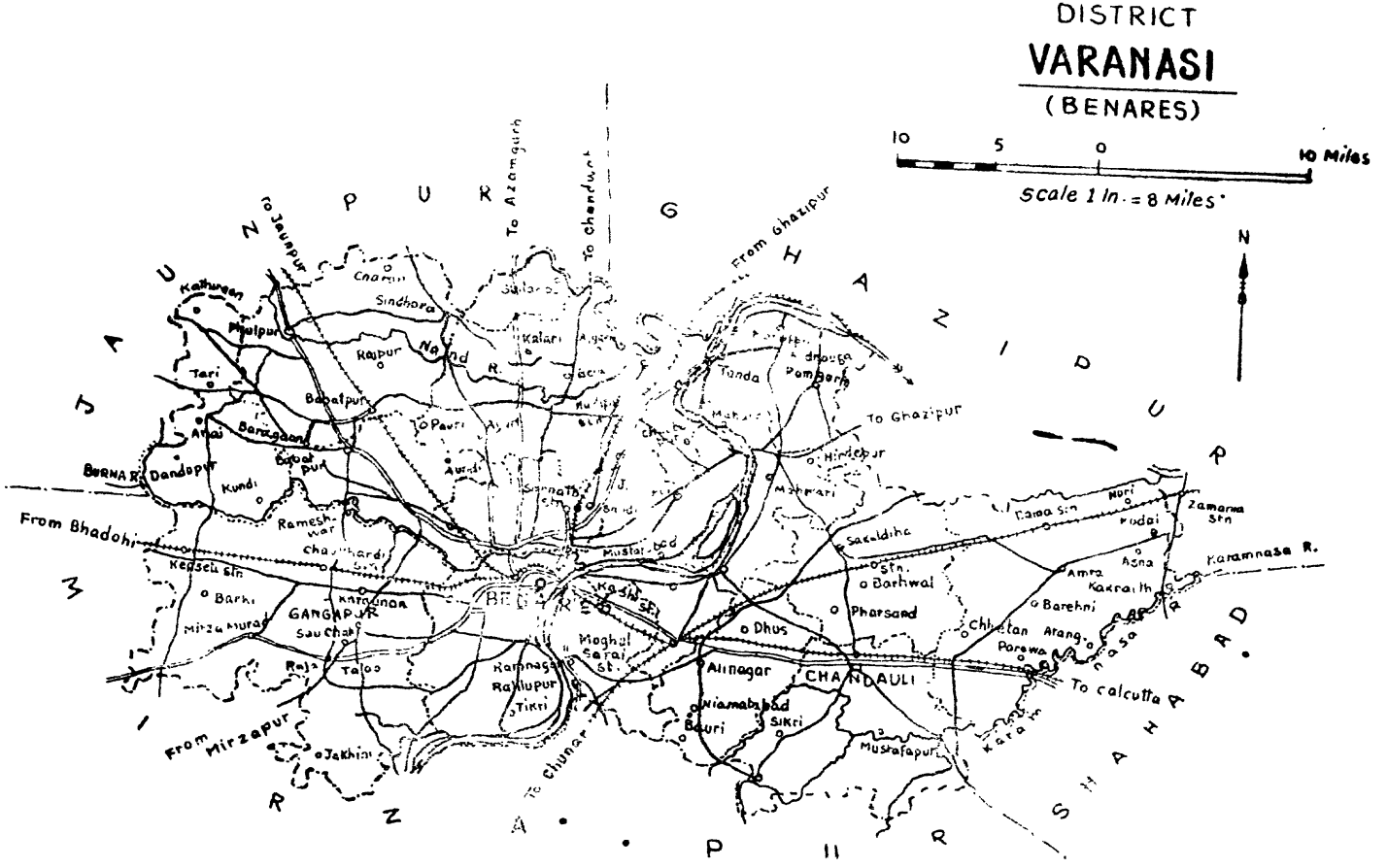
11th—None could now doubt that a crisis was near at hand; and on June 4th, a Council (both Civil and Military) was called to debate the question of disarming the 37th N. I. It was still sitting, when a sowar arrived with the news of the mutiny at Azimgurh. This decided the question, and it was arranged that next morning the civilians should assemble at the Collector's *kutcherry* while the 37th was paraded and

disarmed. The debate had been very full, and the decision deliberate; yet the civilians had scarce reached their homes when they were alarmed by the roar of the guns on the parade ground. The whole plans were in vain; they had been frustrated by the following circumstances.

12*th*—It appears that after Brigadier Ponsonby was returning home after the Council, he met Colonel Neill, who recommended him to disarm the corps at once. Disregarding all other considerations, on the spur of the moment he hurried to the parade ground. The troops turned out: on one side were drawn up Captain Olpherts with his three bullock guns and thirty European gunners in charge of the two hundred of the 1st Madras Fusiliers who had just arrived; opposite to them were the 37th N. I. and on either side the 13th Irregular Cavalry, and the Loodianah (Ludhiana) Corps of Sikhs. The 37th was ordered to pile arms, and replied with a volley, to which the guns gave a speedy and efficient answer; but at this unhappy moment, Captain Olpherts perceiving a movement among the Sikhs on his right, promptly turned the guns and opened fire on them. For some minutes the event was doubtful: thrice the rebels charged the guns, thrice were driven back with grape: the guns continued their destructive play, the mutineers wavered and then broke and fled. Never was rout so complete: a thousand armed men were flying from two hundred who did not dare stir; and that with such abject terror, that they flung down their loaded muskets, their accoutrements, everything that could hinder their flight and flying for dear life, did not stop to touch the few Europeans who fell in their way. '*Afflavit Deus et dissipati sunt.*' Had now the 13th Irregulars stood firm, scarce a man of the Benares mutineers would have escaped to tell how, at the Holy City, the God of the Christian had shown himself more powerful than all their grim *Valhalla*. But no, even thus early in the day they preferred threatening those who tried to keep them faithful, to firing on the mutinous crowd they affected to hate and to despise.

ROLE OF SIKHS

13*th*—It would be impossible to write of the mutiny at Benares, without saying a few words as to the much vexed question of the loyalty of the Loodianah Sikhs; the facts are simply these. They were brought out not knowing what was


DISTRICT
VARANASI
(BENARES)
10 5 0 10 Miles
Scale 1 In. = 8 Miles
N
JAUNPUR
GHAZIPUR
MIRZAPUR
SHAHABAD
To Jaunpur
To Azamgarh
To Chandauli
From Ghazipur
To Ghazipur
From Bhadohi
From Mirzapur
To Chunar
To Calcutta
Chanauli
Sindhora
Kaithuran
Phulpur
Tari
Raipur
Nand R.
Kalari
Tanda
Pamberi
Bahatpur
Barragaon
Amai
Pauri
Hindepur
Maharri
Dandapur
Kundi
Ramesh-war
Chaubardi
Kepsethi Stn.
Barki
Karaunda
GANGAPUR
Mirza Murad
Sau Chak
Raja
Taloo
Rampasi
Rajlupur
Tikri
Jakhini
Meghal Sarai Stn.
BENARES
Kachwa Stn.
Dhus
Allnagar
CHANDAULI
Niamabad
Bauri
Sikri
Mustafapur
Saiyadiha
Stn.
Barhwal
Pharsad
Amra
Kakrailh
Barehni
Chhatan
Arang
Porewa
Karamnasa R.
Zamania Stn.
Dama Stn.
Nuri
Pudai
Asna
Karsa R.

going to be done; suddenly the guns on one side opened on the 37th, men, officers and all; and on the other side, the Irregular Cavalry began firing into and abusing the Sikhs; then a bad character stepped forward and tried to shoot Colonel Gordon. The corps then mutinied; first fired into a group of young officers standing behind them, and then charged the guns. *The fact of the mutiny is indisputable.* The only question is, whether any other course could be expected. The parade, the firing, the attack on themselves, were all a surprise; they saw the 37th mown down, and could not know that the Irregulars were not obeying orders previously given. To expect them to stand firm under such circumstances is, I think, to expect a great deal more than could be hoped for from Europeans. On the other hand, some did stand even this rude test: the mutiny at Jounpoor surprised the natives even more than the European residents. The Treasury Guard at Benares, even in the first burst of their surprise and rage, were kept firm by the interference of two well-known natives. I contend, then, not that there were no bad characters in the Regiment; not that the loyalty of none was tainted; but that, as a corps they were loyal, and would have stood any test less rude.

14*th*—In three hours the mutiny was over, and the mutineers cleared away in the full rush of their terror-stricken flight. And the whole affair was so sudden, that the roar of the guns on the parade ground was almost the first notice the civil residents had that anything was going to happen. But then the Missionaries fled to Ramnuggur (Ramnagar)[1], and thence to Chunar, while the civilians, in number about twelve, all armed to the teeth, and guarding some four or five ladies, took their stand on the roof of the Collector's *kutcherry* (*kachehri*). Strong as their position was, so great was the agitation of the Sikhs on hearing the fate of their Regiment, that the Europeans on the roof though safe from capture, would not have been safe from attack, had not Sirdar Soorut Singh (Surat Singh) and Pundit Gokool Chand (Pandit Gokul Chand) (at their own

[1] *Ramnagar*, Pargana *Ralhupur*, Tahsil *Chandauli*, District *Benares*—Ramnagar is the only town in the district besides the city of Benares (Varanasi). It stands on the right bank of the Ganges, in 25° 16′ N. and 83° 2′ E., about four miles above the Dufferin bridge and sixteen miles west from Chandauli. (*District Gazetteers*, Benares, 1911, p. 340).

great peril) gone amongst them, and succeeded by many words in calming their rage at the treachery they suspected, and burned to avenge. So the little party remained in safety, till at 2 A. M., on June 5th, it was escorted to the mint by a party of Europeans.

15*th*—In summoning this guard one event occurred, which I cannot pass over in silence. It is an act of no common heroism. Messrs. Gubbins, Caulfield, and Demomet went in a *buggy* (*bagghi*) to the mint, and Mr. Jenkinson, Civil Service, accompanied them on horseback. As the party was crossing the bridge, Mr. Jenkinson saw some ambushed sepoys aiming at the party in the *buggy*. There was no time for warning or for hesitation, and he at once reined back his horse, covering with his own body his companions in danger. It were far easier to praise such an act than to praise it worthily; and I praise it best, by not praising it at all.

OUTBREAK IN THE CITY

16*th* And now, as though this night had not been full enough of trial, the party had scarce reached the mint house when news was received that some Mussulmans had determined to raise the green flag, in the temple of Bissessur (Vishweshwar) the most holy of the many holy places in the city of Shiva. Yet this, which was fraught with the greatest danger, was turned into a source of strength by Mr. Lind, who called on the Rajpoots of the city to prevent this insult to their faith. So the Mussulmans retired peaceably, and the rest of the night was quiet.

17*th*— Next day the treasure was removed to the magazine; the mint house was slightly fortified; and for the moment the worst of the storm was over. And tranquillity was the more assured, that every day small parties of Europeans were passing through on their westward by Mr. Pollock (Joint Magistrate), who had been sent out for that purpose to Nowbutpoor (Naubatpur)[1] the day before the mutiny.

[1] *Naubatpur*, Pargana *Narwan*, Tahsil *Chandauli*, District *Benares*—The village of Naubatpur stands on the left bank of the Karamnasa river, in 25° 14′ N. and 83° 24′ E., at the point where the Grand Trunk Road enters the district from Bengal, eight miles east from Chandauli and 26 miles from the Civil Station of Benares (Varanasi). (*District Gazetteers*, Benares, 1911, p. 326).

18*th*—I must now turn to tell, of an event earlier in point of time, and really accelerating the one I have been describing,—the mutiny at Azimgurh; and here I must make a slight retrospect in order to represent clearly the real state of affairs.

EFFECTS OF THE AZAMGARH OUTBREAK

19*th*—The 17th Native Infantry had been brigaded at Lucknow, with the 19th and 34th Native Infantry. The Regiment at the station was numerically weak, not mustering above five hundred men; but it was vehemently suspected and not without ground; for, it was known that men of the disbanded 19th Native Infantry were entertained in its lines. On May 24th, too, when some men impudently rejected extra cartridges which were served out to them, and afterwards violently assaulted a native officer, Major Burroughs (the Commanding Officer) found himself too weak, to punish, and the Brigadier at Benares had enough to do in keeping his own troops quiet, without thinking of sending help to out-stations.

20*th*—However, threatening as was the aspect of affairs, there was every reason to hope that, if the Gun-guard stood firm, a long and successful resistance to any attack of the mutineers might be made. The fortification of the Collector's *kutcherry*, begun before, was now speedily completed; the verandahs closed with loopholed walls, the parapets crowned with sand bags, the entrance gate swept by the two post guns, covered with a trench, in charge of the native gunners, and the best men of the 17th Native Infantry, as a Gun-guard. Would they stand fast ? If so, the Europeans were safe; if not,—(*sic*,).

TREASURE BROUGHT TO BANARAS

21*st*—The trial soon came. On June 1st, the Regiment held a seditious meeting; on June 2nd, an attempt was made to tamper with some of the 13th Irregulars, who had come with Lieutenant Palliser[1] to escort to Benares the spare treasure of Goruckpoor (Gorakhpur) and Azimgurh (Azamgarh). Orders for this despatch had been given; all the warnings and entreaties of Mr. Horne (the Magistrate) were in

[1] Spelt as 'Palisser' in other document, (pp. 4, 5).

vain; and on the morning of June 3rd, a Company of the 17th Native Infantry, and some eighty sowars of the 12th and 13th Irregulars, marched in from Goruckpoor with five lakhs of Rupees in charge. The 17th Native Infantry hesitated no longer, but openly declared that the treasure should never leave the station. However, by mingled threats and promises, the same guard was induced to march again that night and under their escort the Goruckpoor treasure, with two lakhs from Azimgurh, was sent on to Benares.

22*nd* -So far all went well; and though the excitement of the sepoys had hastened the despatch of the treasure, still that excitement seemed to have exhausted itself in words; and it was hoped that, for the time at least, the danger was escaped. But at 8 P. M., some three hours after the treasure left the station, a musket shot was heard. On the instant the sepoys armed themselves, shot down Lewis (the Quarter-Master Sergeant), ordered their officers to fly to Ghazeepoor (Ghazipur) and hurried down towards the city. The Magistrate and Joint Magistrate, (Messrs. Horne and Simson) who were in the lines, saw that all was lost, and galloped back to the station only staying to bid the *Kotwal* with his increased Police and doubled Jail-guard do what he could to check the advance of the sepoys through the city. But it was all in vain; the *Kotwal* could do nothing and the Jail-guard releasing the prisoners, at once joined the advancing rebels.

23*rd* At the treasury the Gun-guard had mutinied; Lieutenant Hutchinson was shot while trying to harangue his men; but all the rest, both ladies and gentlemen, escaped to the roof of the *kutcherry*. Their position was desperate enough; but the sepoys caring less for murder than for plunder, suddenly took the guns and hurried off towards Benares. But it was clear they meant to return, for their lines were still strongly guarded; so the civilians taking advantage of their absence fled to Ghazeepoor (Ghazipur). That place they reached in safety about the same time as the mutineers, who, having captured the treasure, and returned with it to the station, left Azimgurh in haste, but with all the pomp of war, *en route* for Fyzabad.

EVENTS AT JAUNPUR

24*th* - The events of the mutiny at Joumpoor (Jaunpur)

are few, and easily told. It had long been felt that if there were any serious disturbances anywhere, this *zillah* would have its share; for in none are auction-purchasers more numerous, old *zemindars* more powerful, or the present landholders on worse term among themselves. Still the planters had all crowded in the city as a place of safety; and when the outbreak did take place, the native inhabitants seem to have been even more surprised and alarmed than the European.

THE SIKH GUARD MARCHES OFF TO LUCKNOW

25*th*—Thus on the morning of June 5th, all the European residents were assembled at the Collector's *kutcherry* well armed and prepared for the worst. They had not long to wait. *The news of the rising at Benares and the slaughter of the Sikhs arrived;* the Sikh Guard (a part of the Loodianah Regiment) was roused to fury; here was no Soorut Singh (Surat Singh) to throw himself into the breach; they shot their Commanding Officers; they murdered Mr. Cuppage (or Guppage) (the Joint Magistrate) as he was galloping down to the jail; and then, each with a bag of treasure and all his arms, marched off to Lucknow. The Europeans at once fled. The Doobey Rajpoots drove them from their refuge in the house of Rai Hingun Loll (Rai Hingan Lal). Then they hurried to Pussewah Factory, and on June 9th were brought in safety to Benares by a party of volunteers who had gone out for that purpose.

JAUNPUR TREASURY PLUNDERED

26*th*—Meanwhile a strange scene was enacted at Jounpoor. The plunder of the treasury had been completed by decrepit old women and wretched little boys, who had never seen a rupee in their lives; and the houses of all the officers were thoroughly gutted, and nearly all destroyed. A committee of public safety was formed in the city, but though the refusal of Rajah Sheogholam Doobey (Raja Shiv Ghulam Dubey) to act, removed the chief cause of religious discord, still the Mussulmans could not agree even to save their own lives; and the city was left to anarchy till Mr. Fane (the Collector) returning to Jounpoor for a day to take some Europeans to Benares, formally made over charge of the district to Rajah Sheogholam Doobey.

BRITISH AUTHORITY LAPSES

27*th*—This appointment produced but little good even in the city; in the district, not a semblance of authority was left to any one. Those who had lost their estates under our rule, thought this a good time to regain them; those who had not, thought they could make a little profit by plundering their weaker neighbours : the bolder spirits thought to secure more brilliant advantages by intercourse with the rebel powers in Oudh : and in this state of anarchy (the normal state of every eastern province) they remained till the arrival of the Goorkhas on September 8th restored a semblance of authority to the British Government.....

POLICE PARALYSED

33*rd* Thus the week, which had destroyed the name of Civil Government in Jounpoor (Jaunpur) and Azimgurh (Azamgarh), had left the remaining *zillahs* in little better state. The Police was paralyzed; not a road was safe; and the Rajpoots generally returned to their normal state of plunderers, and plundered. And there was no force to check them. Lieutenant Palliser and his sowars(in Mr. Jenkinson's charge) had scarcely begun to punish some of the worst villages in the Benares district, when he was recalled to join a party of Europeans in an attempt to re-open the communication with Allahabad, cut off by a raid of men from Bhadoee(Bhadohi)[1], (*zillah* Mirzapoor), who had cut the telegraphic wire and carried off the *dak* bullocks. The expedition was of course successful, but the execution of some of the criminals at Gopeegunge (Gopiganj) was only too speedily avenged by the murder of Mr. Moore.

REPRISAL BY THE BRITISHERS

34*th*—Soon, however, the punishment inflicted by Lieutenant Palliser in the Benares district was forgotten; dacoities became

[1] *Bhadohi*, Pargana *Bhadohi*, Tahsil *Korh*, District *Mirzapur*—The ancient capital of the pargana to which it gives its name is situated in 25° 24′ N. and 82° 35′ E. on the direct road from Mirzapur to Jaunpur. It is distant 21 miles north from Mirzapur city, 8 miles north-east from Korh, and 2½ miles south from the Barna river which forms the boundary of the tahsil with Jaunpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 270).

commoner than ever; and it was speedily apparent that the Civil Officers would cease to possess even a vestige of authority, unless some procedure were adopted, more speedy and severe than the Regulation allowed. A report to this effect made to Government speedily bore fruit in the now well-known XVI. 57; and the permanent gallows, and a few instances of a crime committed after breakfast and avenged before dinner, reduced a large part of the district to comparative tranquillity.

35*th*—Mr. Jenkinson (Civil Service) was now directed to raise a corps of Police Sowars, and speedily found work ready to his hands; for the Rajpoots of Dobhee[1] (*zillah* Jounpoor) waxing bold from impunity, disturbed the peace of Benares, and cut off communication with Azimgurh. Mr. Chapman went out against them with a force of Europeans, Sikhs and sowars; but though he only returned in (*sic.*) June 30th, after inflicting a punishment which seemed sufficient to have crushed the Dobhee people for years, they regained confidence to such an extent that early in July they marched to attack Benares itself. Nine miles from the station, however, they were met by a force, which supplied whatever was wanting in their former chastisement; and on July 17th, they most gladly came in, and have behaved well ever since.

STRATEGIC POSITION OF BANARAS FOR THE BRITISH

36*th* —These endless disturbances however caused an uneasy feeling at Benares. This was the last point where the river was really safe; here the Trunk Road crosses the Ganges; here was the Chief Depot of the Commissariat; and the loss of Benares would have left us the whole country to reconquer almost from the gates of Calcutta. Messrs. Lind and Gubbins then pressed earnestly on the Military Authorities, the importance of erecting a post at Rajghat to command the landing-place on the very site indeed of an old Hindoo castle, whose existence was little more than traditional. Convict labour was freely offered; the last difficulties on the score of expense were removed by orders for the construction of a fort received from the Supreme Government, and so originated that extensive and irregular,

[1] Apparently *Dobhi*, a railway station on metre-gauge line between *Jaunpur* and *Aunrihar*.

but strong fortification which now dominates over the city of Shiva.

37*th*—As the date at which I have now arrived in my Narrative of Events at Benares, (July 18th), is also the date of the return of the Civil Authorities to Azimgurh, I am by this reminded how much in arrear is my history of that district. On June 16th Mr. Dunne, himself a fugitive from Azimgurh, determined to fetch in those who, saved by the sepoys' hasty flight, were living under the protection of friendly *zemindars*. He was accompanied by Mr. Venables and some sowars given him by the Magistrate of Ghazeepoor (Ghazipur), and accomplished his march without opposition. At Azimgurh he found a small party of the 13th Irregulars, who seemed not quite to have resolved on their line of action, but soon left the place. The Europeans hastened from their retreats, and were anxious to leave at once. On June 20th the majority of the party with the sowars started for Ghazeepoor, (which they reached in safety); but Mr. Venables, yielding to the entreaties of the *Omlah* (*Amla*) and the chief citizens, stayed (with Messrs. Dunne, Legge, and Dodsworth) at Azimgurh, and was at once invested by the Commissioner with full magisterial power.

38*th*—Among the Europeans thus rescued was Mr. Niblett, the Head Clerk of the Collector's office, who after the outbreak had obtained shelter in the house of Alee Buksh (Ali Bakhsh), the *Nazir*. In his presence a council was held to discuss the chance of the return of the English, and to decide on the proper course to be pursued. Here, too, all concord was prevented by the religious differences, here no doubt politicly aggravated by the efforts of the faithful *Nazir*, who with a few of the *Omlah* assumed the office of a committee of public safety, and reported proceedings daily to the Commissioner at Benares.

39*th*—Mr. Venables had fallen on no bed of roses. Though his authority was unquestioned in the eastern and larger half of the district, the Rajpoots of the west had enjoyed a fortnight's license (*sic*,) far too keenly to tolerate willingly the slightest check. The Police, helpless with terror, the provisional council at Azimgurh unable to rule even the neighbouring villages, had not tried to cope with these audacious plunderers; and Mr. Venables soon found he must try his power against them in the field, or be forced ignominiously to save his own life by again abandoning the station.

REVOLUTIONARIES MARCH ON AZAMGARH

46*th*—About July 12th, then, Mr. Venables found it necessary to go out with all his force (which now comprised about three hundred of the 65th N. I.) to attack the Pulwars at Koilsa[1]. The attempt was unsuccessful; the enemy lost very few men; the gun carriage broke down, and the sepoys, clamouring for the furlough, which many claimed as then their due, retreated so precipitately that even the cowardice of the enemy could scarce save the gun from falling into their hands. Still, emboldened by their retreat, the rebels began their march on the city of Azimgurh; but advanced so slowly, that at noon on July 18th they were still two miles from it, when Mr. Venables moved out to meet them. Fortunately he had that morning been reinforced by the return of the Civil Authorities to the station, accompanied by some ten officers marching to join the Goorkha force at Goruckpoor (Gorakhpur), twenty-five sowars of the 12th Irregulars, and Captain Catania with his hastily-raised, half-drilled, half-armed levy of 350 men from Benares; but the larger portion of the 65th N. I. who had been with him at Koilsa had returned to Ghazeepoor. At noon then he moved out, leaving Mr. Simson, the Joint Magistrate, with Captain Catania's levy to protect the *kutcherries* and the breast-works he had thrown up commanding the roads through the city, and posting some 800, recently entertained, matchlockmen under native officers in different parts of the city to prevent any attack on that quarter. They found the enemy in great force strongly posted in groves, with his front covered by the high crops of season; then the Cavalry were useless, the effect of the fire was imperceptible; and at last (after the enemy had for a full hour from a distance of two hundred yards poured a thick hail of bullets on the exposed place, where the gun, etc. were posted without hitting a man) it was perceived that our right flank was rapidly being turned,

[1] Apparently *Koelsa*, Pargana *Kauria*, Tahsil *Mahul*, District *Azamgarh*—This small village lies on the boundaries of parganas Kauria and Atraulia 26° 15′ N. and 83° 1′ E., on the road from Azamgarh to Fyzabad. It is distant 17 miles from Azamgarh and 10 from the tahsil headquarters at Ahraula, with which it is connected by the unmetalled road which passes through Koelsa from Maharajganj. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 241).

and the retreat was sounded. The retreat soon became a flight; and had the city been a little more distant, there would have been as much apparent discipline in pursuing rabble as in the flying troops. Order however was so far restored, that a vigorous street fight (in which the matchlockmen with the *Tuhseeldar* took no part) was maintained, and the *kutcherry* was reached without loss. The rebels had suffered severely in the passage of the town; the grape tore ceaselessly through their dense array; the sepoys fought well behind the earth works; but not till after three hours' hard fighting, when a flank movement had been defeated by a charge of sowars, did they think of retreat. Still none felt confidence enough to leave his post, and the question of retreat to Ghazeepoor was discussed in a Council of War; but at last it was agreed, that till morning dawned no plan should be decided on; and morning brought with it the welcome news that the rebels were far away.

BRITISHERS THINK OF A RETREAT

17*th*—Welcome indeed was the news. No supplies were to be found; *the whole country was up;* and the sepoys, never overfond of fighting, and at this time inclined against rather than for the side on which they were marshalled, positively declared they would not fight without being fed. Indeed had the Pulwars[1] held their ground, it would have been difficult even to retreat safely to Ghazeepoor; and the question for the Council was, whether it was not absolutely necessary to retreat at once, rather than whether it was proper to retreat at all.

18*th*—The flight of the enemy, and the distribution of some opportunely discovered grain, raised the spirit of the sepoys rapidly; and they were quite ready in the afternoon to assist at the execution of some of the rebels who were taken prisoners by the men of a village they had attempted to plunder in their

[1] The Palwars are a Rajput clan. They count back sixteen or seventeen generations to Burhdeo, from whom sprang four houses. The first of these is the Rajghar, which is represented in Azamgarh by the Palwars of pargana Kauria and the north and east parts of Atraulia; and the second is the Bharinian, represented by Palwars of Dadar, Bhatauli, Lohra and other mahals in the west of pargana Atraulia. Of the other two houses, one, the Ahirinian, is practically extinct, and the other has its chief seat at Bandipur and Tighra in Fyzabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 81).

flight. Our loss in that long battle was but seventeen men : the rebels lost at least 250. The Pulwars themselves at this time retreated quickly into their own country; but the roads on all sides were closed by the villagers, who would reap the profit of a battle, whose dangers or whose losses they had not dared to share.

49th—In the ten days which passed between this attack and the second evacuation of Azimgurh (on July 28th), little was done. The eastern portion of the district, as before, obeyed passively; the western was in open rebellion: but the ill-will between the sowars and sepoys seemed likely to prevent any danger from within; and all were well contented to await the arrival of the two regiments of Goorkhas, who were to be sent to Azimgurh from the force which was expected to reach Goruckpoor by July 27th. News of their having reached Goruckpoor was expected on July 28th; but that day brought far different tidings. Two messengers arrived in hot haste, with the news that the 12th Irregulars had "gone" at Sigowlee; and as now none could doubt that the sowars of that corps who were at Azimgurh would follow the example of the main body as soon as they heard of it, it was speedily decided to retire on Ghazeepoor.....

DISARMING OF 17 N. I. INTENDED

54th—On June 13th, a party of the 1st Madras Fusiliers arrived at Mirzapoor, and then it was proposed to disarm the 17th Native Infantry. Colonel Pott, however, did not think it necessary, and a party of them (with the Fusiliers) attacked and destroyed Goura, a village on the right bank of the Ganges near the Allahabad frontier. The inhabitants had been peculiarly daring, and now too prepared for resistance; but finding themselves attacked both by land and water (for the 17th had landed to take them in the rear), they fled. Still some of the leaders were taken and handed over to the Magistrate.

RAJA OF BHADOHI COURT-MARTIALLED AND HANGED

55th—This little expedition and the destruction of a band of river dacoits by Mr. Walker (Deputy Collector) made the right bank of the river safe : the left bank was a far more

difficult subject. Here in *pergunnah* Bhadoee (Bhadohi) the Rajah of Benares had inherited from his fathers large estates, from which the former Rajpoot owners had never been wholly uprooted. *Early in June the head of this clan, Udwunt (Udwant) Singh, assumed his ancestral title of Rajah of Bhadoee, and appointed two Deewans.* On the strength of this newly regained nobility, he collected a body of men of his own tribe, took "benevolences", plundered his weaker neighbours, and soon grew strong enough to close the Trunk Road. I have above related how Mr. Chapman with some Europeans and Lieutenant Palliser's sowars were sent to reopen it; and when they were at Gopeegunge, Moonshee Durshun Lall (Munshi Darshan Lal) (the Agent of the Rajah of Benares in those parts) delivered up this titular Rajah and his *Deewan (Diwan)* who had been captured by the Moonshee in some quiet, and probably not very creditable, way. They were of course at once tried by court-martial and hanged. Their people vowed vengeance. Unfortunately they argued that Mr. Moore, Joint Magistrate of Mirzapoor, and so official Superintendent of the Rajah of Benares' wide domains, must for this very reason have been the chief cause of the execution; and so they chose him as the proper victim of their revenge.

ACTION AT PALI

56th- On July 4th, he made a raid from Gopeegunge and arrested some prisoners, whom he brought to an Indigo factory at Palee[1]; the house was soon surrounded by Joorhye Singh (Jhuri Singh) and a large body of men. Mr. Moore and the two managers of the factory were murdered in attempting to escape, *and Mr. Moore's head carried off to be sold to the widow of Udwunt Singh, for the Rs.* 300 *she had promised for it.* The bodies, however, were recovered by Lieutenant Woolhouse, and some of H. M.'s 64th, who hurried out from Gopeegunge that night. The Magistrate and some of the 47th N.I arrived from Mirzapoor and next day attacked the rebels; but the real murderers escaped both from him and also from an expedition of European troops, who went with Mr. Chapman to search them out.....

[1] In Pargana *Bhadohi* of *Mirzapur* District.

OUTBREAK AT SIGAULI

59*th*—The mutiny at Sigowlee, which had c the evacuation of Azimgurh, caused some alarm at Benares, and the prisoners were removed into a strong, walled enclosure near the College. The danger however soon passed away, and gave place to a more threatening one; for the Dinapoor[1] mutineers were in full march on Benares. Their defeat at Arrah[2] had not, however, at all increased their confidence; and having narrowly escaped from the force sent to prevent their passing the bridge at Nowbutpoor (Naubatpur) they marched with all speed west-ward, doing what damage they could in their hasty flight. Unopposed by the cowardly servants of the Rajah of Benares, they traversed the narrow defiles of Chuckea (Chakia)[3]; and on August 11th, poured down on the fair fields of Mirzapoor. Here feeling themselves safe from pursuit they lingered several days; the plundering and ravaging with which they busied themselves made their progress very slow; and it was not till August 20th, that they drew near to Mirzapoor. On that day, however, about seventeen miles from the city, they found themselves face to face with some three hundred of H. M.'s 5th, who had been sent out against them. At the first fire, without noticing that their assailants were but a fourth their number, the rebels broke and fled; their loss was not worth mention, and after plundering all the villages in a most leisurely manner they entered the Allahabad district on August 25th.

REVOLUTIONARIES IN MIRZAPUR

60*th*—Slight as was the loss of the first body of mutineers in their attempted advance on the city of Mirzapoor, it sufficed to deter all others from a similar attempt. The district, however, was less fortunate. On August 14th the little party of mutineers

[1] A military cantonment in *Bihar*.

[2] A district in *Bihar*.

[3] *Chakia*, Pargana *Kera-Mangraur*, Tahsil *Chakia*, District *Mirzapur*—Chakia, the capital town of pargana Kera-Mangraur, lies in 25° 3′ N. and 83° 14′ E. Chakia is some 8 miles from the falls of Karamnasa. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 293).

from Hazareebagh[1] entered that *pergunnah* which lies south of the Soane[2]. The passage of the Rahind they effected with the aid of the Rajah of Singrowlee[3]; and after doing all the injury in their power to the coal mines at Kotah marched with a similar intention to those in Rewah[4]; but a rising of the country people prevented such wanton mischief. Nor did Koour Singh (Kunwar Singh) himself meet a more hospitable reception in that little principality, for when (September 8th) on his plundering march through Mirzapoor he mounted the Rewah Ghats, he was forced to make a hasty retreat, and continuing his march along the Deccan Road, quitted the confines of Mirzapoor.....

AMAR SINGH KILLED IN BATTLE

69th Next day about half the force was sent to Adumpoor to destroy a little fort, the home of Umar (Amar) Singh[5]. Fortunately this individual (who shortly after Mr. Lind's arrival was reported to be preparing a combined attack on Joumpoor itself) had just returned to send off his valuables to a safe place; and in the fight which now ensued he was killed with some fifty of his men. Two of the chief rebels of this district had just been cut off, and the others who had assembled in the neighbourhood escaped a battle by flight.....

[1] *Hazaribagh Town* Headquarters of Hazaribagh District, *Bengal*, picturesquely situated in 23° 59' N. and 85° 22' E., on the high central plateau of the District, at an elevation of 2,000 feet above sea-level in the midst of a group of conical hills. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII, 1908, p. 99).

[2] Apparently 'River Sone' is intended here.

[3] *Singraudi*, Pargana, Tahsil *Robertsganj* Singraudi proper is the south-western pargana of the tahsil and district, being bounded on the north by pargana Agori; on the east by pargana Dadhi; and on the south and west by the independent states of Sarguja and Rewah. The pargana is nearly triangular in shape. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 379).

[4] *Rewah State* (*Rewa*)—A treaty State in the *Baghelkhand Agency*, *Central India* lying between 22° 38' and 25° 12' N. and 80° 32' and 82° 51' E., with an area of about 13,000 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Banda, Allahabad, and Mirzapur Districts of the United Provinces; on the east by Mirzapur District and the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur; on the south by the Central Provinces; and on the west by the States of Maihar, Nagod, Sohawal, and Kothi, in Baghelkhand. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 279).

[5] *cf.* Chapter IV; Amar Singh died on 5th February 1860.

74*th*—This period at Mirzapoor had been less eventful. Lieutenant Buckley, who had evacuated Gopeegunge when the Dinapoor mutineers entered the district, returned after a single night's absence; and early in September, when Koour Singh was marching down the Deccan Road, the parts of Allahabad and Mirzapoor, on the left bank of the Ganges, were entrusted to Mr. Mayne, late Magistrate of Banda. This appointment, though unprecedented, was rendered necessary by the position of affairs; the energy of Mr. Elliott an unpassed civilian, who had been posted at Gopeegunge, and indeed was not removed, could ill make up for his want of experience, and the overtasked Magistrates of Allahabad and Mirzapoor were thus relieved from a part of their charge, which was very troublesome from the restlessness of its inhabitants, and very important from being traversed through its whole length by the great Trunk Road...

PALWARS WON OVER BY THE BRITISH

79*th*—Here learning that the hesitation of the Pulwars was chiefly caused by a doubt of their reception, he determined on a tour through their country. Thus, marching with a force sufficient to crush any attempt at resistance, he passed through the *Rajkoomar* country, punishing these people on his road, and destroying their chief holds; and then at Koilsa met the chief of the Pulwars in a friendly manner. The fruits of this policy have been conspicuous ever since; for neither when the rebels came down early in November, nor when Koour Singh besieged Azimgurh in April last, did a single Pulwar chief raise a hand for their aid.

ACTION AT THE ATRAULIA FORT

80*th*—With the former of these two events I will close my tale. Early in November, the rebels in great force occupied the fort of Atrowlia[1]. A call for aid from Jounpoor met a speedy

[1] *Atraulia*, Pargana *Atraulia*, Tahsil *Malul*, District *Azamgarh*—Atraulia is situated in the extreme north-western corner of the district, in 26° 20′ N. and 82° 59′ E., on the main road from Azamgarh to Fyzabad. It is distant 26 miles from Azamgarh and 11 miles from Ahraula; with it it is connected by another unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1909, pp. 191-192).

response in the march of Colonel Longden with a strong force on that place. Night fell on November 9th, before an attack was considered prudent; and by next morning the enemy had evacuated the fort, removing their wounded, but leaving behind three guns. Three days sufficed for the destruction of the fort; Colonel Longden returned to Jounpoor, and Azimgurh was quiet for the year. Even the alarm caused by the threatening attitude of the rebels in the end of November did not cause the frontier Police to quit their posts, though the Civil Officers were in readiness to leave the district, and the Rajah of Gopalapoor[1] was quite able to defend the marches of Oudh till the arrival of Colonel Longden, with his little army in the last days of December, took away all fear of attack from that quarter.

81*st*- Once more the scene changes to Jounpoor. After the battle of Chanda[2] (of which I told before) the force at Singramow[3] was amused with reported dissension among the

[1] *Gopalpur*, Pargana, Tahsil *Sagri*, District *Azamgarh* Gopalpur is a small pargana in the north centre of the district. It is bounded on the north by the river Ghagra, on the east and south it adjoins pargana Sagri, and on the west lie parganas Kauria and Nizamabad and pargana Bihar of the Fyzabad district. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1909, p. 232).

[2] *Chanda*, Pargana, Tahsil *Khutahan*, District *Jaunpur* The main portion of pargana Chanda lies in the Sultanpur district; but three detached blocks which came into the possession of Bais Rajputs some centuries ago, and were amalgamated into a single taluqa, were transferred during the days of the early Nawab Wazirs of Oudh to the territorial administration of Balwant Singh of Benares. When the latter province was ceded to the British these parts of Chanda were given over with the rest. They were known as the Singramau taluqa, and were held in the days of Duncan by Abdhut Singh. The southern and largest portion, which contains the village of Singramau, lies to the west of Rari-Badlapur and Qariat Mendha and to the north of Garwara, from which it is separated by the Tambura. This small stream joins the Pili, which flows through the centre of this block at the south-eastern corner. To the north and west lies the Patti tahsil of the Partabgarh district, and to the north-east is detached fragment of pargana Chanda in Sultanpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Jaunpur, 1908, pp. 201-202).

[3] *Singramau*, Pargana *Chanda*, Tahsil *Khutahan* This is the chief village in the southern portion of the pargana, but deserves mention chiefly as the headquarters of the old Bais taluqa. The place, which was founded by Singh Rai, the ancestor of the Bais proprietors, stands on the road from Jaunpur to Sultanpur, in 25° 57′ N. and 82° 24′ E., at a distance of five miles north-west from Badlapur and 24 miles from the district head-quarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Jaunpur, 1908, p. 321).

rebels. The only apparent effect of this dissension was to cause them to assemble again more rapidly. Roostum Sah (Rustam Shah) was compelled to join the rebel force; but all the efforts of the Rajpoot chiefs could not stir the cowardly nature of the *Nazim* to a speedy attack.

RETREAT OF ENGLISH FORCES

82*nd*—On November 22nd Colonel Longden returned from destroying Atrowlia, and the whole army marched out to Singramow. Here all sorts of rumours reached them; an official from Uldemow (Aldemau) was in the rebels' camp; an attack was to be made in force at night; an attack was to be made in two Columns by day; Moozuffur Jehan (Muzaffar Jahan), Mullik Mehndee Buksh (Malik Menhdi Bakhsh), and every other rebel of note was lending his aid to the *Nazim*. At all events the rebel army (which had increased from 10,000 on November 22nd to 16,000 on November 28th) now bagan to advance cautiously; and the English army, after the question had been fully debated in a Council of War, retired on Jounpoor. The *budmashes* at once flocked together : the frontier Police were driven in; the Rajpoot levies were able to do but little against dacoits whose leaders were in the service of the chief rebels. Still Pundit Kishen Narain did good service in the north in checking the progress of the enemy, till on December 24th Muckdoom Buksh[1] (Agent of Iradut Jehan) attacked him with a large force at Tighra. The treasure and the records had previously been removed from the *tuhseeldaree* (*tahsildari*) and the Pundit after resisting bravely for some days, was obliged to retreat by night to Jounpoor.....

RAJA LAKSHMAN SINGH

87*th*—The condition of this *pergunnah* requires a brief retrospect. The Rajah of Bijeygurh (Bijaigarh)[2] chief of a family of

[1] 'Makhdum Bakhsh'.

[2] *Bijaigarh*, Pargana *Bijaigarh*, Tahsil *Robertsganj*, District *Mirzapur*—The celebrated hill and fort of Bijaigarh lie in 24° 35′ N. and 83° 11′ E., at a distance of 60 miles south-east from Mirzapur, 12 miles south-east from Robertsganj and 50 miles south-south-east from Chunar. The summit of the hill on which the fort is situated has a recorded height of 1,869 feet

Chandel Rajpoots long seated in that district, died, leaving a Ranee and daughter. The latter was betrothed to a brother of the Rajah of Kuntit[1]; and when in October 1857, a portion of the property had been transferred to this child the marriage was completed. Luchmun Singh, the nearest male heir of the deceased Rajah, who had unsuccessfully contested, first, the succession to the *Raj* and then the division of the property, looked with no favour on the interference of his new relative in the *pergunnah*. Accordingly he called to his aid some mutineers from Shahabad[2], proclaimed himself Rajah, and began collecting revenue; the *Tuhseeldar*, going to summon him to Mirzapoor, was obliged to fly for his life; but when the Magistrate approached, the mutineers with about a hundred others retired to a jungle near Rohtasgurh. At dawn on January 9th, after a long night march, Mr. Tucker attacked them in their retreat with complete success; several were killed, several more captured and hanged at Benares; considerable booty recovered, and the remainder of the mutineers driven across the Soane.[3]

above the level of the sea, and it is some 800 feet higher than the tableland from which it rises. (*District Gazetteer*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 284).

[1] *Kantit*, Tappa *Chhiyanve*, Tahsil *Mirzapur*, District *Mirzapur*—Kantit lies in 25° 10′ N. and 82° 37′ E., and gives its name to a pargana. It is situated at the confluence of the Ujla and the Ganges, close to Mirzapur; but as a town has no separate existence, being included in the municipal boundaries of Mirzapur. It is a place of great historical importance. There are in it the extensive remains of an old fort, which was probably the citadel of an old Bhar capital.

Kantit Pargana, Tahsil *Mirzapur*, District *Mirzapur*—The pargana of Kantit is now a practically obsolete territorial designation, the tract which composes it being divided into a number of smaller subdivisions, namely, tappas Chaurasi, Chhiyanve, Kon, and Upraudh in tahsil Mirzapur; and taluqa Saktesgarh, which for administrative convenience is now included in the tahsil of Chunar. (*District Gazetteer*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 333).

[2] *Shahabad District* - District in the *Patna Division* of *Bengal*, lying between 24° 31′ and 25° 46′ N. and 83° 19′ and 84° 51′ E., with an area of 4,373 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the districts of Ghazipur and Ballia in the United Provinces and by the Bengal district of Saran; on the east by Patna and Gaya districts; and Benares in the United Provinces. The Karamnasa river forms part of the western boundary. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, 1908, p. 186).

[3] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Benares Division*, pp. 13-24.

OUTBREAK AT BANARAS

Letter No. 69 from J. C. Spottiswoode, *Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding 37th Regiment Native Infantry, dated Banaras, 11th March* 1858.

1*st*—Agreeably to Circular No. 317 from the office of the Adjutant-General of the Army, dated 10th February 1858, calling for information on the subject of the late distressing disaffection of the native portion of the Bengal Army, I have the pleasure to enclose a copy of the present state of the 37th Regiment Native Infantry, as it stood on the 4th June 1857, and numerical return of the Regiment on the same; and state :

2*nd*—I never received any authentic intimation of the 37th being disposed to mutiny as a body, though soon after the disbanding of the 19th and 34th Regiments Native Infantry, I used to speak privately to some of the smartest and most intelligent of my native commissioned and non-commissioned officers on the subject, and asked them, and even some of the men of the Regiment, various questions, trying to find out the feelings of the Regiment, and received what was then called satisfactory replies; I also spoke to my European non-commissioned staff, if they observed the men were less orderly in the lines than usual and was told that they observed nothing doubtful in the conduct of the men; and it has since transpired that up to the very last moment every man was most obedient and civil to all authorities.

STATE OF THE 37TH REGIMENT PRIOR TO OUTBREAK

3*rd*—About the end of April a *Subadar* of the Light Company Saligram Misser (Salig Ram Mishra), who was received from the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, when that corps was disbanded at Meerut in 1843, was talking to me about family affairs, which he and others frequently did, and said he wanted leave between musters to go home to look after some buildings he had in his village; I replied, though I had promised him the leave some months previously, I did not like the idea of letting one, who was so respected in the Regiment by all hands as he was, to go away in the then stormy state of the country. He replied, "If I did not feel certain there is nothing to fear about our Regiment, I should not have asked for leave;" adding, "Of course there are rascals in the Regiment, as is the case in all

corps, who would be delighted to kick up a row, but the good men of our corps are too powerful for them." Well, it ended in the *Subadar* taking his leave for 29 or 30 days in May; when he rejoined the Regiment with his wife, he called on me, as is customary on his return, when I had a lengthened conversation, saying I did not like the rumours I had heard during his absence of some ill-feeling in the Regiment; he assured me there was nothing to fear for the Regiment in general; that he himself felt so convinced they would behave well, that he had brought his wife with him, thinking our lines the safest place for her in the then disturbed state of the country. "No doubt", he said, "the bad men might try and break out, and intimidate the well-disposed; but you now have a party of Europeans here, which has encouraged the well-disposed"; and that neither he or (*viz*,-nor) those he had spoken to in the Regiment dreaded an outbreak in the 37th; and I am certain he and many soldiers of the 37th were as much surprised, at what afterwards occurred, as I was.

37TH NATIVE INFANTRY BREAKS OUT IN REVOLT

4th— Up to this moment I am still not convinced that the 414 sepoys that stood on parade, and near 400 on detached duty on the afternoon of the 4th June 1857 were all mutinous, or were not well-disposed towards Government; and from what I have since heard from the men that are with the Regiment, now, that the evil-disposed did not amount to 150; for, when I called on the men to lodge their arms in their bells of arms, I commenced with the grenadiers; and so readily were my orders attended to, that in a very short time I had got down as far as No. 6 Company, and was talking to one man who appeared to be in a very mutinous mood; so much so, that I was just debating in my own mind whether I should shoot him, as I was quite close, and had my pistol in my pocket; I was disturbed by some of the men, for, there were two or three voices calling out: "Our officers are deceiving us, they want us to give up our arms, that the Europeans who are coming up may shoot us down." I called out, "It is false"; and I appealed to the native officers, who have known me for upwards of 33 years, whether I ever deceived any man in the Regiment, when many a voice replied, "Never; you have always been a good father to us." However, I saw the men were getting very excited at the approach of the

Europeans, when I told them to keep quiet, and I would stop their advance. I galloped forward, and made signs to the party not to advance, calling out, "Don't come on": fancying they had halted, I went back to the lines and had only just got among my men, when I heard one solitary shot, followed immediately by two others in succession; those three were fired from the 37th lines, and from No. 2 Company, and, as I afterwards heard, were fired by Gournesunker Tribadie (Gauri Shankar Trivedi), Pay-Havildar of 2nd Company; immediately a rush was made at the bells of arms which were opened by this man, a general fire commenced, while I and all my officers were in the lines among our men, without receiving any insult or molestation, indeed many of the officers were surrounded and protected by the men of their respective Companies, among whom the grenadiers were conspicuous.

FIRING BY THE 37TH NATIVE INFANTRY

5th—Shortly after the firing commenced, I joined our guns, between very heavy firing from both sides, and, seeing there was no chance of clearing the lines, volunteered to fire them, which was sanctioned by Brigadier Ponsonby, and while returning from this duty, I saw the sowars of the 13th Irregular Cavalry and Regiment of Loodianah Seikhs (Ludhiana Sikhs), running across country, and some of our guns opening on them.

6th.—Shortly after my return to the guns and the European detachment, I received orders from the late Colonel Neil[1], who had assumed command, in consequence of Brigadier Ponsonby being incapacitated by a sun-stroke, to proceed with a party of Europeans to scour the cantonments, and to bring in all the females and children. On my way to the different houses I had occasion to pass the deputy paymaster's quarters, wherein his office and treasury were; and recollecting that a guard of about 14 men of my Regiment were on duty here, I directed the officer commanding the European detachment with me to go on, pointing out the direction, saying I would soon overtake him, and went into the paymaster's compound. No sooner had I got close to the guard than they rushed towards me, asking for protection, as they were not inclined to

[1] Spelt as 'Neill' in other documents, (pp. 9, 18).

join the mutineers, and begging assistance to enable them protect the treasure under their charge; I merely stopped to speak a few encouraging words to them, and hastened on to overtake the European detachment.

7th - My endeavour being blessed by a merciful Providence, I was fortunate enough to find all the females and children safe in their respective houses, and got them into carriages and proceeded to the appointed rendezvous, the mint; I had hardly got half way back, when we came across a party of 60 or 70 men of the 13th Irregular Cavalry, who were galloping about in a great state of excitement; at this time it was just after sunset; they came very close upon us before they observed the Europeans so close, indeed, that I went up to the leader and told him not to be alarmed; for, just as I stepped forward some of the men saw the Europeans, and called out to their comrades that a party of Europeans had been sent out to shoot them down; this sentence was hardly uttered, when I got my hand on the bridle of the leading man, who pointed his spear at me, which I turned aside, and told him not to be alarmed; that the Europeans were only parading the cantonments to protect all those that were innocent and desirous of not joining the bad characters. I stopped some five minutes talking to this man, till I fancied that I had convinced him, and then directed him to return to his party and explain to them that there was no cause to fear. He galloped back, and favoured me with a volley, but being so close, every bullet went over my head. I called out in Hindoostanee, "What, are you mad ? We have come to protect you, and you are firing on your friends !" The reply was another volley, when I directed Ensign Donald, who I believe commanded the party under my charge, to throw a portion of his men into skirmishing order, as there were many walls about : the first volley of the skirmishers sent the horsemen to the right-about; I then looked for the carriages containing the females and children, who were at the commencement of this affair some 100 yards in the rear, and found they had all galloped away. I tried to bring them back; while doing so, the European detachment followed up the fugitive horsemen, who were somewhat impeded by the darkness now coming on, and, being encumbered with some wounded men and horses, were so hotly chased by the Europeans (that) I lost sight of them altogether.

8*th*—This skirmish commenced close to the paymaster's compound; and recalling to mind the alarmed state I had left the guard of my Regiment in at that place, I thought I might as well go in and see what they were doing.

9*th*—Here a strange scene occurred; the men were all in a strange state of confusion, and hardly knew how to receive me, for they had been joined by a party of fugitives, men of the 37th, who were burnt out from our own lines, and who seemed to think that our object was to destroy indiscriminately every sepoy we could come across.

10*th*—Fortunately among the guard there were many old soldiers, who declared that they would trust the Europeans, and I soon succeeded in establishing a friendly conversation; here was I, surrounded by 29 odd men, many of whom had been fired upon in our lines, or burnt out of them, with only one other European; who he was I knew not; my life was at their mercy.

11*th*—I contrived to pacify them, and entered into a long conversation, by which I think I am authorised in saying, as I did in para 4, that I am not yet convinced that the 37th Regiment Native Infantry were not all mutineers, but only a very small minority.

12*th*—In the course of conversation with these men I soon found out that not only they, but the majority of the men were entirely ignorant of the intentions of the turbulent characters; for, it was more than once repeated by these very men and others, who contrived to join Colonel Neil and the guns; they were much surprised at the fire being opened on them, and said, "You drove away all the good men who were anxious to join their officers, but could not in consequence of the very heavy fire that was opened, and they only ran away for shelter."

13*th*—Another reason that I have for asserting that the bad feeling was very trifling in the 37th, I had a party of complete Company on duty at Chunar[1]; those men soon heard of the disturbance at Benares, and never showed a slightest symptom of mutiny or discontent; there they remained for

[1] *Chunar*, Pargana *Haveli Chunar*, Tahsil *Chunar*, District *Mirzapur*—The celebrated fortress and town of Chunar lies in latitude 25° 7′ N. and longitude 82° 54′ E., at a distance of 21 miles from Mirzapur and 19 miles from Benares (Varanasi). (*District Gazetteer*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 301).

upwards of 10 days or a fortnight, when, in consequence of the disturbed state of the district between Allahabad and Benares, they were sent off to Gopeegunge (Gopiganj)[1] to keep the communications open between those two stations, doing good service to the state by frequent raids against turbulent villages; and here they remained till October, when, after an absence of upwards of six months, they were ordered to return to their head-quarters.

14*th*—In conclusion I have only to say, that of the men remaining, many have been constantly on leave in the disturbed districts, and brought in much useful information, so that the intelligence department has not hesitated to call in their services, and rewarded one man very heavily, taking him temporarily into this department.[2]

[1] *Gopiganj*, Pargana *Bhadohi*, Tahsil *Korh*, District *Mirzapur*—Gopiganj lies in latitude 25° 17′ N. and longitude 82° 26′ E., it is distant 15 miles north-west from Mirzapur and four miles south-west from the tahsil head-quarters at Korh, and lies at the point where the metalled road from Mirzapur joins the Grand Trunk Road. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 329).

[2] Parliamentary Papers; *Papers relating to the East India Mutiny*, 1859, (Return of the name or number of each regiment and regular and irregular force in India which has mutinied, or manifested a disposition to mutiny, since the 1st day of January 1857); pp. 28-30. Allahabad University Library.

DISARMING OF THE 37TH NATIVE INFANTRY BANARAS, 4TH JUNE 1857

Return of the 37th Regiment Native Infantry, which partly mutinied, or showed a disposition to mutiny, since 1st January 1857, in the Banaras district, called for by Adjutant-General's Circular No. 317 dated 10th February 1858, signed by A. C. Spottiswoode, Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding 37th Regiment Native Infantry, dated Banaras, 11th March 1858).

Column No.	Heading of the Column	Details
1.	The Number of men of each Regiment, showing whether it has mutinied, or manifested a disposition to mutiny.	37th Regiment Native Infantry *Strength* European Officers 32 Native Officers 20 Havildars 51 Drummers 20 Rank and file 1,052
3.	The date of the first Intimation received by any Officer of the corps being disposed to mutiny.	On the afternoon of the 4th June 1857, when the disarming of the Regiment took place.
4.	The date when Information thereof was first communicated to Superior Authority.	No information was ever received of any intended rising of the Regiment, or in fact of any rising.
5.	The date of the first Order issued by the Commanding Officer of the corps, for adopting measures for the prevention of such mutinous disposition.	Every circular received, whether from the Secretary to Government, in the Military Department, or elsewhere was read to the Regiment, generally on parade; afterwards explained to the native officers; again read to Companies by Officers Commanding Companies; and a free translation was given to Pay-Havildars to be read and explained to the men at the private parades.[1]

* * *

[1] Parliamentary Papers; *Papers relating to the East India Mutiny*, 1859, (Return of the name or number of each regiment and regular and irregular force in India which has mutinied or manifested a disposition to mutiny since the 1st day of January 1857); p. 28. Allahabad University Library.

News-extract, dated June 1857.

The Englishman has received a detailed statement of the mutiny at Benares. The 37th Regiment who were known to be disaffected were on the evening of the 4th, ordered to appear on parade without their arms. Some Companies obeyed, but others commenced firing upon their officers. The Seikhs (Sikhs) were then ordered to load, and having done so, they deliberately poured a volley upon their officers standing around. The Artillery replied by a shower of grape which killed about 100 of the mutineers, though it did not intimidate the Seikhs, who charged and endeavoured to capture the guns. These were bravely defended by about 200 European troops and eventually the Seikhs followed the example of the 37th, and turned and fled. The treasury was at that time in the hands of a Seikh-guard, and the families of the civilians who had taken refuge in the Collector's *cutcherry* were completely in their power. When the guard heard how their comrades had been cut up, they plotted vengeance, but owing to the exertions of Soorut Singh, a Seikh prisoner, they were prevented from actually breaking out, otherwise the consequences would have been more serious. The English troops only lost eight of their number.[1]

MARTIAL LAW AT BANARAS

Letter from H. C. Tucker, Commissioner, Banaras Division, to Magistrate of Mirzapur, dated 10th June 1857.

I have the honor to inform you that I have received a telegraphic order from the Governor General in Council dated the 9th June 1857 empowering and directing me to proclaim Martial Law throughout the Benares Division under Regulation X of 1801. I shall therefore be obliged by your making the above order as widely known as possible in your district, and proclaiming the accompanying Vernacular proceedings.-

[1] *The Friend of India*, 18th June 1857, p. 582. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 23, p. 81. "Letters received from Commissioner to Magistrate from March 1857 to Nov. 1857". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

SIKHS AT BANARAS REVOLT

News dated Friday, the 19th June 1857.

The Friend of India mentions a fact which is strongly believed up the country that Seikhs (Sikhs) at Benares were driven to mutiny by grape shot being fired into them while they were on parade to be disarmed. If so, we can scarcely regret the accident, for we would willingly hear that such a mistake, lamentable as it is, occurred than that the Seikhs mutinied from sympathy with the Oude sepoys.[1]

MERCHANTS' ROLE IN THE UPRISING

Letter from Ganga Saran, Thanadar of Jalalpur, district Jaunpur, dated Sept. 14, 1857.

(Salutations) –

For some days the rumour is afloat that some one has made his *dak* arrangement from Lucknow by posting *Harkaras* to find out the news. Accordingly, I have been busy in finding out the *Harkaras* and have learnt that a *Harkara* named Nohari Ahir used to come to Jalalpur. Yesterday he was caught and he stated that *Harkaras* of *dak* for Hasanpur Bandua, district Lucknow have been set up by Ishwari Prasad, *Mahajan*, resident of Jagdishpur, District Lucknow to transmit letters to Banaras and that they were enrolled by Anchha *Jamadar*. According to the information given by him, Har Datt Chowbey and Bhairon Chowbey, *Barqandazes* of Lakhwa, *ilaqa Kotwali* Jaunpur, and three *Harkaras*, namely, Bhawani Bhik, Menhdi and Bandhi Kurmi were found at one place. They deposed that they were posted at Lakhwa, *ilaqa Kotwali* Jaunpur, Phool Pur and Qazi Sarai, *ilaqa* Banaras. When they were searched, two Persian letters, one from Tara Nath of Lucknow to Jwala Nath and another giving no name of the writer and of the addressee, were found. The longest of the three letters in Persian sums up as follows :—

"Banaras is in the hands of the English. Raja of Banaras is in league with them. It is believed that oppression and violence perpetrated at Allahabad will be repeated here as well. May the disturbance created bring about good results." Further the same letter says—

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, June 25, 1857, p. 202. National Library, Calcutta.

"Raja Man Singh came with 4 guns and 1000 soldiers here yesterday. It is believed that the Baillie Guard will now be taken."

The three *Harkaras* further stated that there were other *Harkaras* in Banaras and that Anchha *Jamadar* through whom they were recruited was also there. Now, thinking that the *Harkaras* and the *Jamadar* might pass this place on their way to Jaunpur, Menhdi *Harkara* was posted on the gate of the *thana* by the side of the road. By chance Anchha *Jamadar* and Sital, Makhdum, Mendha...(Illegible) were going to Jaunpur via Banaras. Menhdi *Harkara* recognised all of them. When searched, one roll list of appointments of *Harkaras* dated 28th Shawwal 1273 (2 months and 26 days back), one cloth bag, two pieces of oil cloth for carrying letters, seven bullets and one knife were found with them. They also supported the statement of Nohari *Harkara* regarding the setting up of *dak*.

Previous to the rebellion, no *Harkaras* were appointed by the *raises* or other residents of Lucknow and this *dak* was set up by Ishwari Prasad *Mahajan*, resident of Jagdishpur, District Lucknow who is living at Banaras now after the rebellion has commenced. The letter mentioned above gives a summary account of the affairs at Lucknow. Therefore, setting up a *dak* from Hasanpur to Banaras for the transmission of letters must have been prompted by some motive. I am, therefore, sending Anchha *Jamadar*, together with eight *Harkaras*, namely, Nohari, Bhawani Bhik, Menhdi, Narain Kurmi, Sital, Makhdum, Mendha, Ayodhya and the letters, oil cloth and other articles found out in the search, per list attached, to you for investigation.[1]

MIRZAPUR

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT MIRZAPUR

Diary of events in the Mirzapur District from 19th May to 30th June 1857, by P. Walker, Deputy Collector, Mirzapur.

MEASURES ADOPTED AT MIRZAPUR BEFORE THE OUTBREAK

May 19th, 1857—The Collector having heard at Benares

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Bhairon Prasad and Ishwari Prasad etc.*". Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

A page from P. Walker's Diary of Mirzapur

of the mutiny of troops at Meerut and Delhi informed the *Mahajuns* etc. of this city, through the *Cotwal* (*Kotwal*) that they should make arrangements for the protection of their lives and their properties as the disturbances were of a serious character and likely to extend. The *Pundahs* (*Pandas*) of Bindhachal[1] were also requested to communicate to any mutineers that may chance to come there, that they should not go about the districts armed and *that Government had no intention whatever of interfering with their religion or caste.*

May 20th—The *thana* establishment of Shapoor[2] was removed to Bhotowley Ghat in order to prevent any armed men or other suspicious characters crossing over from Benares to Mirzapore, and 18 of the Jail-guard were removed to the *cotwalee* for the better protection of the city in case of disturbance and the Magistrate and Jt. Magistrate with sowars and other Police officers patrolled the city at night. These arrangements assured the people that the Government was ever prepared to protect their lives and their properties and that every means of security were being adopted for the maintenance of peace and quiet in the city.

REVOLT DUE TO FIRING

May 21st—At about 3 A. M. reports of guns were heard from the east which occasioned a little alarm in the minds of both the Europeans and the natives. On this the Judge, the Collector and the Dy. Collectors, with all the Europeans in the station assembled at the Judge's *cutcherry* and arrangements were made for the defence of the treasury and the office buildings; and 2 Companies of the Ferozepoor Regiment of Sikhs were called for from the lines as an additional guard for the treasury. Major Bell, a Madras officer who happened to be the senior officer in the station, was put in command and the midday (?) gun loaded with grape was also advantageously

[1] *Bindhachal*, Tappa *Chhiyanve*, Tahsil *Mirzapur*, District *Mirzapur*—This is a large agricultural village distant only seven miles west from Mirzapur, with which it is connected by a metalled road : it lies in latitude 25° 10′ N. and longitude 82° 31′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 292).

[2] Apparently spelt for *Shahpur*.

placed. The ferries at Narghat[1], Soondurghat and Bhutowley etc. were also stopped. At about 11 A. M. a message was received from the Commissioner stating that European troops were fast arriving. This tended to ease the public mind in a great measure, as the presence of our British soldiers is looked upon as a safeguard against every impending danger. At about 12-30 P. M. I was asked to ride over in the direction of Chunar to ascertain the nature of the firing we had heard in the early morning. I accordingly did so and found that[2] both the road and the station very quiet. Having had an interview with Colonel Blake I learnt that there had been some reports of firing in the night towards Sultanpore and Benares. I also went there but found that the 13th Irregulars had gone on to Benares. Being personally acquainted with the *zemindars* of the neighbouring villages I spoke to them about the firing that had been heard and was never more surprised than to learn that it had been consequent on a marriage procession. With this information I hurried back to Mirzapore. Reaching at 6-30 P. M. acquainted the people with what I had heard and seen and then circulated a notice received from Colonel Blake at Chunar intimating that they apprehended no danger whatever. *The Government Proclamation of the 16th May* 1857 was also this day notified throughout the district.

BRITISHERS ISSUE PROCLAMATIONS

May 22nd - On the receipt of a telegraphic message from the Commissioner a proclamation was issued in the city reporting that Benares and the N. W. P. were all right.

The Magistrate held his *cutcherry* in the *cotwalee* in order that the citizens may have every assurance of safety and the *Tehseeldar* and *Thanadar* of Chunar were put under the immediate orders of the commanding officer, Colonel Blake.

May 24th[3] - Nothing particular. The people were getting quieter in mind and money transactions were gradually recommencing in the city.

May 25th - Nagri and Persian proclamations were issued

[1] The word is not clearly decipherable in the Original.
[2] 'That' appears superfluous here.
[3] The dates which are missing do not contain any important event.

throughout the city and the district, shewing the provisions Government had adopted for the suppression of mutinies, and (for) the incentives all loyal *zemindars* had for continuing faithful to Government. The Maharaja of Rewah was this day in the station and had a *Durbar* both for Europeans and natives.

May 27*th*—A telegraph message from the Commissioner reporting that Benares was quiet and news daily expected from Delhi was translated by me and circulated for the information of the *Mahajans* and others interested in the welfare of the state throughout the city.

ATTACK ON MIRZAPUR CITY THREATENED

May 29*th*—The people of Akorhee[1] a village about 8 miles west of the city were, it was reported, contemplating an attack on the city, the *Cotwal* and *Thanadar* were therefore requested not to let them collect in large bodies or get to enter the city. These men have always been known as turbulent and daring class of Rajpoots, but having been admonished by the Raja of Bijaipore[2] they have hitherto been perfectly neutral.

May 30*th*—There having been no attack in the city on the previous night, the minds of the people were getting more settled and they began to discredit all these idle reports.

BHADOHI ZAMINDARS REVOLT

June 3*rd*—As disturbances were apprehended in the Bhudohey *pergunnah*, the *Thanadars* of Gopeegunge (Gopiganj) and Bhudohey were ordered to intimate to the *zemindars* and

[1] *Akorhi*, Tappa *Chhiyanve*, Tahsil *Mirzapur*, District *Mirzapur* Akorhi is a large agricultural village lying in latitude 25° 11′ N. and longitude 82° 28′ E., distant 10 miles west of Mirzapur, with which it is connected by a metalled road. The village is situated on the banks of a nala which is dry during the greater part of the year but is a considerable stream in the rains; it is known as the Pahari nadi. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 264).

[2] *Bijaipur*, Tappa *Chhiyanve*, Tahsil *Mirzapur*, District *Mirzapur* Bijaipur is an agricultural village in 25° 8′ N. and 82° 24′ E., distant 16 miles west-south-west from Mirzapur and three miles south-west from Gaipura railway station with which it is connected by a metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 292).

other respectable men that they might keep armed men if they chose for the defence of their lives and their properties and to be able to assist each other in case of a general rising among the people. The ammunition which had been brought into the office building on the morning of the 21st ultimo was on this day removed to the usual place in the cantonments. This thoroughly removed all apprehensions of danger from the minds of *Mahajans* in the city and showed them that they may now recommence their mercantile pursuits with more confidence and satisfaction.

June 4th— The notification announcing the capture of 5 guns and other ammunition at Ghazeeoodeennuggur (Ghaziuddinnagar) with total defeat to the enemy, and that Sir Henry Lawrence had beaten the mutineers was translated by me, (and) received extensive circulation. This information not only comforted the minds of the people but also convinced them that the British Government will without fail punish its enemies and afford protection to all such as have by their loyalty shown their attachment to it.

BANARAS OUTBREAK CAUSES PANIC

In the evening heavy firing was heard in the direction of Benares which again caused alarm in the city. The *Cotwal* was ordered to give the people every assurance of personal security and also suppress any motive to a disturbance in the city.

June 5th Reports reached us of the mutiny of the troops at Benares, and fears were entertained of their crossing over to plunder the city. Urgent orders were therefore issued to stop all ferries and to bring away all the boats to this side from the opposite shore. The *Thanadar* of Bhutowley reported that 5 sowars evidently of the Cavalry that had mutinied had come from Benares and wished to cross but this having been refused to them they left the *Ghat*. A proclamation was issued throughout the district calling on all *zemindars* to assist in the capture of prisoners that had been liberated in the N. W. P. They were promised rewards by Government if they did so but in case it was ever proved that they have been harbouring or concealing them they would render themselves liable to severe punishment with the forfeiture of their properties both real and personal. In the afternoon I rode over to Bhutowley

to enquire if any information had been brought regarding the doings of the previous night at Benares. The people in the city continued in a state of excitement.

June 6th - Orders were issued to the *Thanadar* of Bhutowley Neamut Ali Khan (Niamat Ali Khan) that no armed men should be allowed to cross the river and that the boats should all be kept on this side during the night.

EFFECT OF THE OUTBREAK AT BANARAS

June 7th—The *Thanadar* of Bhutowley reported that two sepoys of the 37th N. I. that had mutinied at Benares had come on the opposite shore and wished to cross over but not finding a boat they left.

At 1 P. M. a meeting was convened in the billiard rooms, Presdt. (President) J. Lean Esq. Judge with a view of making arrangements for the protection of European life and property. Copies of the resolutions have I believe already been forwarded in the afternoon. A report was made by the *Thanadar* of Bhudohey that there had been a dacoity to a small extent at *mouzah* (*mauza*) Bussoohey *pergunnah* Bhudohey. Orders were accordingly issued for investigation and apprehension of those concerned in it.

BRITISHERS CONSOLIDATE

June 8th—The Government Proclamation of the 28th May 1857 was circulated for general information throughout the district and the panic in the city about the mutinied troops defeated in Benares, and said to be on their way to this place still continued. Rs. 40,000 were shipped to Allahabad.

June 9th—Act XI of 1857 was this day translated by me and proclaimed throughout the district and as the restriction on armed men inconvenienced all marriage processions, orders were issued to let them cross. Rs. 1,40,000 were this day shipped to Allahabad in charge of European soldiers.

DISTURBANCES IN VINDHYACHAL

The treasure having been decreased by two lacs of Rupees the people both Europeans and natives (*Mahajuns*) began to consider themselves more secure, the former specially as they

were always apprehensive of the Treasury-guard breaking out, the latter had entertained armed men to defend themselves and their properties. From this date the general opinion was that Mirzapore would not be washed over by the wave of mutiny as the great if not the greatest incentive to it had been removed. The *Thanadar* of Bindhachal reported that some boats laden with grain had been plundered at the *Kothra Misran ghat by the people of Kolapoor, Goura*[1] *etc. Dak Runners were also placed between Allahabad* and this station to bring in the mails as both postal and telegraphic communications had ceased.

June 10th —Reports reached Mirzapore of the disturbances at Jounpore at 9 A. M. A servant of Madhoo Baboo of the Railway contractors department came in breathless to give information that the people of Birjee, Bhewur, Indurpoor, Isapoor[2] etc. had come in a body and taken away all the cart-bullocks, house furniture, spades etc.; that they were all armed and threatened to shoot and cut down any man that interfered. On this the Collector and myself with some sowars and 15 men of the 50th N. I. that had come in with prisoners from Nagode rode out to the spot. Before our arrival the men had all dispersed; yet after a short search in the village we found loaded muskets, swords and spears in the houses of two of the *zemindars* of Burjee[3] and Bhewur. The men had shut themselves in on our approach, but when asked to come out they did so and were taken prisoners to the number of 27. No resistance was offered. Some plundered property was recovered and we had the satisfaction of returning home bringing those that had headed the expedition to plunder with us, except one man who was subsequently apprehended after much search by Sheombur-lal (Shiv Ambar Lal), *Surburahkar* of the Kuntit estates.

BHADOHI DISTURBED

More or less all the plundered property has been restored.

[1] *Gaura* had always been but a suburb of *Barhaj* and was definitely included in the town. It was a place of little interest, consisting mainly of mud houses. The place was separately administered under Act XX of 1856 from 1867 till 1908 when it was amalgamated with Barhaj to form a single notified area under Act I of 1900. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 209).

[2] Can be read as *Shapoor*.

[3] Spelt as 'Birjee' above.

The *Thanadar* of Gopeegunge reported that the people of Bhinda *pergunnah* Bhudohey had wounded the *Sezawull* (*Sazawal*) of the Raja of Benares very severely. Some people who had come over from the Jounpore district as reported by the *Thanadar* to plunder some wealthy *zemindars* of the Bhudohey *pergunnah*, finding the Police and *zemindars* themselves so vigilant, returned home in despair. There was some report among the European community that the sepoys were in a state of disaffection ever since the treasure had been removed. Most of them accordingly slept on board the S. N. James Hume.

TRADE PARALYSED

June 11*th*—Some *Mahajuns* petitioned that their boats had been plundered at the Futehurgeer[1], and Dorea *ghats* in *zillah* Allahabad. Information of this nature for a time quite paralysed trade. In consequence of threatened dacoities in the jurisdiction of the Bindhachal *thana* Baboo Brijindura Bahadoor Singh brother to the Raja of Kuntit was requested to entertain a number of armed men in order to preserve the peace of those parts as far as he possibly could. Some landholders in Tuppeh Cheanway *pergunnah* Kuntit gave in petitions to say that they had been plundered by the people of Goura village on the banks of the Ganges. From 12 to 3 A. M. I patrolled the city with the *Cotwal* and then slept at the *cotwalee;* everything was as quiet and tranquil as it could be.

PRISONERS LIBERATED

June 12*th*—Orders were issued to the Police for the arrest of the prisoners who it was said had been liberated from the Allahabad jail.

Pahlad Singh, sowar who had gone as escort with the families of the Ferozepoor Regiment, reported that the people of Sirsa[2] had detained them with, he thought, a design of plunde-

[1] Not clearly decipherable. Can be read as *Lutehurgeer* or *Sutehurgeer*.

[2] *Sirsa Town*—Town in the *Meja* Tahsil of *Allahabad* District, *United Provinces*, situated in 25° 16′ N. and 82° 6′ E., on the East Indian Railway. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, 1908, p. 46).

ring them. The Raja of Mandund[1] was accordingly written to have them forthwith escorted safely to Allahabad.

June 13th—Act XIV of 1857 was this day translated by me and proclaimed throughout the district. 12 of the Burjee and Shapoor prisoners were sent off to Ugoree[2] in charge of the Deputy Magistrate of Robertsgunge[3] because (of) being turbulent characters and men of whom it was apprehended that they might create a dissatisfaction in the jail.

REVOLUTIONARIES STRUGGLE AGAINST BRITISHERS

Reports having been sent in that the Goura people were collecting in large numbers and made nightly attacks on villages and plundered every boat they could get to, the Magistrate, Joint Magistrate and myself together with 50 sepoys of the 47th N. I. under their officers went to the place for their apprehension. On our approach we learnt that they had assembled to a large number and were prepared for the defensive. At the request of Colonel Pott, proceedings were stayed till the arrival of the European troops. At 9 A. M. the steamer was seen steaming up, the people knew their only chance of escape was to leave the village; they accordingly entered a large *kottah* (*kotha*) and walked out of the village without our knowing

[1] Not clearly decipherable in the Original, perhaps *Manda*.

[2] Apparently *Agori*, Tahsil *Robertsganj*, District *Mirzapur*. Agori is the capital of the pargana of the same name and lies in 24° 41′ N. and 82° 58′ E. It is situated near the confluence of the Rehand and the Son rivers, at a distance of 62 miles from Mirzapur and 4 miles from the tahsil headquarters at Robertsganj. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 251).

[3] *Robertsganj*, Tahsil, District *Mirzapur*. Robertsganj is the southern tahsil of the Mirzapur district and lies between the parallels of 23° 52′ and 24° 54′ N. and 82° 32′ and 83° 33′ E. It is a large subdivision, comprising four parganas within its limits, namely Barhar, Bijaigarh, Agori and Singrauli, the last including the Dudhi tappa and has a maximum length of 64 miles and an average breadth of about 45 miles. On the north lie parganas Kera-Mangraur, Ahraura, Bhagwat, taluqa Saktesgarh, and tappa Chaurasi; on the west are tappa Upraudh and the Rewah State; Sarguja lies on the south and south-east; and on the east the boundary marches with that of the Palamau and Shahabad districts of Bengal. For purposes of description the tahsil may be divided into two portions, that in the north which lies on the Vindhyan plateau, comprising the whole of pargana Barhar and the bulk of Bijaigarh, that which lies south of the Kaimur range of hills. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 367).

anything of it. On the arrival of the soldiers the village was fired and not a man was seen that was disposed to offer any resistance. The firing of this village served as an example to the whole district. Several prisoners were taken, and proclamations were issued that if the chiefs made their appearance their lives would be spared. Our proceedings in this case had made such an impression on the district that for a time plunder ceased and the people were assured that Government would visit all offenders with severe chastisement.

June 15th—The firm of Ramlal *Mahajun* reported that a boat of theirs had been plundered at Sirsa and Nurraindeal (Narain Dayal) (reported) that a boat had been plundered at Ramnuggur Sikree. The former was sent to the Collector of Allahabad and the latter sent to the *Thanadar* of Bhutowley for investigation and report. Ten of the Goura prisoners were sent to the Ugoree fort to prevent any disaffection in the jail.

VICTIMS OF MARTIAL LAW

June 16th—Three men were reported this morning to have been hanged at Gopeegunge after trial by Court Martial. Two dacoities were reported one by the *Thanadar* of Lalgunge[1], and the other by Gyapershad (Gaya Prasad) *claquadar* of Deoree. Both these were sent to the former for investigation and report. Some boats were also said to have been plundered at Rampoorghat belonging to one Peroomull. Investigations were being made.

June 17th—The Moulvie at Allahabad was said to be making converts of Hindoos by the sword and reports were made to the Collector that two boats had been plundered one at Sutchurgeer[2] and another off Ramnuggur Sikree. The former was communicated to the Collector of Allahabad and the latter ordered to be investigated by the *Thanadar* of Bhutowley.

[1] *Lalganj*, Tappa *Upaudh*, Tahsil *Mirzapur*, District *Mirzapur* Lalganj lies on the Great Deccan Road in latitude 25° 1′ N. and longitude 82° 22′ E.; it is distant 16 miles south-west from Mirzapur. The unmetalled road to Ghorawal and Halia diverges from the Great Deccan Road at this point. (*District Gazetteer*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 315).

[2] Not clearly decipherable.

June 18th—Act XVI of 1857 was this day translated by me and ordered to be proclaimed throughout the district. The proclamation was also made notifying the appointment of the Judge as Commissioner in accordance with the new laws. The *Thanadar* of Bhutowley reported that some sepoys of the 37th N. I had come on the opposite bank and wished to cross over but not finding a boat at the *ghat* they hastily left the place. Orders were issued for their apprehension.

RETREAT OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

June 19th—The telegraphic news reporting the capture of the guns at Budleecheysurrai[1] was translated and proclaimed throughout the city and district. This was cheering news to all parties. The *Mahajuns* began to think that matters now would be brought to a speedy issue at Delhi, that all minor disaffections would be suppressed and that they would be able once again to enter on their mercantile pursuits. Munnoolal and Sohunlal *Mahajuns* petitioned that some of their goods had been plundered in the Rewah territory. Their petitions were sent to the P. S. N.[2] and the Political Secretary written to for the investigation of it.

COMMUNICATIONS RESTORED

June 20th—Postal communications were again restored between Allahabad and this (place). The anxiety consequent on the close of the *dak* subsided and people were able to obtain correct information regarding the state of affairs at Allahabad. This as may be expected proved contrary to the idle reports rife in the city. The Raja of Munda (Manda)[3] was also written to, to endeavour to restore peace and tranquillity in his estates.

[1] Not clearly decipherable. Can be read as '*Budluh ysurrai*' or *Budhchey Surrai*. Correct name may be *Badley Sarai*.

[2] Can be read as 'F. S. A.' also.

[3] This has been spelt as 'Mandund' in this document (p. 54).

June 21*st*—Proclamations were again issued for the apprehension and return of prisoners who it was said had escaped from Allahabad, Bareilly etc. The firm Ghunshamdoss (Ghan Shyam Das) reported that a boat of theirs had been plundered at Sutehurgeer. Their petition was sent to the Collector of Allahabad.

STRUGGLE AT RAMNAGAR SIKRI

June 22*nd*—Orders were issued for the punctual supply of provisions for the Europeans stationed at Gopeegunge. At 9 P. M. I was deputed by the Magistrate with 15 sepoys of the 50th N. I., 6 sowars and some *Chuprassies* to apprehend some dacoits who it was reported to us had returned to their homes at *mouzah* Ramnuggur Sikree distant about 8 miles from the station. I arrived at the village at midnight and came on them unawares and surrounded the house. There were 15 men all in deep sleep beside each other. This gave me the more time for making arrangements for securing them each and all of them to a man.[1] I accordingly stationed the *Chuprassies* at the back of the house, the sowars behind them at about 50 yards apart and took the sepoys with me, approached them without in the least disturbing their slumbers, removed the arms they had about them and I then ordered the sepoys to hold each a man; this was scarcely done when they awoke and made for their arms; but not finding them they forced themselves along into their houses and one fired a matchlock loaded with shots at the sepoys injuring one of them slightly in the cheek and some others rushed about with spears and swords. At this the sepoys fired and shot one man through the head and bayoneted a second as he was running out with a sword in his hand. Some others having ascended with the assistance of a ladder they had put there for the purpose were seized by the *Chuprassies* and one of them being armed made his way a little distance but was cut down by a *Chuprassie*. Thus the expedition ended, bringing away with me 11 men among whom were all the leading men of the band that plundered the boats, shooting one, bayoneting a second and cutting down a third who I am happy to say is getting better

[1] The sentence is confusing.

of his wound. All the plundered grain* has been recovered and a large quantity of the produce of the village has also been obtained from the houses of the *zemindars* a portion of which has been shipped to the fort of Chunar and the remainder sold to the credit of Government in the city.

June 24th—The capture of the village of Ramn uggur Sikree on the night of the 22nd and the confiscation of all their cattle and grain served as an example for all disposed to plunder. The Manda[1] Raja was again written to, to restore quietness in his estates. A dacoity in bazar Koree *pergunnah* Agoree was reported by the District Magistrate of Robertsgunge distant about 40 miles from his office. Prompt measures were taken by that officer for the apprehension of the dacoits, 5 of whom it appears were taken immediately on his arrival.

June 25th—The telegraphic news communicating the expected arrival of the China force at Calcutta was translated and widely circulated. Instructions were issued to the Raja of Bijaipoor, the *Thanadar* and *Sezawull* for the cultivation of Goura which had been on the 13th instant burnt to the ground.

June 26th—Act XVII of 1857 was translated by me and ordered to be proclaimed throughout the district.

June 27th—The Raja of Bijaipoor was ordered to dismiss the force he had been allowed to entertain at Government expense for the suppression of dacoities and the general safety of his estates especially those on the immediate bank of the river.

June 30th—The arrival of the fugitives from Futtehpore (Fatehpur), Banda etc. caused some alarm in the city regarding the state of affairs in the south.[2]

* Note in the margin of the Original:—
Grains from Sikree Ramn.ggur.

Mds.	Srs.
1589	12
640	17
2229	29

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

[2] *Diary of P. Walker*, Deputy Collector, Mirzapur. Mirzapur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

Remarks by the Collector on the Diary prepared by P. Walker, Deputy Collector.

PREPARATIONS TO DEFEND KACHEHRI

May 19th—I learnt the fact of the mutiny on the 16th; I gave permission to the rich native merchants of the city to arm their retainers and to take into their service extra guards if they wished. I said nothing to increase their alarm as might be inferred from the diary.

May 21st—At the urgent request of Mr. Thomson, Resident Engineer, and other European residents I had promised to fire 3 guns as a signal for all Europeans to collect at the *cutchery* should any danger be apprehended. On being assured by an officer that the sound of the firing of cannon had been heard towards the east by an Artillery officer and by Mr. Chapman I ordered the preconcerted signal to be made and sowars to be despatched to call in the Europeans some of whom lived at a distance of upwards of 5 miles. Captain Montagu commanded the Sikhs. Major Bell took charge of the gun.

On the receipt of telegraphic communication from the Commissioner that there had not been any firing of cannon at Benares, the anxiety among the Europeans subsided.

June 3rd—The Magistrate's *cutchery* having been placed at Captain Montagu's disposal for the safe custody of the magazine (there were 70000 rounds of ball ammunition in store) I and my assistant and Deputy Collector transacted business in tents pitched in the *cutchery* compound up to this day.

TRANSFER OF TREASURY

June 8th—Reports of dacoities very numerous. A telegraphic message received by the Officer Commanding the Station to the effect that the treasury was likely to be plundered. My suggestion that one lack (lakh) of rupees should be sent to Allahabad had already received the sanction of the Commissioner but I was now ordered to send thither all available treasure. Busily occupied during the afternoon in superintending the packing of the money. Sepoys of the guard informed me that Government owed them a great deal of money and intimated that they did not wish the treasure to be sent away. I assured them that they would receive every pice

which Government owed them. Later in the afternoon a telegraphic message was received ordering me to send the treasure to Benares instead of to Allahabad. At the same time a rumour was spread that Government intended to send its treasure to Calcutta and defraud its creditors. The Sikh-guard had arrived to escort the treasure to the steamer which was ready to take it with them to Allahabad. I decided at once on disobeying orders and on sending ten boxes of the treasure (Rs. 60000) with the Sikhs to Allahabad, to prove both the confidence of Government in them and the falsehood of the treasonable rumours. A Sikh soldier came up to me and pointed out a man who had been spreading these rumours. He was immediately apprehended and was found to be the brother of the Revenue *Naib Serishtehdar.*

I passed an anxious night at the *cotwalee.* During it I received a letter from the Commissioner informing me that 50 European soldiers would probably arrive the next morning to take charge of the treasure.

June 9th—At dawn I cantered to the Cutchery-guard and again assured the sepoys that what was due to them would be paid. I informed them that large collections of land revenue etc. would speedily be made and that I would at once proceed to their Colonel and learn from him the amount which the Regiment would require and afterwards determine what amount of treasure should be sent away. Having learnt from Colonel Pott that no large sum would be immediately required I returned to the treasury and on the arrival of the European troops despatched under their guard (Rs. 1,40,000).

COUNTRY DISORGANISED

The surrounding country was becoming disorganised. Across the river dacoities were very numerous and the river had become most insecure for unarmed boats.

I failed in an attempt to establish a postal communication with Allahabad south of the river.

Almost all the Europeans at the station left it this day. Mr. P. Walker remained to assist me and Messrs. Venables, Warwick, Deverinne and Dick remained to protect the property of the firms in which they are partners.

10,000 RUPEES LOOTED

June 10th—On this morning affairs came to a crisis. A

daring dacoity was committed in open day without an attempt at concealment within 3 miles of the *cutchery*. Upwards of Rs. 10,000/- worth of property was carried off in a deliberate manner and I therefore immediately sent for my horse and started off with all the sowars I could collect ordering the sepoys of the 50th to follow. Mr. Walker speedily overtook me and rendered me valuable assistance. We with the assistance of the sowars and sepoys of the 50th N. I. disarmed two villages and apprehended the principal offenders.

June 11th—I slept at the *cotwalee* on this and on many other nights.

Sunday June 14th—I deputed Mr. C. Moore to accompany the European troops in the steamer. Mr. W. R. Moore, Mr. Elliott and Mr. Walker accompanied me by land to Goura.

While awaiting the arrival of the European troops at Goura four Rajpoots of consideration in the village came out and surrendered themselves to me.

When the European troops landed, they passed through part of the village and followed up the fugitives killing some and apprehending others. These prisoners positively declared in my presence that there were a number of armed men inside the houses and the Officer Commanding requested my permission to fire the village as otherwise his men might suffer loss from unexpected attacks. I gave the required permission but only a few old people were discovered and carefully taken out of the reach of the fire.

DISTURBED STATE OF AFFAIRS IN RAMNAGAR SIKRI

June 22nd—With reference to the dacoits of Ramnuggur Sikree who have lately plundered much property passing their village in boats, I have confiscated pending your orders a large quantity of grain and some cows belonging to them. I have left plenty of grain for seed corn etc. and have restored the plough-cattle seized and a respectable neighbouring *zemindar* named Chuttarjeet Pande is exerting himself to induce the villagers to return and cultivate their fields. Very little land belonging to Ramnuggur Sikree will be thrown out of cultivation and I am hopeful that with the assistance of the Raja of Kuntit I may succeed in causing great part of the Goura land to be sown.

June 27th—I have written separately to you regarding the

force raised by the Raja of Bijaipoor. It was out of the question for Government to pay Rs. 4000/- a month for a body of men entertained chiefly for the protection of the Raja. You have authorized the payment of the sum of Rs. 2000/- and a monthly payment of Rs. 400/- for the services of 100 matchlockmen.

I would mention that Mr. W. R. Moore's murder has prevented my furnishing Government with accurate information regarding the state of the country north of the river which was under his charge.

Post Script to Collector's remarks.

As it may be supposed from Mr. Walker's diary that the Goura people had no intention of fighting I would mention that having requested the Raja of Kuntit to apprehend the principal offenders in river dacoities at Goura, preparations were made in the village to resist his forces and the women and children were sent away. Ignorant of this fact I sent the *Jemadar* of Goura and two sowars to advise the villagers to send away their families in the event of their wishing to fight us. The *Jemadars* and sowars speedily returned and reported that they had delivered their message and there were a number of matchlockmen in the *Nullah*[1] who saw that families had been already sent away and who gave evident proofs that they intended to fight. While awaiting the arrival of the European soldiers.....(Manuscript torn) surrounding villages for the purpose of collecting the Guhurwar Rajpoots to resist us.[2]

* * *

Diary of events in the Mirzapur District from 1st to 24th July 1857.

ESCAPED PRISONERS ROUNDED UP

July 2nd—On the receipt of a letter from the Magistrate of Azimgurh orders were issued to the *Cotwal* and *Tehseeldar* to inform the people that if any parties wished to employ as *Burkundauzes* on Rs. 5/- p. m.....(Illegible) to proceed to

[1] Not clearly decipherable in the Mss.

[2] *Diary of P. Walker*, Deputy Collector, Mirzapur. Mirzapur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

Chunar. Four sowars were sent out to Cutra Pass to escort the ladies that were coming in from the south. Several escaped prisoners from Allahabad and Bareilly have been taken up in this district. They are now in jail and reference has been made about them.

July 3rd—A notification received from the Commissioner announcing the success of the British forces at Delhi, and of the undisturbed state of affairs at Goruckpore, Nagode etc. was this day translated by me and proclaimed throughout the city for general information; orders were also issued to the *Thanadar* of Bhutowley to attend to the cultivation of *mouzah* Ramnuggur Sikree.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT GOPIGANJ

At about 4 P. M. information was sent by the *Thanadar* of Gopeegunge that *Mr. W. R. Moore the Joint Magistrate who was out in camp in the Bhudohey pergunnah had been attacked and that he was killed.* It is not known whether he was dead or alive in the Palee factory along with other gentlemen. Sergeant Outhes[1], Mr. C. W. Moore marched in haste to Colonel Pott of the 7th N. I., asked him to lend out as many sepoys as he could spare. Accordingly at a little after 5 P. M. Colonel Pott with a detachment of 50 men started for Gopeegunge. Mr. Elliott and myself hastened on ahead. We arrived at a little after 10 P. M. at Gopeegunge and found that the corpses of the 3 gentlemen killed at Palee factory had been brought in by Captain Woolhouse and his detachment of Europeans.

The body of Mr. Moore was taken into the station by his brother for internment and arrangements made for the burial of those of Messrs. Jones and Kemp.

As Captain Woolhouse had already been out and the sepoys were tired with their long and rapid march of nearly 17 miles it was proposed by Colonel Pott that they should stay the night at Gopeegunge and march early the following morning towards Palee.

JHURI SINGH IN ACTION

July 5th—At about 6 A. M. detachment of the 47th N. I.

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

accompanied by us marched on to the factory whence after the sepoys had rested a short time we started for Suddoopoor where the insurgents had assembled. On our approach a fire of matchlocks was opened upon us but the sepoys advanced steadily and as soon as they got within shot of the embankment where the rebels lay, a fire of musketry was opened on them and in a few minutes after this the enemy was (were) seen escaping as fast as they could. After this we met with no further opposition. The houses of the chiefs of Suddoopoor and Purroopoor were burnt and rewards proclaimed for the apprehension of Jhooree Singh (Jhuri Singh), Matabheek, Matabuksh Singh and Surnam Singh. After this the detachment marched back to Gopeegunge with the few prisoners we had taken. On our return to Gopeegunge we found a detachment of Europeans under Captain Lockhart and Mr. Chapman who expected some Cavalry from Benares ready to march against the rebels.

July 6th —At dawn this morning the Magistrate, Supt. Magistrate with the officers and men of the 47th N. I. returned to Mirzapore, and being deputed by the Magistrate I accompanied the Europeans under Captain Lockhart and Mr. Chapman to Palee factory. Owing to the rain and the Cavalry not having arrived before midday we halted during the day and night at the factory. Orders at Mirzapore were issued for the recovery of the property, cattle or that had been plundered at Palee factory.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT PARROOPUR AND SADDOOPUR

July 7th— It rained heavily during the night, but as we could not make any further delay, the troops got into readiness to march against the hostile villages that were said to be occupied by armed men. The detachment left the factory at about 8 A.M, and marched first to Purroopoor and thence to Suddoopoor; both these villages had been totally forsaken, the men carrying away with them all that they could remove. Thence we marched on to..... (Illegible) where it was reported that the mother of two of the men, that had been executed at Gopeegunge, who[1] had instigated the four men (vide July 5th) to take the lives of those who had sentenced her sons. These chiefs we

[1] 'Who' is superfluous here.

learnt had taken a position at Abholee–but on our surrounding the village we just saw some armed men running out of their houses. One of these on seeing a trooper after him drew his sword and cut his own throat. A few who offered resistance were cut down by the Cavalry and the others taken prisoners. The houses of the chiefs were burnt and the detachment moved on again. The villages on our line of march were utterly forsaken. At about 7-30 P. M. we got on the Trunk Road again at Ooje[1] after a long fatiguing march of about 20 miles.

July 8th—The Europeans left Ooje this morning for Allahabad, the Irregular Cavalry under Mr. Chapman for Benares and I for Mirzapore. As the expedition to Bhudohey *pergunnah* had frightened all the villages on the line of our march and.....(Mss. torn) to Munshi Durshan Lal Raja of Benares, officer. Our lot (was) to endeavour to quiet the minds of the people, to give them every assurance of personal security and to induce them to cultivate their fields.

July 9th—Reports reached this place of the exasperated state of the Dobhey people in Benares.

July 10th—Orders were issued to the *Thanadar* of Gopeegunge to send any and all properties he might recover belonging to the late Mr. Jones to the Judge's office.

July 11th—Seventeen extra men with matchlocks were sent to the jail as an additional guard.

July 12th—Mukkhunlal (Makkhan Lal) *Surburuhkar* of Burhur estate having been a *Thanadar* at Gopeegunge for several years was by orders of the Commissioner transferred as Chief Police Officer of the Bhudohey *pergunnah* for the apprehen-

[1] Apparently *Ujh*, Pargana *Bhadohi*, Tahsil *Korh*, District *Mirzapur*—This village lies on the Grand Trunk Road in latitude 25° 19′ N., and longitude 82° 19′ E. It is distant 20 miles north-west from Mirzapur and 8 miles west from Korh. It is also known as Ujh Mungarha. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, pp. 385-86).

[2] *Barhar*, Pargana, Tahsil *Robertsganj*, District *Mirzapur*—The pargana of Barhar forms the north-eastern portion of tahsil Robertsganj. On the north it is bounded by tappa Chaurasi, taluqa Saktesgarh, and pargana Bhagwat, Ahraura and Kera-Mangraur; on the east is pargana Bijaigarh and on the west tappa Upraudh, the Belan river forming for some distance the dividing line between them. The southern boundary is formed by the Kaimur range which separates Barhar from pargana Agori and the state of Rewah. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 267).

sion of those who had been among the party that had murdered Mr. Moore.

July 13th—The Dobhey people at Benares were reported to be getting quieter. At night a loose monkey having found his way into a house in the city, started breaking its tiles, pots etc. This so alarmed the inmates that the cry of dacoity was given and in a few minutes the entire *mohalla* was in a state of great perturbation.

July 21st A report was this day spread in the city that some Pindara horsemen were coming to plunder the city. This caused such a panic that all the shops and banking houses were closed. The poor classes were seen moving out with their small valuables into the ravines on the south of the city. This as all other reports proved false but we have not yet been able to trace satisfactorily the origin of it.[1]

* * *

Diary of events at Mirzapur from 4th Aug. to 15th Aug. 1857.

EFFECT OF DINAPUR REVOLT

August 4th– Ever since the information of the outbreak at Dinapore and the direction the rebels were said to have taken the minds of the city people were much disturbed; measures were therefore taken for the defence and protection of the city.

The chief streets and inlets into the city were barricaded and gates constructed in many thoroughfares.

August 5th—At the request of Mr. Pollock, Joint Magistrate stationed at Chunar orders were issued for the provisioning of the fort.

August 6th—Some liberated convicts from the Allahabad jail who were seized in this district were at the request of the Magistrate sent back to Allahabad.

MURDER OF MOORE BY JHURY SINGH

August 7th—Intimation having been received of the advance of the Dinapore mutineers orders were issued to the

[1] *Diary of P. Walker*, Deputy Collector, Mirzapur. Mirzapur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

Tehseeldar of Robertsgunge to stop the ferries of the Soane, and to employ any number of extra men he thought necessary for the protection of the office. Mukhunlal (Makkhan Lal) Chief Police Officer of the Bhudohey *pergunnah* reported that Jhooree (Jhuri) Singh and others who had murdered Mr. Moore the Joint Magistrate had received a present of 300/- Rs. from the widow of Oodwunt Singh (a near connexion of the three men that had been hanged, a fortnight previous to Mr. Moore's death). Orders were therefore issued that the properties of Oodwunt Singh's widow, Gunesh Purshad and Bulbhudur Singh should be placed under attachment and proclamation issued for their appearance.

August 8th—A proclamation was this day issued stating that 1000 Rs. would be given as reward for the apprehension of the chief and 500 Rs. a head for the others implicated in the murder of Messrs. Moore, Jones and Kemp. The defences in the city were completed.

August 12th—Three sowars were stationed at Robertsgunge *tehseeldari* and one at Rajgurh to bring in any intelligence the *Tehseeldar* might give regarding the nearer approach of the Dinapore mutineers. Mr. Moore Assistant Magistrate went out to Gopeegunge to assist Major Banett[1] in quieting that part of the district.

REVOLUTIONARIES MOVE TOWARDS ROBERTSGANJ

August 13th—The telegraph from the Commissioner communicating the entrance of the rebels into this district and their intentions to go within a few miles of Mirzapore was this day translated by me and proclaimed for general information and copies were sent to the Raja of Bijaipore and Manda and Chutrajeet Pandey *zemindar* of Kutinjhey requesting their co-operation in cutting up and seizing the rebels. The *Thanadar* of Ahrowra[2] reported that the Dinapore mutineers had plundered the place and gone on towards Robertsgunge.

[1] Can be read as 'Barrett' and 'Barnett' both.

[2] *Ahraura*, Pargana *Ahraura*, Tahsil *Chunar*, District *Mirzapur*—The town of Ahraura lies in latitude 25° 1′ N. and longitude 83° 3′ E.; it is distant 32 miles from Mirzapur via Chunar and 12 miles south-east of Chunar. It is connected with Chunar by a second class unmetalled road, and with Narayanpur, where the Ahraura Road railway station on the East Indian

REVOLUTIONARIES IN ACTION AT SUKRIT AND RAJGARH

August 15th—The *Jemadar* of Rajgurh reported that the rebels that had plundered Ahrowra had arrived at Sookrit[1] and plundered it, orders were issued to him to keep us correctly informed regarding their movements and the direction they marched. Three steamers arrived today with the Europeans on board and as it was ascertained that the rebels were coming by Rajgurh, the Magistrate in concert with other Military officers proposed attacking them. In the afternoon our advance tents etc. were sent on to Kotwa a place 10 miles south on the road to Rajgurh where 200 Europeans under command of Major Simmons, with Messrs. Tucker, Elliott and Buttonshawe, Evans, Stack and myself were to follow up next morning.[2]

* * *

Diary of events in the Mirzapur District from 16th August to 4th September 1857.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT ROBERTSGANJ

August 16th- As the Dinapore mutineers were reported to be coming to Mirzapore via Rajgurh, Major Simmons with a detachment of 200 of the 5th Fusiliers, the Magistrate, Assistant Magistrate, myself and other gentlemen volunteers marched to Kotwa a place 10 miles from this where they stayed all day; in the afternoon an order was received from the Officer Commanding at Benares requesting our immediate return to the station. In the evening Sheobheek sowar who had been stationed at Robertsgunge, to bring us information, came in to say that the rebels arrived at Robertsgunge on the 14th at 9-30 A. M., entered the *tehseeldari* and plundered all that they could get. He brought with him 4 men, who said

Railway is situated,\by a metalled road. An unmetalled road leads south to Robertsganj. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 258).

[1] *Sukrit*, Pargana *Ahraura*, Tahsil *Chunar*, District *Mirzapur*—This small village lies in latitude 24° 54′ N. and longitude 83° 4′ E., 40 miles south-east from Mirzapur and 29 miles south-east-south from Chunar. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 384).

[2] *Diary of P. Walker*, Deputy Collector, Mirzapur. Mirzapur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

they were barbers to the Regiment, having plunder of all descriptions in their possession.

August 17*th*—Early this morning the detachment marched back to Mirzapore. The *Thanadar* of Ahrowra reported that the rebels plundered that bazar on the morning of the 12th and marched onwards to Sookrit which they reached the following morning and plundered. On the following day (14th) they reached Robertsgunge at 9-30 A. M., plundered the *tehseeldari* and *thana* and encamped at Adulgunge Bazar one mile to the west of Robertsgunge.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT SHAHGANJ

August 18*th*—As it was ascertained that the rebels were coming by Shagunge[1] and Ghorawal[2] the Military Authorities of Benares considered and obtained their permission to proceed against them; arrangements were accordingly made for the purpose and the tents etc. sent on to Gortotwa 10 miles from this on the old road to Shagunge. From a report made on this date by the *Tehseeldar* of Robertsgunge, it appears that the rebels stayed on the 15th also at Adulgunge and on the 16th marched to Shagunge which they plundered completely.

JHURI SINGH AT SURIAWAN

August 19*th*—This morning the detachment consisting of 230 Europeans of H. M.'s 5th Fusiliers under command of Major Simmons accompanied by Messrs. Tucker, Elliott, Buttonshawe, Stack and myself came on to Gortotwa. In the afternoon Lieutenant Haig of the H. M.'s 5th accompanied by Lieutenant Buttonshawe, Mr. Tucker and myself proceeded south to ascertain the position of the enemy and to make himself acquainted with the features of the country; he found them

[1] *Shahganj*, Pargana *Barhar*, Tahsil *Robertsganj*, District *Mirzapur*—Shahganj lies at a distance of 46 miles south-east from Mirzapur and 16 miles west from Robertsganj in latitude 24° 43′ N. and longitude 82° 58′ E. It is situated on the unmetalled road which runs from Ghorawal to Robertsganj. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 378).

[2] *Ghorawal*, Pargana *Barhar*, Tahsil *Robertsganj*, District *Mirzapur*—The town of Ghorawal lies in latitude 24° 15′ N. and longitude 82° 48′ E., at a distance of 39 miles south-east from Mirzapur and 20 miles west from Robertsganj. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911 p. 328).

encamped at Amooee[1] about 20 miles south of Mirzapore. The *Thanadar* of Gopeegunge reported that Jhooree Singh and his party were staying at a village called Sooreawan[2]; he was ordered to acquaint Major Barrett of all their movements.

August 20th—This morning the detachment moved on towards Amorey where about 2 miles north of Amorey a vanguard of the enemy was seen at some distance and fired upon by our troops who soon put them to flight, the enemy leaving a large portion of their baggage and plunder behind. A wounded *Havildar* of the 7th N.I. was brought in by Kundhiye Singh (Kandhai Singh) *Chuprassi* and he was tried by Court-Martial and hanged. Another sepoy of the same Regiment who was making his escape and had been attacked by Lieutenant Dunvers was shot down by me. The *Thanadar* of Gopeegunge reported that Jhooree Singh's party were committing depredations about the *pergunnah* and the Superintendent of Police (wrote) that Jhooree Singh and his men were at Bebeapoor and the *Tehseeldar* of Robertsgunge wrote me to say that a second band of mutineers were said to be coming via Doodhee[3] in Singroulee, orders were therefore issued that all the boats in the Soane should be sunk, burnt and landed.

Munsa Pandey who was captured at Amorey was made over to the Military Authorities as he was *Ghunta Wallah* to the Regiment.

JHURI SINGH PLUNDERS BISAULI

August 21st—The detachment marched back to Gortotwa and Messrs. Elliott, Buttonshawe and myself came on direct to Mirzapore. On going to the post office I heard that Deccan

[1] Can be read as *Amaree*. Spelt as *Amorey* also in this page.

[2] Apparently *Suriawan*, Pargana *Bhadohi*, Tahsil *Chakia*, District *Mirzapur*—The name Suriawan is given to two villages separated by about half a mile, in latitude 25° 28′ N. and longitude 82° 26′ E. They are distant 24 miles north-north-west from Mirzapur and 10 miles north-north-west from Korh, being connected with the latter place by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 385).

[3] Apparently *Dudhi*, Pargana *Dudhi*, Tahsil *Robertsganj*, District *Mirzapur*—The chief town of the pargana of the same name lies in 24° 13′ N. and 83° 15′ E., about two miles west of Kanhar river. It is distant 95 miles south-east from Mirzapur and 45 miles south-south-east from Robertsganj. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 321).



Kunwar Singh

Mail had been stopped at Toolshepoor by the rebels who had been put to flight the previous morning and were hurrying on by the Deccan Road. The *Thanadar* of Gopeegunge reported that Jhooree Singh and his party had plundered a village called Bissowlee.

August 22*nd*—The detachment under Major Simmons and the Magistrate returned to the station.

KUNWAR SINGH TOWARDS ROHTASGARH

August 23*rd*—The *Thanadar* of Gopeegunge reported that Jhooree Singh and his party had plundered *mauza* Koree Gaon of property to the extent of Rs. 2000/- and taken 260/- rupees from the *Banias* of Sooreawan. The *Thanadar* of Ahrowra reported that Baboo Koour Singh and the mutineers under him had gone off to Rotasgarh (Rohtasgarh).

August 24*th*—The *Jemadar* of Ghorawal reported that when the rebels were encamped there they destroyed all the *thana* property, papers etc. and plundered 15 villages; he asked for an additional armed force to restore confidence and order in that part of the district as it had been forsaken and there were apprehensions of their being plundered by people of the district. 27 matchlock[1] and one *Jemadar* were accordingly sent to his assistance.

August 25*th*—The *Thanadar* of Lalgunge in his petition dated 4th August wrote in to say that the rebels who had been put to flight by us were staying at Khyrykee[2] *zillah* Allahabad, and the *Moharrir* of *thana* Robertsgunge that the mutineers coming on the other side of Soane had turned off via Khairwa in Singroulee as they found no means of crossing the Soane.

REWARD OF 50,000/- FOR THE ARREST OF NANA SAHEB

August 26*th*—The *Tehseeldar* of Robertsgunge in his petition dated 24th instant reported that Baboo Koour Singh with a large band of mutineers was expected at Pannugunge[3]

[1] It should have been 'matchlockmen'.

[2] Not clearly decipherable.

[3] *Pannuganj*, Pargana *Bijaigarh*, Tahsil *Robertsganj*, District *Mirzapur*—A small hamlet situated in latitude 24° 40′ N. and longitude 83° 16′ E. at the junction of several pack bullock tracks leading from the south and into Naugarh, the most important of which is that which leads to Kon and

in Bidjeygurh; he was ordered to keep us correctly informed of their movements. *The Government proclamation that a reward of Rs.* 50,000/- *would be given for the capture of Nana Saheb was this day circulated for general information.* Mr. Elliott, the Assistant Magistrate left for Gopeegunge where he has been stationed to quiet that part of the country.

August 27th—The *Thanadar* of Gopeegunge in his petition dated 25th August reported that Jhooree Singh had plundered Buddoopoor, Newadeh and few other villages.[1]

REWARDS ON REVOLUTIONARIES' ARREST

Letter No. 77 from H. C. Tucker, Commissioner, Banaras, to St. G. Tucker, Magistrate and Collector of Mirzapur, dated 16th July 1857.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 90, dated 14th instant conveying the painful and lamentable intelligence of the untimely end of your Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector Mr. W. R. Moore.

2nd - I fully concur with you as to the valuable qualities of our deceased friend, and the great loss experienced by Government, and by the district, in his untimely and cruel death.

3rd - Mr. Fane has been sent to help you at Mirzapoor, Mr. Pollock at Chunar, and Mr. Webster has been requested to go to Gopeegunge (Gopiganj) so soon as he can get some clothes, as he arrived from Banda with nothing but what he had on his back.

REWARDS FOR THE ARREST OF JHURI SINGH AND OTHERS

4th—I authorize the *rewards of Rs.* 1000 each for the apprehension of *Jooraye Sing* (*Jhuri Singh*), *Matabuksh, Matabheek,* of Praspoor in Bhuddoee (Bhadohi), and *Surnam Singh.* You will have the goodness to report hereafter as to the names of all other individuals proved to have belonged to the party

Dudhi via Argarh. It is distant 62 miles south-east from Mirzapur and 12 miles east from Robertsganj. (*District Gazetteers,* Mirzapur, 1911, p. 363).

[1] *Diary of P. Walker,* Deputy Collector, Mirzapur. Mirzapur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

who attacked and murdered Mr. Moore and his companions; and also those who cut and carried off, or have kept, his head. The perpetrators of this crime must be hunted out to the utmost.

5*th*—I shall feel obliged by your thanking Captain Woolhouse for the dashing manner in which he instantly marched his small party to Mr. Moore's assistance. Also Colonel Pott for the ready services of the 47th N. I. on this occasion. Their exertions will be reported to Government.

6*th*—There is no good thanking the Rajah of Benares, whose battle we are fighting; or Durshun Loll (Darshan Lal) who is fighting for his own head. Both were bound by self interest to do all they possibly could for the Superintendent of the Rajah's domains.

7*th*—Mr. Elliot is a fine fellow, and has shewn much pluck on more occasions than one, so as already to have elicited the approbation of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor. I am much pleased with Mr. P. Walker's conduct in sticking by you at the *cotwalee*, and on this occasion he has proved that he deserved his promotion.

SUPPRESSION OF THE RAJPUTS

8*th*—In conclusion I would beg, that your young subordinates would not ride about the unsettled parts of the district without a guard; and that you would do your best to quiet the Monus and other Rajpoot communities who have been punished by the European troops, as Mr. Gubbins and I have done with the Dobee and Deogaon[1] Rajpoots. They are brave children, easily misled by our enemies; who have industriously circulated all sorts of lies to our disadvantage. *We must disabuse them, as it will never do to raise the rural population against us.* At the first outbreak they thought our power was gone; every man's hand was against his neighbour; and sundry powerful *zemindars* and Rajpoot communities plundered their weaker brethren. We have made some

[1] *Deogaon*, Pargana and Tahsil, *Deogaon*, District *Azamgarh*—The capital town of the pargana and tahsil to which it gives its name lies in latitude 25° 44′ N. and longitude, 82° 57′ E., at a distance of 28 miles from Azamgarh and only four miles from the district boundary. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 214).

severe examples through the European troops; and, having shewn our power and will to punish can now prove our moderation by letting bygones, with a few special exceptions, be bygones, and inducing the population to return to their agricultural pursuits.

If they do not, famine and pestilence will follow the curse of the sword.[1]

THE MONUS RAJPUTS

Letter No. 97 from H. C. Tucker, Commissioner, 5th Division, Banaras, to C. Beadon, Secretary to the Govt. of India, Calcutta, dated Banaras, 16th July 1857.

It is with deep regret that I submit for the information of Government the accompanying copy of report from the Magistrate of Mirzapoor as to the untimely death of Mr. W. R. Moore, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, and Superintendent of the Rajah of Benares' domains together with my reply.

2*nd*- Mr. Moore has been peculiarly active for two years past, in exterminating dacoits and Pasee thieves from the *pergunnah* of Budooee (Bhadohi). He has also had to assist the European troops in clearing the Grand Trunk Road between Benares and Allahabad, in the course of which operation a Monus[2] Rajpoot, who had set himself up as Rajah, with his

[1] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 23, pp. 115-17. "Letters received from Commissioner to Magistrate from March 1857 to Nov 1857". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Monas Rajputs* The clan of Monas or Maunas Rajputs are found almost exclusively in the Benares division, and in Mirzapur occur chiefly in Pargana Bhadohi. It is said that their original seat was Ambar. They have a pedigree which would place their advent in the pargana about the time of the Musalman conquest and there is a tradition that a party of the clan, passing from their home in Jaipur to Benares, coveted the pargana and formed the design of seizing it. This they eventually did, but not without a prolonged struggle which ended in the almost total extermination of the Bhars. In the reign of Shahjahan, Jodh Rai, a Monas, is said to have obtained a Zamindari Sanad for the whole pargana. Jodh Rai was killed not long afterwards by the Subadar of Allahabad and the emperor is said to have then given a fresh sanad for the pargana to Jodh Rai's widow. Jodh Rai's interest appears to have passed to his brother, Madan Singh, who handed it on to his three sons Zorawar Singh, Achal Singh and Gaj Singh. In their time the Monas family reached the heights of its power

two *Naibs*, were (*sic*,) executed. The Monus tribe possess a large portion of the *pergunneh*, and are hostile to the Rajah of Benares with whom the settlement was made; and naturally look with suspicion on the Superintendent, as more or less, a partisan of the Rajah. It is impossible at present to state how far any, or all, of these reasons influenced Mr. Moore's murderers. He was peculiarly intelligent, mild, well-informed, and zealous officer, and exceedingly popular with the higher rank of natives; and his loss will be much felt.

3*rd*—Captain Woolhouse manifested the pluck which gained the country, by rushing 6 miles into an unknown and hostile country, with his small party of 40 Europeans. It was not exactly prudent, but it was something even better.

GOPIGANJ STRENGTHENED BY THE REVOLUTIONARIES

4*th*—A party of Highlanders, and a few Irregular Cavalry from Benares, were sent to the villages inhabited by the murderers as soon as the news reached Benares, and examples were made of some of them; but that part of the country is in a very turbulent and excited state still; and it is only today that I have heard of the collection of about 1200 men, who are said to have 3 small cannon. The post of Gopeegunge (Gopiganj) has been strengthened by the addition of 50 Sikhs, and 50 of the 37th from Chunar, and is safe against any ordinary attack. It remains to be seen whether a *dour* be necessary against the powerful village of Bhunda.[1]

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT SIRSA

Letter from C. W. Moore to St. George Tucker, Magistrate and Collector, Mirzapur, dated Gopeegunge (Gopiganj), July 17, 1857.

As requested I have the honour to furnish a report of my proceedings when sent on deputation to Sirsa.

and prosperity; and it is not till the imposing fabric of the Mughal empire began to give way that its peace was again disturbed. Sons of Madan Singh left numerous descendants among whom the pargana of Bhadohi was divided. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, pp. 99, 124, 207-208, 221).

[1] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 23, pp. 133-34. "Letters received from Commissioner to Magistrate from March 1857 to Nov. 1857". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

I left Mirzapore in the steamer "Coel" in company with Captain Harris and a party of the 1st Madras Fusiliers.

On reaching the village of "Goura" we co-operated with a party of the 47th N. I. in destroying that place.

We reached Sirsa on Monday morning and I immediately sent for the Rajah's headman; it was first reported to me that he was in the village, but after some delay I learnt that he had left the village and was then some 10 miles distant from it. The troops having been ordered to proceed as quickly as possible to Allahabad, we were unable to wait for the arrival of the Rajah's headman. We however went to his house, which was opened but not till after great delay.

I found in the house some 30 or 40 men armed with matchlocks and swords. They were most insolent in their manner and I broke many of their arms. I caused a godown which was locked to be broken open and I found in it great quantities of linen *dhoties*, also 2 white jackets, with the shoulder knots embroidered in white braid. I took these jackets to Allahabad where they were claimed by Lieutenant Harwood of the Artillery. The rest of the things found in the godowns were taken possession of by the troops.

I obtained no satisfactory intelligence regarding the party of Sikhs, said to have been stopped at Sirsa; the Police of the place told me that they had gone on to Allahabad some time before our arrival.

On my arrival at Allahabad I enquired from Captain Brasger[1] commanding the Regiment of Ferozpore, what had really occurred. He stated that when Captain Montagu with the left wing of his regiment arrived at Sirsa, he was hailed from the bank by a Sikh who told Captain Montagu that the baggage, women etc. which he and others of the Regiment were guarding had been stopped. Captain Montagu then landed a party of his men and brought away the women and baggage.

Captain Harris and the party of Fusiliers on board the "Coel" destroyed the village of Dumura[2]. The people of that place had been plundering in all directions. Finding

[1] This name is not clearly decipherable in the Original letter. Correct name as given in other document appears to be 'Brusyer' or 'Bruszer'.

[2] Name of the village not clearly decipherable.

that the steamer "Coel" was likely to be detained at Allahabad for some days, I returned from that place to Mirzapore via the G. T. Road. I met with no obstructions, but I observed that no *Chokeedars* were to be seen at any of the *chokees* in the Allahabad district bordering the Grand Trunk Road.[1]

MEASURES AGAINST 47TH NATIVE INFANTRY

Letter No. 108 *from Henry Carre Tucker, Commissioner, 5th Division, Banaras, to Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William, dated* 22*nd July* 1857.

I have herewith the honor to submit the Narrative received from Mirzapoor, from the beginning of the outbreak, to the end of June.

2*nd*—There is nothing requiring particular notice, except that 60,000 Rs. were sent to Allahabad by the Ferozepoor Regiment of Sikhs, and 1,40,000 (Rs.) by the Europeans, so as to leave the 47th N. I. no object in mutinying. They found the treasury empty, and have been employed upon expeditions in different directions, and have remained quite quiet to the present time.

3*rd*—It is only fair to state, that when all the other officials and the European community, retired to Chunar, Mr. Saint George Tucker, the Magistrate, remained in the *kotwallee* to protect the city, backed by Mr. P. Walker, the Deputy Magistrate. This spirited conduct in these two officers preserved the city and district, and merits the warm approbation of Government. Mr. Venables, with his companions, proved himself a worthy brother to the Mr. Venables who has so greatly distinguished himself by the defence of Azimgurh.[2]

[1] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 120, pp. 215, 218. "Miscellaneous letters received by Magistrate from February 1857 to 17th July 1857". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 23, p. 121, "Letters received from Commissioner to Magistrate from March 1857 to 17th July 1857". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

FLIGHT OF THE BRITISHERS

Letter from C. Christian, to St. George Tucker, Magistrate of Mirzapur, dated 29th July 1857.

I am desirous of applying for the benefit of the Fund which has been raised in Calcutta for the relief of sufferers from the insurrection. Colonel Lafout[1] and myself are the only two who escaped the trials and fate of Cawnpoor by the mercy of Providence. We remained in our own house near the river until the night of the 5th when we escaped by boat to Allahabad.

The mutineers commenced the work of destruction on the morning of the 5th and having found our place strongly fortified, postponed the attack upon it until they could appear in greater force. About my present condition I have only to say that I am without a fraction. I lost even my clothes in the abruptness of our flight at night. I am just now partaking of the hospitality of Messrs. Howard and Stewart, who, with Mr. Thompson (E. I. R.) and several others in the station can confirm my statements. I apply to you to be good enough to assist me in forwarding my application for some temporary aid, which I shall be happy to return as soon as some opportunity of employment offers itself.[2]

OUTBREAK IN BHADOHI

Extracts from the case : "Crown vs. Jhuri Singh".

The mutiny broke out in Benares, Allahabad and Jounpore about the 4th or 5th of June 1857. *Pergunnah* Bhurdohee (Bhadohi)[3] which is bounded on three sides by those districts became infected on the 7th or 8th. The people of Bhurdohee had always been noted for their lawlessness and independent spirit. The *pergunnah* was governed from 929 F. S. (*Fasli* year) to 1154 F. S., when it passed into the hands of an ancestor of the present Maharajah of Benares, by a clan of Raj-

[1] This name can be read as 'Lafait' also.

[2] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 121, pp. 26-27. "Miscellaneous letters received by Magistrate from 19th July to 19th Nov. 1857". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[3] District *Mirzapur.*

poots called Monus. Although the *Raj* had passed from the Monus clan yet the old reigning family was by no means extinct and was much looked up to in the *pergunnah*. Among the heads of it at the time of the mutiny were Oodwunt (Udwant) Singh, Bhola Singh and Rambuksh (Ram Bakhsh) Singh. They collected a band of from 1000 to 2000 men and seemed to have formed the idea of re-establishing themselves as lords of Bhurdohee. The principal officer of the Rajah of Benares Moonshee Durshun Lal (Munshi Darshan Lal), with the sanction of the district authorities, enlisted a similar body of men to the number of some 2000. Anarchy became universal. Oodwunt Singh and his people plundered and burnt the villages of those to whom they owed grudges and the homes of Oodwunt Singh and his friends were in turn burnt and plundered by the adherents of the Rajah.

At length, about the 20th June, Mr. Moore the Joint Magistrate of Mirzapore came out to Gopeegunge (Gopiganj) with a few European soldiers and was there joined by Mr. Chapman who with a body of sowars had been engaged in clearing the Grand Trunk Road. Oodwunt Singh, Bhola Singh and Rambuksh Singh were inveigled into coming to Konrh[1] unarmed and were then placed in arrest by Moonshee Durshun Lal. Information of this was sent to Mr. Moore at Gopeegunge. He came out to Konrh (3 miles distant) with Mr. Chapman and a band of sowars, took Oodwunt Singh, Rambuksh Singh and Bhola Singh back with him to Gopeegunge and hung them there. After this the Monus band was seemingly broken up and comparative quiet prevailed. But much ill feeling was caused by the execution of the heads of the Monus family and a desire for revenge was fostered by the widows of the hanged men who refused to eat or drink so long as Messrs. Moore, Chapman and Moonshee Durshun Lal remained alive. On the other hand when the people of any village showed symptoms of disaffection a raid was at once made upon it, the grain etc. found in it confiscated and the village burnt.

Things were in this state when, on the third July[2] a note from Mr. Jones, the Manager of the Palee Indigo Factory was

[1] Name not clearly decipherable in the Original, may be *Korh*.
[2] The word is not legibly written; apparently 'July' is meant here.

brought to Mr. Moore at Gopeegunge. It must be noticed that Mr. Jones had left Palee for Chunar on the 10th or 11th June, that he returned on the 1st or 2nd, July and that he had been informed that soon after he left Palee the factory garden had been robbed by Surnam (Sarnam) Singh Pulwar and others. Upon receiving Mr. Jones' letter Mr. Moore went to the Gopeegunge *thana* and taking with him thence a party of sowars and *Burcundazes* (*Barqandazes*) headed by the *Thanadar* Niamut Ali Khan proceeded to Pulwar-ka-poora (or Dusruthpoor) to arrest Surnam Singh. Surnam Singh could not be found but Dhowan Singh and other Pulwars were arrested and sent off under charge of some *Burcundazes* to the Palee factory. From Dusruthpoor Mr. Moore and his party went to Palee where they arrived at about 1 or 2 A. M. of the 4th July. Here Mr. Moore had a private conversation with Mr. Jones who furnished him with two guides. From Palee Mr. Moore went to Bijeyee-ka-poora to arrest one Hunooman Brahman. The Brahman could not be found but his grain pits were confiscated. Mr. Moore next went to Suddoopoor to arrest a man named Sheo Diyal Singh. A fruitless search was made for him and in the course of the search the *tulwar* and *chuprass* of one of the *Burcundazes* was taken from him by some men belonging to a band which had been assembled by Jhooree Singh at Puroopoor. Jhooree Singh is a Monus and, although his ancestors were only dependents of the old Monus Rajahs, was a man of much influence in his part of the *pergunnah*. Puroopoor (or Puraopoor) is close to Suddoopoor; the village sites are not a mile apart. On hearing what had happened Mr. Moore went at once to Puroopoor and there found Jhooree Singh with a band of some 200 or 300 men standing behind a mud wall armed with matchlocks, *tulwars* and *lathees*. Jhooree Singh abused and defied Mr. Moore; but at length, after being remonstrated with by his uncle Rugbur Singh (Raghubar Singh), promised to come peaceably to Mr. Moore at the factory after performing his morning ablutions etc. After this Mr. Moore returned to Palee (the sowars and the greater portion of the *Burcundazes* under the *Thanadar* were sent back to Bijeyee-ka-poora) and having been up all night lay down to sleep. Dhowan Singh and the other Pulwars were in the verandah and Mr. Jones appears to have threatened them with condign punishment unless they produced Surnam Singh. A message also appears to have been sent to the Officer-in-

charge of the European troops at Gopeegunge asking him to bring them up.

At about 10 A. M. the alarm was given that a band of men was coming down on the factory. They came up rapidly and swarmed into the compound armed with matchlocks, *tulwars* and other weapons and led by Jhooree Singh, Balbhudder Singh (Balbhadra Singh) and Surnam Singh. Mr. Moore was aroused and his horse and two others for Messrs. Jones and Kemp (Mr. Jones' brother-in-law) were brought to the door. But Mr. Moore refused to mount and very soon flight became impossible. Mr. Moore appears to have thought that Jhooree Singh and his followers would be satisfied with rescuing Dhowan Singh and the other Pulwars. But this idea was soon dispelled. The servants and *Burcundazes* were told to do the best they could for themselves and Messrs. Moore, Jones and Kemp went into the bungalow and closed the doors. Presently fire was applied to the roof. The three gentlemen then opened a small door to the back and ran out. They were pursued but succeeded in getting over the factory wall. Mr. Moore was killed just on the other side of it and Messrs. Jones and Kemp a little further on. The bodies of the two latter gentlemen were not mutilated, but Mr. Moore's head was cut off and appears to have been taken to Mt: (Mussammat) Mabussiah, Oodwunt Singh's widow. Eight persons have been hung, eight transported for life, one transported for fourteen years, three imprisoned for seven years and one flogged, for their respective shares in this crime. The present accused although the ringleader in it and although a large reward was offered for his apprehension continued to evade the grasp of the law until the 25th of April last, when he was arrested at Betieah under a warrant issued by the Magistrate of Benares.

The defence set up by the accused is an alibi. He states that Mr. Jones had warned him that it would be better for him to go away when Mr. Moore came to Palee and that, on being informed by that gentleman at 9 P. M. on the 3rd July that Mr. Moore was expected that night, he left his home and went to Mh. (*mauzah*) Jodhapoor.

The statement is not supported by the evidence of the witnesses whom the accused called to prove it.

The evidence for the prosecution goes to show :

1*st*—That Jhooree Singh was actuated by feelings of

the most malignant nature towards Mr. Moore and that it is therefore *prima facie* probable that he committed the crimes charged against him.

2*nd*—That the accused was at the head of a band of men who murdered Messrs. Moore, Kemp and Jones and plundered and burnt the Palee factory and that he actively instigated them to the commission of those crimes.

It also appears from the admissions of the accused and the records of the Magistrate's Court that after the occurrence the accused absconded to avoid arrest.

Sect. 114 of the Indian Penal Code seems applicable to the present case; but with reference to the terms of section 242 of the Crim. Proc. Code (Criminal Procedure Code) the accused has also been charged as an abettor of murder, dacoity and arson.[1]

JHURI SINGH AND THE MURDER OF MOORE AND OTHERS

Deposition of Thakur Dayal dated 15th July 1857 attested by Makkhan Lal, Superintendent of Police, Gopiganj, Mirzapur.

Thakur Dayal presented himself and after confession in accordance with Act V of 1840, deposed—

My name is Thakur Dayal, my father's name is Ram Din, caste—Pathak Brahman, resident of Bhoorkey, *pargana* Bhadohi, age—about 60 years, profession cultivation.

Question What do you know about this case ?

Answer—About 13 days back,—I do not exactly remember —at about 5 *gharis* after sunrise that Jhuri Singh and Mata Bakhsh Singh of Monas caste came with a body of about 200 men at the godown of *mauza* Pali. Mr. Moore, Mr. Jones and a relation of Mr. Jones were taking their meals inside the bungalow. The dacoits surrounded the bungalow and began firing. Thereupon the three Englishmen left the bungalow and took to flight. Then, Jhuri Singh, Mata Bakhsh (already named), Balbhadra Singh, resident of Abhaoli, Ganesh Prasad Singh, resident of Goali, Sarnam Palwar, resident of Dasrath-

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Jhuri Singh and others*". Mirzapur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

pur, Mata Bakhsh, resident of Paraspur, Shiva Din, resident of Saddopur, Bindeshwari Singh son of Shiva Din Singh and Shiva Tahal, resident of the same place pursued and killed them. Then Jhuri Singh beheaded Mr. Moore and took his head with him to Abhaoli. The bungalow was set on fire and the chattels plundered.

Question—How do you know all this and why did they kill Mr. Moore ?

Answer—Since Udwant Singh, Ram Bakhsh Singh, Bhola Singh Monases, had been hanged, all the people of Monas caste in *pargana* Bhadohi decided to kill Mr. Moore, one other Englishman and Munshi Darshan Lal and to eject the Raja Saheb from the *pargana*. Every body in the *pargana* knew this.

Question—Why were Udwant Singh, Ram Bakhsh Singh and Bhola Singh hanged ?

Answer—They committed dacoities and had declared themselves Raja.

Question—Whom did they bring the head of Mr. Moore to ?

Answer—To the wives of Udwant Singh, Ram Bakhsh Singh and Bhola Singh who were fasting since their husbands were hanged.

We saw with our own eyes all that we have deposed. The wives of Udwant Singh, Bhola Singh and Ram Bakhsh Singh live in *mauza* Abhaoli where the head was brought.[1]

* * *

Deposition of Ujahil Chamar, dated July 28, 1857.

Ujahil Chamar, son of Budho, Gudait of *mauza* Pali, resident of the same village, age—nearly 60 years presented himself. On being questioned he deposed—

I was present when Mr. Moore was killed in Pali godown. Jhuri Singh went there with 300 men armed with swords, guns and *lathis*. In my presence, Jhuri Singh severed the head of Mr. Moore and forced Munai Chamar, resident of Palipur to carry it. He was not willing to do this but when

[1] Almora Mutiny Basta—File containing reports and depositions etc. (18 & 19).

Musai Singh and Jhuri Singh threatened him with the sword he, at last, took it up and carried it with Jhuri Singh. I recognised four persons namely, Musai Singh, Sanwal Singh, Jhuri Singh and Najai Singh son of Indrajit Singh among this group. I do not know the names of others.

Question—Where are these people ?

Answer—They have fled away with their families.[1]

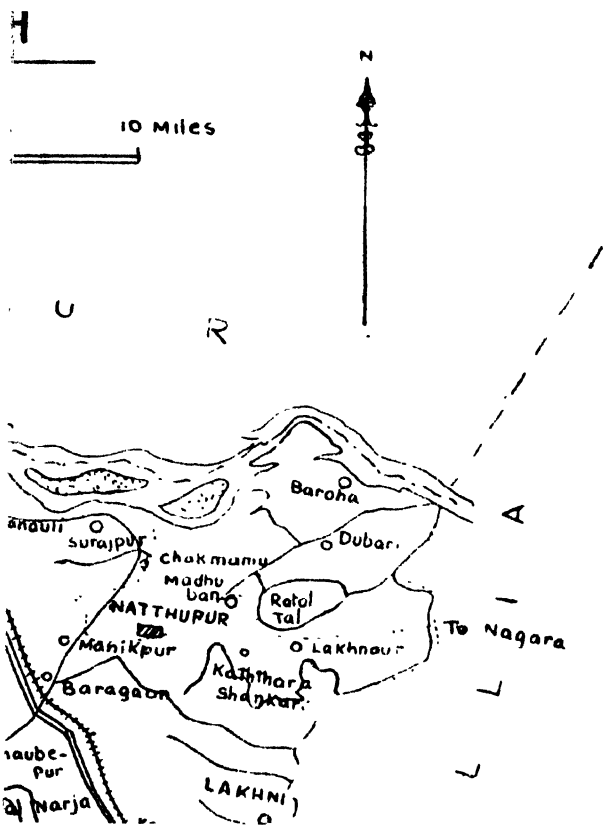
AZAMGARH

17TH NATIVE INFANTRY IN ARMS

The same journal (*The Englishman*) contains an account of the mutiny of the 17th N. I. at Azimghur. They assembled for parade and fell in by Companies and in usual manner. The only European who was present with the regiment at the time was Quarter Master Sergeant Lewis. None of the European officers came to parade as the mutinous state of the 17th had been known and their intentions on that particular day were suspected. After waiting (for) some time, the Sergeant assumed the command. Upon this, many of the sepoys left their ranks, but fell back when ordered to do so. One of native commissioned officers stepped forward and suggested that the officers' call should be sounded; to this the Sergeant refused assent, and commenced to harangue the sepoys on the enormous crime of mutiny. He observed that if they rebel, they would be sure to be transported or hanged. Upon this every man of the regiment commenced to yell, and some rushing on the Sergeant cut him down, crying out "if we are to be hanged, at all events we will kill you first." Whilst the Sergeant was lying wounded on the ground, the sepoys discussed how they should torture him and each one proposed some torture more hideous than the rest.

At last at the intervention of a native officer he was left on the ground. There he lay all night, and in the morning was by a European officer of the Regiment placed in a bungalow. From thence he was taken by the sepoys at (to) a place in the Quarter Guard. Every day he was visited by

[1] Almora Mutiny Basta—File containing reports, depositions etc.


10 Miles
N
Baroha
Surajpur
Chakmamu
Dubar
Madhu
ban
Ratol
Tal
NATTHUPUR
Mahikpur
Lakhnaur
To Nagara
Baragaon
Kathmara
Shankar
LAKHNI

the natives who, whilst amusing the wounded man, used to delight in telling him for what torture he was reserved. Sergeant Lewis was rescued by Mr. Venables.[1]

LEADERSHIP OF BHONDU SINGH AT AZAMGARH

Memo No. 133 from F. W. Burroughs, Commanding 17th Regiment N. I., to J. H. Chamberlain, Asstt. Govt. Superintendent for suppression of dacoities, dated Barrackpur, 30th January 1860.

Your letter No. 617 of the 23rd instant reached me yesterday and in reply I have the honour to afford you the following information respecting Subadar Bhoondoo Sing of the late 17th Regiment N. I. whilst under my command.

Bhoondoo Sing is an Aheer by caste, and hence would be more correctly designated Bhoondoo Ram. His father was a native officer in the 17th Regt. (then 2nd Battalion of the 11th N. I.) and out of consideration for his father Bhoondoo was enlisted when a boy. The Regiment was his house, he had no other; but proposed residing at Futteh-Gurh whenever he might be transferred to the desired establishment. I have known Bhoondoo Sing (he was so designated in all the regimental records) since 1825. He was then a sepoy, and he and another sepoy, named Shaick Delole[2] were the two best swordsmen in the Regiment and used to fence together, particularly in the *Tazier* (*Tazia*) procession at the Muhurrum. Shaick Delole became a *Subadar* and died and Bhoondoo Sing then became the *Khuleepha* (*Khalifa*) of the Regiment and from this situation possessed more influence in the Regiment (amongst the fencers, wrestlers, low caste men and men of indifferent characters) than his rank and general conduct would otherwise have given him. When the 17th Regiment marched from Lodiana (Ludhiana) in 1838, as the escort of the Governor General, Bhoondoo Sing, then a *Havildar*, was sent direct to Meerutt (the destination of the Regiment) with the heavy baggage and through his neglect, all the regimental white

[1] *The Friend of India*, August 13, 1857, p. 770. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Name not clearly decipherable; perhaps the correct name may be 'Shaikh Dulah' or 'Shaikh Dalal'.

clothing, under his charge, was spoilt. And in consequence I understood he was not to be recommended for further promotion. I left the Regiment in 1842 and when I rejoined it in 1856, I found Bhoondoo Sing was a *Subadar*, notwithstanding his having so far misconducted himself intermediately at Orai, in Bundelcund, as to lead the General Officer Commanding the Saugor Division to cause him to be severely reprimanded. I do not know the nature of this misconduct; but Captain R. Patton, Major of Brigade at Agra, can probably give full information on the subject.

17TH REGIMENT N. I. CONSPIRES

The 17th Regiment was quartered at Delhee (Delhi) in 1853, 1854; and whilst there, I understand, the native officers used to visit the palace and present offerings to the King. The Regiment marched thence to Lucknow in 1854/55; and on the annexation of Oude the 17th, 19th and 34th Regiments, all at Lucknow, offered their services to the King of Oude. This I heard of after the mutiny of the 17th Regiment on the 3rd of June 1857. In July 1856 the 17th Regiment marched to Cawnpoor and remained there till the 1st October 1856, when it marched under my command to Gorruckpoor (via Allahabad-Benares and Azimgurh); on the 12th of February 1857 the Regiment marched back to Azimgurh and there commenced the building of New Lines, Gorruckpoor (Gorakhpur) having been given up as the head-quarters of a Regiment on account of its unhealthiness. In the month of December whilst the 17th Regiment was at Gorruckpoor nearly every man was in hospital with fever; there were however very few casualties, but the men were greatly depressed. Observing this in my daily visits to the hospital I took steps to facilitate their obtaining leave on medical certificate. They quickly recovered after arriving at Azimgurh on the 18th February 1857; and as it was then late in the season for building, I adopted every means available to expedite the work and facilitate the obtaining material.[1] Finding the work delayed, chiefly on the plea of difficulty in procuring material, I applied to the Magistrate and Collector, Mr. G. Horne, who at once gave

[1] The construction of the sentence is wrong.

all the influence of his situation towards hastening its progress; and even obtained from the Commissioner a grant of public money for this purpose. Whilst the ground was being marked out by the Executive Engineer, Lieutenant Watson, I appointed a Committee, consisting of Subadar Bhoondoo Sing, senior native officer of the Regiment and two other native officers, the next senior to him of those present, to superintend the building of the Lines, and added a Sub-Committee of Pay-Havildars to keep the accounts: giving each a separate duty. I also caused each of the eight Companies present (two Companies were left at Gorruckpoor on duty) to elect two of the elder sepoys to act as Overseers and look after the work, people and material, those sepoys and the Pay-Havildars being all under the Committee of native officers. The Quarter-Master Lieutenant Hutchison[1] had charge of the Halting[2] Money and superintended the whole. The contracts both for labor and materials, were made by the two Committees assisted by the Regimental *Moonshee*, and received my approval; and cash was advanced as requested by the Native Officers' Committee, under my sanction. Juggernaut Tewarry (Jagannath Tewari) was one of the Pay-Havildars on the Sub-Committee, Bheekum Sing Pay-Havildar (now at Sultanpoor Benares with the remnants of the 17th, 37th and 50th Regiments under Colonel Hampton) was I think another member of the Sub-Committee and more reliance may be placed on his evidence than that of Juggernaut Tewarry (Jagannath Tewari). The name of the third member of the Sub-Committee, I am at present unable to call to mind. Neither do I recollect the names of the sepoys employed in this work. Subadar Davie Deen (Devi Din) was a member of the Senior Committee, the name of the third member of this Committee I do not recollect.

In April it appear (*sic*,— appeared) to me, in addition to the slowness of the work, that the work done and the materials on the ground were not in adequate proportion to the money which had then been advanced and I therefore spoke to Subadar Bhoondoo Sing on the subject. He had taken a very prominent part in all the arrangements, but was unable to

[1] Correct name might be 'Hutchinson'.
[2] The word can be read as 'Hutting' also.

account for this disproportion to my satisfaction. He at one time said that money had been advanced for a large quantity of materials which had not then been brought into Cantonment, and at another time, when asked why the materials purchased had not been brought in, he said there was very great difficulty in obtaining materials, and that the country people would not sell them. It was at this time that I sought the aid of the Magistrate and Collector in procuring materials, as the *Subadar*, to clear up the discrepancy in his statements, told me that contracts for materials had been agreed to and money paid, but that the country people would not abide by their agreements. When I spoke to the Pay-Havildars on this subject I learnt that some of the sepoys were dissatisfied at the large expenditure on the New Lines and I consequently mentioned this to Mr. Horne, Magistrate and Collector, who, in the second week in May 1857, and as I understood, under authority from the Commissioner, Mr. Tucker, took the work entirely into his own hands, furnishing funds and providing materials and work people; I do not recollect if the accounts of expenditure were then handed over to Mr. Horne, by the Pay-Havildars' Committee.

SUBADAR BHOLA UPADHYA

In April 1857, or about that time, Captain I. S. D. Sulloct, 17th N. I., who was in charge of the party (a *Subadar*, a *Havildar* and four sepoys) sent from the Regiment to the Presidency Musketry Depot, wrote me that Subadar Bholah Opudiah (Bhola Upadhya) a high caste Brahmin, stepped forward on the Depot Parade and said he was ready to use the new rifle-cartridge and do whatever was required with it. As this was done so publicly, at a time when there was great hesitation in touching the new cartridges and some sepoys at the Depot had already declined to touch them, I brought the subject to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief, and, on this account and also on the score of his high character and qualifications, recommended Bholah Opudiah (second *Subadar* of the Regiment) for the Subadar-Majorship, which had been vacant for many months before the command devolved on me and he was promoted in Government orders. To prevent ill feeling on the part of Subadar Bhoondoo Sing I spoke to him twice on the subject, first when the recommendation was given

and again when the promotion appeared in Government order reminding him that the pay of Subadar-Major is rupees 25, whilst that of Bahardur (Bahadur) and Sirdar Bahardur is Rs. 30 and Rs. 60 and that as I had recommended Bholah Opudiah for the former so I would recommend him for the Order of British India if he gave me satisfaction in superintending the building of the New Lines, exerted himself in helping to maintain good order in the Regiment, and kept me well informed of all that went on amongst the men. On both occasions he seemed pleased and promised to do all I desired; but he never gave me even the slightest information respecting what was going on in the Regiment. On the contrary he led the Regiment in the mutiny and marched at its head in the night of the 3rd of June 1857, when it opened the jail, for the prisoners to escape, broke open and plundered the Collector's treasury of (70,000) seventy thousand rupees, as it proceeded in pursuit of the escort which left Azimgurh at sunset that afternoon in charge of 7 lacks of rupees for Benares. This escort was overtaken and its treasure captured by the mutineers. Lieutenant Hutchinson, the interpreter and Quarter Master of the 17th Regiment N. I. was shot under the porch of the Collector's Treasury Office, it is said by Ramtaul or Ramtahul (Ram Tahal), sepoy of the First Company and Madhoo Ram, sepoy of the Light Company 17th Regiment N. I., the former a son of Bhoondoo's and the latter either married or engaged to Bhoondoo Subadar's daughter. For further information regarding the revolt of the 17th Regiment N. I. I beg to refer to my letter No. 91 of the 29th of August 1859 to your address; and I would here add that when the ladies, children, civilians and officers there on duty, left the Civil Lines to proceed to Ghazeepore, they were urged by the sepoys who had remained with them to escape without delay that they might not fall into the hands of the mutineers on the latter's return with the seven lacks of treasure. These loyal sepoys helped the ladies and children to the top of the Treasury Office when the Regiment revolted and helped them down again when the Regiment marched out of the station, and got conveyances (*bhuggies* and carriages) ready for their escape and were so urgent for their departure that they would not permit the ladies to go into the houses they had lately resided in to get clothes either for themselves or children. They were kept out of these houses by armed men. When I reached the Civil

Lines our man (a *Naick* named Mohan Singh) only was found there, and he was sitting crying at the treasury door.

BRITISHERS' PLAN TO ARREST THE REVOLUTIONARIES

P. S. The men who accompanied me to Ghazeepoor in the night of the 3rd June 1857 are *Naick* Bheekum Sing (now a *Havildar* in the 32nd N. I. at Dorounda) Pay-Havildar of the 8th Company 17th N. I., Ram Narain Sing, now a *Naick* with the details 17th, 37th and 50th Regiments under command of Colonel Hampton at Sultanpoor, Benares, Mungley (Mangli) Dooby[1] and Bhageeruttee (Bhagirathi) Pandey, both of whom took their discharge in June or July 1858. The former's home is in the *zillah* of Futtehpoor (Fatehpur) and the latter's in that of Chuppra (Chhapra). The Magistrates of these *zillahs* will be able to produce these men. All these men are trust-worthy and Bhageeruttee Pandey and Ram Narain Sing rendered valuable service to the Civil Officers of their districts in the last half of the year 1857. Mr. Horne, the Collector and Magistrate of Azimgurh promised Bheekum Sing one thousand rupees and three sepoys five hundred rupees each; but Bheekum Sing received five hundred rupees only and the three sepoys the same sum each. Sewgolam Sing (Shiv Ghulam Singh) sepoy, now under Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Hampton's command at Sultanpoor, can also afford information, but I cannot say that I think him trust-worthy.

Replies to the four questions in your letter, under acknowledgement, are hereto annexed; and I have to express my regret that I have not been able to afford you this information as early as I desired to do.'

PLOT SECRETLY PLANNED

Memorandum No. 135 from W. Burroughs, Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding 17th Regiment Native Infantry.

Answers to four questions in letter No. 617 of the 23rd January 1860 from Captain I. H. Chamberlain, Assistant Superintendent for the investigation of Mutiney Massacre cases addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Burroughs, late in command 17th Regiment N. I.

Question 1 - Was any report ever made to you by any

[1] Probably spelt for 'Dubey'.

[2] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Bhondu Singh*". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

officer, European or native or by the Havildar-Major Bindah Deen (Binda Din) shewing that Bhoondoo Sing was either actually or by suspicion exercising an evil influence on the men of the Regiment at the Head-Quarters ?

Answer—No report of this kind was ever made to me by any one. Bhoondoo Sing's character, which I well know, from having been 12 years Adjutant of the Regiment, gave rise to suspicions in my mind. But the only information I received was that some of the sepoys were dissatisfied at the expense incurred for the New Lines. Byjnath Sing (Baijnath Singh), Pay-Havildar of the First Company, was the first person to give me even this information; after he had given it Juggernath Tewarry (Jagannath Tewari) Pay-Havildar of the 5th Company, also gave it; but I believe he knew that Byjnath had already given it. I mixed freely with the men (of all grades) of the 17th Regiment and they had access to me at all times, as my object was to afford every man opportunity to give me information. I had followed this course when I was Adjutant and then had a thorough system of espionage in the Regiment, which (as an instance) enabled me to have a sepoy seized by the Magistrate at Allygurh (Aligarh) with 1500 (Rs.) out of 2000 Rs. which he had stolen from the treasury at Lodiana (Ludhiana) where the Regiment was quartered in 1838. My spies were unknown to the Regiment and even to each other; but none of them were.....(Manuscript torn) in the Regiment when the command.....(Mss. torn). In the early months of 1857 I was desirous of quietly obtaining by espionage information of what was going on amongst the men of the Regiment; but found no one willing or possessing sufficient courage to afford me any information until the Regiment had mutinied, *and this, with other circumstances, led me to believe that the plot, for revolt, was not recent, although probably known to a select few only in each regiment.*

Question 2—Do you remember any disturbance occurring, sometime previous to the outbreak, in which the Pay-Havildars of the Regiment and Juggernath Tewarry in particular were the complainants arising from the accusation that Bhoondoo Sing was causing unnecessary expenditure in the preparation of the New Lines?

Answer—No disturbance of the kind occurred. A report was made to me, as above stated, of some of the sepoys being dissatisfied at the expense incurred for the New Lines;

but I was led to believe that this was partial and amongst a few of the old sepoys only. I had myself previously noticed disproportion between the work done and the materials on the ground and the amount of money advanced; and the information about this dissatisfaction was only elicited on my repeating the inquiries which I had previously made on this subject. Had any one made such an accusation against the Subadar Bhoondoo Sing I should at once have removed him from all control, or interference with the work.....(Manuscript torn) to the extent of discharging him from the service had it appeared that his proceeding.....(Manuscript torn) in the Regiment in view. In a demi-official note to the Secretary to Government, Military Department, I mentioned that I would discharge any native, of the Regiment, whom I might find so ill-disposed towards Government, instead of trying him by an European Court Martial and trusted to being absolved from blame for so doing.

Questions 3 and 4- Is the statement of Bhoondoo Sing that Juggernath Tewarry *Havildar* had been influential enough to cause his being passed over for the rank of Subadar-Major worthy of credit etc. ?

Answer- There were few, if any, men in the 17th Regiment N. I. so sharp, shrewd and intelligent as Havildar Juggernath Tewarry. I therefore gave him frequent opportunities of coming to or speaking to me, in the hope that I might elicit from him some hint of information as to anything that might be going on in the Regiment. On one occasion I asked him about the objections made to the Enfield Rifle. When he said "are there not many Rifle Companies in the service, and is it not an object with every smart sepoy in the Regiment having them, to get into Rifle Company ?", I replied "possibly, but we have no such Company in the 17th Regiment." He said, "I know that it is so and they use greased patches prepared in magazines, we do not know what that grease is made of; but did you ever hear of any sepoy objecting to it ?" I replied, "Then why is the objection made now ?" He replied, "from villainy", and there he stopped short, not one word of information would he give. On the contrary, he said there was nothing going on in the 17th Regiment and that the men of the Regiment were quiet and well disposed; and this he repeated even on the day of the mutiny. I had recently promoted....(Mss. torn) Juggernath Tewarry to *Havildar*....

(Manuscript torn) with me. He appeared to me to know much of the then state of feeling in the native army and to be determined not to impart his knowledge to me. His conduct was not therefore above suspicion and I did not deem him deserving of full credence. He did not keep me informed of the designs of Subadar Bhoondoo Sing and the party whose influence carried the day to cause the Regiment to revolt; nor am I aware that he kept other officers informed of these designs, as they certainly never came to my knowledge, although this was the information that I used every means in my power to obtain. *Close secrecy was the characteristic of all natives in the Regiment*, Juggernath Tewarry included, with regard to the designs of those who were inimical to Government. There may have been enmity between Bhoondoo Sing and Juggernath Tewarry; but the latter had nothing whatever to do with the former's being passed over by Subadar Bholah Opudiah (Bhola Upadhya), whom I recommended for advancement to the rank of Subadar-Major wholly on account of his having stepped forward on the parade of the Presidency Musketry Depot and publicly and voluntarily offered to use the new rifle-cartridge and do whatever was required with it at a time when there was great hesitation in touching these cartridges and some sepoys at the Depot had already declined to touch them. This act was brought to my notice by Captain I. S. D. Fulloch[1] of the 17th Regiment who was in charge of the party from his Regiment then at the Depot for instruction. This example set by a Brahmin of the highest caste at such a time, a native officer of high character and very superior military qualifications, and who was then the second *Subadar* of the Regiment seemed to me to deserve a public recognition and I therefore recommended the advancement which was..... (Mss. torn).[2]

17TH REGIMENT INVOKED TO MARCH ON LUCKNOW

Copy of letter No. 19 from Captain Gowan, Assistant Commissioner on Special Duty, to G. Couper, Secretary to Government N. W. P. with Lieutenant-Governor's Camp, dated Camp Futtehpoor (Fatehpur), 11th January 1860.

I have the honor to forward copy of a statement made

[1] Has been deciphered as 'Sulloct' elsewhere, (p. 88).

[2] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Bhondu Singh*". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

by the Quarter Master Sergeant of the 17th Regiment N. I., which has been sent to me under the supposition that Subadar Bhondoo Sing has been made over to me. As, however, that mutineer may be tried before another tribunal (for as yet no intimation has reached me regarding him) I have thought it best to make you acquainted with this paper, that the deponent may be called upon for his deposition; his whereabouts may be ascertained from Captain Baring Offg. Major of Brigade at Benares.[1]

Copy of statement of Quarter Master Sergeant Lewis, late of the 17th Regiment Native Infantry.

I was Quarter Master Sergeant of the 17th Regiment at Azimghur (Azamgarh) when on the night of the 3rd June 1857 just as the quarter to 9 P. M. drum had beat, I heard the discharge of 2 muskets on the left of my tent. I then went out to ascertain the cause of the muskets being discharged and saw Bhoondoo Sing *Subadar* there, where he had no business; and when I asked him who had been guilty of discharging their muskets he was very impertinent and said it was no business of mine. I called upon the *Jemadar* of the guard for an explanation regarding the two shots fired. He said some *budmashes* in the town did it. When Bhoondoo Sing ordered me to leave the guard and said I had no business to interfere, I then[2] went to my tent and dressed in uniform and went back to the guard again and ordered the *Jemadar* to fall in his guard that I might inspect the muskets to discover the delinquents. The guard positively refused to fall in and the sentry fired off his piece and cried '*Company-ke-nemmuck-haram !*'. On the sentry firing his muskets which was done by Bhoondoo Sing's order, the whole Regiment seized their arms which were piled in front of the tents. Then the bugle sounded the alarm (blown by the Drum-Major a native Christian), the men fell in on the parade ground as was their wont in open Column of Companies. Bhoondoo Sing *Subadar* then ordered the Bugler to sound the Officer's call but I told him not to do so and kept him by me.

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Bhondu Singh*". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] 'Then' appears superfluous here.

I then called the men to attention and proved[1] them, wheeled them into line and broke them into open Column again, ordered arms and stood at ease. I addressed the Regiment and told them that they were grossly misbehaving and advised them to return to their lines which they positively refused to do. Madho Sing, orderly, who was with me and who was afterwards promoted to Adjutant by Bhoondoo Sing, called upon the Regiment in the name of their Religion to march on Lucknow and to follow the example set them[2] by their brethren at Meerutt and Delhi. The Havildar-Major then advised me to leave the parade ground but having received positive orders not to do so I remained; just at that moment Madho Sing stepped out and shot me through the chest, this shot was fired by Bhoondoo Sing's order. Bhoondoo Sing then in command of the Regiment marched it to the *kutchery* for the purpose of seizing the treasure, but finding it gone marched off in pursuit, came up with it just near the Judge's house and brought it back to the cantonments. He (Bhoondoo Sing) then got all the ammunition from the magazine and brought it into the lines, marched the Regiment off at about 1 O'clock A. M. on the 4th June 1857 taking with him treasure, Government cattle, two post guns etc. etc. Lieutenant Hutchinson 17th N. I. was shot at the *kutchery* by Madho Sing.[3]

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT AZAMGARH

Translation of Deposition of Bhondu Singh, Subadar 17th Regiment Native Infantry.

My name is Bhoondoo Singh *Subadar* 7th Company 17th Regiment Native Infantry stationed at Azimghur. My father's name is Ramdeen, caste Aheer and an inhabitant of Deosallah, *purgunnah* Mahumdabad, *zillah* Furruckabad, age about 67 years.

Question—What have you to say regarding the mutiny of your Regiment and the murder of the officers thereof?

[1] Can be read as 'proned' also in the Original. Correct word would be 'reproved'.

[2] 'Them' appears superfluous.

[3] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Bhondu Singh*". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Answer - Since the day of my enlistment, I have left home and remained with my family with Colonel Palmer. I was his orderly and on *the day of the outbreak* I was superintending the construction of the New Lines on which duty I had been employed for some time previous. I had paid the wages of the workmen that evening, taken my meals and gone to sleep in the Lines with my sword and sash on. About 9 at night I heard a bugle sound and a great noise; the sepoys who were with me also reported the circumstance. I replied "never mind, when I receive the Major's orders it will be time for me to act." A short while after I saw some sepoys running up whom the guard tried to stop but could not do so. They came and took me away. The men of the guard then followed and joined the rest of their comrades. When we reached the Regiment Mohun Sing *Duffadar*, or rather the *Durogha* of the jail said to release the prisoners but I am not sure whether this was done or not. The following morning Juggernath (Jagannath) *Koth Havaldar* of my corps appointed Mohun Sing *Duffadar* and his brother *Subadars* in the Regiment and they marched from Azimghur (Azamgarh). They kept me a prisoner for the first three stages and then released me.

Question - Who were the sepoys that came to you ? Mention their names.

Answer - I do not know their names as it was night and I could not recognize them.

Question Why did they make a prisoner of you for three days and afterwards release you ?

Answer Because they wanted to divide the money they had plundered and did not wish me to know anything about it. As soon as they had shared it among themselves they released me.

Question Which Companies did the sepoys belong to ? Who plundered the treasure ?

Answer—The sepoys of the 8th and Gr. (Grenadier) Companies I know received their share of the plundered money. I don't know anything more.

Question - Who murdered the officers ?

Answer—I don't know.

Question —If you did not plunder treasure and had no hand in murdering the officers, no doubt you must have heard who did so.

Answer—I heard no one mentioned because after

plundering the treasure the sepoys all left for their respective homes.

Question—Several parties have stated that you were a leader with the mutineers. What have you to say to this ?

Answer—It is because I was an old servant of Government that this may have been said of me or through the persuasions of Juggernath (Jagannath) who was a leading man himself in the corps at the time it mutinied.

Question—After you were released what was your position in the Regiment ?

Answer—I was like the rest of the mutineers with this difference that I had turned Mussulman.

Question—What did they name you then ?

Answer—They did not give me any name.

Question—Who was appointed to command the Regiment after it mutinied ?

Answer—Dabeedeen (Devi Din) *Subadar* 3rd Company, Radha Sing *Subadar* 8th Company, Oojagur Sookool (Ujagar Shukul) *Koth Havildar* 6th Company, Durriao Sing (Daryav Singh) *Jemadar* Light Company 17th N. I. and a *Subadar* of Artillery whose name I don't know. I remained with the corps but I was not in command of it, the others were all in authority.

Question—At Begumgunge, one stage from Fyzabad a Colonel of the 22nd Regiment is said to have been taken prisoner and murdered by the sepoys of the 17th N. I. and this is said to have been done by your order.

Answer—It is because I am an old hand of the Regiment that they say so; but I don't know anything regarding the circumstance.

Question—You don't know who murdered the above officer ?

Answer—No, I neither saw the deed done nor heard anything of the matter.

Question—Was Durriao Sing *Jemadar* with your Regiment when the attack on the boats was made at Cawnpore by order of the Nana ?

Answer—Durriao Sing's village is near the bank or *ghat* of the river; there he had the sepoys in ambush and after the murder of the Europeans he plundered a double barrelled gun belonging to some officer. *We all received a present of* 2 *months' pay each from the Nana.*

Question—Did the bandmen also get a present ?

Answer—Yes they did along with the rest, that is they received their pay.

Question—What time did you reach the *ghat* ? Was it before or after the Europeans were murdered ?

Answer At 7 O'clock a letter was received from the Nana by Dabeedeen *Subadar* directing the latter to have the guns placed in position which was accordingly done.

Question - State the contents of the letter.

Answer—The letters contained the following :—"We have sworn to kill the Europeans. You are desired to fire on them from your side of the river, while the troops here will do the same from this side." The sepoys accordingly got the guns in position having dragged them away with loud cheering.

Question - Did the sepoys join heartily in the contemplated destruction of the Europeans ?

Answer—Yes they appeared quite overjoyed at the idea.

Question - At what village did your Regiment encamp ?

Answer They planted the guns at a village near a *dak chowkey* and the sepoys hid themselves in the village.

Question Were the 12th Irregular Cavalry with you ?

Answer - Yes, some sowars of the Regiment were with us and they too joined in the work of destruction.

Question - What did they do ?

Answer - They plunged their horses into the river and murdered the Europeans.

Question - Who were the native officers with them—i. e. the Irregular Cavalry ? Name them.

Answer I do not recollect their names.

Question Name the native officers of Artillery.

Answer—The two guns that were at Azimghur were with us. I don't recollect the native officers' names.

Question - What other artillery were there ?

Answer Artillery from no other station was with us.

Question -What route did your corps take from Azimghur ?

Answer—Via Fyzabad where they halted two days and proceeded through the Byswarrah to Cawnpore.

Question—Where did you meet the high road ?

Answer—From Fyzabad the Regiment came to Hyder-

ghur, from thence to Oonao (Unnao) where we came on the high road.[1]

Supplementary deposition of Bhoondoo Singh (Bhondu Singh) 7th Company 17th Regt. N. I.

Question—State what else you know ?

Answer—I am prepared now to answer any question that may be put to me. Yesterday I was unwell.

Question—Did you command the Regiment when it mutinied or not ?

Answer—No ! I did not; yet I was the senior *Subadar* in the corps.

Question— If you were not in command (as you state) of the Regiment when they mutinied, how was it that you made a prisoner of Bindadeen Havildar-Major who refused to join the mutineers ?

Answer—There is no ill-feeling between myself and Bindadeen and I do not understand why he should accuse me. He used to be carried in a *dooly* (*doli*) on account of a wound he received and was also a recipient of the plundered treasure.

Question—Did you also share in the plundered treasure ?

Answer—Yes, I got 400/- Rupees.

Question—How often was the treasure distributed ?

Answer—Once at Fyzabad where some of it was also given to the 22nd N. I. but I do not know how much.

Question—Where did you receive the 400/- Rupees ?

Answer—200/- Rupees was (*sic*,-were) given to me on one occasion but I don't remember the name of the place where I got it and the remainder I received at different times. In all I got 400 Rupees, besides Rs. 52/- which was (*sic*,-were) paid to me at Cawnpore.

Question—What did you get the 52/- Rs. at Cawnpore for ?

Answer—It was paid to me as to the rest of the sepoys. But why I do not know. It must have been the balance remaining of the plundered money which was paid away.

Question—You were an officer in the Regiment. Did you get the same amount as the sepoys or more than them ?

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Bhondu Singh*". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Answer—I was paid the same sum as the sepoys; perhaps the Artillery got more, all the rest got alike.

Question—What was the amount plundered by your Regiment from the treasury ?

Answer- 7 lacks of treasure.

Question—Bishun Nath sepoy of your Regiment who was killed—how much was given for his buriel (*sic*,-burial) ?

Answer- 60 Rupees was (*sic*,-were) given.

Question Who paid the 60 Rupees ?

Answer - It was paid from the plundered money. He was a pensioner; on hearing of the rebellion all pensioners and Furlo.-men joined us; I did not individually order the money for payment but it was given by general consent.

Question - If you had no hand in the mutiny how is it that you were elected a General of the force ?

Answer - *The sepoys elected me General for a few days but did not allow me to continue so. They nominated Dabeedeen as my successor, the sepoys had the power to do so.*

Question Name the officers of your Regiment who were murdered and those who were their murderers.

Answer - The Qr. Mr. (Quarter Master) was murdered at the treasury and the Qr. Mr. (Quarter Master) Sergt. (Sergeant) wounded. *I heard of this, but the sepoys who did it joined Tantia Topee and I do not know their names.*

Question - It is well known that Madho Sing sepoy, your son-in-law, murdered the officers and yet you don't mention his name. State distinctly.

Answer - Madho Sing was not my son-in-law. Albeit the arrangements for the marriage between himself and my daughter had been completed; but owing to some difference existing in our caste the ceremony was not performed. *He went away with about 200 sepoys and joined Tantia.* I did not see him commit murder.

Question—Do you know anything more and wish to have it put on record ?

Answer—I know nothing more which I wish to be recorded.

Question - Shew Pant (Shiv Pant) sepoy states in his deposition that Bhoondoo Sing commanded the Regiment and that the money expended was by his orders, also that he had a *buggy* in use belonging to an officer.

Answer—He states falsehoods. The Adjutant's *buggy* was

certainly taken by a sepoy who made it over to me for my use as I was a *Subadar*, I accordingly made use of it.

Question—Shewpall (Shivpal) Sing further states that he was with the corps as far as Patuk-ke-Surai, and there he left for home. State truly whether the above individual accompanied you to Cawnpore and joined in the fight there.

Answer—From Fyzabad he went home with his share of the plundered treasure, but subsequently joined us at Cawnpore, *where he received* 52 *Rupees besides* 2 *months' pay which was paid him by the Nana.*

Question—Did you see Shewpall yourself speak the truth ?

Answer—Shewpall did join us at Cawnpore for a fact.[1]

OUTBREAK IN THE VARIOUS TAHSILS AND PARGANAS OF AZAMGARH

POPULAR UPSURGE IN PARGANA MAHUL[2] (AZAMGARH) JUNE 3, 1857

On June 3, 1857 the soldiers broke up in riot in Azamgarh. Rajputs, Pathans and Nehran communities were the leaders in looting and rioting in every place. Muzaffar Jahan s/o Raja Iradat Jahan, *zamindar* of Chitrapur, Shamshabad and Fasahat Jahan of Noi Mahal came and camped with their men. They employed many men and disturbed the *zamindars* and poor public. Each of Faiz Ali Khan, Dhawanmal and Jiwan Misra (name not legible) came and each of them with his

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Bhondu Singh*". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] *Mahul*, Pargana, Tahsil *Mahul*, District *Azamgarh*—The pargana of Mahul is a broad strip of country lying along the western border of the district. On the north it is bounded by Fyzabad and on the west by Jaunpur, while projecting corner of Sultanpur touches it between the two. At its north-east corner close to Ahraula, which is the head-quarters of the tahsil, it touches parganas Atraulia and Kauria, the Tons river forming the dividing line. On the east lie parganas Deogaon and Nizamabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 246).

200 men camped with Muzaffar Jahan, and began to mix and mingle with poor public; and so entered their houses by force and looted their wealth and property. The *Rajkumars* came from Avadh to the villages of this *pargana* and wanted to rule over here and there.

ARREST OF IRADAT JAHAN

Palwars also gathered and claimed the villages of this *pargana* to be theirs and both of them raised a sum of rupees in cash from *zamindars* of the villages. But when Raja Iradat Jahan and Fasahat Jahan were caught and hanged at Mubarakpur[1] and the Government troops moved from Azamgarh to Atraulia[2], Muzaffar Jahan and *Rajkumars* and Palwars, who were rebels of this vicinity, all flew to the other side of Faizabad and so the riot subsided.[3]

REVOLT EN MASSE IN SANGRI[4], AZAMGARH JUNE 3, 1857

On June 3, 1857 the mischief broke in a riot in *Sadar* Azamgarh. At this news, all the loafers and vagabonds of

[1] *Mubarakpur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Muhammadabad*, District *Azamgarh*—The town of Mubarakpur lies in 26° 6′ N. and 83° 18′ E., 8 miles to the north-east of Azamgarh. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 260).

[2] *Atraulia*, Pargana, Tahsil *Mahul*, District *Azamgarh*—Atraulia is the north-western pargana of the district Azamgarh being bounded on the west and north-east by parganas Surhurpur and Birhar of the Fyzabad district, and on the south-east by pargana Kauria of Azamgarh. For a short distance on the south-west the Tons river forms the boundary line with Fyzabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 192).

[3] Azamgarh Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Basta No. 1, Revenue Records, File No. 24, p. 48 - Translation from Urdu Basta. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[4] Apparently *Sagri*, Tahsil, District *Azamgarh*—Sagri is the north-eastern tahsil of the district and lies between the parallels of 26° 1′ and 26° 19′ N. and 83° 52′ E. It comprises the parganas of Gopalpur and Sagri, and is bounded on the south by tahsils Nizamabad and Muhamnadabad, in the east by tahsil Ghosi, on the north by the Ghagra river, and on the west by pargana Kauria and the district of Fyzabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, pp. 286-287).

all the villages broke in a riot on large scale and looted each other and in this way they revenged themselves against anyone with whom they might have been angry.[1]

BRITISHERS FLEE FROM MUHAMMADABAD[2] GOHNA, AZAMGARH

On June 3, 1857 due to the disturbances caused by the mischief mongers, the district officers flew to Ghazipur. At the spread of this news cases of robbery, looting, arson and killing took place and appeared throughout the *tahsil* which prevailed for 15 days, but due to tact and efforts of S. M. Taqi, *Tahsildar* and Shaikhs and Saiyids of *qasba* Muhammadabad no panic arose in this *pargana* and when the officers came back, the regular order and peace was restored.[3]

ZAMINDARS AT WAR IN CHIRIA KOT, AZAMGARH

On June 3, the platoon Baqar rioted, and looted the Government treasury at Azamgarh, and burnt the office. The officials went in the dead of night the same day from Azamgarh to Ghazipur via Chiria Kot.[4] The inhabitants of Chiria

[1] Azamgarh Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Basta No. 1, Revenue Records, File No. 24, p. 198—Translation from Urdu Basta. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Muhammadabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Muhammadabad*, District *Azamgarh*—The headquarters town of tahsil is situated in 26° 2′ N. and 82° 24′ E., on the banks of the Tons river at a distance of 12 miles from Azamgarh. The town has a station of the same name on the Shahganj-Mau branch of the Bengal and North-Western Railway and lies on the metalled road from Azamgarh to Mau. Unmetalled roads connect it with Mubarakpur, Jianpur, Ghosi, Kopaganj and Chiriakot. Muhammadabad Gohna as the town is called, is, with its suburbs, spread over lands belonging to seven mauzas, all except one namely Zamin Daramadpur being held by the Saiyids and Shaikhs who are the leading people in the place. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, pp. 262-263).

[3] Azamgarh Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Basta No. 1, Revenue Records, File No. 24, p. 198—Translation from Urdu Basta. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[4] *Chiriakot*, Pargana *Chiriakot*, Tahsil *Muhammadabad*, District *Azamgarh*—The town of Chiriakot, which gives its name to the pargana, lies in latitude 25° 53′ N. and longitude 83° 18′ E., on the metalled road from Ghazipur to Azamgarh. Unmetalled roads lead south-westwards from it to Belha and

Kot were threatened and terrified and a commotion arose which subsided at noon. On June 4, the *Dikhatdars* and Rajputs first gathered men from that vicinity and looted the people in coming up and going down. The rebels counselled all the night on 4th June, on the matter of robbing and that from June 5 they declared a general riot and mutiny. First they looted the bazar of Jahanganj[1]. The *zamindars* of Telha Bans and some surrounding rebels intended to rob the *tahsil* and *thana*, but the Government servants as well as some well-to-do persons defended the *tahsil* and for one hour the fight by *lathis* prevailed, but when the fire shots were poured on them the villagers fled away wounded leaving their shoes, swords and turbans behind them. Ali Husain, Head Clerk, managed the affairs and he put a *Naqara* (War Drum) on the roof of his house and whenever the illiterate vagabonds numbering some 3 or 4 thousand gathered to attack and loot the vicinity, one would bang the Drum at which all brave persons would rush up and the illiterate rebels would run away. When they found themselves unable to loot the *tahsil*, then on the morning of June 5 they looted the Barhal Bazar and looted the corn, cash, cloth and utensils to the value of about Rupees 4 lakhs and then attacked Bhagatpur[2]. These robbers were mostly Rajputs from Telha Bans and some of them were the inhabitants of Chiria Kot.

SPELL OF FREEDOM

In the meantime one Ram Phal *Mahajan* and the inhabitants of Bishanpur robbed the village Tari and villages of

Deogaon and north-wards to Muhammadabad, while from the latter another unmetalled road branches off at Sultanpur towards Mau. (*District Gazetteers*. Azamgarh, 1911, p. 209).

[1] *Jahanganj*, Pargana *Chiriakot*, Tahsil *Muhammadabad*, District *Azamgarh* —Jahanganj is the main hamlet of the large village of Barahtir Jagdishpur and lies on the metalled road from Azamgarh to Ghazipur in 26° 58′ N. and 83° 14′ E. The distance from Azamgarh is 11¼ miles and to Chiriakot 7 miles. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 263).

[2] Apparently *Bhagatpur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Sagri*, District *Azamgarh*— The village of Bhagatpur lies in 26° 13′ N. and 83° 12′ E., less than a mile north-west from Bilariaganj, and close to the unmetalled road from Jianpur to Maharajganj. It is 11 miles distant from Azamgarh and nine miles from Jianpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 207).

Qaryat-i-Mattoo and arsoned the houses. Moreover the villages of Azam, Banda and Mattoopur Khas also were the scenes of plunder and robbery so much so that on the third day the people of Bhagatpur, Barhal came, bare-footed harassed and embarrassed, to Chiria Kot with their families to take shelter. The illiterate rebels destroyed altogether the two places and even dug up the houses to take out the door frames, and also took away the native tiles—used in the roofs of the huts. These two places and Bazar Jahanganj were looted, destroyed, arsoned to such an extent that no other place would have been looted in that way. After this the rebels blocked the way of travellers and robbed the caravans. Wherever the *Mahajans* gave some cash as '*Bairak*' (bribe) they were saved. In *pargana* Telha Bans no particular place was looted but the rebels threatened the *Mahajans* and collected a good amount. The inhabitants of Tendwa Bibipur and the vagabonds of Telia Khas looted Bak Koiri of Harpur. From 3rd of June till 16th June (for full fourteen days) this condition prevailed. On 17th June Mr. Pennywell was appointed as Deputy Magistrate who ordered Martial Law and then the riot subsided and the rebels feared on them severe punishment. Only the travellers to and fro were looted.

PALWARS' GALLANT FIGHT

When at Azamgarh the battle raged between the British troops and the Palwars, many illiterate persons gathered and awaited the result, if the Palwars became victorious they also would join the Palwars. But the Govt. forces were victorious and the rebels were doomed. In those days no *zamindar* paid the Government dues, when suddenly on 29th of July 1857 news came about the arrival of rebel Cavalry of Sagauli. At this news the officials left Azamgarh for Ghazipur and once again a hubbub prevailed and the officials of Chiria Kot, Ganj Hazari Lal *Tahsildar* and *Thanadar* as well as all the servants in *tahsil* fled away. Only Ali Husain the Head Clerk remained and he spent some of his own money and gathered some men and busied himself in guarding the Government treasury and the office and the public of the town, and so, thanks to his efforts, no panic arose here.

In the night of August 1st in the east of Chiria Kot at Chak Bachcha, the villagers assembled in a large number,

all of them well armed. Ali Husain, Head Clerk, hearing this news hurried bravely with his handful of followers to the scene to pursue the rebels; and the rebel villagers took to flight and the whole of the *tahsil* remained safe. Ali Husain under the guidance of Raja Muhammad Mubarak Khan, the District Superintendent, kept the *zamindars* and illiterates threatened and re-opened the Government despatches of the *Sadar* and *Moffassil* and threatened the rebels, and reported daily the actual conditions of Chiria Kot to the Collector and received the letters of pleasure and consolation from him with a promise of a lift. After a while Maulvi Najmuddin, a *rais* of Chiria Kot, was appointed as officiating *Tahsildar*. On September 1st all the officials of this district came back from Ghazipur and Gorkha troops reached Azamgarh. So the riot subsided completely after September 1st 1857.[1]

JAIL STORMED IN SIKANDARPUR[2] TAHSIL, JUNE 3, 1857

Officiating Tahsildar Mahendra Pal Singh writes from Tahsil Sikandarpur:

On the 3rd June 1857 the platoon Baqar rioted at the time of the despatch of treasury towards Banaras. One person (an Englishman) was killed and one injured. The district officials left the district thinking it the best policy. The rebel platoon took the Government treasury from Sarai Rani and coming to Azamgarh proceeded to Avadh via Koelsa. They broke open the jail and set the prisoners free. The rebels looted and destroyed the bungalows of the officials and the courts and Government offices; but nothing of the public property was looted. After dispersal of the officials and rebels, the riot was begun by not-fearing-God villagers, mostly by Palwars. This *pargana* was more peaceful than others. The aristocrats and nobles obeyed and did what they were used to do before. The cases of loot were very rare here, and at the time of the

[1] Azamgarh Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Basta No. 1, Revenue Records, File No. 24, pp. 258-261—Translation from Urdu Basta. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Sikandarpur*—Town in the *Bansdih* Tahsil of *Ballia* District, *United Provinces*, situated in 26° 3′ N. and 84° 4′ E., 24 miles north of Ballia town and 2 miles from the right bank of the Gogra. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, 1908, p. 362).

coming of the regiment of rebels from Sagauli the offices and the treasury remained safe and untouched.

PALWARS JOIN KUNWAR SINGH

But when Kunwar Singh, the rebel, came to this vicinity, he with his men created a great disturbance in this *pargana* in which the office as well as the property of the public suffered a lot, *tahsil*, *thana* and *kote* of B. Lakshmi Narain Singh etc., were burnt to ashes. The noses and hands of Bisheshwar Misra the *tahsil* orderly along with Hasan Ali and Husain Bakhsh and all those on duty, were cut down (*sic*,-off) and the *Thanadar* of Dirop (not legible), district Saran was caught by the rebels, and was put to death with a thousand tortures. The public suffered much in this commotion and disturbance. When the troops came here, only then the rebels were driven away from these quarters and the usual peace and order was established by the Government. Only one Ram Niwas Singh of Mahonjha gathered a few companions around him and began to create panic. The Government Police force, platoon and Police officials tried hard in driving him out; and now he is no more seen or heard of. Whether he is dead or alive is not known.[1]

OUTBREAK AT PARGANA KODIH, JUNE 4, 1857

Shri Mahdi-ul-zama, *Tahsildar* of *pargana* Kodih, writes—"The actual description of the disturbance is that at first the rebel sepoys of the Government started rebellion on June 4, 1857. One platoon Baqar by name was staying here. It also rebelled and looted the Government (treasury at Koelsa) on their way to Jaunpur. They had also set many prisoners free at Azamgarh, breaking open the jail gate. (After a while) the officers at Azamgarh went to Ghazipur. The sepoys along with the treasury went westwards towards Delhi. At this a hubbub and havoc was caused by the evil minded persons. When platoon Baqar rebelled and proceeded to west, they went through Koelsa. I was present there. Although the

[1] Azamgarh Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Basta No. 1, Revenue Records, File No. 24, pp. 285-87—Translation from Urdu Basta. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

mischief-mongers intended to loot the Government money at this *tahsil also* but a strong defence was put up. So no panic prevailed till 13th July 1857.

PALWARS FIGHT A BATTLE

The *Tahsildar* with his office fellows maintained good discipline and peace, but after this the news of some new rebels of this *pargana* as well as of Barhar reached Mr. Pennywell who taking with him cannon and Cavalry and Infantry reached there to stop and detain the rebels. A battle took place between Mr. Pennywell and the Palwars of this *pargana* and Madho Prasad Singh *taluqadar* of Barhar. Mr. Pennywell proceeded to Azamgarh as the cannon broke to pieces. All the *zamindars* of this *pargana* set fire to the *tahsil*. The office was burnt to ashes and all the luggage and baggage of mine as well as of others on duty in the *tahsil* were looted. The bazar was also looted. Then all the Palwars of this *pargana* and Prithi Pal Singh Sharma of Beghar jointly moved to Azamgarh to have an open fight. Although the rebels numbered about 25 thousand, yet with the good luck of the Government all of them fled away from the battle-field. Some of them were killed, some taken prisoners and some were hanged. *Till December there was no Tahsildar or Thanadar here.* The *zamindars* and Palwars were busy in looting here and there. And when new arrangements were made at Azamgarh and troops arrived here, the rebels were much perplexed.

BATTLE OF ATRAULIA, 17TH MARCH 1858

New *Tahsildars* were appointed in the *parganas* and many of the rebels were put to task. To this *pargana* Khwaja Hima-yat-ullah Khan was appointed as *Tahsildar* and Murtaza Khan as *Thanadar* and Mr. Malk (not legible) with an English battalion and hill soldiers brought back the peace in this vicinity. Some of them were made prisoners and others were exiled. Then Maulvi Najmuddin took the place of Khwaja Himayat-ullah who was dismissed. This new arrangement continued till 16th of March 1858 and the revenue was received. Then Mr. Dewinson, the Collector, came on tour in the *pargana* and with him came the English battalion and Madras Cavalry. He came towards the rebels, hearing they were coming

from Lucknow to drive the rebels away.[1] The battle took place near Atraulia.

KUNWAR SINGH IN ACTION, 26TH MARCH 1858

In this battle the head of the rebels was Kunwar Singh with his 5 or 6 thousand men. *The Government troops by chance lost the battle and came to Koelsa. Kunwar Singh pursued and followed them.* The Collector with his troops proceeded to Azamgarh. Kunwar Singh remained in that vicinity for 2 or 3 days and then he also proceeded to Azamgarh. He with all the rebels remained in the city while the Britishers, their servants and the troops remained in the fort of Azamgarh. Firing and bullet throwing continued for 22 days. Then more troops of the Government came there from west and Kunwar Singh fled away towards the east with his men. The Government troops pursued him upto the banks of Ghagra river. On 18th March 1858 Shaikh Mamnoon became *Tahsildar* for the whole period of Kunwar Singh's stay there; the *Tahsildar* spent his days in Azamgarh and Mundauri[2] and on 19th April he entered the premises of this *tahsil* and began to handle the affairs, and arrangements were made for realizing the revenue. Some rebels along with Pargas (Prakash) Singh, Harkishan Singh made rounds in those vicinities and looted Maharajganj[3] etc. They attacked the *tahsil* 3 times, but the *Tahsildar* along with the old and new servants present within the premises of the *tahsil*, defended it bravely. The rebels took to flight. In the 3rd time, a fierce attack was made by the rebels on the *tahsil*. They surrounded the *tahsil* and fired. The *Tahsildar* fired in reply from within...but because the ammunition fell short, the officials with Cavalry and staff and pay officers proceeded to Azamgarh. For 20 days the *tahsil* remained without a *Tahsildar*.

[1] Sentence is confusing.

[2] Apparently *Mundary*, 9 miles from the city of *Azamgarh*.

[3] *Maharajganj*, Pargana *Gopalpur*, Tahsil *Sagri*, District *Azamgarh*— The town of Maharajganj lies in 26° 15′ N. and 83° 5′ E., at a distance of 14 miles from Azamgarh and 15 miles from Jianpur. Two unmetalled roads connect it with the rest of the district, one passing through it on its way from Jianpur to Koelsa and the other joining it with Captainganj on the south. The town is situated in mauza Bishanpur on the banks of the Chhoti Sarju. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 244).

REVOLUTIONARIES RETREAT

When a new force was sent to this side, the *Tahsildar* and the *Thanadar* with their staff arrived here and made arrangements. Then on 11th September I became *Tahsildar* once again. I came to this *tahsil* and re-organized the affairs and receipt of revenue and from that time no disturbance has been reported. This disturbance which took place in this district, was subdued and subsided by the tactful policy of the Britishers and by the punishment of bad natured rebels and by posting a strong force here; till at last on October 15, 1858 at the time of the visit of Colonel Grey the remaining rebels fled away towards Banda.[1]

BRITISHERS DRIVEN OUT FROM DEOGAON PARGANA, JUNE 4, 1857

On June 1, 1857, the Government treasury was robbed and looted at Azamgarh because of the rebellion of platoon Baqar, and the office was burnt to ashes and the prisoners set free. On the next morning two or three British officers, flew to Banaras. The news spread all over and some mischief-mongers caused great disturbances in many places and the bazar of Nawabganj was looted; but through the efforts of myself, the *Qanoongo* and some others the *tahsil* remained untouched and unhurt, and there was no panic in the *pargana* Orai. Then Mr. Pennywell was appointed as Superintendent of the district godown and many mischief-mongers like Palwars and other rebels were put to task by him. Suddenly the news spread that 'a rebel Cavalry is coming here from Sagauli'. Mr. Pennywell handed over the charge of the district to Raja Salamat Shah, a *rais* of many generations, and went to Ghazipur. The Raja kept peace and order in the entire district, *tahsil*, *thana* and *chaukis*. When the Palwars came on for looting, he with clever tactics, saved the city from being plundered.

[1] Azamgarh Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Basta No. 1, Revenue Records, File No. 24, pp. 98 to 102—Translation from Urdu Basta. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

GORKHA TROOPS IN DEOGAON

At last the officers came to this district in September along with the Gorkha Platoon from Gorakhpur and Raja Salamat Shah was called by the then Judge, Mr. Opera (not legible) with his Infantry at Lat Khat[1] and managed for the ration of platoons. All the officials were much pleased with Raja Saheb. The officials once again set right all the affairs of judicial and revenue and all the signs of any disturbance disappeared.

KUNWAR SINGH HEADS REVOLUTIONARIES

After some months Kunwar Singh the rebel entered this district from Avadh for looting, and he stayed at Azamgarh with his men and rebel troops for 35 days. In the meantime he encountered the Government troops several times, but when he felt that he could not stand before the fresh troops of the Government from Lucknow, he proceeded to Ghazipur for fear of his life and property. Several hundred of his rebel soldiers were killed till they reached the frontiers of the district.[2]

OUTBREAK AT AZAMGARH BY 17TH B. N. I., 3RD JUNE 1857

(Return of Regiments, Regular and Irregular, which have mutinied, or shown a disposition to mutiny, since the 1st of January 1857, in the Banaras District, called for by the Adjutant-General's Circular No. 317, of the 10th February 1858.

Column No.	Heading	Details
1.	The Number and Name of the Regiment, showing whether it has mutinied, or manifested a disposition to mutiny.	*The 17th Regiment Native Infantry.* The head-quarters and eight Companies were stationed at Azimgurh. These Companies revolted on the 3rd of June 1857, at nine P. M.

[1] Apparently *Latghat*, Pargana and Tahsil *Sagri*, District *Azamgarh*—The small village lies in 26° 13′ N. and 83° 20′ E., on the banks of the Chhoti Sarju and the metalled road from Azamgarh to Dohrighat, at a distance of 17½ miles from Azamgarh and five and a half from Jianpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 243).

[2] Azamgarh Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Basta No. 1, Revenue Records, File No. 24, p. 168—Translation from Urdu Basta. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahadad.

Column No.	Heading	Details
		Two Companies were quartered at Goruckpoor (Gorakhpur), and manifested a disposition to revolt during the month of June 1857. In July and August 64 men deserted from these Companies. A *Jemadar's* party of 27 men deserted from the Buste (Basti) opium agency on the 11th of June, and carried off 7,000 rupees, the property of Government. A *Hawldar's* party of 13 men at the Selimpoor[1] opium agency, defended the Government treasure against the 12th Irregular Cavalry, and then safely escorted it to Ghazeepoor (Ghazipur) and were rewarded.
3.	The date of the first Intimation received by any Officer of the Corps being disposed to mutiny.	On the 1st June 1857 in the evening, a sepoy and a Pay-Havildar stealthily, and within three minutes of each other, said, in passing me, "the grenadiers are arming;" and in answer to my question "why," said, "to go to the treasury." At this moment the Adjutant of the Regiment came up to me on horseback. He had not heard the report; and I sent him off to the lines to see if it was true, while I wrote to warn the Collector. The note was hardly despatched when the Adjutant returned, stated that he had been to the lines, that he found all quiet there as usual, could discover no such preparation, and disbelieved the report. I received no other intimation until I heard two muskets fired evidently as a signal,

[1] *Salempur-Majhauli*, Pargana *Salempur-Majhauli*, Tahsil *Deoria*, District *Gorakhpur*. The two contiguous towns of Majhauli and Salempur belong to Tappa Haveli,. Majhauli is situated in 26° 18′ N. and 83° 58′ E., while Salempur is about a mile to the west, close to the road from Gorakhpur to Chapra. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 297).

Column No.	Heading	Details
		in the lines at nine P. M., on the 3rd June, when the Regiment immediately turned on parade, in revolt, shouting and firing, and in this state at once marched off in pursuit of the escort (Native Infantry, and 80th Irregular Cavalry), which marched at sunset that day towards Benares, with seven lacs of treasure. The gaol and treasury guards, and the Native Artillery attached to the two post guns, all revolted, and the Artillery, with their guns, accompanied the Regiment in pursuit of the treasure escort, which was overtaken, and the treasure captured. I believe no other officer received any intimation of the Regiment being disposed to mutiny, or knew at all of the conspiracy, although we were all near the men.—(*Sd. J. Christie, Brigadier Commanding, Dinapur Division*).
4.	The date when Information thereof was first communicated to Superior Authority.	From the above intimation appearing, as far as I could ascertain, to be incorrect, and from the men stating that they were ready to obey all my orders, and anxious to preserve the good name of the Regiment, no communication was made to superior Military Authority, either at Benares or Dinapore, respecting this report, which was then supposed to be false.—(*Sd. P. Gordon, Brigadier, Commanding at Benares*).
5.	The date of the first Order issued by the Commanding Officer of the Corps for adopting measures for the prevention of the outbreak, or suppression of such mutinous disposition.	The houses of many sepoys, of various regiments, were in the district of Azimgurh. I had great confidence in the 17th Regiment, but was aware that the men had associated much with those of the 19th but less so with those of the 34th Native Infantry, when quartered with these Regiments at Luck-

Column No.	Heading	Details
		now in 1855. And being desirous to prevent any early renewal of intercourse between the 17th Regiment and the disbanded men of the 19th Native Infantry, I issued an order on the 13th May requiring all men of the 17th Regiment to reside in the lines of their own Companies, and strangers not to be allowed in the lines of the Regiment without my permission. But intercourse could take place otherwise than in the regimental lines; and as the state of the native army assumed a more serious appearance, on the 20th May, I had an order read to the men on parade, warning them against listening to the false reports of ill disposed persons (enemies both of the Government and themselves), *and assuring them that they would not be required to use any cartridge, or do anything detrimental to their religion.* The native officers afterwards informed me that this order was the cause of great satisfaction in the Regiment, and that I might depend on all my orders being faithfully obeyed. *Previous to this, about the middle of May, the Collector and Magistrate had caused such defensive arrangements to be made, as he thought best, for the protection of his treasury, and of the ladies and children,* in any case of emergency; and the post guns, under a select guard, had been placed at the treasury for its defence. On the 18th May the Judge wrote to me, "I am happy to tell you that the accounts I hear of your Regiment are most favourable," and "that the men have a great love and respect for you personally." I could therefore, hardly believe that all the men said and promised was false, and till the last moment hoped they would continue loyal.

Column No.	Heading	Details
		There were no European troops at Azimgurh.—(*Sd. F. W. Burroughs, Major Commanding the 17th Regiment Native Infantry*).[1]

GHAZIPUR

OUTBREAK AT GHAZIPUR

Narrative of Events (extracts) by Robert Taylor, Offg. Joint Magistrate, Jaunpur, communicated by F. B. Gubbins, Commissioner, 5th Division, to William Muir, Secretary to Govt. N. W. P., dated Camp Muchlee Shahur (Machhli Shahr), the 6th Nov. 1858.

28*th*—While these events were passing, it must not be supposed that Mirzapoor or Ghazeepoor were left in perfect peace. And indeed Ghazeepoor was far from being without ground of alarm. On all sides of the district, itself always most troublesome, were disturbances real or reported; in the station was the 65th N. I. and in the treasury five lakhs of Rupees. Still no very pressing danger was apparent; and on June 3rd, a hundred men of H. M.'s 10th, who had just arrived by steamer, were hurried on to Benares. But after the outbreak at Azimgurh a great change took place. The fugitives indeed were brought safely to the station, but the country seemed to rise behind them; and by June 6th the whole district was raging in civil war. The Police were helpless, and robberies were perpetrated to the very door of the Court-house itself. But severe summary punishment was inflicted by the European officers, with small parties of the 65th and sowars in different parts of the district; the treasure was sent to Benares by steamer; Martial Law was proclaimed; a hundred Europeans stationed at Ghazeepoor for the time; and the influence of these soothing measures was such that by June 16th, when Messrs. Dunne

[1] Parliamentary Papers; *Papers relating to the East India Mutiny*, 1859, (Return of the name or number of each regiment and regular and irregular force in India which has mutinied, or manifested a disposition to mutiny, since the 1st day of January 1857); p. 25. Allahabad University Library.

and Venables went out to Azimgurh, the district seemed nearly to have regained its former state....

16TH JUNE—28TH JULY

58*th*—In the meanwhile (i. e. between the 16th June and 28th July), nothing of importance had occurred at Ghazeepoor; two or three villages behaved badly, and one was punished. This one (Chaura) had on June 21st attacked Mr. Matthews in his factory; and while he barely escaped with life, his property was plundered and destroyed; but after Mr. Bax with a party of Europeans and sowars had destroyed the village on July 7th, everything settled down to its usual state. Revenue came in as usual, and the chronic panic of the Ghazeepoor residents was subsiding, when on July 14th it was reported that Koour Singh was defying the Magistrate of Arrah, and carrying on intimate correspondence with the sepoys at Dinapoor. On July 27th, news of the Dinapoor mutiny was received, and every one at once prepared for the worst. And though the presence of an European detachment gave a little confidence to the officials of the station, their situation was far from pleasant; for the 65th N. I., who had declared their intention of joining the Dinapoor men as soon as they should mutiny, were nearly all of them inhabitants of the district, so that a rising among them would be the signal for rising in the district, for active hostility to Government, and not mere quarrelling among villages as elsewhere. Still they stood in unstable loyalty; why, no one knows. And the news of the relief of Arrah, (whither Mr. Bax had proceeded with Major Eyre's force), and the flight of Koour Singh, soon removed all ground of alarm. Here ends for the year the peaceful chronicle of Ghazeepoor. The quiet disarming of the 65th Native Infantry took away the last source of anxiety; the intrenchment of the Opium Factory provided a retreat in time of need; European detachments stationed there were an efficient guard; and nothing was left to the Authorities but to devote themselves to their ordinary duties, and (a far more important business) the collection of stores and carriage which were all hurried westward to supply the European troops.....

90*th*—...But of Azimgurh and Ghazeepoor what is there not left to tell? At the end of 1857, they were resting in full

assurance of peace to be awakened suddenly to an anarchy more lasting and more trying than in the gloomy months which had passed away; an anarchy which seems no nearer an end than it did when it had just begun.[1]

* * *

Deposition on Oath of Robert Smith Coombs, Indigo Planter, on 3rd July 1858.

I, Robert Smith Coombs, Indigo Planter, proprietor of the Gahmur[2] Concern in the *zillah* Ghazeepore make oath and depose as follows:—The first intimation I received that it was the intention of the rebels to come to Gahmur was in an *urzee* from my *Lallah* at Rhoneeban Factory written by him on the evening of the 30th of May and which reached me at midnight. He stated that the sepoys had that day murdered two men at the village of Rajpore in *pergunnah* Chowsa and that it was believed that they intended to proceed to Gahmur that night. On hearing this I roused up my own servants and those at a Railway bungalow near by with a view of (*sic*,-to) getting early information of the approach of the rebels. I also called in or rather gave notice to the villagers and *mulicks* of Gahmur whose houses were near my factory to be on the look out. The morning came but no rebels. On making enquiries I found that they had gone to Dewal[3]. Their members were reported to be about 300. They remained at Dewal two days viz. the 31st of May and 1st of June. On the latter day I heard that it was their intention to come to Gahmur during the night on which I assembled the *zemindars* of the village to assist in protecting the place which they all promised to do to the utmost of their ability. They agreed to assemble at my

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra; *Benares Division*, pp. 12-24.

[2] *Gahmar*, Pargana and Tahsil *Zamaniah*, District *Ghazipur*—Gahmar is a large town, or rather an immense agricultural village, standing in 25° 30′ N. and 83° 49′ E., at a distance of 18 miles from both Ghazipur and Zamaniah, with each of which it is connected by unmetalled roads. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, p. 192).

[3] *Dewal*, Pargana and Tahsil *Zamaniah*, District *Ghazipur*—A large but unimportant village standing on the banks of the Karamnasa, in 25° 24′ N. and 83° 47′ E., at a distance of 14 miles east from Zamaniah, 6 miles south from Gahmar and 15 miles from Ghazipur. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, pp. 189-190).

bungalow that night to patrol and prevent the sepoys approaching. At about 9 P. M. they all made their appearance at my house armed in different ways, numbering I should say a thousand or more. I distributed these men in different directions keeping a large number near my house. I slept that night by the advice of the villagers in the house of Kolessur Roy[1], a *zemindar*. The night passed off quietly and in the morning we heard that the sepoys instead of coming to Gahmur had marched on to Bhutowra where they remained all day. At about 10 A. M. on the 2nd of June a number of the same party, who had assembled the previous night, came to me and recommended my leaving home as they did not consider it safe for me to remain giving as a reason that there was a difference of opinion amongst the *zemindars* the greater part of whom wished for the coming of the sepoys, and that they, the men who wished me to leave, being the weaker party could do little to protect me although they would do their utmost to save my property after I left knowing it to be so intimately connected with their own welfare. Amongst those who persuaded me to leave were Kolessur Roy a *zemindar*, Achraj Roy, Seoraj Roy, a Govt. *Chuprassee*, Bodee Roy a *Hissadar*, Baluk Roy a *Hissadar*, Debee Roy and several others. Most of these to the best of my belief afterwards joined the other party when the sepoys arrived at the place. After being told that it was no longer safe for me to remain I got a boat and left for Buxar at about 2 P. M. This is all I can depose from my own knowledge of what occurred. I left my factory in charge of a Bengalee *Baboo* and other servants cautioning all the people about that their village would be held responsible for any damage done to my property. This they seemed fully to understand. From my own personal knowledge I cannot say which of the *numberdars* or *zemindars* actually joined the rebels but my opinion is that on the sepoys coming to the village the greater part if not all joined with the sepoys in committing depredations on my property and that of the Railway. The following is what I heard from my own servants as to what occurred after my departure from Gahmur. The night of the 2nd passed off quietly, on the 3rd my *Baboo* left Gahmur with his family for Buxar considering that it was no longer safe for

[1] Probably spelt for 'Kaleshwar Rai'.

him to remain. All was well upto the time of his departure but that night the sepoys arrived and being joined by the village people who hailed their approach they set to work and pillaged and partially burnt my house and factory destroying every thing that came in their way. The next night (4th) they completed the burning and destruction of my house and factory. On the morning of the 5th they proceeded to Sewrie[1] a village about 4 miles west of Gahmur from whence they sent a party to burn my factory at Bhuddowra which they partially effected*. I cannot name those of the *numberdars* and *zemindars* who joined the sepoys in their depredations but to the best of my belief nearly all of them did so and some of them actually invited the sepoys to come to Gahmur. I believe the following men behaved better than the rest and were less disposed to assist the mutineers : Gungun Sing, an old *Soubadar*, Kolessur Roy a *Hissadar* and a few others. On the morning of the 5th my factory at Rhoneeban, *purgunnah* Chowsa, was burnt and looted by the sepoys.[2]

* * *

News from Ghazipur.

I am happy to inform you, all is as quiet as it possibly can be, and I trust the sepoys will have the sense to continue so, as in the end they must severely suffer for their daring temerity. The Sepoys' Regiments here have had their arms taken from them, and the bazzar rumour is that the men say that if they do nothing serious, they will be looked down upon by the other Sepoy Regiments, so you see we have very little to depend upon in the event of their breaking out and a single spark would set them all to work.[3]

[1] Not clearly decipherable. It appears to be the name of some village.

* "Mr. Coombs states that what he means by partially effected is that a very small portion of his property escaped destruction".—Note in Original.

[2] Ghazipur Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File regarding '*Government vs. Zamindars of Gahmar*'.

[3] *Hindoo Intelligencer*, 8th June 1857, p. 182. National Library, Calcutta.

OUTBREAK AT SAIDPUR

Extracts from letter from F. B. Gubbins, Commissioner, 5th Division, to G. Brandreth, Offg. Magistrate of Ghazeepore (Ghazipur), dated the 24th March 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge your predecessor's letter No. 27 of the 2nd instant reporting upon the petition presented to Government by Ajoodya Singh (Ayodhya Singh) son of Phenkoo Singh, *zemindar* of Mowjah *pergunnah* Syedpore.

3rd—Phenkoo Singh the person who is accused by Mr. Tragear (not legible) of having excited the people of this village to attack here is a very influential *zemindar* in the *pergunnah* of Syedpore. When the troops stationed at Benares mutinied on the 4th June last and the whole surrounding country left into anarchy, the *pergunnah* of Syedpore fell into perhaps a greater state of disorder than the rest of either the Benares or Ghazipur districts.

4th—Phenkoo Singh took the opportunity of coming permanently in support of the British Government and of order; he collected a considerable body of his own retainers, from the whole *pergunnah* and it was mainly to his endeavours and influence that it became so soon tranquillized.

5th—I would therefore recommend that the accusations of Mr. Tragear be most carefully weighed when made against a person who has shown the marked loyalty exhibited by Phenkoo Singh. Mr. Tragear's interest as an Indigo Planter must necessarily clash with those of his neighbours, and as he is to my personal knowledge not of a conciliating disposition and a person who is continually at war with the natives who live near his factory, I think that the utmost caution should be used in accepting his evidence, the more so as the matter is manifestly a mere personal one.[1]

* * *

Letter from W. Brown, Commander St. Mr. Gunboat Banaras, to J. Base, Magistrate Ghazeepore (Ghazipur), dated 22nd September 1858.

I have the honor to report to you for the information

[1] Ghazipur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Misc. Correspondence, 1844-58. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

of Government that I came to off Bara[1] last night at...there were more than 100 empty boats of all description. I ordered them away; they answered in the most insolent and contemptible way and said, they wanted none of our orders and that if we were able we may destroy them. I immediately set to...and fence the boats during which time about 100 men gathered in old mud fort and commenced firing shots at us. I had a couple of shells...which I am happy to say had splendid effect and caused them to retreat in the most wild and precipitate manner; they again gathered in a...about 100 yards below and my vessel being then aground they made a rush towards the vessel; we met them with another shell which terrified them to such an extent that we have not seen since, by this time it being ...I anchored over at Geerpore for the night, after having set fire to all boats whose crew were insolent and refused to obey my orders with the.....that the *zemindar* had ordered them to remain at the *Ghaut* and they would do so at all risk.

This day at 5 A. M. I landed at Geerpore and communicated with the *Thanadar* and *zemindar* of the place; their informations were that the *zemindar* of Bara seized every boat at the *Ghaut* on the Bara side and would not let them go and that likewise the village of Bara was full of *Badmashes*; they were doing nothing but looking at every opportunity.

A. C. Albe finding that about 40 boats had again collected and made fast in front of the old mud fort I blew up some of them with shell, the remainder I set fire to and after having cleared all fronts from about Bara I proceeded down Chowsa. There I found many boats all empty and in the earthworks they all cast off and should....

I am now at Busea for the purpose of making over a very suspicious character who interfered with me whilst in the discharge of my duty. I intend to proceed up early tomorrow morning so as to be at Bara by daylight.

Ghumur is said to be swarming with rebels but there

[1] Apparently *Bara*, Pargana and Tahsil *Zamaniah*, District *Ghazipur*—The town of Bara stands in 25° 3′ N. and 83 52′ E., on the high bank of the Ganges and on the road from Benares to Buxar, at a distance of three miles east from Gahmar, 19½ from Zamaniah and 18 miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, p. 182).

is not sufficiency of water to permit the steamer. Nothing can reach.[1]

* * *

Letter from W. Brown, Commander Banaras, St. Mr. Gunboat, to J. Base, Magistrate, Ghazipur, dated 23rd September 1858.

I have the honor to report to you for the information of Government that in compliance with the request of the Magistrate of Buxar. . . Bombarded a cluster of large houses belonging to the *zemindar* of Barra prior to the landing of the Sheiks from the steamer Burampotra (Brahmputra). I threw in fire shells and three round shots after which the Sheiks landed from the above steamer. . . . . .

. . . I am still about Barra as there are some more boats that had landed up here last night which I have now commenced to destroy.[2]

* * *

Letter from W. Brown, Commander, St. Mr. Gunboat, Banaras, to J. Base, Magistrate, Ghazeepore (Ghazipur), dated 29th September 1858.

I have the honor to report to you for the information of Government the result of my downward crews at 2 P. M.; found the same boats at Resteepore, had been. . . to have the evening previous . . . and sunk them; three 3 P. M.; found another ferry boat at Ghamunea; the crew said they could not obey any orders except from their *zemindar;* consequently sunk; at 4-30 saw 20 sowars near Phumunar but before I could get our guns to bear on them they hid in the jungle. 5 arrived at Bara, found a boat there and destroyed it; 5-30 saw a large body of armed Musulamans in Nishun Khan's house; landed a party and made an assault on the house; drove them out and captured the following arms and ammunition only. 3 native swords, 1 matchlock, 1 musket barrel, 1 spear, 100 round ball cartridges, 80 Ditto Blank cartridges and 300 percussion caps.

[1] Ghazipur *Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records*, Misc. Correspondence, 1844-58. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Ibid.*

Note :—These documents of Ghazipur Collectorate could not be correctly deciphered at places

I have also the honor to report that the right bank of the river is all clear of boats and only a few on the left bank, otherwise the river is completely clear of them excepting boats proceeding upwards and downwards.[1]

JAUNPUR

OUTBREAK AT JAUNPUR

Statement of George E. Matthews.

On the evening of the 5th of June last, the day on which the Seiks (Sikhs) mutinied at Jounpoor, I was induced by my *Jemmadar* Soobhdan Singh, his brothers Daljeet Singh, Purman Singh, Ramjeet Singh and the other males of the family to remove with my family and Messrs. C. Waleski, J. Cosserat and I. Richardson into their house in the village of Buttoura for protection. Soobhdan Singh strongly advised me to take all the cash I had with me, and on my observing that I had taken all with the exception of two or three hundred rupees which were in the iron-chest, and which I intended leaving there, under the impression that in case of an attack the mutinous *sipahees* finding the money, would conclude that that was all the cash abandoned in the hurry of flight, and contenting themselves with the same would not be very pressing to discover our whereabouts, simply for the purpose of murdering us. He said, 'on no account leave any money behind for you will never see it again.' About noon of the same day, when I heard from Mr. Fane, the Magistrate of Jounpoor that some of the mutineers were expected there immediately, I told Soobhdan Singh to get together some armed men to protect us, but when in the evening, I saw that those assembled were little better than a mob I determined upon accepting the *Jemmadar's* offer, and at candle light we all left our house—my father in a *Tonjon*, the rest of us on foot. On our way there a box containing my sisters' shawls, scarfs, several pairs of shoes, pieces of cloth etc. were snatched and taken away by Surrubjeet (Sarbjit) Singh of Byjapoor, who was one of

[1] Ghazipur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Misc. Correspondence, 1844-58. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

those who were brought for our protection. We entered the *Jemmadar's* house with a large bundle containing silver plates, some bundles and boxes of clothes—3 boxes containing papers and documents of much importance and value to me, also my sisters' writing box, and jewel-box containing their jewelry, a small tin box of mine containing 8 small diamonds a large emerald-gold chain with eye glass and a gold pin, with sundry other articles, my ammunition box and gun and pistol cases, also a *mondha* containing two bags with (1800) eighteen hundred rupees. The *mondha* was carried by my *Bhishtee* Hooshain[1] who walked along side of me with it on his shoulder. At the same time there were also two of my horses with saddles and bridles in Soobhdan Singh's house.

SOLDIERS DEMAND 6 MONTHS' WAGES

The only annoyance we experienced during the night of the 5th June was from the insolence of Hurnundun Singh, Juttun (Jatan) Singh, Sivnet Singh[2] and Sewnundun (Shiv Nandan) Singh, servants of mine who vociferously demanded payment of six months' wages which if not complied with, they would go and bring the mutinous sepoys and show them our hiding place. On my refusing to comply with their demand, they taunted Soobhdan Singh with harbouring us and insisted on our being turned out when they would either have the money or satisfaction. I declared we would shoot the first man who entered the premises which we occupied with hostile intentions; and I was assured by the *Jemmadar* and his family that the party then went away and did all they could to prevail upon the Seiks and subsequently with sepoys of the 17th N. I. proceeding towards Oude, to come and murder us.

HARNANDAN SINGH JOINS IRADAT JAHAN

The above named Hurnundun Singh afterwards took service with Rajah Iradut Jehan of Mobarukpoor and Juttun Singh joined the noted dacoit Ummur Singh of Adumpoor,

[1] Can be read as 'Hoosham' also, though the correct name appears to be 'Husain' or 'Husaini'.

[2] Apparently spelt for 'Shiv Nath Singh'.

and is to this day absent from his village and said to be with the rebels.

JANKI SINGH HEADS A BAND OF REVOLUTIONARIES

The following day the 6th of June passed away quietly enough, saving occasional alarms of Cavalry and Infy. (Infantry) passing by. A little before sunset however we were set upon by a gang of dacoits headed by Jankee Singh, son of Ummur Singh of Adumpoor. There were four hundred men more or less armed with matchlocks, swords and *Lattees* (*Lathis*). On the first alarm being given Soobhdan Singh, Daljeet Singh, Purman Singh, Ramjeet Singh, Ungnoo (Angnu) Singh, Ramesur (Rameshwar) Singh and other males of the family turned us all out of their house, saying Cavalry were coming and their lives would be taken if we were found there. We were making the best of our way to a hut at some distance off, when Soobhdan Singh sent after us and begged of us to return, as there were no Cavalry but only dacoits, and that if we did not assist them they would be looted and disgraced. We conducted the ladies and the children to the hut, and Messrs. Waleski, Cosserat, Richardson, and myself went back, and with Soobhdan Singh, Daljeet Singh and others of the family armed with matchlocks, and several Aheers and Chumars with *la tees* we encountered the dacoits, who fired upon us but without effect; they then rushed at us, sword in hand, whereupon we opened fire upon them, killed seven, and wounded as many more and put the rest to flight. We then saw that Purman Singh was wounded and learnt that he had gone up to Jankee Singh, the chief of the dacoits, unarmed, and begged to him to retire and not loot poor people and the answer vouchsafed was some sword-cuts over the head and body. One of our party, Mr. Waleski, was disabled from a blow with an iron bound *lattee* in the early part of the fray and in his helpless state was robbed of his silver watch and chain and a sword by Ushruff Khan (Ashraf Khan) one of my Indigo manufacturers whom he suspects because he was by his side and who immediately absconded. Hearing we would be attacked again we kept watch all night and whilst so engaged, a servant of mine told me my godown was being robbed of all my gram, oats, wheat, barley chaff etc. etc. by the people of the immediate neighbourhood.

REVOLUTIONARIES DEFY THE BRITISH

The night of the sixth passed over without any alarm, but whilst we were fighting with the dacoits, my sisters, in a great state of fear, sought protection from the people in the village of Chubulupoor and were denied it in every instance, even my tailor Gussectun (Ghasitan) shut his door upon them. After such cruel treatment they did not consider their lives safe there and gladly accepted the offer of their *Aya* and accompanied her to her house in Rookunpoor near Jounpoor, from which place I received a note from them next morning viz. 5th June telling me they were safe. I then sent for Soobhdan Singh and his relatives and told them as danger was to be apprehended, I should like them to get me some 50 or 100 armed men whom I should employ on a monthly salary. They got together several gangs and reported that all was right and that we were now in a position to meet any attack that might be made. Soorujmund[1] Misser (Suraj Mand Mishra) of Pursunee was at the head of these gangs, and within the hearing of Boree Aheer and another advised Soobhdan Singh strongly to turn us out as the *Raj* was gone; that no good could come of protecting us any longer, and they could divide my property amongst them. About noon an alarm was given that the dacoits were coming, and we were called out to face them, and whilst we were in expectation of an attack, I saw 4 bearers carrying round an empty *palkee* to the back of the building we occupied. I immediately suspected foul play, and remarked the same to my companions telling them to keep a good look-out. After the lapse of half an hour or so during which all the men said to have been collected for our defence walked off one by one, we were left with Soobhdan Singh and his family connections and Soorujmund Misser; the last named in connivance with Soobhdan and others tried to persuade us to leave the place. I asked "where are we to go to ?" Soobhdan Singh said, "to Soorujmund Misser's house," but Soorujmund Misser said "I will escort you to Gour, a village in which Soobhdan has a share." "And who will feed us ?" enquired

[1] This name has been spelt as 'Soorujnund' also at one or two places in the original document but here it has been retained as 'Soorujmund', though the correct name may be 'Surajnand'.

I. Soorujmund Misser replied, "I'll give you *dal* and *chuppatees* until it is decided whose *Raj* it is to be." My firm belief is that had we accompanied Soorujmund Misser he would have deserted us near Jounpoor and left us to our fate, and that we should have been set upon and murdered at his instigation and that his object was to get us away to commence plundering. During the time the district was in a disorganised state, it was notorious that Soorujmund Misser waylaid and looted some *Buniyas* of a large quantity of sugar, which on the arrival of Mr. Fane on the 14th June, was thrown into a well in the neighbourhood. Soorujmund Misser is a wealthy man and carries a great deal of influence in the neighbourhood.

MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST REVOLUTIONARIES

Strongly suspecting treachery, and seeing that under any circumstances we should be turned out and deserted by Soobhdan Singh and his family who to satiate their avarice might even go to the length of attempting our lives, I deemed it prudent to leave the place, but made this condition, that Soobhdan Singh and Daljeet Singh and Ungnoo Singh should accompany us to Madho Singh's house at Busharutpoor[1], who had given Mr. Saunders protection. To this they very reluctantly agreed and we started, but before leaving I asked where my father was. Soobhdan Singh said, "He is all safe, I'll take care of him and send him to you. Don't entertain any fear about this." I asked for my children, and was told they were in a village on ahead. We then took what fire-arms and other weapons that[2] we had. At this moment Soobhdan came to Mr. Richardson and begged him to go into the house with him to show where the money was. On Mr. Richardson entering the room where we had all remained with the money and other property with us, not a single article was to be seen and must have been taken away in the *palkee* before alluded to. We were then marched away under a

[1] Apparently *Basharatpur*, Pargana *Rari*, Tahsil *Jaunpur*, District *Jaunpur*—A village standing in 25° 47′ N. and 82° 37′ E., about a mile from the right bank of the Gumti two miles east from Bakhsha police station and about six miles north-west from Jaunpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Jaunpur, 1908, p. 196).

[2] 'That' is superfluous here.

burning hot sun between 12 and one O' clock, accompanied by Soobhdan Singh, Daljeet Singh and Ungnoo Singh, the two former armed with matchlocks and swords, and the latter with a sword, and being joined by the children who had been turned out by a back door, were taken across country to the river side near the village of Nuddeeapara, where there was no ferry. Here we were told to get across the Goomtee (Gomati) the best way we could. We got across but were up to our necks in water, and had to carry the children on our shoulders. Only Ungnoo Singh crossed and came along with us. Soobhdan and Daljeet remained behind under the pretence of bathing, but immediately we got to the opposite bank of the river, they turned on their heels and walked away. I may here remark that no sooner were our backs turned on Buttoura, than the population of the surrounding neighbourhood commenced plundering my property. Whilst we were crossing the river our appearance excited suspicion, and a body of armed men assembled on the opposite bank, and when we had crossed, opposed our progress, pointing to a footpath along the water's edge over which we proceeded till we got away from their immediate vicinity when we ascended the bank, and as our road to Busharutpore lay past and through villages, we could see in the distance large bodies of armed men, as if were awaiting our approach and if it had not been for Bishun Nonia a man whom I had employed in repairing the roads, and who recognising me went ahead assuring the people we were looted *Neel Ka Sahibs* wending our way to Mr. Saunders at Madho Singh's house.[1] My belief is that we should have been attacked. Madho Singh too on hearing who we were, sent people to bring us in. About 3 P. M. we arrived at his house, were kindly received by him and by our good friend Mr. Saunders who welcomed us, supplied us with dry linen and did all that under the circumstances he could do to make us comfortable.

REACTON OF THE OUTBREAK AT JAUNPUR

On the morning of the 8th June, a *palkee* and bearers having been provided by Madho Singh and his servant having

[1] The sense is not clearly borne out.

brought intelligence that he had seen my father sitting under a tree by the side of the road on the other side of the river Goomtee, I was on the eve of dispatching the *palkee* to fetch him, when to my surprise some Chumars brought him in on a *charpahee*, more dead than alive from want of food and exposure to a frightfully hot sun, without any covering to his head. For two days he was very ill indeed and I feared he would not get over it but the medicine Mr. Saunders gave him worked miracles and he gradually recovered. When he was able to sepak and had heard the explanation of our apparent desertion of him, he gave us to understand that in place of Soobhdan Singh or any of his family taking care of him they had in the afternoon of the 7th June led him, and pushed him, through sundry wickets and courtyards, that he tried to keep pace with the children who were driven before but could not; that at length they turned him out in an open field, and that he made for a *sirput* jungle and sat there till dusk, when he walked to the foot of the tree where the Chumars discovered him the next day, and were prevailed upon to bring him on to Busharutpoor. One of my children, who was taken dangerously ill from exposure to the sun, continued to linger on till the evening of the 9th of June, when death released him from his sufferings.

FLIGHT OF THE BRITISHERS

On the 10th June our party was increased by the arrival of Messrs. F. and C. Cooke, Mr. Saunders' assistance from Burrupar, where they had been protected by Kutwaroo Singh, one of the *zemindars* of that village, who with a party of armed men at Madho Singh's request escorted them to his place, where we all remained with Mr. Saunders, partaking of his hospitality until the evening of the 14th of June when an escort of Europeans and volunteers under Mr. Fane having arrived at Jounpoor, we joined him there under native escort, found that my sisters had also been released from the fort, and we all started the same night for Benares which place we reached on the night of the 15th June.

The following is a list of articles, horses and money recovered by me since my return to Jounpoor from the parties mentioned herein:

Two horses which were left in Soobhdan Singh's house, six hundred and eighty five rupees in cash through Ungnoo Singh.

Five boxes through the court found in Purman Singh's house in Gour, minus the valuables and a number of papers or documents.

Three shawls, two scarfs and some odds and ends of clothes through Dabee Deen (Devi Din) Singh of Chooncha.

These are part of the articles taken with us from the house on the evening of the 5th of June.[1]

* * *

Letter from Waleski, dated 16th Jan. 1858.

After the mutiny broke out on the 5th of June Mr. Matthews sent out an express to me at Rootahun telling me to join him at Buttourah. Immediately after I received his letter I left my factory and rode to Buttourah whence I accompanied Mr. Matthews and family and Messrs. Cosserat and Richardson to Soobhdan Sing's house the same evening. Mr. Matthews took a couple of bags containing 1800 Rupees besides several boxes of papers, bundles of silver plate and clothes etc. etc. with him.

His *bhistee* (*bhishti*) carried the money. There were two horses with saddles and bridles in the *Jamadar* Soobhdan Sing's house.

A man by name Hurnundun Sing (Harnandan Singh) and some other servants of Mr. Matthews were very insolent. They demanded loudly payment of 6 months' wages accompanied with a threat that if it was not complied with they would all go and bring the mutinous *sepahies* upon us. It was denied them and Soobhdan told us that they went off to execute their threat. On the evening of the 6th June we were driven out of Soobhdan Sing's house on the alarm being given that Cavalry were coming, but a little after we were called back to face a body of dacoits headed by Jankee Sing, the son of Umber Sing of Adhumpore. They fired upon us and attacked our party with drawn swords. I was knocked down senseless with a blow from a *lathie*. Ushruf Khan one

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Daljit Singh, Sheopal Singh etc.*", File No. 2/20. Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] This name has been given as 'Unumu Singh' by G. E. Mattlews in his statement, (p. 124).

of Mr. Matthew's servants was along side of me and carried my sword. When I recovered my senses I missed my silver watch and chain and as Ushruf Khan was not to be found and has never since shewn himself, I strongly suspected him of robbing me of my sword, watch and chain, as he certainly carried off my sword. Seven of the dacoits were shot and as many wounded.

THE ENCOUNTERS

Mr. Matthews ordered Soobhdan Sing to get 100 armed men and he would employ them but the men he sent for all went away when the alarm was given that the dacoits were approaching during midday of the 7th June and Soorujmun[1] Misser and Soobhdan Sing and his family connections were all that remained with us. Soorujmun Misser tried to entice us away to the village of Gour promising to take care of us, but it was clear to me that his object was to get us out of the way and to join in the plunder of Mr. Matthew's property, and suspecting him to have bad intentions we all objected to go with him. Soobhdan Sing took Mr. Richardson into the house we occupied requesting him to point out the money, Mr. Matthews had taken in there but Mr. R. (Mr. Richardson) returned and said not a vistage (*sic*,-vestige) of any thing remained except the empty *mondha*.

Apprehending we were unsafe with Soobhdan Sing and his family who seemed eager to get rid of us, Mr. M. (Mr. Matthews) got Soobhdan Sing, Duljeet Sing and Ungnoo Sing to accompany us to Busharutpoor. Soobhdan and Duljeet left us at the river Goomtee and we had to wade it up to our necks in water.

Ungnoo Sing came with us to Madho Sing's house. Mr. Matthews Senior was brought across the next day the 8th of June on a *charpoy* very ill indeed.

He staid (*sic*,-stayed) with Mr. Saunders in Madho Sing's house where we were joined by Messrs. F. (Fane) and C. Cook and on the 14th were escorted to Jounpore and accompanied Mr. Fane and party to Benares.[2]

* * *

[1] Spelt as 'Soorujmund' by G. E. Matthews in his statement (p. 126).

[2] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Daljit Singh, Sheopal Singh etc.*" File No. 2/20. Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Letter from Richardson, Magistrate of Jaunpur, dated 6th February 1858.

On the evening of the 5th June last I was with Mr. Matthews at Battoura, as was also Mr. Cosserat. In the evening Mr. C. Waleski joined us, and as Mr. Matthews was warned by Mr. Fane the Magistrate of Jounpore to be on the look-out as mutineers were close at hand and the same evening news was brought that the Seikhs at Jounpore had mutinied, Mr. Matthews fearing danger, accepted the offer of Soobhdan Singh, Dulgeet (Daljit) Singh and the other males of the family to go to their house for protection. We all went there at dusk, Mr. Matthews' *Bhestee* (*Bhishti*) Hooshem carrying a *morha* with 1800 Rupees; I myself put the two bags containing it in the *morha*. Besides this, other servants carried silver plate, and several boxes and bundles of papers and clothes etc. There were also two horses belonging to Mr. Matthews with saddles and bridles in the house.

Hurnundun Singh (Harnandan Singh), Juttun Singh (Jatan Singh), Sevnaith (Shiva Nath) Singh and Seounundun Singh (Shiv Nandan Singh), peons of Mr. Matthews were very insolent. They made a great noise and said if they did not get six months' wages they would bring the rebel sepoys and shew them where we were, and we should be killed. Mr. Matthews would not listen to them. So they went away to carry out their threat.

On the evening of the 6th of June Soobhdan Singh, Dulgeet Singh and other males of the family turned us all out of the house giving it out that a body of Cavalry were at hand who would kill them (*sic*,) all if they found us hidden there. We had not gone far before we were entreated to return, as the attacking party only turned out to be (a) gang of dacoits headed by Jankee Singh, the son of Umbur Singh of Adumpoor; on horse back we returned and were greeted with volley from matchlocks. They then rushed at us with drawn swords and we commenced firing, seven were killed and as many more wounded, upon which they fled.

RETREAT OF THE BRITISHERS

When joined by Mr. Waleski I heard that he had received a severe blow from a *lathi* and that when he was insensible he was robbed of his watch and chain and sword by a man of

the name of Ushruff Khan who was by his side at the time. Mr. Matthews being of opinion that we were not safe desired Soobhdan Singh to bring from 50 to 100 men well armed, he would employ them. Several gangs were collected and Soobhdan Singh said there was no fear, but all these men disappeared, when we were called out to meet the dacoits who were said to be quite close to us at noon of the 7th June. Soorujmun Misser who was at the head of one of the gangs remained with Soobhdan Singh and family, and in collusion with them did all he could to get us to leave the place, and said he would escort us to the village of Gour. Mr. Matthews would not consent to this, as he suspected him of wishing to take us away in order that he might get a share of plunder, and he, Mr. Matthews, also remarked that no dependance could be placed upon natives after the shameful manner in which such old servants as Soobhdan Singh, Ungnoo Singh, and Dulgeet Singh, had behaved. Mr. Matthews also said "we won't go to you but we are not safe here;" so he proposed to move to Busharutpore on condition that Soobhdan Singh, Dulgeet Singh and Ungnoo Singh should accompany us there. After a good deal of hesitation they agreed to this. Soobhdan Singh asked me to go into the house and shew him the money Mr. Matthews had taken in with him. I went, but there was not a thing to be seen except the empty *morha* which contained the money.

BRITISH TAKE REFUGE AT VARANASI

Ungnoo Singh accompanied us to Madho Singh's house at Busharutpore, Soobhdan Singh and Dulgeet Singh left us on the banks of the Goomtee near the village of Nuddeeapara. There was no boat at the place we were taken to, so we had to walk across the river up to our necks in water.

On the 8th Mr. Matthews Senior was brought to Busharutpore on a *charpie* almost in a insensible state from the effects of the sun to which he had been exposed. On the 12th of June Mr. Fane arrived at Jounpore with some volunteers and Europeans. We were escorted there and accompanied the whole party to Benares where we arrived sometime during the night of the 15th June.[1]

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Daljit Singh, Sheopal Singh etc.*", File No. 2/20. Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

CHARGES LAID AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

Deposition of George Matthews, made on 15th April 1858.

Question—What is your plaint ?

Answer—With reference to my narrative and the statements of Messrs. C. Waleski and Richardson before the Court: (1st charge) I charge Soodhan Sing[1], Duljeet Sing, Purman Sing, Ramjeet Sing, Rammesur (Rameshwar) Sing, Ungnoo Sing and the other males of the family whose names I know not with having plundered us when we went to their house. (2nd charge) I charge Surubjeet Sing of Bysapoor with having snatched a box of valuables from us between our house and the house of the above men. (3rd charge) I charge Hurnundun Sing (Harnandan Singh), Juttun Sing, Sivnet Sing and Suenundun Sing (Shivnandan Singh) my servants of using threats, and gross language to us, and with endeavouring to induce sepoys to come and murder us. Hurnundun and Juttun Sing subsequently joined the rebels. (4th charge) I charge Jankie son of Umur Sing with having brought a gang of 400 dacoits to attack us when a sanguinary conflict ensued in which we killed 7, and wounded others. (5th charge) I charge Ushruff Khan with having robbed my Asst. W. C. Waleski of a watch and chain. (6th charge) I charge Gasectun (Ghasitan) tailor, his brother, and Bal Govind for having refused shelter to my sisters.....(Mss. torn). (7th charge) I charge Soorujmun Misr with having endeavoured to induce Soobdan Sing and others to withdraw their shelter and turn us out and to share my property.

Those men mentioned in the 1st charge are particularly culpable in having behaved in such a manner to my father, a very old man, as to bring on an illness by which his life is at the present time in danger—and also those men mentioned in the 6th charge for their cowardly neglect of my sisters.

I swear to the truth of the narrative and to having recognized the men named above as being implicated in the manner described. The facts will also be borne out by the statements of Messrs. Waleski and Richardson.

[1] Spelt as 'Soobdan' below and 'Soobhdan' elsewhere (pp. 123-33).

October 28th, 1859.

You stated in the above deposition written on the 15th April 1858 that Soobdaun Sing assisted by others, plundered you of all the property, you took into his house. What was the value of that property? Have you recovered or received any of it back? and through whom?	I received Rs. 1600, more or less, in cash through Ungnoo Sing and Pernaun Sing[1], two horses through Ungnoo Sing, five boxes, 2 empty and 3 containing papers through the Court. The value of property consisting of jewels, wearing apparel, silver etc., I estimate at Rs. 2,000. Some 12 or 14 months ago Soobdaun Sing made restitution of some of the silver through Madho Sing of Bisharutpoor valued at ... (Mss. torn)...[2].

* * *

Supplementary deposition of George Matthews made on 18th day of May 1858.

In addition to my evidence of the 15th April I wish to state that the prisoners Hurpal Singh and Sheopal are among the males of the family of Ungnoo Singh alluded to in the first charge of that evidence. They are both the sons of Ungnoo Singh, and I solemnly declare that they joined in the plunder of my property at Sookhdan's[3] house. There are still left other males of this family, who are yet at large, whose names I did not then know. I have since discovered them to be Jypal (Jaipal) Singh and Nehpal (Naipal) Singh, sons of Ungnoo Singh and Seetuldan Singh his nephew. I should recognize them, if caught.

I charge Dookul, cartman of Sookhdan Singh with having carried away from my godown a quantity of my grain, such as gram, wheat, oats etc. during the night of the 6th June 1857, when I was at Sookhdan's house.

Surrubjeet Singh of Byjapoor snatched away a box containing shawls, scarfs, shoes and Hosainee (*Bheestie*), Hurnundun Singh (*A*), Juttun Singh (*B*), Surneth Singh[4],

[1] This name has been spelt as 'Purman Singh', (pp. 123, 125).

[2] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Daljit Singh, Sheopal Singh etc.*". File No. 2/20. Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[3] Spelt as 'Soobhdan Singh' elsewhere (p. 123-33).

[4] Apparently 'Shivnath Singh'.

Sheonudun Singh, my servants were insolent to me. (*A*) afterwards joined Iradut Jehan, (*B*) joined Ummur Singh.

On the 6th Jankee Singh, son of Ummur Singh, set upon us with 400 dacoits. Our defenders then got frightened and turned us out; afterwards took us back and we fought the dacoits.

Ushruff Khan, one of my indigo men robbed Mr. Waleski of a watch and other things.

Chubbulupore people refused protection to my sisters.

Soorujmund Misser headed one of the gangs, he is a wealthy man and influential.

Messrs. Waleski and Richardson give evidence similar to Mr. Matthews.[1]

REINFORCEMENT OF THE GORKHAS AT JAUNPUR

Extracts from the Letter from the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 3rd Oct. 1857.

11*th*—*Jaunpore* :—The Jaunpore district has been almost entirely abandoned since the first mutiny of the troops at that station in June. A Goorkha force marched into Jaunpore on the 7th instant, and the Civil Officers have now returned to the station.

12*th*—A system of intelligence has been organized at Jaunpore, to supply information of all that goes on in the neighbouring parts of Oude.[2]

20,000 REVOLUTIONARIES IN ACTION AT JAUNPUR

Telegraphic Message from the Lieutenant Governor, Central Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, Banaras, dated Nov. 29, 1857, 11-20 A.M.

The number of the enemy against the Jaunpore frontier has increased to 20,000, and Colonel Longden has fallen back on Jaunpore. The numbers of the enemy are rapidly increasing.

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Daljit Singh, Sheopal Singh etc.*", File No. 2/20. Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure in No. 8, p. 84.

He is desired; if pressed at Jaunpore, not to shut himself up in the old fort there, but to fall back on Benares for the protection of this place. The Azimghur Goorkhas have orders to fall back simultaneously with Colonel Longden towards Benares; also they will be advised to form a junction with Colonel Bush; he can have a regiment of Goorkhas for the entrenchment of Ghazeepore if necessary. My telegram of yesterday to the Commander-in-Chief has not got further than Allahabad, as the line is closed. I submit that authority for the stoppage here of bullock-trains and dak-carriage parties should be issued immediately by the Government of India. I will ask Colonel Gordon to stop to-day's party. His Lordship will remember that communication with Commander-in-Chief being now cut off, there is no general officer above Calcutta to assume command or responsibility. I earnestly recommend that all the surplus troops near Calcutta, beyond what will make bullock-train parties for ten days, be immediately marched up the road as fast as possible.[1]

BRITISHERS FORCED TO WITHDRAW

Telegraphic Message from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, Banaras, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Dec. 1, 1857, 12 Noon.

Lieutenant-Colonel Longden has arrived at Jaunpore. The rebels have not yet advanced. The retirement of our force is looked upon as a stratagem by the natives. Arrangements were made yesterday for relays of bullocks on the Jaunpore road, and a party of 200 men are on their way out, leaving at about 9 O'clock this morning. Azimghur (Azamgarh) continues quiet. The border *pergunnahs* of Jaunpore have become disturbed since our force withdrew.[2]

STRUGGLE IN BANARAS DIVISION (GENERAL)

Supplement to the Narrative of Events in the Benares (Banaras) Division by Robert Taylor, Offg. Joint Magistrate, Jounpoor (Jaunpur), dated the 15th Oct. 1858, communicated by F. B. Gubbins etc.

In commencing (willingly enough) a supplement to the

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 53 in No. 4, p. 179.

[2] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 71 in No. 4, pp. 184-85.

Narrative I have already prepared, I must remark that my task, though apparently of much less magnitude, is really no less laborious. Before, I had furnished to me from each district a separate narrative, carefully arranged, compiled from the best authorities, and illustrated by any subsequent information the passing months had brought to light; now I have merely disjointed weekly notices, undigested and uncorrected. Nor is it the least of any difficulties that I must prepare this paper in a space of time barely sufficing for a careful perusal of the reports I have to condense. Little pretensions as my former Narrative had to any grace of style, the present one will have even less; and I shall have done my work well if the Readers do not find any important event misstated or omitted. Nor can I leave unnoticed the fact (and it adds much to the difficulties under which I labour) that more than one important paper is alluded to (in the notes I have at hand) as submitted in original to Government, and not returned.

But to proceed. To the history of Mirzapoor and Benares, I have no more to add. A few lines in their proper place will tell all there is left to tell of the history of Jounpoor; and my work is mainly confined to the unsatisfactory annals of Azimgurh and Ghazeepoor, annals which tell rather of a flame dying out, than of a flame extinguished.

The beginning of the year, then found Mr. Brereton, Magistrate of Ghazeepoor, in Jung Bahadoor's camp, threatening the rebel force in Goruckpoor. The speedy flight of the *Nazim* from that station, and the consequent abandonment by the rebels of several posts they had hitherto held, relieved Azimgurh for the moment of any pressure from that quarter; but before the end of the month the steps taken to facilitate the advance of our forces into Oudh, and the steps taken by the rebels to oppose this advance, had had the singular effect of leaving the marches of Azimgurh threatened by strong bodies of rebels, and unprotected by any British force. In the face of this more pressing danger, the descent of the vassals of Ooddraise Singh (Udresh Singh) and Mozuffer Jehan (Muzaffar Jahan) on their old lands excited no attention. Sunday brought a rumour that Mehndee Hussun, the would be *Nazim* of Jounpoor (Jaunpur), would gather in Azimgurh the laurel he had not dared to seek at home. On Tuesday it was (reported that) Mahummud Hussun would try whether the open field were more favourable to his genius than the earthworks of

Goruckpoor.[1]. Wednesday again came news that Man Singh was coming down to sweep Azimgurh into the Ganges. On Friday Man Singh had preferred the less daring task of defending the passage of the Gogra against the Goorkhas from the east; and Sunday at last dawned with the soothing news that, though in very truth Man Singh had come to Fyzabad, it was not to oppose our Nepalese allies, but to find (if it might be) among their ranks one who would plead to the British Government that the English folk he had saved in the early days of the mutiny were a fair set-off against the many noble hearts which through his treachery had found a grave in Oudh. But aided by the first steamer that ever plied on the waters of the Gogra, the army crossed safely, and for the time we hear no more that Azimgurh is threatened. A month later, the authorities of that district, instead of being threatened from the frontier, are beleaguered in their own jail.

Kooer Singh, flying from Lucknow, entered the northern part of Azimgurh. Colonel Milman, moving out to oppose him, drove his advanced guard out of Atrowlia, and carried on the pursuit up to the main body. But he subsequently fell back, abandoning both baggage and stores, on Azimgurh. Mr. Davies urged Colonel Dames, but without success, to defend the passage of the town, a plan the adoption of which had caused the Pulwars so severe a loss in July, and the value of which he himself found when after many delays on Saturday March 27th, he attempted a sortie, and had to retire, leaving one of the best officers of his corps behind him on the field.

The reliefs thrown in from Ghazeepoor warned the sepoys of the advantage they were letting slip in not destroying the bridge over the Tonse. The Madras Rifles hindered this work one day, and the next Lord Mark Kerr forced his way into the intrenchments, inflicting on the rebels a chastisement so severe that they suffered Colonel Cumberlege to bring in a convoy without opposition, though they had made great preparations to prevent his advance.

The siege of Azimgurh was now at an end. On April 15th, Sir E. Lugard arrived to its relief. After a brief resistance at the bridge, the enemy flew hastily along the Burhul road. They were closely followed up, and in this pursuit Mr. Venables

[1] The construction of the sentence is faulty, in the Original.

received the wound which cost him his life. Down the right bank of the Gogra via Byreeah to the Ganges, the flight and pursuit continued with unabated spirit. At Ameer Khas on the Gogra, Brigadier Douglas chastised the rear guard severely, capturing much carriage. But the main body far out-marched the British force, and Colonel Cumberlege's slow advance, the boats supplied by the loyal *zemindars* of Shahabad, and the shallowness of the water, made the Ganges but a slight obstacle to their flight. Indeed they would have effected the passage without any suffering, but for the timely presence of the 'Megna' Gun-boat, whose well directed guns caused no small loss among the fugitives, and *above all inflicted on Koour Singh that wound which speedily ridded (sic,-rid) us of the only foeman worthy of our steel, and deprived the enemy of the only leader who has displayed throughout the rebellion either skill or courage.*

The sepoys were safe away in the jungles of Jugdeespoor (Jagdishpur). But they had left a wide wake behind. *Eastern Ghazeepoor was up.* Far from the *Sudder* station, unpierced by roads, bounded by two great rivers, by crossing either of which the fugitives would be in another province, and under another law, that district seemed marked out for an Alsatia. But a few years back at one time twenty proclaimed offenders were living openly in a single village. From another, did any evil chance lead thither any servant of Government, he thought himself happy to escape with a broken head. Did fickle fate at length give up any inhabitant of a third (?) to the strong grasp of the law, he might with perfect truth write in the first line of his defence that river dacoitee (dacotiy) was the trade whereby he earned his daily bread. Why such a country had not risen before, is one of the most perplexing and not least interesting problems the mutiny has left us to solve. There too were the homes of many sepoys who had fled back, to their hearths with halters round their necks. These men served as rallying points and leaders to their neighbours and clansmen. Still the gathering at Jugdeespoor for the time relieved Ghazeepoor, and the rebellion was a passive rather than an active one. In the middle of May, Mr. Probyn succeeded in persuading Colonel Cumberlege to advance on the village of Burragaon without waiting for a siege train. It was found empty, and the victorious General, having destroyed the houses of those who had been chiefs in the revolt, marched back to Ghazeepoor.

Azimgurh, meanwhile, continued much disturbed. Serio-

usly threatened, as it was time after time, from Tanda[1], conterminous to a very large extent with Goruckpoor, which contained more rebels than faithful subjects; traversed night after night by larger or smaller parties of sepoys flying from Oudh to their new rallying point in Shahabad; that the district should remain peaceful or in good order, was not to be expected. Twice did Purgun Singh successfully attack the *thannah* of Maharajgunge, and it was only after a long and hard fight that he retired from the *tehseeldaree* of Koelsa. But matters were still worse when the sepoys, driven from their refuge at Jugdeespoor, were flying back to their old haunts in Oudh. A fourth plundering of Maharajgunge, a third attack on the *tehseeldaree* of Koelsa, and the murder of the *Thannahdar* of Bhurowlie, are hardly events we should expect to see recorded as having happened in so central a district twelve months after the mutiny broke out, and four months after the great focus of disaffection had fallen again into our hands.

Ghazeepoor faired (*sic*,) much worse. Azimgurh was but a district to fly through; Ghazeepoor a district to plunder. Every building south of the Ganges, which belonged either to Government or to any European, was plundered and burnt; every person who had served either was tortured and (*sic*, or) murdered. Then they crossed to the northern bank, and the *tehseeldaree* of Sydpoor (Saidpur)[2] on the Benares road was soon the only post unabandoned and undestroyed. Colonel Cumberlege and his force were unable to offer any effectual check. A threatened attack on Sydpoor in the end of June was prevented by a force sent from Benares, and the rebels driven northward.

[1] *Tanda*, Pargana *Barah*, Tahsil *Chandauli*, District *Benares*—Tanda Kalan, so called to distinguish it from the adjoining village of Tanda Khurd to the north, stands on the high right bank of the Ganges, in 25° 29′ N. and 83° 11′ E., at a distance of 17 miles from Benares. Two unmetalled roads connect it with the central road, which traverses the pargana from north to south, while a third leads to Kaithi, on the metalled road to Ghazipur, to which Tanda has access by means of a ferry. (*District Gazetteers*, Benares, 1909, p. 371).

[2] *Saidpur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Saidpur*, District *Ghazipur*—The headquarters town of the western tahsil stands on the left or north bank of the Ganges in 25° 32 N. and 83° 14′ E., at a distance of 24 miles west from Ghazipur by the metalled road to Benares which passes to the north of the main site, a metalled branch from it running through the centre of the town. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, p. 244).

Still little was gained by a momentary dispersal of the mutineers. The sepoys themselves were residents of the district; wherever they went they found followers ready to their hand, who disappeared again the moment their leaders moved away. The cruelties inflicted on the Police who fell into the hands of the rebels had thoroughly cowed a body never overbrave. *In short, no language can describe too strongly the utter disorganization of the whole district at the end of June.*

Early in July, Mr. Bax, the Magistrate, marched out to Bulliah (Ballia). The rebels had broken down a bridge on the road, but did not venture to contest the advance. Bulliah too was found empty, and Mr. Probyn was left there with a garrison of Sikhs; soon dividing his troops he marched towards the confluence of the Ganges and Gogra. The rebels, coming down in great force, besieged the little party at Bhyreeah; but finding themselves no nearer success after a siege of several days had marched off to surprise Bulliah, when Brigadier Douglas's advance raised the siege and drove the rebels northward. And as Major Havelock's rapid advance drove the rebels for a time out of the *zillah*, the cis-Gangetic *pergunnahs* gradually settled down; but on the southern bank the *tehseeldaree* of Zamaniah[1] was the only post left in our hands. Meanwhile (i.e. upto August 14th) Azimgurh was tolerably tranquil. Purgun Singh still kept hovering about the northern portion frontier, and when the Sikhs marched from Nugra to raise the siege of Bhyreeah, the *tehseeldaree* of Koelsa was again abandoned. A week later, a party of rebels marched to Nugra, and threatened the peace of Ghazeepoor. Finding themselves powerless, they doubled back to Ghosee[2] and fled into Goruckpoor (the

[1] *Zamaniah*, Pargana and Tahsil *Zamaniah*, District *Ghazipur*—The capital of the southern tahsil is a long and struggling town built on the high bank of the Ganges in 25° 25′ N. and 83° 24′ E., at a distance of ten miles south from Ghazipur by the unmetalled road from Tarighat. This joins the old road from Benares to Buxar on the east of the town and from the latter a metalled road goes southwards to the Zamaniah station, on the East Indian Railway, situated three miles to the south in the village of Barwin. Another road runs north-east from Zamaniah to Umarganj, thence branching to Pachokar and Lahuar. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, p. 263).

[2] *Ghosi*, Pargana, Tahsil *Ghosi*, District *Azamgarh*—The pargana of Ghosi lies in the north-east corner of the district. It is bounded on the north by the Ghagra which separates it from the district of Gorakhpur, and

only path left open to them) just as the remnants of Sidha Singh's party managed to escape observation and fly into Shahabad.

Henceforth the history of Azimgurh is perfectly eventless. The northern frontier, constantly threatened, was never actually crossed, and the advance of Colonel Kelly, in the middle of October, relieved it even from the apprehension of danger. Nor is the history of Ghazeepoor much more interesting. Bulliah still unsettled; the trans-Gangetic *pergunnahs* still in revolt; the steamer 'Benares' doing good service; is the sum of every weekly report up to the middle of October; but before the end of the month, a strong party was posted at Burragaon, and the enemy driven from Ghazeepoor.

The Jounpoor supplement is brief and simple enough. Some large parties of rebels (under Gholam Hussun and Mehndee Hussun), who collected in the northern and western parts of the district after the fall of Lucknow, were attacked and dispersed by Sir E. Lugard. A raid made by Joorhye Singh (Jhuri Singh) in May on the Muchleeshuhur (Machhli Shahr)[1] and Mirzapoor districts, was defeated by combined movements made against him from all sides, the people of Muchleeshuhur themselves defending their houses till he fled. There is no more to tell. The bands of robbers collected by Dirgpal Singh, near Badshahpoor[2], are not worthy of the name of rebels; and that leader himself, like Sungram Singh, his Murreeahoo brother in arms, though terrible enough to the unresisting peasantry, and troublesome enough from perpetually reappearing, evinced no wish to face even a *Thannahdar*.

on the east by parganas Natthupur and Sikandarpur West, the latter belonging to the Ballia district; south-west lies pargana Muhammadabad, and on the north-west pargana Sagri. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 224).

[1] *Machhlishahr*, Pargana *Ghiswa*, Tahsil *Machhlishahr*, District *Jaunpur* — The headquarters of the tahsil are located in a considerable town which stands in 25° 41′ N. and 82° 25′ E., on the main road from Allahabad to Jaunpur, at a distance of 18 miles west south-west from the latter. (*District Gazetteers*, Jaunpur, 1908, p. 273).

[2] *Badshahpur*, Pargana *Mungra*, Tahsil *Machhlishahr*, District *Jaunpur*— Badshahpur, formerly known as Mungra, is a town of considerable importance lying in 25° 39′ N. and 82° 12′ E., on the north side of the metalled road from Jaunpur to Allahabad, at a distance of 32 miles from the former and 14 miles west from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Jaunpur, 1908, p. 188).

At last my work is done. The brief time, allowed me, permits no corrections or improvements : the paper must go forth as it sprang first from the pen. Had I had more time, my tale, though not more polished, had surely been more terse.[1]

GORAKHPUR

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK IN GORAKHPUR DIVISION

Letter from W. S. Paterson, Magistrate, Gorakhpur, to W. Wynyard, officiating Commissioner, Gorakhpur, dated 2nd July 1857.

25*th May*/57—The Government proclamation was issued respecting the Meerut and Delhi mutineers.

A proclamation was issued directing the capture of any of the sepoys of the 19th who might be found in the district.

28*th May* 57—By direction of the officiating Sessions Judge having powers of Commissioner 50 men were added to the Jail-guard, 20 men to each *tuhseelee*, 10 men to each *thanna* and 6 men to each outpost *chowkee* under a *Jemadar*.

29*th May* 57—5,00,000 Rs. were remitted to Azimgurh under an escort of sepoys of the 17th Regiment and 30 suwars of the 12th Irregular Cavalry under Lieutenant Constable accompanied by V. Turner Esquire C. S.

PAINA ZAMINDARS REVOLT

31*st May*/57—The *zemindars* of *mouza* Pyna plundered a number of boats laden with grain, the *Thanadar* of Sulempore was sent to assist the *Jemadar* of the outpost *chowkee* Burhuj[2] to keep order and to put down the plundering on the river.

4*th June*/57—The *Thanadars* along the line of the river Ghagra were directed to watch the ferries and not to allow sepoys or gangs of men from Azimgurh and Oudh to pass.

[1] *Mutiny Narrative* : N. W. P. Agra, *Benares Division*, pp. 1-4.

[2] *Barhaj*, Pargana *Salempur-Majhauli*, Tahsil *Deoria*, District *Gorakhpur*—The large and important town of Barhaj stands in 26° 16′ N. and 83° 43′ E. on the left bank of the Rapti, a short distance above its confluence with the Ghagra. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 208).

NARHARPUR RAJA JOINS

6*th June*/57—The Nurhurpore Raja's dependants entered the town of Burhulgunge, released 50 prisoners there engaged, and threatened the *chowkee Jemadar* who left his post; a *Burkundáz* of the *chowkee* Police was made prisoner and detained by the Raja at his house. The ferry at Burhulgunge which was on the direct road to Azimgurh was taken by the Raja's dependants and the post stopped. The *chowkee* has since been re-established and the ferry recovered.

7*th June*/57—The convicts in jail made a desperate effort to escape breaking open all the entrance doors of the wards; they tore out the window beams of the sleeping buildings and other heavy timbers with which they proceeded to break down the iron grating and entrance gateway. Under the Jailor's orders one good volley from the guard was fired which had the desired effect, about 20 prisoners were killed and wounded. By order of the officiating Commissioner an addition was again made to the strength of the *tehseelee* and *thana* Police as follows:

To Each Tuhseelee	30 Men.
To Each Thanna	10 Men.
To Each Outpost Chowkee	10 Men.

8*th June*/57—The *Soobadar* of the Treasury-guard sent to the lines upon some pretence to call the remainder of the detachment to the treasury, without orders from his superior officer and without sending intimation to his superior officer who was then in his house. Anticipating some misconduct it was agreed by the acting Commissioner and Captain Steel and myself then assembled at Captain Steel's house that all the European population should immediately be invited to my house, and that the Irregular Cavalry should be summoned to attend us there. The *Rissaldar* shortly brought his troopers to my house accordingly and the Infantry seeing the position of affairs retired to their lines.

9*th June*/57—The Officer Commanding the station made over Uzeezoodeen (Aziz-uddin) *Mohurir* of the Judge's Court to the magistrate on a charge of attempting to corrupt the guard on duty at the treasury. The prisoner proposed to the *Soobadar* of the guard to proceed to release the prisoners assuring him that no resistance would be offered. From the circumstances of

this case I suspected that measures were concerting with a view to communicate a scheme of release to the prisoners in jail, and that the prisoner relying upon speedy release had volunteered to communicate the scheme to the prisoners. The accused was therefore placed under a strict guard in the insane hospital which is a building entirely separate and at a distance of a mile from the main jail. He awaits his trial and sentence which has been postponed until our hands shall be strengthened to carry out such sentences as should follow conviction in like cases.

ZAMINDARS THREATENED

10th June/57—A proclamation was issued to the effect that those *zemindars* who may be guilty of any act or of aiding in any act to subvert the Government will forfeit their estates and those estates will be made over to such *zemindars* as may exert themselves for the cause of order and the powers that be.

Six officers who had escaped by boat from the Fyzabad disturbance, were cruelly and wantonly murdered by the inhabitants of Muhooa Dabar a Mahomedan village of *pergunnah* Mughur[1].

One European Sergeant who accompanied the party escaped. The greater part of the inhabitants have crossed the river into Oudh.

BASTI TREASURY PLUNDERED

12th June/57—Mr. Osborne Deputy Opium Agent at Bustee reported that the detachment of the 17th Regiment there stationed had plundered his treasury and carried away Rs. 7,800; a guard was despatched from the nearest *tuhseelee* to take charge of the Opium premises and the remaining treasure.

Mr. Gontier (not legible) a planter resident at Gopalpore was requested to accept the duty of Deputy Magistrate; he had abandoned his house and had left by boat for Dinapore.

[1] Apparently *Hasanpur Maghar*, Pargana, Tahsil *Gorakhpur*, District *Gorakhpur*– This pargana comprises but a portion of the old Hasanpur Maghar. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 250).

Mr. Wynyard officiating Commissioner invested Mr. Berkeley a principal *Sudder Umeen* (*Sadar Amin*) with the powers of Magistrate to assist me in the discharge of current duties.

14*th June*/57—All able-bodied pensioners in the district were called upon to aid to the utmost of their ability in the cause of order.

The principal Rajahs and *talookdars* were called upon to give assistance to the Police and to use their best efforts to preserve order. Several of them were also requested to send some picked men to the station to aid the authorities and the city Police.

A letter was addressed by me to Rajah Maun Singh requesting to be informed if he expected to succeed in restoring order to Fyzabad and the neighbourhood.

RAJA MAN SINGH AT FAIZABAD

That Rajah has given great apparent proof of a desire to serve our Government. He has replied to my letter and has subsequently twice addressed me most courteously, expressing his sense of duty and subservience to the British Government. He has afforded protection to all those of the officers and their families at Fyzabad who were willing to accept it and has since conveyed them in safety to the house of the Rajah of Gopalpore in this district who has procured for them good boats and provisions by means of which assistance they have proceeded by river towards Dinapore. The Rajah has also established a second post between this place and Fyzabad, and I am using endeavours to procure and convey to Sir Henry Lawrence his letters and those of the European inhabitants of Lucknow.

15*th June*/57—Mr. Peppe a grantee of Government forest lands offered his services and was appointed by the acting Commissioner to proceed to Bustee (Basti) with powers of Magistrate accompanied by a party of the Irregular Cavalry, for the purpose of putting down disorder and plunder in the Nuggur and Amorha *pergunnahs*.

A proclamation was issued to the effect that those who may rebel or aid rebels against the authority of Government will from date be punished under the provisions of Act 14 of 1857.

16*th June*/57—The acting Commissioner sanctioned the raising of the Police battalions consisting of 360 men in each battalion with a suitable number of officers.

MARTIAL LAW DECLARED

20th June/57—In accordance with instructions from the Supreme Government and the Commissioner a proclamation was issued declaring the enforcement of Martial Law throughout the Division.

22nd June/1857—The acting Commissioner directed that letters should be (sent) conveying the best thanks of Government to Mirza Ullee Hoosein (Ali Husain), Mohomed Hoosein, and Gopal Misir for their loyal and humane behaviour towards Colonel Lennox, his wife and daughter, and Mr. Houlton Customs Patrol and Mr. Gartry (not legible) Asstt. Customs Patrol, and that suitable presents of money, shawls and swords should be presented to them.....

ARRIVAL OF GORKHA TROOPS

29th June/57—Two hundred men of the Rajah of Nepal's troops arrived from Palpa under instructions from the Nepal *Durbar* and the Resident Major Ramsay. These remain in Quarters at the station.

30th June/57—A *Havildar* and two sepoys of the 10th Regiment of Native Infantry were secured at a ferry of the Ghagra near *thanna* Sikreegunge. These were secured with loaded muskets and having on their persons cash to the amount of upwards of a thousand rupees. They await their trial.[1]

NARRATIVE OF OUTBREAK AT GORAKHPUR

Letter No. 196 of 1858 from C. Wingfield, Commissioner of Goruckpore (Gorakhpur), to William Muir, Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, dated the 5th July 1858.

I have the honor to forward the Narrative of the Outbreak of Disturbances in this district as called for in your circular No. 212.

2nd—It has been compiled from an official Narrative

[1] Gorakhpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 177. "Letters issued by Magistrate from Jan. 1855 to April 1858". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

or rather Journal by the former Magistrate, Mr. Paterson, kept up to the 30th June 1857, from a memorandum of events extending over the same period drawn up at the time by Mr. Wynyard, the Judge, and from a history of events subsequent to the above date, furnished by the present officiating Collector, Mr. Bird, and from what my personal knowledge has enabled me to add. These authorities have been much abridged by me; for, many circumstances which had importance at the time, possess too little interest now to deserve to be placed on record.

3rd—The chief European Civil and Military Authorities at Goruckpore, when the mutinies began at Meerut and Delhie, were :

Mr. W. Wynyard, Judge.
Mr. W. Paterson, Magistrate.
Mr. F. Bird, Joint Magistrate.

Captain Steel, Commanding detachment 17th N. I. The troops consisted of 2½ Companies 17th N. I., ½ *Resala* 12th Irregular Cavalry.

4th—Mr. Wynyard early assumed the powers of a Commissioner, that the Magistrate might be enabled to act with promptitude, and this proceeding on his part was approved by the Commissioner Mr. Tucker.

17TH N. I. REFUSE TO TAKE OLD CARTRIDGE

5th—It appears that up to the 25th May, the district remained tranquil, and the only cause of anxiety arose from the conduct of the 17th N. I. at Azimgurh, of which corps many men had refused to take the old cartridge. The authorities of this station, being desirous of getting rid of as many of the sepoys as possible decided on sending off the surplus treasure (that was already under orders for remittance), with an escort of 125 men of the 17th N. I. to Azimgurh. It left on the 29th and reached safely.

6th—By the end of the month several precautionary measures had been taken. The Jail-guard and district Police were strengthened, and the Government proclamations on the mutinies were widely distributed.

ZAMINDARS REVOLT

7th—At this time the ill-affected and turbulent began to

commit acts of violence. The *zemindars* of the notorious village of Pynah[1] plundered boats on the Gogra, and the Nurhurpore Rajah's followers drove the Police from the Burhul[2] Ghat station, and liberated a gang of 50 prisoners working there. They also took possession of the ferry, and stopped the Azimgurh post.

8th—On the 5th arrived the news of the head-quarters 17th N. I. having mutinied at Azimgurh, seized the treasure, and burnt the station. The Civil and Military Authorities immediately assembled and harangued the troops at this station. Those who wished it were offered their discharge, but all refused, and expressed their readiness to die for the Government.

9th—From this date to the 15th all communication ceased with Benares and the North-Western Provinces.

10th—On the 7th the convicts made a desperate effort to break out of jail, but were repulsed by a volley from the Jail-guard, which dropped 20 of them.

INFANTRY ATTEMPTS TO SEIZE THE TREASURE

11th—On the 8th a decided attempt was made by the Infantry to seize the treasure. The *Soobadar* on the Treasury-guard, on pretence of being afraid of the *zemindaree* levies, called out for the protection of the station seat, without intimation, to Captain Steel, to the lines, for a re-inforcement. The sepoys got under arms, their drums beating the advance, when Mr. Wynyard, who had been forewarned, arrived on the scene with the Irregular Cavalry, whose firm attitude overawed the sepoys, and made them abandon their design.

[1] Apparently *Paina*, Pargana *Salempur-Majhauli*, Tahsil *Deoria*, District *Gorakhpur*—This remarkably large village belongs to tappa Raipur and stands on the north bank of the Ghagra, in 26° 15′ N. and 83° 47′ E., between the river and the unmetalled road from Lar to Barhaj and Barhalganj, at a distance of four miles east from Barhaj and 44 miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 290).

[2] Apparently *Barhalganj*, Pargana *Chillupar*, Tahsil *Bansgaon*, District *Gorakhpur*—The town of Barhalganj stands in 26° 17′ N. and 83° 30′ E., on the bank of the Ghagra and on either side of the provincial road from Gorakhpur to Azamgarh, opposite Dohri-ghat, to which access is gained by means of a ferry, at a distance of 36 miles from the district headquarters. Through the town runs the unmetalled road from Gorakhpur and Sikriganj to Barhaj, Lar and Chapra. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 210).

12*th*—On the 9th a cunningly devised scheme was frustrated. The *Soobadar* of the Treasury-guard denounced a *Mohurrir* of the Judge's Court as having proposed to him to release the prisoners. But the authorities saw this was a device to enable the *Mohurrir* to get access to the prisoners and arrange another outbreak, which, aided by the sepoys, should be more successful than the last. He reckoned on being sent to jail, and as certainly on a speedy release; but he was disappointed, for he was confined in a separate building. The authorities, however, did not feel strong enough then to dispose of him as he deserved. I have never doubted the denunciation of spies, which, with the sepoys in Oudh, invariably preceded breaking out into mutiny, was a device to throw dust in our eyes, which too often succeeded.

EUROPEAN OFFICERS MURDERED

13*th*—On the 10th six European officers, who had escaped from Fyzabad, were inhumanly murdered by the Mahomedan population of Mahooa Daber, a village in the Nuggur *pergunnah* : the village was subsequently burnt to the ground by Mr. Peppe, Deputy Magistrate, and a party of the 13th Irregular Cavalry; at the same time Colonel Lennox and family, fugitives from the same place, were sheltered, and probably saved from destruction, by Mahomed Hussun, the same who afterwards set himself up as ruler of this district. Two patrols near Amorha were also saved by Mirza Ali Hussun, who has since gone into open rebellion against us.

OPIUM TREASURY PLUNDERED

14*th*—A small detachment of the 17th Native Infantry at Bustee (Basti) plundered the Opium treasury there, and went off without injuring the European residents.

15*th*—About this time it was in contemplation to send Mr. Bird, Joint Magistrate, to recover Azimgurh, which was represented to be perfectly free from disturbances, and the population anxious for the return of the British officers, but the plan was dropped, owing to increasing disorder in this district.

16*th*— On the 19th Captain Boileau and four other officers, who had escaped from Gonda and Secrora, in Oudh,

and passed a few days at Bansee (Bansi)[1], arrived at Goruckpore, and next day proceeded to Ghazeepore with the ladies of this station, under an escort of sowars and matchlockmen furnished by the Bansee Rajah.

MARTIAL LAW PROCLAIMED

17*th* About this time Martial Law was proclaimed throughout the district, and several European gentlemen engaged in commerce were made Deputy Magistrates : two Police battalions of 360 men each were ordered to be raised. On the 30th, 200 Goorkhas from Palpa, in the Nepaul Teraee (Nepal Tarai), arrived at the station.

RAJPUTS DEFY BRITISH AUTHORITY

18*th*—The northern and western *pergunnahs* were at this time utterly disorganised. The Gyoutum Rajpoots, under the instigation, and sometimes under the personal command of the Rajah of Nuggur, everywhere rose and dispossessed the present proprietors of all the lands tradition assigned to their race. Most of the Amorha *zemindars* openly defied the Government officials, and proclaimed that our rule had given place to the "Nawabee;" while the Rajpoots of Pynah and the neighbouring villages, by their piracies, closed the navigation of the Gogra (Ghagra). At the same time it was known that frequent meetings were being held by the Rajahs of Nurhurpore, Nuggur, Sutassee, and the *Baboos* of Pandepar and others, in which it had been decided to obtain assistance from Oudh.

MAJOR HOLMES MURDERED

19*th*—On the 26th news reached of the murder of Major Holmes, by men of his Regiment at Segowlee, and fearful of the effect this might have on the men of that corps here, Colonel

[1] *Bansi*—North-eastern Tahsil of *Basti* District, *United Provinces*, comprising the parganas of Binayakpur and Bansi (East), and lying between 27° and 27° 28′ N. and 82° 46′ and 83° 46′ E., with an area of 621 square miles. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI, 1908, p. 406).

Wroughton, who was within three marches of the station with six regiments of Goorkhas, was requested to send one regiment on by forced march, which he did at once.

20*th*—On the 29th he entered the station with the remaining regiments, and it was at once decided to disarm the remnant of the 17th Native Infantry, which was quietly effected on the 1st August. The Senior *Ressaldar* of the 12th Irregulars, Mahomed Bux, who had accompanied *Captain Wroughton from Segowlee*, undertook, with the men on whom he could rely, mostly Punjaubbee (Panjabi) Mussulmen, to disarm the suspected portion of his corps, deprecating the interference of the Goorkhas. He was allowed to have his way, and but for an unforeseen accident would have succeeded. Fifty men rode off on their horses, but were pursued by the loyal portion under the *Ressaldar* and Adjutant, who killed eight, besides wounding more, the heavy jungle that lies close to the station alone saved the mutineers from severer loss. The conduct of the *Ressaldar* was beyond all praise.

21*st*—*The troops from Segowlee*, after murdering Major Holmes, marched by Suleimpoor, where they plundered and burnt the house of the Opium Agent, and attempted to carry off the treasure, but were prevented by the guard of fourteen men of the 17th Native Infantry, who brought it into the station.

REVOLUTIONARIES SUCCEED AT VARIOUS PLACES

22*nd*—Notwithstanding the arrival of the Goorkha troops, disorder spread rapidly through the district. On the 10th the *tehseel* of Khuleelabad (Khalilabad)[1] was plundered by rebels of this district, assisted by a party from Oudh, and on the same day the *Baboo* of Bukra expelled the Police from that *thanna*, a crime which he has since expiated on the gallows. The *tehseel* of Captaingunge[2] similarly fell on the 12th into the hands of the rebels, among whom Mahomed Hussun, made his appear-

[1] *Khalilabad*—South-eastern Tahsil of *Basti* District, *United Provinces*, comprising the parganas of Maghar (East) and Mahuli (East), and lying between 26° 25′ and 27° 5′ N. and 82° 50′ and 83° 13′ E., with an area of 564 square miles. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV, 1908, p. 220).

[2] *Captainganj*, Pargana *Haveli*, Tahsil *Hata*, District *Gorakhpur*—The small town of Captainganj lies in tappa Parwarpar, in 26° 55′ N; and 83° 43′ E., on the unmetalled road from Gorakhpur to Padrauna and on the

ance for the first time. On this occasion forty troopers of the 12th Irregular Cavalry, who had been sent for the protection of the *tehseel*, went over to the rebels.

23*rd*—The Goorkha officers were most averse to detaching any portion of their troops into the interior of the district, and pleaded the necessity for giving them repose after their long and harassing march, generally ancle deep *in mud and water from Segowlee*. And in truth their sufferings had been great, cholera, of which 150 died, having accompanied their camp the whole way, and great numbers besides being prostrated with fever. The Commander publicly stated that his force was reduced to the strength of four effective regiments.

24*th*—The insurgents in the district and from Oudh were well aware of this state of things, and therefore the presence of so considerable a body of troops at the *Sudder* station failed to check them at all. Besides, they stood in no great awe of the Goorkhas.

25*th*—The reasons that led the Civil Authorities to decide on evacuating the district have been given at length. It will be sufficient to say, that they declined to remain with less than four regiments, and the instructions of the officer in political charge of these troops did not warrant his leaving more than two.

26*th*—The Europeans residing in the interior having been previously summoned into the station, the entire Goorkha force marched out on the 13th, taking the treasure, six lacs, with it, and encamped on the road to Azimgurh; all the European and some native officials accompanying.

27*th*—By a resolution come to on that day, the management of the district was entrusted to a Committee of five Rajahs, noted in the margin* (in footnote), of whom the Rajah of Gopalpore alone attended in person. Mr. Bird, the Joint

branch line of railway to Bagaha, at a distance of some 28 miles north-east from the district headquarters and about 12 miles north from Hata. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 218).

* Marginal Note in Original—
Rajah of Suttassee,
ditto Gopalpore,
ditto Suleimpore,
ditto Tumkhoe,†
ditto Bansee.

† Apparently *Tamkuhi*, Pargana *Sidhua Jobna*, Tahsil *Padrauna*, District

Magistrate, however, remained behind, hoping by the aid of the well affected *zemindars* to preserve the district for Government, which every one foresaw was a vain hope.

28*th*—The prisoners were liberated from jail on the 15th, agreeably to a previous resolution of the authorities. On the same day the *tehseel* of Munsoorgunge[1] was plundered by a party of rebels, and several *thannas* fell at the same time.

MUHAMMAD HASAN ATTACKS GORKHA FORCE

29*th*—The insurgents under command of Mahomed Hussun, followed the Goorkha army on the road to Azimghur, and at daybreak on the 18th, attacked it while encamped at Gugha, about 10 miles from the Gogra. The Goorkhas as soon as they could be formed up charged the enemy, and soon put them to flight, with a loss of at least 200 killed. Mahomed Hussun's palanquin was captured on this occasion.

30*th*—After this the Goorkha army continued its march unmolested, and on the 22nd had crossed the Gogra into Azimghur.

31*st*—Mr. Bird soon found how little dependence was to be placed on the men whom he had most relied on to support him, for of the whole *Toman* or Jail Guard, a disciplined body of 150 men, only 17 would accompany him to break down a bridge of boats two miles from the station, over a branch of the Raptee, by which the rebels must cross.

32*nd*—The helplessness of the Rajah of Gopalpore soon became apparent also. He first attempted to enlist his relatives of the Nuggur family on the side of order, but failing and

Gorakhpur—The village of Tamkuhi belongs to tappa Haveli and stands in 26° 41′ N., and 84° 11′ E. on the road connecting Tiwaripatti with Bihar Khurd, or Samur, on the road from Kasia to Chapra, at a distance of some 55 miles east from Gorakhpur and about 22 miles by road from Padrauna. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 304).

[1] *Mansurganj*, Pargana *Haveli*, Tahsil *Hata*, District *Gorakhpur*—The village of Mansurganj is said to derive its name from Abul Mansur Khan, better known as Safdar Jang, the second Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and possibly was founded during the expedition against the recalcitrant Raja of Tilpur. It stands in tappa Parkhauri on the northern border of the present Hata tahsil, in 26° 55′ N. and 83° 35′ E., at a distance of some 18 miles north-east from Gorakhpur by the road from Pipraich to Partawal, Harpur and Nichlaul. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 277).

meeting with no support in any quarter, left the station for his residence at Gopalpore. He wished to take the treasure and Mr. Bird with him, but both these propositions were rejected by Mr. Bird, unwisely, as I think, for it was plain he could not hold out many days, and it was the only way of saving the treasure from falling into the hands of the rebels. I dwell the more on this point, because I have always blamed the Rajah for not taking away the treasure to Gopalpore, and thus preserving it for the Government. But now Mr. Bird has openly stated in his narrative that he alone prevented this being done.

RAJA OF SATTASI, AN ACTIVE REVOLUTIONARY

33*rd*—It must be observed that none of the other members of the Committee of Rajahs repaired to the station or entered upon the duties entrusted to them. The Committee in short never had practical effect. The Rajah of Suttassee has since proved an active rebel, and was then known to be deep in rebel counsels, but it was thought safer to admit him than to exclude him.

MUHAMMAD HASAN SUPREME AT GORAKHPUR

34*th*—After the departure of the Rajah of Gopalpore, Mr. Bird did not long enjoy even the semblance of authority. The leading rebels at Goruckpore insulted him with offer of protection, and of their good offices with Mahomed Hussun, while the Nuggur Rajah's uncle placed a guard over his house. On the 20th Mahomed Hussun arrived at the other bank of the Raptee, opposite the city, and was welcomed by the Agent of the Rajah of Suttassee and the leading Mahomedan inhabitants. The Jail Guard also joined him in a body. Mr. Bird saw it was time to consult his own safety, and on the same day retired into the forest to a distance of five miles. On the following day Mahomed Hussun made his public entry into the station.

35*th*—Mr. Bird remained in his retreat the whole of the 22nd, when, receiving information that Mahomed Hussun had set a reward of 5,000 Rupees on his head, he set out for Mootiharee[1], which he reached in safety.

[1] *Motihari Town*—Head-quarters of *Champaran*, District *Bengal*,

36*th*—The first act of Mahomed Hussun after his assumption of power was to order all Government employees to enter his services on pain of punishment. None of the Deputy Collectors and only one *Tehseeldar* obeyed, but several *Thannadars* accepted him as their master. He maintained the existing fiscal and criminal jurisdictions to the great disgust of many of his partizans among the land-holders, who objected that *Thannadars* were unknown under the "Nawabee" as the district had become. The decrees of the Civil Court were even executed on payment of half the amount adjudged.

37*th*—The records were preserved, though his disorderly soldiery stripped off the cloth bundles and bindings of books for their own uses. From these documents, and the *Canoongoes*, who mostly joined him, he obtained full information of the demand due from each landholder.

MUHAMMAD HASAN ENJOYS SUPPORT OF VARIOUS CHIEFS

38*th*—The great proprietors who early made their submission to him in person received dresses of honor, salutes of guns, and were permitted to exercise full Civil and Criminal authority within the limits of their respective estates, or what they claimed as such for obsolete titles, were revived. In return they furnished contingents to his army. The chief among these were the Rajahs of Suttassee, Nuggur, Nurhurpore, Burhyapore, Nicholoul[1], Shahpore, the *Baboos* of Tigra, Pandepar, Rhudowlee[2]. The wealthy Mahomedan families of the town naturally were among the first to welcome him, and from them his officials were mostly selected. There was (*sic*,) a Judge, a Collector, and *Naib Nazim*, Mooshurruf Khan (Musharraf Khan), who perhaps enjoyed more real power than Mahomed Hussun himself.

39*th*—Most of the bungalows were set on fire, but none

situated in 26° 40′ N. and 84° 55′ E. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVIII, 1908, p. 5).

[1] Apparently *Nichlaul*, Pargana *Tilpur*, Tahsil *Maharajganj*, District *Gorakhpur*—Nichlaul stands in 27° 18′ N. and 83° 44′ E., some 51 miles from Gorakhpur and 16 miles from Maharajganj, at the junction of several roads. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 278).

[2] Apparently *Redowlee* or *Rudaoli*. It is two miles south-west from *Kheta-Sarai* in *Jaunpur* District.

of the masonry houses were injured, except the one occupied by Mr. Bird, which was destroyed by particular orders. Mahomed Hussun seems to have at first thought his power permanently established : at least he never imagined it would be disturbed by us.

40*th*—Large sums of money were extorted by violence or threats of it from the merchants and bankers of the city, and the female members of many families were dishonored by his lawless and licentious soldiery. In the district those who had lost their estates through the agency of the Civil Courts, now ousted the purchasers and re-entered on possession : great search was also made for deeds and decrees. The strong preyed everywhere on the weak.

GOPALPUR RAJA SEEKS SHELTER IN AZAMGARH

41*st*—The Rajah of Gopalpore beat off a party of the rebel troops sent to demand revenue from him, but an overpowering force being despatched against him, he was compelled to abandon his home and seek shelter in Azimgurh where he remained from October up to the re-occupation of the district.

BANSI RAJA SUBMITS TO REVOLUTIONARIES

42*nd*—The Rajah of Bansee also refused to recognise the so-called *Nazim's* authority, or give up the Government treasure at the *tehseel*, and on one occasion defeated a large rebel force sent to coerce him; but on still more formidable preparations being made to subdue him, and discouraged by the fate of the Rajah of Gopalpore, he felt constrained to submit and receive a rebel *Tehseeldar* at Bansee. The Ranee of Bustee held fast by her allegiance, and would not allow the rebel *Thannadar* to enter her town. But being a woman and niece of Koor Singh (Kunwar Singh), great latitude was permitted her.

43*rd*—The Rajah of Tumkhoe, who also remained loyal, was too remote to attract immediate attention; but the Rajah of Mujhowlee or Suleimpore, at the south-eastern extremity of the district, would most assuredly have succumbed before Hurkishun Singh, brother of Koor Singh, who with 500 sepoys and other rabble had entered the district at Fyzabad,

and advanced close to Suleimpore, with the view probably of ultimately making his way to Arrah, but that he was saved by the arrival of the Saran Field Force under Colonel Rowcroft, at Myrwa.

44*th*—This force defeated Hurkishun Singh, who had been re-inforced by a large body of sepoys and irregulars under Mooshurruf Khan from Goruckpore (Gorakhpur), and advanced towards Burhul. Simultaneously the Goorkha army under Maharajah Jung Bahadoor crossed the Gunduk at Peepra, and moved on Goruckpore. There was a slight skirmish with the rebels on the banks of that river, another at Pipraich[1] 15 miles from the station, which was occupied by the Goorkha army on the 16th.

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS OVER TO TANDAH

45*th*—The rebels attempted to make a stand in the forest, but were soon driven from their position, and being quickly followed up through the town of Goruckpore, many perished in attempting to cross the Raptee. Mahomed Hussun and his principal officers fled early in the morning, and made such speed, that by the evening they were across the Gogra at Tandah.

46*th*—With reference to the 7th para of the Government Circular, I can but say that Mr. Bird does not bring a single native officer to notice. He would, however, I am sure, name the *Nazir* who served the Government with zeal and devotion, and whom I have recommended for reward. With this exception, I know of no one whose conduct calls for commendation. Most of the native officials, though they refused office under the rebel Government, continued to reside in the district. But one *Tehseeldar* and one native Judge have been reinstated in their situations.

ROLE OF DIFFERENT RAJAS

47*th*—I have in reply to another Circular dwelt on the

[1] *Pipraich*, Pargana *Haveli*, Tahsil *Gorakhpur*, District *Gorakhpur*—This small town belongs to tappa Patra, and stands in 26° 49′ N. and 83° 32′ E., at a distance of some 13 miles north-east from Gorakhpur on the road to Captainganj. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 292).

loyalty and services of the Rajahs of Bansee and Gopalpore and the Ranee of Bustee, and recommended them for rewards, which in the case of the first named Rajah have been liberally accorded.

48*th*—I should perhaps have mentioned earlier that the Rajah of Gopalpore endeavoured to form a league of loyal Rajahs against Mahomed Hussun, but the scheme failed, from the apathy or timidity of most of them. Also that he gave shelter and assistance to several ladies and gentlemen escaping from Fyzabad. I know of no other similar instances except the two noticed in my para 13, which there is no use reverting to now.

49*th*—The Rajah of Tumkhoe protected Government servants and now makes loud boasts of his loyalty and resistance to the rebel Government, on which subject he would do more wisely to be silent, for though he never went in person, I can prove he sent his Agent with a petition to the usurper.

50*th*—The Rajah of Mujhowlee did throughout refuse to recognise the rebel authority, and also protected Government servants, but his failure to attend as a member of the Committee of Rajahs, to whom the district was made over, and to co-operate with the Rajah of Gopalpore in his scheme of expelling Mahomed Hussun, shew (shows that his loyalty was not sufficiently strong to induce him to run any risks.[1]

OUTBREAK AT BANSGAON[2]

Letter from F. M. Bird, Joint Magistrate, Gorakhpur, to W. S. Paterson, Magistrate of Gorakhpur, dated 11th July 1857.

With reference to my expedition into circles 4 and 7 to restore order and suppress crimes I have the honor to report as follows -

2*nd*—*The 10th June*—On the way to Bansgaon stopped at Bhamapar[3] where plunder had been committed and arrested 7 persons.

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Goruckpore*, pp. 1-6.

[2] *Bansgaon*, Pargana *Unaula*, Tahsil *Bansgaon*, District *Gorakhpur*—The capital of the Bansgaon tahsil stands in 26° 33′ N. and 83° 21′ E., at a distance of 14 miles south from Gorakhpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 200).

[3] Apparently *Bhaucpar*, Pargana *Bhauapar*, Tahsil *Gorakhpur*, District

3rd—The 10th, 11th and 12th June at Bansgaon—Found the country in a state of great confusion principally caused by numerous instances of petty violence and the circulation of absurd reports. It was universally believed that our rule ceased to exist and that all the European officers had left the district which induced the whole population to arm, some to defend, others to avenge themselves. Frequently the powerful took this opportunity of enriching themselves at their neighbour's expense. There was no security whatever for single travellers. Found the *Tehseeldars* dreading an attack from the *Babus* of the place who they said could muster 500 guns when required. However the mere presence of a European and the discovery that we had not deserted the country soon quieted down the people. A sepoy on leave visited the camp and attempted to sow discord; this caused the *Babus* to talk rather big about how easily they could crush me and my escort but nothing unpleasant occurred during the stay here. The cases of plunder so plentiful that our enquiry into each would have occupied a much longer time than I could spare and believing the chief object to be to prevent a repetition of these crimes for the future I showed myself as much as possible to the people and ordered arrests sufficient to make a noise and let men know a European officer was present amongst them; captured Daman Singh and 6 others charged with dacoity and murder. Received a letter from Mr. Gontier complaining against Indurjit Sing of Azimgurh prime mover of disturbances on the border. Promised to seize him after reaching Barhal. Persuaded and threatened the *zemindars* of Pandepar (accused of plunder) into clearing and keeping open the Kowri Romr (not legible) Road.

OUTBREAK AT GHAGHA

4th—The 13th and 14th June, Gagha—The roads every-

Gorakhpur—The village which gives its name to the pargana of Bhauapar, is a place of some size, situated in 26° 40′ N. and 83° 21′ E., between the metalled road to Azamgarh and the Rapti, north of the Nandaur Tal, at a distance of five miles south from Gorakhpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 214).

where closed against travellers who were constantly subjected to plunder and outrage. Heard of recent dacoities, seized Sarbjit *Naik* and 4 others; villagers came to the rescue and faced the Police sowars with loaded guns; further assistance was sent and the prisoners were brought safely into camp. Similarly Partap Singh and 5 others of villages Basu Diha and Kuchar were arrested after a slight resistance. Two Police sowars received broken heads. About nightfall news arrived that the inhabitants of village Basu Diha intended to attack our camp with a large party and rescue the prisoners by force of arms (guns). The necessary arrangements were immediately ordered to defeat any such attack by firing upon the expected assailants. We stood to our arms the greater part of the night. No one molested the camp. Most of the day spent in listening to complaints and pointing out the falsehood and absurdity of the various reports. The neighbouring *zemindars* were also summoned and enjoined to keep the peace within their own boundaries under threat of punishment when order was restored. Roads gradually cleared and traffic returned as my camp went south-wards.

OUTBREAK AT BARHAL

5th—*15th*, *16th*, *17th and 18th June*, *Barhal*—The pitching of the camp here opened the road to Azimgurh whence the *dawk* arrived safely the next day and was forwarded to Goruckpoor. Sent the prisoners captured at Gagha under escort through Gopalpoor to the Station to avoid rescue on the way. I intended to visit Mr. Gontier; heard he had departed in company with some European officers from Fyzabad. Searched for Indurjit Sing, learned he was absent in Azimgurh. Arrested 11 persons,again 10 persons charged with plunder; was informed that the Nurhurpoor Raja had shut himself up with his retainers in his "Court", and had made hasty arrangements for its defence such as cutting loopholes etc. etc. Moreover a number of boats were ready in the river at the foot of the "Court" to carry him across into the Azimgurh district on the slightest alarm. Met 25 of the Irregular Cavalry sent to strengthen my hands. Deputed the *Duffadar* of the Irregulars to see the Raja and at the same time form an opinion whether it was possible to seize the court by force with such men as were at my disposal. The latter proposition proved impracticable. Demanded our interview.

NARHARPUR RAJA REVOLTS

The Raja after much hesitation came bringing nearly 250 followers armed to the teeth, lighted matches etc. About 30 to 50 men surrounded my tent whilst the Raja, his brother and 3 or 4 others all well armed entered within. These preparations were made to avert a treacherous arrest. I advised him strongly to comply with the magistrate's order who had summoned him several times to Goruckpoor without success. He promised to go but did not keep his word. Subsequently, I again explained the folly of disobedience. He again promised and has since visited the station. The Govt. ferry, the Police *chowkee*, the post office, all plundered and removed by the Raja's retainers, were immediately reestablished. Some grain-boats have also been plundered. There was an understanding of mutual assistance between the Raja and the *zemindars* of village Dhanawli across the river Gogra in the Azimgurh *zillah*.

BRITISHERS RETALIATE

6*th*—Altogether 46 plunderers were captured and their cases are now under investigation. The expedition has been very successful as regards its principal object viz., to quiet the public minds and prevent further continuance of plunder. This is evident from the frequency of crime before and the diminution of it after the camp had passed through circles 4 and 7 as proved by Police reports. A marked feature of the disturbances is that all the *Chowkidars* and *Gurets* refused to attend the Police stations or report the occurrence of crimes. The plaintiff himself is usually the person who gives the intimation of such events. If his village happened to be distant from the Police Office there was a very strong probability of the unlucky victim being robbed a second or third time in his efforts to reach the *thanna*. Consequently the number of cases reported do not by any means truly represent the number of dacoities. Sometimes *Burkundazes* sent to enquire have been stripped and beaten. The crimes which caused the greatest consternation and sense of insecurity were the small robberies, for instance, clothes from the person, because these brought injury and wrong home to a much wider circle of victims.

7th—The *Tehseeldar* and Police Authorities of circle 7 represented their district to be in a quiet state at present and declared themselves sufficiently strong to apprehend criminals without my assistance. Consequently there were no arrests made in the Deoriya district.

8th—The *Naib Nazir* did good service and was very useful throughout the expeditions.[1]

STATEMENT OF MUHAMMAD HASAN KHAN

Enclosure to letter No. 1269 of 1859 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Avadh, to Cecil Beadon, Secy. to the Govt. of India, dated Lucknow, 17th May 1857.

I had been at my village near Tandah about 10 days when the outbreak took place at Lucknow.

A fortnight after I reached home I heard of the Lucknow disturbances; perhaps 10 days after this the news of the mutiny at Fyzabad reached me.

I had moved to Digdowur[2] near Dulputpore Ghat on the Gogra to make some village arrangements; that very day, I heard that a boat was dropping down the river near the above *ghat* with some *Sahebs* and Ladies. I immediately sent 10 of my sepoys to protect the boat *from the country people who were all in rebellion.* These men went up to say they were too weak to do any thing. I then mounted myself and repaired to the spot with 150 men and found the boat had been stopped and the people around rebellious. I learned that the boat contained Colonel Lennox and family; whilst I was getting the *Saheb logue* out of the boat a party of the 17th N. I. put off in a boat from the opposite bank : when in midstream my people and the sepoys exchanged shots; the sepoys then retired to the other side and I brought the *Sahebs* to my house at Digdowur where they remained for 15 days.

I reported the circumstances to Mr. Paterson and Mr.

[1] Gorakhpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 177. "Letters issued by Magistrate from Jan. 1855 to April 1858". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] The name of the place is not clearly decipherable.

Bird, Judge and Collector of Goruckpore, and asked for some sowars as the country was all up and I feared my own followers were not strong enough to form the escort.

A party was sent under Resaldar Ahmed Khan and adding 50 of my own retainers to it the Colonel and family were safely delivered at Goruckpore.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 27th May 1859, No. 80. National Archives, New Delhi.

CHAPTER TWO

BANARAS DIVISION IN FERMENT

BANARAS DIVISION

MEASURES AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARIES AT BANARAS

Letter from the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 3rd Oct. 1857.

BANARAS AND GHAZEEPORE (GHAZIPUR)

The Benares and Ghazeepore districts have been quite tranquil. Seditious correspondence has been seized at Benares, and of the persons criminated by it, some have been tried and executed, others remain under trial.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES FIGHT AGAINST THE GORKHAS

Extract from letter from the Secretary to the Government, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Banaras, October 15, 1857.

13*th*—The Lieutenant-Governor's anticipations, expressed in the last paragraph of my letter of the 2nd instant, of an increase to the strength of the troops here, have not been fulfilled. In consequence, doubtless of the turn which events have taken at Lucknow, all bullock-train parties now daily arriving at Benares have been pushed upwards immediately, and apparently are to continue so to be treated. The garrison of Allahabad has received an accession in the Naval Brigade[2]: but, on the other hand, the whole military portion of it has gone upwards. The Europeans of that portion of the Madras Brigade which has arrived have also been pushed upwards; and it has become necessary to send the natives of that Column, besides the 17th

[1] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure in No. 8, p. 85.

[2] Verney, G. L.: *The Devil's Wind, The Story of the Naval Brigade at Lucknow*, 1956. Peel and a party under Lt. Wilson arrived at Allahabad on October 3rd, 1857. By 14th Oct. they were all at Allahabad.

Madras Regiment from Mirzapore, to the Rewah frontier, in consequence of the aspect of affairs in that State. The other troops alluded to in that letter have not yet arrived. Thus, besides the Goorkhas, amounting to about 2,400 men, there is no force here along a frontier of 100 miles, to repel an invasion from Oude. The rest of the force in these districts consists of a small party of 150 Europeans at Ghazeepore, required to guard the Opium Factory, and to watch a strong regiment of disarmed sepoys; and about 300 Europeans and 200 Sikhs, forming the garrison of the place of refuge at Rajghaut in Benares.[1]

REINFORCEMENT OF BRITISH TROOPS AT BANARAS

Telegraphic Message from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, Banaras, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 3rd Dec. 1857, 1 *P. M.*

As soon as communication was restored with Cawnpore, I telegraphed to the Commander-in-Chief what had been done here, as already reported to Your Lordship. I have received the following reply—"Your message this day just received. It is urgently necessary that all the Infantry possible should come on to join me, as I am crippled for want of means in consequence of the state of affairs here. The first Company of Artillery which arrived at Benares may be stopped to work whatever guns Colonel Gordon can make available for service with Colonel Franks' Column. There are four guns taken from the Ramghur battalion which should be disposable.

"Request Colonel Gordon to send to General Mansfield without delay, by telegraph, return of the troops now at Benares, and those immediately expected. The city of Cawnpore is still held by the enemy, and my picquets are constantly engaged."

I have consequently informed Colonel Gordon that I consider the immediate wants of the Jaunpore frontier will be sufficiently provided for, if the detachments that come into Benares (on) the 2nd December are detained; that the troops

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 25 in No. 7, p. 72.

arriving on the 3rd may go on as usual in the evening, if the waggons are back in time from Jaunpore, which probably will be the case. Colonel Franks will be here on the 4th December, and on his arrival further arrangements may be settled in communication with the Commander-in-Chief. The Madras steamer bringing the Royal Artillery is aground eighteen miles below Ghazeepore. Colonel Gordon has recommended that the men shall march up to Benares, and has prepared four 9-pounder bullock guns, and three 6-pounder horse guns, which may be made available if the Commander-in-Chief approves. On the 1st of December the news at Jaunpore was, that the enemy had advanced about 10 miles, but had not yet crossed the border. Azimghur quiet.[1]

STRUGGLE IN BANARAS REGION

Extracts from letter from the Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, to Brigadier General Franks, dated Banaras, December 13, 1857.

4*th*—The objects at present assigned by the Governor General to the force to be collected under your command are as follows :—"*To protect Benares against attack or insult;*" "*to prevent the rebels from crossing the Ganges, near Benares, into Behar;*" "*to drive them to a distance from Benares, and to recover any district which they may have occupied.*" In making your arrangements to meet these objects, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks that you may find a brief description of the state of the frontier, and of the results of the experience of the last three months, useful.

MUHAMMAD HASAN'S SUPREMACY IN GORAKHPUR DISTRICT

5*th*—Beginning from the north, you will find the district of Goruckpore in the hands of rebel *Nazim*, or Governor, by name Mahomed Hussein. With the exception of some isolated parties of sepoys, the strength of which is variously reported, but which in all may be estimated to be between 1500 and 3000 men, the troops of this leader are an undisciplined body

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 78 in No. 4, p. 186.

of matchlockmen. He is in possession of several guns, probably ten or more. His entire force is called 12,000 or 15,000 men. Constant threats have been made of his intended invasion of the Azimghur district, which is flanked along its whole north-eastern border by Goruckpore, the Gogra running between them; but no further overt act has taken place beyond the collection of boats; and the inclination of his followers to risk an attack, which, in the case of defeat, would lead to their being driven into the Gogra, is rather doubtful.

REVOLUTIONARIES NEAR THE JUNCTION OF RAPTI AND GHAGRA

6th· Of the sepoys in the Goruckpore district, that body which alone at present immediately threatens these provinces is collected in the vicinity of Buruj Ghat, near the junction of the Raptee and Gogra. The numbers of this body are very differently reported; they may amount to from 600 to 2000 men including certainly many wounded men. Of their objects nothing is certainly known, but it is believed that they purpose to cross into Shahabad, near Bhajpore[1]. This they may do in a body, or they may attempt to cross or to drop down the Gogra in small parties. A nephew of Kooer Sing is said to be of the party, and the men are represented to be men of Bhajpore and Arrah.

7th –The prevention of the passage of these mutineers into Shahabad, more especially if the attempt is made in a body, is, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, an important object. The Lieutenant-Governor, has already taken what precautions he can by means of police arrangements to prevent their passage across the Ganges.

8th—In connection with this part of the frontier line, the fact of the presence of the disarmed 65th Regiment of Native Infantry at Ghazeepore will not escape your notice.

TALUQDARS AND LAND-OWNERS IN REVOLT

9th—To advert next to the condition of the Oude frontier, portions of three of the districts of the Central Provinces come into contact with Oude between the Ganges and Gogra, viz.,

[1] Appears misspelt for '*Bhojpur*'.

Azimghur, Jaunpore, and Allahabad. The general character of the hostile levies is much the same along the whole line, though the activity of the rebels, and the numbers in which they collect are various, from one part of the border to another, and from one day to another. The apparent head of the Oude rebels of this frontier is Mehndee Hussun (Menhdi Hasan), the so-styled *Nazim* of Sultanpore. With very few exceptions, the whole of the chief landowners, or *talookdars*, are here in arms against us, each with a body of matchlockmen, and the more important with their complement of light field artillery. Although these men are to a great extent properly designated as a rabble, still they are an Oude rabble, carrying arms, and accustomed to fighting amongst each other and against the king's troops from their earliest youth. There has been some effort made at organization into regiments; and on one occasion a portion of those engaged fought well, and inflicted considerable loss on the Goorkhas. Of the 15,000 men lately assembled at Chanda[1], it is supposed by those best informed that about 5000 men will fight with more or less courage, and that the rest need not be much regarded. This force has now broken up into four subdivisions. Till now no definite body of sepoys has made its appearance on this frontier, excepting on the north, on the Azimghur border, where a party of about 250 mutineers was recently engaged, with a more numerous body of the rebels, by the force under Colonel Longden.

[1] *Chanda*, Pargana, Tahsil *Khutahan*, District *Jaunpur*—The main portion of pargana Chanda lies in the Sultanpur district; but three detached blocks which came into the possession of Bais Rajputs some centuries ago, and were amalgamated into a single taluqa, were transferred during the days of the early Nawab Wazirs of Oudh to the territorial administration of Balwant Singh of Benares. When the latter province was ceded to the British these parts of Chanda were given over with the rest. They were known as the Singramau taluqa, and were held in the days of Duncan by Abdhut Singh. The southern and largest portion, which contains the village of Singramau, lies to the west of Rari-Badlapur and Qariat Mendha and to the north of Garwara, from which it is separated by the Tambura. This small stream joins the Pili, which flows through the centre of this block at the south-eastern corner. To the north and west lies Patti tahsil of the Partabgarh district, and to the north-east is a detached fragment of pargana Chanda in Sultanpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Jaunpur, 1908, pp. 201-202).

PALWARS AND RAJ KUMARS HOSTILE TO BRITISH

10*th*—In addition to the rebellious *talookdars* of Oude, two of the tribes occupying country on both sides of the border of the Jaunpore and Azimghur districts are disposed to take advantage of any opportunity to rise and follow their natural propensity to plunder, viz., the Pulwars on the Azimghur border, and the *Rajcoomars* on the Jaunpore border. A principal chief of the Pulwars, Madhoo Pershad, resident of the Azimghur district, is understood to be at the present time in Goruckpore, threatening an attack on Azimghur from that quarter. He appears to have distinctly joined the Oude rebels. The two leaders of the *Rajcoomars*, Oodres Sing (Udresh Singh) and Chundres Sing (Chandresh Singh), are in arms against us, with Mehndee Hussun, near Chanda.

11*th*—There has been, it is well ascertained, a deliberately formed design of the rebel Government of Oude, which it has been the task of the *Nazim* Mehndee Hussun, of Sultanpore, to try to carry out, to *drive our officers from the Azimghur and Jaunpore districts, and to set up a rebel Government on the part of the Court of Lucknow in their stead.* The gatherings of *talookdaree* levies on the frontier, and their incursions across it, have been all apparently instigated by the Lucknow chiefs.

ATTACKS ON VILLAGES AND POLICE STATIONS CONTINUE

12*th*—Hitherto, in the Jaunpore and Azimghur districts, all invasions have been speedily repelled and chastised, and no hold has been established by the Oude rebels upon any portion of these districts. It is true that the inroads have been made, and are still made, on our villages and police stations; but the country has never been in their hands for any of the purposes of Government since it was reoccupied by the Goorkhas at the commencement of September last. The outstanding balance of revenue has from that time been steadily (coming) in the course of collection.....[1]

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 32 in No. 2, pp. 42-44.

PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES BY THE BRITISH

Extract from Narrative of Events for the Banaras Division.

11*th*—The general tranquillity of this Division remains undisturbed. The Oude frontier will of course be liable to incursions until that country be settled but every precaution has been taken to prevent these becoming of serious importance. The presence of Colonel Rowcroft's force including the Naval Brigade which will be retained for the protection of the Gooruckpore (Gorakhpur) frontier and the posting of a wing of H. M.'s 13th Regiment as well as some of the Madras Rifles at Azimgurh will obviate all likelihood of an organized invasion of those districts. Jounpore will be protected by a strong Goorkha Regiment which Jung Buhadur (Jang Bahadur) has consented to leave there. Collections of Revenue are noted in the margin (footnote)* except for Jounpore from which no return has been received; the large collections from Azimgurh indicate returning tranquillity and confidence.[1]

JAIL PRISONERS SHOW DEFIANCE

No official Narrative has been received for the past week from the Commissioner of this Division; the following notices are supplied from other sources:

BANARAS

Thirty one prisoners including twenty seven mutineer sepoys rose upon the Jail-guard in the afternoon of the 10th

*Marginal note in Original—

	Rs. as. ps.
Benares	35,000- 4- 3
Ghazeepore	50,911-14- 9
Mirzapore	43,384- 3-11
Azimgurh	93,685- 6-11
Jounpore	— —
	2,22,981-13-10

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 6th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

instant while the other prisoners were absent at work. They wounded one of the guard, possessed themselves of several muskets, and twenty of them effected their escape, the remaining eleven were at once recaptured by a party of European troops sent down by the Brigadier, tried by a drum-head Court Martial and shot. Of the rest fourteen were recaptured during the night and two more killed in resisting their captors. One of those retaken hanged himself during the night, the rest were capitally sentenced by the Special Commissioner next day. The number retaken comprised all the sepoys. An enquiry has been instituted as to the circumstances attending this outbreak.[1]

* * *

News dated Monday 15th February 1858.

A Jail *Emeute* took place at Banaras the other day. About forty life prisoners, all sepoys but one, rushed upon their sepoy guard and possessed themselves of his arms as well as those of the *Chupprassies*. The greater portion of them were caught and hanged.[2]

BANARAS DIVISION REPORTED TRANQUIL

In spite of the attitude of affairs at Azimgurh, the other districts of this Division remain perfectly tranquil, a most satisfactory proof of returning confidence.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES IN AZAMGARH AND JAUNPUR

The state of this Division is remarkable; in spite of the presence of two large bodies of rebels in Azimgurh and Jounpore,

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot,* February 18, 1858, p. 50. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

the country, save for a few miles in their vicinity, is utterly undisturbed.[1]

AZAMGARH REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS INTO GORAKHPUR

This Division is for the present tranquillized. The rebels from Azimghur crossed into Goruckpore, those in Ghazeepore passed over Jugdespoor (Jagdishpur) and Sungram Sing's band has been expelled from Jounpore by a combination among the friendly *zemindars*; still there is every probability of the recurrence to some extent of such events as have occurred during the past two months, so soon as the rebels are driven out of Arrah by the military operations now in progress there.[2]

CONCENTRATION OF REVOLUTIONARIES ON AZAMGARH FRONTIER

All the districts of this Division, except Ghazeepoor and Azimghur, are quite quiet; in the former there are a few small detached parties of sepoys, who give some trouble by committing petty raids and murders, but measures are in progress for hunting them down.

On the Azimghur frontier there are a considerable body of rebels, who have recently been joined by some of the fugitives from Sultanpoor. One party, indeed, consisting of 500 sepoys and about 300 villagers under Purgun Sing, advanced into the Azimghur district, as far as Atrail[3]; Colonel Kelly marched to meet them with a small Column on which the rebels retreated with great rapidity to a heavy jungle considerably within the Oude border. They retired in such good order, however, as

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 12th April 1858 Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 5th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Apparently *Atraith*, Pargana *Atraulia*, Tahsil *Mahul*, District *Azamgarh*—This village lies in 26° 17′ N. and 83° 4′ E., in the extreme north of the pargana close to the Chhoti Sarju. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 191).

to keep at bay the weak party of Cavalry, which alone was able to overtake them....[1]

AZAMGARH AND JAUNPUR THREATENED

The condition of this Division has undergone no change. The rebels at Tanda who are in considerable force, menace Azimghur and Jounpore, and are even said to have given out their intention of plundering the latter place, which has hitherto escaped.

The Ghazeepore district is still traversed by small bands of sepoys turned plunderers, and Zamaniah is kept in excitement by the Arrah rebels, but nothing of importance has occurred except the murder of a *zemindar* of considerable influence and staunch loyalty, who was surprised and killed in his own house, by a mixed party of sepoys and villagers. These were, however, repulsed with loss after the first onset.

In Mirzapore, some Rewah rebels have committed a dacoity, but that district and Benares itself, are in other respects, tranquil.[2]

TANDA REVOLUTIONARIES THREATEN KOELSA AND MAHARAJGANJ

On the other side (of) the Ganges, the Benares Division remains generally tranquil. The Mahorot frontier of Azimgurh has been relieved by the advance of Colonel Kelly's Column into Oude, though the Tanda[3] rebels still are a menace to Koelsa and Maharajgunge. Colonel Kelly, however, was marching

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 12th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 19th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Tanda*, Pargana and Tahsil *Tanda*, District *Faizabad*—The capital of the pargana is a large town, lying in latitude 26° 33′ north and longitude 82° 40′ east, on the road from Fyzabad to Azamgarh, at a distance of 37 miles east of the former and 12 miles from Akbarpur, with which it is connected by a metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Fyzabad, 1905, pp. 270-71).

towards them. In the Ghazeepore district the band of sepoys and plunderers who have infested Burragaon (Baragaon) has not yet been broken up, as Brigadier Douglas has been unable to spare troops for that purpose.

EXCHANGE OF FIRE

The Commander of the "Benares" steamer has done excellent service. He was desired with a small party to destroy boats on the Buxar (Baksar) side (of) the river, having on board Mr. Probyn, the Joint Magistrate; on the afternoon of the tenth, an attempt to remove some boats moored by the bank between the villages of Buggan and Seeladpoor was vigorously opposed by a large body of rebel sepoys and sowars. The steamer opened with shrapnel and canister at 250 yards which was warmly replied to by musketry till dark, when the fire of the enemy slackened, but was repeatedly reopened and silenced during the night. The enemy's camp was discovered and bombarded and with the daylight regular firing recommenced till 11 A. M. when the rebels fled in confusion. A portion of the Sikhs on board the steamer having been landed, the vessel was struck by musketry in every direction but no person on board was hurt; 20 of the enemy were killed in one village, when the troops landed; and altogether Commander Brown estimated their loss at about 100.

Unfortunately at the same time three boats laden with European stores belonging to Messrs. Payne and Co. of Calcutta was (*sic*,-were) captured and gutted near Gungeree by the rebels.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES MOVE INTO JUNGLES

In the Province of Benares, there is nothing of importance to notice; the neighbourhood of Burragaon (Baragaon) in Ghazeepoor is still disturbed, but as intelligence has, during the week, been received of the dispersion of the rebels in the Arrah jungles, the pacification of this border may soon be

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 16th October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

expected. It is said, however, that Nuggur[1] Rai and Ibrahim Khan, two of the chief partizan leaders among the Shahabad rebels are still hiding with their followers in the jungles on the Kurmnassa (Karamnasa).[2]

MIRZAPUR BORDERS THREATENED BY SHAHABAD REVOLUTIONARIES

From Benares the Commissioner writes that the party of rebels and mutineers who harried the Ghazeepoor district from Buragaon (Baragaon) have been dispersed by Colonel Longden. The borders of the Mirzapoor district are threatened seriously by the main body of the Shahabad rebels, who have been turned northward from the Sone.[3]

ARRAH REVOLUTIONARIES ON MIRZAPUR BORDER

From the Benares Divn. (Division) there is little of importance to narrate. The Arrah rebels are still on the southern borders of Mirzapoor watched by detachments of troops who are surrounding them on three sides. They are all mutineer sepoys and in a starving condition. In Ghazeepoor one of the most troublesome minor leaders has surrendered himself to Mr. Probyn, and some sepoys have also come in under the amnesty.[4]

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS GRAND TRUNK ROAD INTO SHAHABAD

The rebels in the Mirzapore hills have been blockaded for the past week by Brigadier Douglas who had endeavoured

[1] Can also be read as 'Mygur'; correct name is 'Meghar Rai'.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 23rd October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 30th October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 13th November 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

to surround them; a large body, however, 1000 strong managed to break through his cordon and crossed the Grand Trunk Road into Shahabad. They destroyed a mail cart and murdered one or two Government servants by the way; nothing else of importance has occurred in the Benares Division.[1]

ATTEMPT TO CROSS THE GANGES INTO GHAZIPUR AND AVADH

From the Benares Division the most prominent event, that requires report, is that some 200 sepoys in the Ghazeepoor district have accepted the amnesty, and, surrendering to Mr. Bax or his subordinates, have been permitted to return to their homes.

The operations in the Mirzapoor hills have been only partially successful, some 100 of the rebels have been killed or taken in various skirmishes and a good many arms etc. have been captured but the bulk of the insurgents have succeeded in returning in Jugdeespoor, and were at the close of the week endeavouring to cross the Ganges into Ghazeepoor and Oude.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for the Banaras Division.

From Benares Division it is reported that the Shahabad rebels having failed in their efforts to cross the Ganges have in a great measure dispersed; their horses, and arms have been found in considerable numbers abandoned in the jungles, and it is believed the bands who still hold together are reduced to comparatively small numbers.[3]

* * *

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 20th November 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 27th November 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 4th December 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Narrative of Events for the Banaras Division.

From Benares the escape of 100 of the Shahabad mutineers towards Goruckpoor across the Ganges, south of Ghazeepoor, is reported, but somewhat doubtfully.[1]

AZAMGARH

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE IN AZAMGARH

Letter No. 139 from H. C. Tucker, Commissioner, 5th Division, Banaras, to C. Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William, dated 15th August 1857.

In reply to Para 5 of your letter No. 1193 of the 5th instant, I have the honor to submit copy of my letter to Rajah Man Sing as therein requested.[2]

Translation of Mr. Tucker' sletter to Raja Man Singh, dated 20th July 1857.

After salutation-- The cause of my writing is this that Madho Prasad Sing Palwar *zemindar* of Pattarchar has come to make a disturbance in Azimghur with a body of 5,000 men. I shall therefore be obliged to you if you will kindly attack and take possession of all the estates belonging to the said rebel Madho Prasad within the Province of Oude so that no *zemindar* from that part of the country may come and show insolence in such a manner. Your power is great and you will have no difficulty in attacking this Madho Prasad Sing's estates and his punishment will be a warning to others.[3]

GORKHAS' RETREAT TO AZAMGARH

Letter from C. Wingfield, in Political Charge with the Gorkha Troops, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department, dated 20th August 1857.

Your letter No. 260 dated 11th Augt. in reply to mine dated 31st ultimo forwarding copies of minutes and resolutions

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 18th December 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th September 1857, No. 124. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] *Ibid.*

recorded at a meeting held on that date at Goruckpoor reached me this morning.

2*nd*—Subsequent communications for (from) me will have informed you that it has been found impossible to effect both the objects desired by the Governor General in the 6th para of your letter and the entire Goorkha force accompanied by all the Civil and Military officers and the European inhabitants of Goruckpoor arrived this day at the ferry on the banks of the Gogra.

3*rd*—Since, however, the Governor General is of opinion that the occupation of Azimghur and command of the direct road to Oudh is of great importance and as I have already remarked in previous letters, we can hardly hope to reach Allahabad in time to contribute to the deliverance of Lucknow. I will halt the Goorkha force at Azimgurh agreeably to the wish expressed in the 7th para of your letter and hold that station until further orders.

4*th*—In expressing myself as I (have)[1] done in my late communications to the effect that the aspect of affairs called for the presence of so efficient a body of soldiers as the Goorkhas at Allahabad or other central position and the abandonment of outlying districts I could only form my judgment of the present and anticipation of the future from sources of information naturally defective at this distance from the centre of operations. From Azimgurh the force can, if circumstances seem to require it at any time, move on to Benares or Allahabad.

5*th*—If the Goorkhas remain at Azimgurh or are distributed between that station and Juanpoor (Jaunpur) it is absolutely necessary that they should be supplied not only with musket ammunition but with six guns and proportionate ammunition, for the presence of guns with a force has a wonderful effect in reducing a district to order and if we are attacked from Oudh, guns are certain to be brought against us.

6*th*—I do not ask for European Gunners because I know they cannot be spared and there is a Goorkha Regiment that can work the guns but it would be a great help if two or three Artillery Serjeants were sent.

7*th*—The musket ammunition is I am told collected at

[1] 'have' is missing in the photostat.

Ghazeepoor. If the Military Authorities there would escort it half way to Azimgurh, a regiment of Goorkhas might go out the same distance bring[1] it in. The Goorkhas have now about 80 rounds a man.

8th—With reference to the 5th para of your letter I may observe that the authorities of this district pronounce the route from Oudh through Goruckpoor and Segowlee utterly impracticable during the height of the rains.[2]

PROPOSED REINFORCEMENT OF THE GORKHAS AT AZAMGARH

Letter No. 277 from Secretary to Govt. of India, to C. J. Wingfield, in Political Charge with the Gorkha Troops, dated Fort William, Foreign Department, the 1st September 1857.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 20th ultimo, No. A, stating that you will halt the Goorkha troops at Azimghur, and hold that station until further orders; and in reply I am directed by the Governor General in Council to observe as follows :—

2nd—You say that it will have been seen by communications from you subsequent to July 31st that it was impossible for you to carry out both the objects desired by the Governor General in the 6th para of the Instruction to your address dated the 11th ultimo, and accordingly that the entire Goorkha force had retired towards Azimghur. But so far as these objects depended upon the consent of the Commander of the Goorkhas to divide his force, leaving a portion at Goruckpore, it is not clear to the Governor General in Council that the carrying of these out was impossible. That consent was reported by you on the 31st July, to have been refused, and accordingly you were instructed, on the 11th ultimo, how to act under that refusal; but from the enclosure of your demi-official letter of the 5th ultimo, it would appear that the refusal had been withdrawn; though this is not distinctly stated by you. If you were

[1] It should be either 'to bring' or 'and bring'.

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th Sept. 1857, No. 585 K. W. National Archives, New Delhi.

able to obtain the consent of the Commanding Officer of the Goorkhas to the retention of two regiments at Goruckpore, and to the moving of the rest on the line of Azimghur, your previous instructions required that this should at least be attempted. In no case was it your duty to guide yourself by schemes of general policy, of which you had neither the means nor the authority to judge; nor is it necessary for you now to allege the length of time which it would take to reach Allahabad as a reason for obeying the distinct orders which you have for a second time received to halt the Goorkha force at Azimghur.

3*rd*—The employment of the Goorkhas at Azimghur and in the neighbouring districts renders it unnecessary, as stated in the Instructions of the 11th ultimo, that your political functions should continue, or that you should remain attached to the Goorkha Head-Quarter. It is possible that a portion of the force may still take the field, but if so, they will be attached to General Outram's camp and no political officer will be required.

4*th*—The Governor General in Council requested that you will take the instructions of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Central Provinces as to the details of the distribution of the Goorkhas and any communication to be made to their Commanding Officer, before you resign your charge.

5*th*—You will represent to the Lieutenant-Governor the wants of the force in respect of communication etc.[1]

FIGHT WITH GORKHAS EXPECTED

Narrative transmitted by the mail despatched on the 10th instant containing the news received up to that date. (Signed by R. I. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, dated Fort William, the 24th of September 1857)

Azimghur—Rebels said to be making head and likelihood of a fight with the Goorkhas[2].

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th September 1857, No. 586. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Original Military Consultations, A, No. 410 of 25th September 1857. National Archives, New Delhi.

BATTLE NEAR AZAMGARH

Letter from the Secretary to the Government, Central Provinces, to the Commissioner of Banaras, dated 26th Sept. 1857.

The Lieutenant-Governor directs me to draw your particular attention to the circumstances under which the recent engagement between the Goorkhas and the insurgents near Azimghur has taken place.

2nd—The station of Azimghur was reoccupied by the Goorkhas towards the end of August. The Civil Officers returned at the very commencement of the present month. From that time till the 20th, they appear to have remained in a state of entire inaction; their ideas turning to the construction of barricades and entrenchments, and the demand for reinforcements, rather than to an advance against the undisciplined rabble who were collecting to insult them, and whose numbers at last turned out to be no greater than the Goorkha force all along available to them.

3rd—The responsibility of this discreditable inactivity rests primarily with the Magistrate. It was his duty to have made a requisition for the troops, the first moment that correct and certain information of the collection of insurgents in his neighbourhood was obtainable. That the collection of these men took place within ten miles of an overwhelming force of Goorkhas, makes such a falling short in an obvious duty, the more open to animadversion.

4th—The Lieutenant-Governor cannot consider the excuses made by the Magistrate for his exaggerated estimate of the insurgents to be worthy of serious notice.

5th—A copy of my letter of this date is annexed for your information and communication to the Magistrate of Azimghur.[1]

CONCERTED ACTION AGAINST AZAMGARH

Extract of intelligence received from the Magistrate and Collector of Azamgarh, dated October 13, 1857.

From Mahoul Tehseeldaree—That Mehdee Hossein's nephew is collecting a number of men at Shahzadpore, and that he has

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 14 in No. 6, p. 41.

2,000 or 3,000 men and 4 or 5 guns already; he is to be assisted by Banee Madho (Beni Madho) and Pirtheepal Sing.

Banee Madho is said to have a number of *sepahis* and three guns.

We also hear that a regiment of Cavalry is marching towards Shahzadpore from Lucknow.

STORM BREWING IN AVADH ZAMINDARS

From Deoree we hear that the Gopalpore Rajah reports that a number of *sepahis* and other armed men, under a nephew of Koer Sing's, amounting to about 1500 men, have arrived at a place close to Gopalpore, and that they intend coming to Gopalpore Golah. Other letter reports, and rumours tend to show that a storm of a serious nature is brewing amongst the *zemi dars* in Oude, and that it will burst upon Lucknow, Jounpore and Azimghur. The greater portion of the fighting population of Oude are gathered round Lucknow (native letter from Lucknow describes their numbers as incalculable), whilst Mehdee Hossein has determined to take possession of Jounpore, and Banee Madho and his friends Pirtheepal Sing, Mozuffer Jehan, and perhaps the Pulwars, will attack Azimghur.

Mohomed Hossein is undoubtedly collecting men and guns at Goruckpore.[1]

BRISK ACTIVITIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Copy of a Telegraphic Message from Lieutenant-Colonel R. Strachey, Secretary to Govt., Central Provinces, to Colonel R. Birch, Secretary to Govt. of India, Military Department, Calcutta, dated Banaras, 9th December 1857.

No news from Jounpore. From Azimghur the Magistrate reports that the Police have been turned out of a frontier *chowkee* by a party of rebels having sepoys amongst them who have taken possession of the village Kotee. He expects the Atroulia *thannah* to be driven out in the course of the day, parties of sepoys reported to be at one or two places in Oude near the Azimghur frontier. A party of sepoys has for some days been collected at Burni Ghaut on the Gogra with a nephew of

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 29 in No. 7, p. 73.

Kooer Sing. They are collecting boats with the intention, it is understood, of crossing the end of the Ghazeepore district into Shahabad. They number about eighteen hundred men from the last accounts, many are said to be wounded. On the first receipt of this news the Lieutenant-Governor ordered the Magistrate to watch the *Ghauts* on the Ganges and warned the Commissioner of Patna. The formation of a post to watch the Burni Ghaut was considered but Colonel Franks thought this objectionable; Ghazeepore, however, was strengthened with 130 of H. M.'s 37th Regiment. An enquiry was made by Colonel Franks whether the detachment at Sasseram[1] could consistently with its orders take post near Buxar. The answer is no. It is confidently reported that several parties of sepoys have crossed into Fyzabad in Oude and it is said with less certainty that other bodies are moving down from Lucknow which is represented as being nearly deserted.[2]

* * *

Copy of a Telegraphic Message No. 258/72 from Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, to Secretary to Government, Military Department, dated Banaras, 14th December, (Monday) 1857.

From Jounpore nothing new. From Azimghur it is reported that the sepoys at Buruj (Bhurrul) made an attempt to cross the Gogra on Friday night, but were fired upon by Police, and men of the neighbouring villages, and gave it up. The Oude frontier of this district is still uneasy but no outbreak.[3]

[1] *Sasaram Subdivision* : South-eastern subdivision of *Shahabad* District, *Bengal*, lying between 24° 31′ and 25° 22′ N. and 83° 30′ and 84° 27′ E. with an area of 1,490 square miles. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, 1908, p. 111).

Sasaram Town (*Sahsaram*) is the Head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name in *Shahabad* District, *Bengal*, situated in 24° 57′ N. and 84° 1′ E., on the Mughal Sarai-Gaya section of the East Indian Railway, 406 miles from Calcutta. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, 1908, p. 111).

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th Dec. 1857, No. 29. National Archives, New Delhi; and Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 95 in 4, p. 190.

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 29th January 1858, No. 57. National Archives, New Delhi.

RETREAT OF KUNWAR SINGH'S NEPHEW

Telegraphic Message from Lieutenant-Colonel Strachey, Allahabad, to Colonel Birch, Secretary to Government, Military Department, Calcutta, dated 1st of January 1858.

After their defeat by Colonel Rowcroft the nephew of Kooer Singh with four or five hundred sepoys is reported to have returned to Burhey Ghaut, otherwise nothing new.[1]

BRITISH ADVANCE FROM TORE-KE-KHAN

No Narratives have been received from these districts, but Colonel Longden's Column has, it is known, moved nearer to the centre. Column of Brigadier Franks' force, and the headquarters of H. M.'s 10th Foot have advanced from Tore-Ke-Khan.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES ENTER AZAMGARH

About 4,000 followers of the rebels Mosuffer Jehan (Muzaffar Jahan) and Oodraise Sing (Udresh Singh) have entered the district and expelled the Government officials in charge of the forfeited estates formerly belonging to these chiefs.

AT GYARPORE[3] IN OUDE (AVADH)

Madhopersaud, Mahomed Hussen and Mosuffer Jehan are assembled with 3,000 or 4,000 men (including 1200 sepoys) and with 5 or 6 guns. It is not apprehended they will dare to advance, and Colonel Rowcroft's force, with the consent of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, will operate for the protection of this district and of Gooruckpore.[4]

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 29th January 1858, No. 67. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 23rd Jan. 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Appears to be mis-spelt for '*Ghyaspoor*'.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 6th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

AVADH REVOLUTIONARIES ATTACK POLICE POST

Some dacoities on the frontier villages have been committed by bands of rebels from Oudh; on one occasion a small police post was attacked and two men carried off as prisoners.

The 'Jumna' steamer has advanced higher up the Gogra.[1]

GHYASPUR REVOLUTIONARIES DIVIDE INTO PARTIES

From Azimgurh the arrival of a Wing of H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry and of some Madras Rifles under Major Cox is reported.

The Ghyaspoor rebels have broken up, and those who were followers of Mahomed Hussun have gone under his nephew Gholam Hussun to Akburpoor; the Pulwars have gone to Madhopershad at a fort called 'Kot Rae-raise' where he has been also joined by many of his clan from our own *pergunnah* of Tigra in Jounpoor. The remainder under the leadership of one Seetul Pershad retreated via Munsoorgunj, it is not known with what ulterior object.

BRITISH ATTACK CHANDEPUR FORT

Colonel Rowcroft with 1,000 Goorkhas and the Naval Brigade were escorting boats up the Gogra, and on the 17th attacked and destroyed the fort of Chandepoor belonging to Madhopershad; several guns were taken and our loss was slight including among the wounded one officer (Captain Weston severely).[2]

PALWARS ACTIVE IN AZAMGARH

The neighbourhood of the Goorkha force had in the early part of the week still an effect on this district; the turbulent

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department. North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 21st February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Pulwars and others, either dispersed to their homes or remained hiding in the jungles. Major Cox's Column therefore experienced no opposition but had destroyed, as far as time permitted, the very strong fort of Tigra, belonging to Raja Pritheepal Sing Bunteria, which was found evacuated. This place was actually in Oude, but it was a standing menace to the Azimgurh frontier. More lately the advance of Huckshun's[1] rebel Column to Tandah, had encouraged the rebels to collect again. The *Rajcomars* had compelled the Police or two frontier *thanahs* to withdraw and the post at Phoolpoor has been driven in and the *Jemadar* carried off a prisoner.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Azamgarh.

The turbulent Rajpoots who had attacked the *pergunnahs* of Oorhet and Rumbhopoor[3] retired on the approach of Major Cox's small Column. Emboldened, however, by the presence of a large body of rebels at Tanda, they have again entered those places in still larger force driving out the Police. Major Cox's party consisting of one Wing H. M.'s 13th, detail..... Madras Rifles (60 men) and 2 guns under H. Ross Esqr. (C. S.) has been ordered to Goruckpoor. A Wing of H. M.'s 37th from Ghazeepoor will take their place; and a Wing H. M.'s 35th from Dinapoor will come up for the protection of Ghazeepoor, and in addition to these reinforcements the 4th Regiment Madras Light Cavalry marched from Allahabad on the morning of the 14th for Goruckpoor.[4]

AZAMGARH THREATENED

The Azimgurh district is now seriously threatened; with that exception, the Division is quiet.[5]

[1] Seems to have been spelt for 'Harkishan'.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Can also be read as *Kumbhopoor*.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 13th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract

REINFORCEMENT OF BRITISH FORCE AT AZAMGARH

Letter No. 286 from Officer Commanding, Banaras, to Secretary to Government, Military Department, Allahabad, dated 21st March 1858.

By express received from Colonel Milman commanding at Azimghur, he appears to have taken the field with only 120 men including gunners to meet as he says two Columns—one of fifteen hundred sepoys and one thousand armed rabble, the other of two thousand men with two guns. Colonel Milman is evidently too weak; there appears to have been seventy men of Wing detained at Ghazeepore; the Head-Quarters Wing of the 37th, which ought to have arrived at Ghazeepore by this time from Dinapore, is much the strongest. Ghazeepore being covered by Azimghur I beg to recommend that reinforcement of at least 150 men be ordered to join Colonel Milman from Ghazeepore immediately.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES OCCUPY AZAMGARH TOWN

Copy of Service Message No. 379 from Officer Commanding, Banaras, to Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, Allahabad, dated 27th March (Saturday 8 A. M.) 1858.

The rebels took possession of the town of Azimghur without being opposed at noon yesterday, and have attacked the entrenchment. The enemy are said to number 4,000 and another body of 3,000 coming up in their rear. I consider Ghazeepore to be in immediate danger, also Jounpore, and eventually Benares. Something must be done of a decided nature immediately. Unless strong reinforcement can be immediately furnished, the Jounpore troops ought to fall back on Benares. There are no troops in Benares at present in case of an attack, and we are particularly weak in Artillery, only two six-pounder guns. The two Companies and two guns at Sasseram might be brought up. I don't know of any other troops in this quarter available unless from Allahabad. Should

Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, No. 323. National Archives, New Delhi.

troops arrive by a bullock train from Calcutta, are they to be detained ? I have recalled the Dragoons; there are a great number of disarmed sepoys at Benares.[1]

BRITISHERS REPULSED FROM AZAMGARH TOWN

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 29th March 1858.

Mr. Power reports from Kumpel on the 27th March that the rebels have increased in strength across the river opposite Soomiree. They have brought down more guns; Mooltan Khan is supposed to command them; further particulars of the sortie of our troops at Azimghur have been received today through Brigadier Gordon at Benares. It appears that Colonel Davies made a sortie with two hundred men, H. M.'s 37th Regiment, two guns and the head-quarter's Fourth Madras Cavalry. He drove the enemy with ease before him in the plain, but was repulsed from the town. Captain Bedford killed and eleven men of the 37th Regiment killed and wounded. The Madras Cavalry behaved well under a very heavy fire. In consequence of an urgent appeal from Colonel Davies[2] for assistance, Brigadier Gordon has sent him fifteen days supplies for five hundred Europeans and a supply of ammunition escorted by one hundred H. M.'s 10th and 97th Regiments and sixty Madras Rifles. The escort will proceed via Ghazipore where it will be joined by at least by[3] a squadron of Madras Cavalry. The direct road to Azimghur is not safe at present. At Jounpore all quiet, and our force there is in perfect readiness to resist any attack. Sir E. Lugard left Lucknow this morning for Azimghur with an Infantry division, seven hundred sabres and eighteen guns. Scindia's news-writer reports from Jhansie on the 26th March that the fort is strictly beleaguered and that besides the guns already playing from three or four batteries, the guns expected with the First Brigade from Chundaree (Chanderi) would open next day. The British force arrived

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, No. 338. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Can also be read as 'Dames'.

[3] This is superfluous here.

opposite Kotah on the 22nd and encamped at one mile and three quarters distance on this side of the Chumbul. The rebels are in position on the opposite bank. They are said to have one hundred guns, fifty of them heavy guns. The fort, the palace and half of the city are held by Maha Rao with his Rajpoots and Kerowlee allies. The fire of the enemy slackened on the 23rd.

Officers have crossed to the palace to sketch the position of the rebels and the Maha Rao has come to British camp.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 28th March 1858.

The Commissioner of Benares reports today that the rebels at Azumgurh had put their guns in position against the entrenchments and were preparing scaling ladders. A sortie made by us to capture the guns was repulsed with the loss of one officer. Our force within the entrenchments is in want of supplies and ammunition. A wing of the 13th Regiment started from this place yesterday evening by bullock train.[2]

DETAILS OF OCCUPATION OF AZAMGARH BY REVOLUTIONARIES

REVOLUTIONARIES REINFORCED BY KUNWAR SINGH'S MEN

It will be remembered that in the last Narrative Colonel Milman's detachment (with which was Mr. Davies, the Offg. Magistrate) consisting of 200 H. M.'s 57th, a party of Madras Cavalry and 2 foot guns was described as moving, at the request of Mr. Davies to attack the advanced guard of the enemy which had plundered Atrowlia. This was done successfully on the 21st. The enemy were routed with some loss

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

and driven back to Sohra. Here they were reinforced by Koer Sing's main body consisting of 900 to 1,000 sepoys and a body of Pulwar outlaws.

Colonel Milman considering himself too numerically weak to face this party, fell back on Koelsa, to which place the enemy followed but were checked by a charge of the Madras Cavalry in which 21 of their number (all sepoys) were killed. Subsequently apprehending a general rising of the Pulwars who inhabit that neighbourhood (Col. Milman) fell back precipitately on Azimgurh, abandoning his camp equipage, baggage and ammunition.

AZAMGARH ATTACKED

Emboldened by this success and increasing numbers, the rebels commanded by Koer Sing's nephew and by Indurgit (Indrajit) Singh the rebel Raja of Nurharpore in Goruckpore pushed on towards Azimgurh itself. On the 23rd their advanced guard of 300 sepoys and 125 sowars came on to Mandree and on the 24th was within 4 miles of Azimgurh. Colonel Davies who had assumed command of all the forces at Azimgurh at the time proposed to meet the rebels outside the town with his Column now strengthened by upwards of 100 Madras Rifles and all the 4th M. L. C. (Madras Light Cavalry) except a troop which had passed on to Goruckpore.

This intention he subsequently abandoned and returning into the entrenchments which are very strong, permitted on the 26th the enemy to occupy the town without opposition.

By this time their numbers amounted to 2,000 sepoys, ½ of them armed with muskets, while they may have had perhaps as many as 2500 of the rabble of the district, but these are only men already too deeply committed to hope for amnesty. The population generally did not join the insurgents. The enemy had likewise four guns two of them 6-pounders the other two wall pieces.

The position of the town and entrenchments will be understood from the accompanying rough sketch map; from this it will be perceived that the Benares and Ghazeepore roads are covered by the entrenchment. Consequently supplies which were at first deficient have been thrown in in considerable quantities by Mr. Brandreth the Collector of Ghazeepore and others; a reinforcement of 150 men of H. M.'s 37th arrived also on the night of the 26th.

BRITISH RESISTANCE FAILS

On the following morning a sortie was made by 200 of H. M.'s 37th covered by some of the Cavalry and the guns and guided by Mr. Freeling, C. S.; his object was to capture a gun which the enemy had placed in position against the entrenchment. Unfortunately the attack failed; the enemy withdrew their gun when silenced, and opened a heavy musketry fire from some neighbouring houses. A gallant attempt to seize these, led by Captain Bedford H. M.'s 37th and Mr. Dinna[1], a volunteer, terminated also unsuccessfully and cost the life of the former officer.

The troops were then withdrawn, eleven rank and file having been wounded before they reached the entrenchment. This affair however has checked the boldness of the enemy who are said by our spies to have suffered severely; they have since confined themselves to a distant and almost harmless fire. The Madras Cavalry were on the evening of the 27th sent away to Ghazeepore as they were useless in the entrenchments and were consuming the somewhat straitened stores of the garrison. Their Commanding Officer expressed a want of confidence in their courage, but their conduct has not hitherto justified his apprehension. On the contrary, the party employed on the 27th are said to have behaved well under a very heavy fire.

BRITISHERS REINFORCED

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has despatched a brigade under Sir E. Lugard from Lucknow to the relief of Azimgurh. As a matter of precaution also the Wing of H. M.'s 13th L. I. (Light Infantry) at Allahabad was at once despatched with 50 of H. M.'s 2nd Dragoons to Benares. Brigadier Gordon at the latter place has stopped some detachment from Calcutta and has sent reinforcements to Ghazeepore.

The headquarters of H. M.'s 37th under Colonel Skelly were expected also daily at Azimgurh and H. M.'s 35th is *en route* from Patna. No apprehension need therefore be felt for the safety of Azimgurh, for, though, the rebels are

[1] Can be read as 'Dinnae' or 'Dumae'.

likely to be joined by all the fugitive sepoys from the neighbourhood, the people in spite of strenuous appeals from Koer Sing and others have shown no disposition to assist; indeed the Police of one post has been protected by the Pulwars. The relieving force, may, it is hoped, suffice entirely to cut off the rebels.

It is needless to say the town has been thoroughly plundered, some bungalows which were still standing in the station have been also burnt.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH SURROUNDS AZAMGARH

A correspondent writing from the camp at Amorha on the 31st March, informs us that the enemy are still in same force at Belwah with ten guns; Mohammed Hossein and the Rajah of Gonda have been very energetic in their endeavours, to induce fugitive sepoys to enter their service for Gorruckpore.....A number of the fugitive sepoys have gone to join Koer Singh, who has surrounded Azimghur. An officer (Captain) of the 37th was killed in a sortie there on March 30th.....[2]

AZAMGARH IN THE HANDS OF REVOLUTIONARIES

The rebels still hold the town of Azimgurh; and towards the end of the week, were emboldened to send out parties, some of whom intercepted supplies of grain coming into the entrenchments, and others plundered the surrounding country. At Azimgurh they got 75,000 Rs. from the house of one *Mahajun.*

ATTEMPT TO BREAK DOWN A BRIDGE

On the 5th hearing of the approach of Lord Mark Kerr with Headquarters and Wing of H. M.'s 13th L. I. (Light Infantry) they endeavoured to break down the bridge on the

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* April 6, 1858, p. 322. National Library, Calcutta.

Benares road. A party was sent out from the entrenchment to hinder them, but the enemy was in too great force to be attacked.

They had only partially completed the work of destruction. On the following morning, when the reinforcement appeared in sight, they went out to meet it in force (not less than 2,000 sepoys) and taking advantage of some strong cover commanding the approaches to the bridge, offered an obstinate resistance.

They were, however, unable to withstand the attack of the 13th and were ultimately dislodged, and the reinforcement reached the entrenchment, but unfortunately not without considerable loss, including one officer Captain Jones and seven* men killed, and another officer and 19 men severely wounded, with 8 more slightly so. The rear guard was twice attacked, but the enemy were entirely repulsed and eventually retired into the city, carrying with them, it is reported, not less than 200 to 250 wounded. They admit a loss of 52 killed and 61 wounded, the latter is clearly a low number.

The Madras Rifles were sent out to effect a diversion during this engagement, and their behaviour is said to have been admirable.

The Bridge is now held by a strong party, but the orders of the garrison, who are now nearly 1,000 strong, are to act on the defensive, till the arrival of Sir E. Lugard.

Meanwhile the district continued pretty quiet. The *tehsil* of Mahowl had been threatened by Gholam Hossein with 2,000 men, but no apprehensions were entertained for its safety. [1]

BRITISH MOVE TOWARDS AZAMGARH

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government of India, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 9th April 1858, (9 *A. M.*).

It is reported from Benares on the 7th April, that on the previous day, the party under Lord Mark Kerr after a severe

*"These numbers are given in a demi official letter from Mr. Davies"—Note in the Original.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

encounter with the enemy, forced his strong position on the Benares road and reached the Azimgurh bridge.

H. M.'s 13th Regiment lost Captain Jones and about 25 Rank and File killed and wounded.

A party of 80 men H. M.'s 37th and 100 Madras Rifles with 2 guns had been sent to assist in bringing in Lord Mark Kerr's rear guard.

The ammunition and tents had arrived and the most of the baggage and stores were safe.

The rebels numbered about 2,000.

The sepoys are said to be much dispirited and it is thought probable that they will make off.....[1]

KUNWAR SINGH AWAITS LUGARD'S ATTACK

Since Lord Mark Kerr's action, the enemy have done comparatively little. Colonel Cumberlege having been threatened by a larger force of the enemy than he considered himself equal to engage with safety to his convoy, fell back one march; the enemy followed, but subsequently withdrew. Colonel Cumberlege again advanced, and though the rebels met him in strength, and with guns, near Azimgurh, they declined engaging, and he took his convoy in safety to the entrenchment. His party has now returned, and is posted halfway between Ghazeepore and Azimgurh, to cut off the enemy's escape in that direction.

They were reported to be dispersing but Kooer Sing with his main body awaited Sir E. Lugard's attack.[2]

RETREAT TOWARDS GHAGRA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 18th April 1858, (7 *A. M.*).

Sir E. Lugard forced the enemy's bridges at Azimghur on the morning of the 15th April with a loss of one killed and

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 12th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

five wounded of the 10th Foot. This enabled him to turn the city and obliged the rebels to retreat precipitately. Cavalry and Horse Artillery pursued for 15 miles over the Goruckpore road, took three guns and killed about (70) of the enemy. Mr. Venables and Lieutenant Hamilton, 3rd Seikhs (Sikhs) and about twenty others wounded. The enemy conducted their retreat with great regularity and determination but it is strongly believed that they cannot cross the Gogra. Sir E. Lugard will follow up. It is reported from Cawnpore that the rebel Raja of Mynpoorie (Mainpuri) has arrived at Oorcah (Auraiya) with some force....[1]

ON WAY TO GHOSI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 18th April 1858.

A Telegraphic dispatch from Sir E. Lugard dated from Azimgurh the 17th states that the pursuing force under Brigadier Douglas drove the rebels out of the city that morning, a standard and much ammunition taken.

The rebels were all sepoys.

Our loss one killed and twelve wounded, of the 37th and 84th Regiments. The rebels made for Ghosee, and were being followed up.[2]

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN AZAMGARH

The events of this week in Azimgurh are confined to the military operations which have taken place there. After the arrival in the entrenchment of Colonel Cumberlege's convoy, the rebels remained pretty quiet. On the 13th and 14th, however, 2,000 sepoys under Nishan Sing with 2 H. A. (Horse Artillery) guns retired from Azimgurh to Azmutgurh, where they employed themselves in searching for treasure, and are said to have found 72,000 (Rs.) belonging to one Bence Pershad *Mahajun.* They also destroyed the *thannah* and *tehseel.*

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

On the 16th Sir E. Lugard's force arrived, and after a skirmish at the bridge on the west side of the town, drove the rebels away upon the Burhul road; they were pursued and overtaken at Baghe-Dour by the Royal Horse Artillery and Cavalry of the force; and after some sharp fighting, their two guns and one *goordah*[1] were taken from them together with 120 carts. In this affair Mr. Venables and Lieutenant Hamilton, 10th L. C. (Light Cavalry) were severely wounded, and both have since died of their wounds. Our other casualties were also somewhat severe, about twenty five in all. The enemy had upwards of 70 killed.

On the 17th enemy retreated to a village called Nughai[2], where they took up a strong position in some groves. Our Infantry arrived that evening, and on the following morning attacked the rebels, and handled them very severely, capturing a large quantity of their ammunition and a color; they broke after being driven from their position; but uniting again at Ghosee, burnt the *tehseel* at that place, and then fled to Bharowlee, 12 miles further. The heat was great, and our troops only were able to pursue as far as Ghosee. Our loss during the day was one killed and 12 wounded; subsequent operations will be detailed in next week's narrative.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES ASSEMBLE AT TANDA

This district is reported demi-officially to be quiet; a gathering of mutinous sepoys, however, at Tandah, threaten alike Azimgurh and Goruckpore. The lamented death of Mr. Venables was reported in last week's narrative.[4]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Azamgarh.

Though no events of importance have occurred in this

[1] Spelt as 'Goordub' in other documents.

[2] Can also be read as '*Meghai*'.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 18th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract

district, yet it remains in a somewhat unsettled state; occasional small parties of fugitive sepoys from Oudh continue to traverse it in the track of Koer Sing. The neighbouring district of Goruckpore is again disturbed, and at Tandah the gathering of rebels and mutineers has assumed a formidable appearance. These several causes have hitherto combined to prevent the pacification of the district, the state of which has been duly reported to Sir E. Lugard; he has however already full occupation in Behar and cannot at present yield any assistance.[1]

PARGAN SINGH ATTACKS KOELSA

Azimgurh is in a disturbed state, though not so much as in the preceding week. The tendency of the rebels collected in Oudh, appears to be to pass into Goruckpore, but one rebel named Purgun Sing with 100 sepoys and a number of rabble had attacked the Koelsa *tehsil*, and when the Commissioner's Narrative came away, the result was not known.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Azamgarh.

The attack by Purgun Sing's rebel band on the Koelsah *tehseel* did not succeed; he had to retire after losing three men killed, and several wounded.

The Magistrate reports a large force under Gholam Hossein and Mehndee Hossein between the Atrowlia (Atraulia) frontier and Tanda; their ulterior objects were scarcely known. They are said to have 2,500 sepoys and 4 guns, besides rabble; but of the sepoys some 500 are Bhojpoor men, who avow their sole object is to follow in Koer Sing's track to Arrah, or to go via Chuppra....[3]

Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 25th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 2nd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 9th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract

ATTACK ON MAHARAJGANJ TAHSIL

Purgan Singh has again attacked the Maharajgunge *thannah* putting the Police to flight. In a P. S. Mr. Davies mentions a rumour that he is to be reinforced by 400 sepoys and two guns; he has seized some of our spies and cruelly mutilated them.[1]

AVADH BORDER THREATENED

Except the threatening state of the Oude border, and the accumulation of rebels at Tanda, Fyzabad and other points in Oude, there is nothing reported from Azimghur.[2]

PARGAN SINGH ACTIVE AGAIN IN KOELSA

This district is much excited by the passage of parties of sepoys as above mentioned. The rebel Purgun Sing had again attacked the Koilsa *tehseel* and had again been beaten off with loss. A paper in Persian and Hindee announcing an intended rising on the 21st of June (the Dussehra) was said to be in circulation among some of the Azimgurh villages, but no copy of it could be found; it is supposed to be a local production.[3]

AVADH TRAVERSED BY REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES

The whole of this district has been traversed by small detached parties of sepoys who have committed many dacoities and other outrages. The Magistrate mentions ten or eleven

Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the week ending 7th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

of these bands, but many have not been traced; one party destroyed the Government buildings at Nugra, and another barbarously mutilated three *tehsil Chuprassies* who fell into their hands. Towards the end of the week however many of these men had returned towards Oude and the district was therefore in some degree quieter.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Azamgarh.

This district is now pretty clear of rebels. About 600 mutineer sepoys are said to have gone through towards Oudh. Purgun Sing has remained tolerably quiet.[2]

POPULACE EXCITED IN AZAMGARH

The district itself remained quiet, though occasional parties of sepoys were passing through and more were expected from the S. E. (South-East). Several large gatherings of rebels existed in Oude on the northern frontier, and Purgun Singh still threatened the Koelsa *tehseeldaree*. The Maharajhgunge bazar had been plundered for the fourth time. The minds of the population (populace) are a good deal excited....[3]

RENEWED ACTIVITY IN AZAMGARH

The rebels returning from Chupra and coming through this district, surprised and carried off the Dherowli *Thannadar* whom they subsequently murdered. A *tehseel Chuprassie* was also wounded. Mr. Davies mentions the disposition of the parties of the enemy round his district. There are four or

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 20th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 27th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 3rd July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

five of 50 or 60 sepoys, each the nuclei of small bands of plunderers at Julalpoor, Bundeepoor, at Soltanpoor and Shumberpoor on the Gogra etc. etc. but the most formidable parties are those of Purgun Singh with 200 sepoys and as many villagers at Jahangergunj. The Nurhurpoor Rajah with 300 followers, Bulkee Sing with a similar party to Purgun Sing's and lastly Ali Kureem, are all at Tandah with 600 sepoys; the last party are mostly Bhojpoor men anxious to get back to their homes in Behar, but detained by unfavourable accounts recently received from thence.[1]

CHHAPRA REVOLUTIONARIES IN AZAMGARH

The main feature of the week is a move of... (space left in original) sepoys from Tandah (600 strong) to Munsoorgunj near the Atrowlia border where they have been joined by Purgun Sing's gang and expect a further reinforcement of 50 sepoys from Jelalpoor.

It is currently reported that Ally Qurreem (Ali Karim), the Patna Moulvie, has gone to Medhee Hussun's camp to ask for the assistance of 600 sepoys now unemployed at Ajoodhya, for some guns and ammunition, and that it is his intention, if he obtains these, to join the party just described, and to cut his way to Shahabad, there to reinforce Umer Singh's party.

KOELSA ABANDONED

The Chuppra rebels (300 sepoys and 50 sowars) passed straight into Oude. The Magistrate gives a long list of petty outrages committed by them on their way, the victims were not even in a majority of cases in any way connected with Government; no lives however were lost. On the 16th *tehseel* of Koelsa was abandoned. The numbers of the rebels are reported as 1300 sepoys and 1500 villagers but this is probably an exaggeration. The *Tehseeldar* reports that grass being brought to set fire to the building, and their own ammunition

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 11th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

being exhausted the Garrison was compelled to retreat. The Magistrate has however heard from other sources that a species of capitulation was arranged with a leader in command of part of the rebels; others of these however did not observe the agreement, but fired on, and wounded two or three of the fugitives. The rebels have it is said since retired principally towards Sooltanpoor. A sepoy who was found by some of the Madras Cavalry in a village near Azimghur was killed after a desperate resistance, in which he killed one of the troopers; he is believed to have been mad. He was without disguise and had remained in the village for some days.[1]

KOELSA STILL IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

Azimgurh itself is pretty quiet though Koilsa and its neighbourhood are still held by the rebels, who also have a post at Maharajgunge to prevent plundering.

The fugitives from Ghazeepoor have all gone northward, and are said to have been much distressed and without ammunition.[2]

ACTIVITIES IN AND AROUND AZAMGARH

The rebels still hold the Koelsa *tehsil*, and considerable body of sepoys, part of the foiled beleaguerers of Shahgunj[3], are reported to be collected on the borders, and to intend attacking Mahowl, but that post has been made very strong. A *Subehdar* named Kanhya (Kanhaiya) Sing is said to be in command of the rebels, who are also reported to have with them two *Moulvies*, one a son of the Tanda chief, the other a

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 18th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 25th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Shahganj*, District *Jaunpur*, stands in 26° 3′ N. and 82° 42′ E., on the metalled road from Jaunpur to Fyzabad at a distance of 22 miles north from the district head-quarters.

man named Gholam Hussein who has with him two guns, from the neighbourhood of Belwa.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Azamgarh.

The sepoys are still on the frontier and some 30 or 50 are wandering about but nothing of importance has occurred,..[2]

GHOSI TAHSIL ATTACKED

A party of sepoys, alarmed at our occupation of Fyzabad, came down to Maharajgunge on the 8th. The 7th Punjab Infantry were ordered to push on, but being delayed by heavy rain, the sepoys made a rapid descent, and pushed across their line of march on the 9th. On the 10th they attacked the *tehsil* of Ghosee. It was evacuated, and as the buildings were only temporary, little harm was done. On the 11th a detached party attacked the small police post at Bebeepoor, but by the aid of the neighbouring *zemindars*, they were beaten off. The rebel force is said to consist of 800 sepoys, 400 sowars, and 800 rabble; they have some women and children with them, and are under the command of one "Siddha Sing".[3]

RASRA FORT ATTACKED

Azimghur is much as last reported, the band of sepoys which escaped southern (*sic*,) as reported in the last week's narrative passed by Nuggur and attacked the fort at Russeah (Rasra) which was held by Ensign Truman with 100 Sikh

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 1st August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, NorthWestern Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 8th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 14th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Infantry and 30 sowars. After a siege of three days, the rebels fled on the approach of Brigadier Douglas on the 20th; little damage was sustained by the Garrison, but one of their emissaries was horribly tortured and mutilated by the rebels. These latter (about 300 mutineers and as many villagers and plunderers) fled towards the Chuprah (Chhapra) frontier. The remainder of these districts are comparatively tranquil.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES RETURN TO GHOSI

The party of rebels and sepoys under Sidha Sing have returned towards Ghosee.[2]

JAUNPUR

GORKHAS IN ACTION IN JAUNPUR AND AZAMGARH

Letter from the Secretary to the Government, Central Provinces, to Lieutenant-Colonel Wroughton, dated Banaras, September 26, 1857.

2*nd*—This march, together with that made a few days ago by the Goorkha detachment which came in for the guns and ammunition on its return from Benares to Jounpore, altogether, and finally, disposes of the assertion that has lately more than once been made, in excuse of the very little use of which these excellent troops have been made, since they entered the Central Provinces, namely, *that the Goorkha soldiers are incapable of rapid movement.*

3*rd*—A march of 40 miles completed between 10 A. M. of one day, and 6 P. M. of the next, followed up by a fresh advance at midnight to attack an enemy posted at a distance of 10 miles, the defeat of that enemy and the return of the regiment to its quarters by noon, having again been on foot for ten hours, is an achievement which cannot be surpassed by any troops

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 22nd August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 28th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

in the world. Yet of such men it has been said that with them all rapid movements are out of the question.

4th—The Lieutenant-Governor believes that these assertions were made without thought but how mistaken they were, is now patent; and he trusts that both you and all the British officers who have dealings with the Goorkha troops will henceforth act in relation to them upon a juster estimate of their efficiency. The public service in these provinces has greatly suffered by the mistake.

5th—In your valuable report to Major-General Sir James Outram, of which a copy has been sent to the Lieutenant-Governor, you observe that "it is evident to me that the Nepalese officers have not been accustomed to act independently, and they consequently shirk responsibility which they dread". The Lieutenant-Governor has no doubt of the correctness of this representation, but the circumstance is one which will be no impediment to the most vigorous action, if the British officers attached to the force do what the Lieutenant-Governor expects of them.

6th—It was natural to expect that foreigners, and those foreigners, mountaineers unaccustomed either to the plains or to their inhabitants, should at first feel some awkwardness in the new position in which they were placed, with everything strange around them.

7th—The sagacity of General Jung Bahadoor had already foreseen this difficulty, and it was at his urgent desire that British officers were attached to the Goorkha force, to encourage the officers and men, and explain how operations should be carried on in such a country and such a climate as that in which they now, for the first time, marched, and against such an enemy as they now, for the first time, met.[1]

BADLAPUR UNREST

Memo No. 12 from G. Carnegy, Deputy Commissioner of Salone, dated Camp Pertabgarh (Pratabgarh), 7th October 1858.

The Commissioner of Benares has requested me to record

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 13 in No. 6, pp. 39-40.

any circumstances that may have occurred within my knowledge when incharge of the Jounpoor Intelligence Department, tending to criminate Jagesur Buksh, Arjoon Sing, Bindasuric Buksh (Bindeshwari Bakhsh), and other men of influence of the district just named in rebellion.

Having obtained a perusal, through the Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, of a Demi-Official correspondence with enclosures, which passed between Mr. Lind, the then Magistrate, and the Secretary to Government C. P., I can give such clues as will, I think, tend to the conviction of the parties named.

1*st*—Jagesur Buksh, and Arjoon Sing, his brother, are the owners of what is now an empty name, the *talooka* of Budlapoor. Their conduct at the outbreak was not such as to induce their immediate neighbour and benefactor Mr. A. Waliski Senior to seek protection at their hands; had they been well inclined, they could have assisted Mr. and Mrs. Waliski materially, instead of leaving them to go off to a distance at Muchleeshuhur (Machhlishahr) where they met with many insults. Jagesur Buksh, however, was diplomatic enough to render some sort of aid to the fugitives who were protected by Roostum Sahi of Dera, and for this reason, that Lieutenant Tucker, the Commissioner's brother, was of the party, and for this service Mr. H. C. Tucker wrote him a handsome letter of acknowledgement, which I recovered from a bundle of papers in his *palkee* after the fight of Koodwah with other treasonable papers, which shall hereafter be alluded to.

JAGESHWAR BAKHSH IN POSSESSION OF BADLAPUR, PARWANAS ISSUED

As soon as the authorities abandoned Jounpoor, Jagesur Buksh took possession of all the villages constituting the ancient *talooka* (of) Budlapoor, and having driven away our Police and the men of the Rajah of Jounpoor, our ally, he appointed his own, and until the re-occupation of Jounpoor, he carried on a regular system of pillage and plunder. Early in October 1857, the *thannah* of Budlapoor was re-occupied and held chiefly by men lent to us by the Rajah of Jounpoor, and Rundheer Sing (Randhir Singh) of Singramow. From the pressure put upon the last named individual about this time, he began to fear us, and by way of proving to us that he was well disposed

towards our Government on the 14th October he sent in 4 *perwannahs*, all bearing the seals of the rebel Government functionaries, ordering him to attend, to pay up, to send supplies, and the like. The 4th of these *perwannahs* intimates the appointment of Baboo Jagesur Buksh to the charge of the Budlapoor *thannah* and *ilaka*, and Rundheer Sing is ordered to furnish a large contingent and give every assistance that the Baboo may require; information was also given that large force would immediately invade Jounpoor. A copy of this *perwannah* is attached to this Memo : marked 'A'.

In accordance with the above Jagesur Buksh with 400 men did come in and occupy the *thannah*, the *Darogah* taking refuge with Rundheer Sing, who was hard pressed by Jagesur to give him up, but fortunately he refused. Jagesur Buksh sent Phullie Sing, who was of his party, with a few men to drive in our *chowkee* called Dhuniamow, at the bridge near Colingera, and this they did, seizing and carrying off a *Burkundaz*, who has never since been heard of, and who was most likely tortured to death.

On the 16th of October, Rundheer Sing sent in 2 other *perwannahs* received from the rebel authorities and bearing their seals, a copy of one of these is appended, marked 'B'; it is to this effect—

"You have paid no attention to repeated calls for assistance, supplies etc. and therefore Baboo Arjoon Sing, *talookdar* of Budlapoor, (brother of Jagesur Buksh) is now sent to talk to you, and you must not fail in following the advice he will give you in regard to exterminating the infidels.

"You have only to join with me in establishing the Oude Government for God is against the infidels, and courage is all that is required."

On the 18th October, we advanced to Budlapoor with a force of Goorkhas, and found that the rebels had left 2 days before.

FIGHT AT KUDWA

On the 19th October, we fought the rebels at Koodwah (Kudwa), and as already said, treasonable correspondence was discovered. The most important paper was a letter addressed in Hindee by Arjoon Sing and others from the camp of the *Nazim* at Hussunpoor, to Jagesur Buksh and others,

with the party that fought against us at Koodwah, and found by me in the *palkee* tied up with Mr. Tucker's letter of acknowledgment, and this circumstance proves beyond doubt that Jagesur was fighting against us, and that both brothers were conspiring to murder any European, who fell into their hands. I give a copy of the letter in Oordoo marked C., and the following is the translation of it in English.

Letter to Jagesur Buksh, Pirthee Pal Sing, Gopal Sing and others from Arjoon Sing, Jogun Sing and Pal Sing.

"After greetings I* no sooner arrived here, than the *Nazim* sent for me. Jogun received a *khillut* and to us (himself and brother) was given a *perwannah* to hold Budlapoor rent-free for ever, and a promise that we should hereafter get Jounpoor. We are commanded to kill the Europeans and their well wishers, and to bestow *perwannahs* on all who are on our side. In conformity to this, I enclose 84 *perwannahs* to be at once forwarded to all the *talookdars* of Aldemow and Belkhur and Rajah Muhesh (Mahesh) Narain Rai, Ahburn Sing[1], Benee Buksh Sing (Beni Bakhsh Singh) Madho Sing and others. Yourself with Ahburn Sing, Benee Buksh, and Madho Sing, should appear before Chanda within 4 days with 2000 men. If you do this, you will receive credit, if not, disgrace. Tell the Raie Sahib that he will get all the 14 *koss* extending to the Lal-durwazah (Jounpoor); Jogun Sing has been appointed *Komedan* (Commandant of a *Nujeeb* Regiment) and myself *Oolooshdar* (2nd in Command of a Nujeeb Regiment). Jogun will get 100 Rs. and I 50/-. We have orders to enlist 1,000 men. I wish you to collect 500 good strong men from Burrowlee etc. etc. and bring them to Chanda. See that you keep the men of Dhodhur-ki-Serai as your own body-guard. We shall with 15,000 men come to Budlapoor by Sunday. Don't fail to be at Chanda by Saturday... Rundheer Sing has received a *perwannah*. You must bear in mind that an overwhelming force will soon assemble. If you and Ahburn Sing think

* "Arjoon was the writer"--Note in Original.
[1] This name is not clearly decipherable.

advisable, seize the *Darogah*, Daviedyal (Devi Dayal), and send him to Chanda.

Moortzabuksh's father (Moortzabuksh was if I remember, our *Thannadar*) has this day been seized, his house is watched, and the lives of none of his children shall be spared. Roostum Sah, *Vakeel*, (our ally) is being flogged with a *rattan*[1]."

Such was the document sent by one brother to the other, and in regard to the authenticity of which I am prepared to make oath.

The appointment of one of the Budlapoor *Thakoors* to command a Regiment was corroborated by the statement of Sooki Lol[2], the writer to one of the regiments, who was taken prisoner at the above fight, vide his deposition, which is in the Jounpoor Record Room; but he made a mistake in the name, giving one brother instead of the other.

ACTION AT CHANDA

On the 30th October, we again fought the rebels at Chanda, and from the son of the *zemindar* of Chanda, (a friend of Hingun Lall Deputy's), we learnt that Jagesur, Arjoon and their men were all present at that action. Subsequently, on the 20th and 22nd November, I received information of their being still with the *Nazim*, but that their followers had dwindled to 50.

INDIGO FACTORY BURNT

About the 18th December, a body of 900 men came down on Koereepoor[3], emboldened by the retreat of the Goorkhas from Singramow to Jounpoor, and burnt the Indigo factory; it is believed that Jagesur Buksh and Arjoon Sing were at the

[1] Can be read as 'rattau' also.

[2] May have been spelt for 'Sukh Lal' or 'Sukhey Lal'.

[3] Apparently *Koeripur*, Pargana *Chanda*, Tahsil *Khutahan*, District *Jaunpur*—This is the chief village of the detached portion of pargana Chanda, which is surrounded on all sides by the Sultanpur and Partabgarh districts. It stands in 26° 2′ N. and 82° 21′ E., a mile west from the road leading from Jaunpur to Sultanpur, at a distance of 32 miles from the district headquarters and three miles from Chanda. (*District Gazetteers*, Jaunpur, 1908, p. 272).

bottom of this move; but on this subject Mr. Waliski Senior can give valuable information; on the same day our Budlapoor *thannah* was again driven in by the same party.

Such is an outline of the conduct of Jagesur Buksh and Arjoon Sing, so far as it is known to me. I believe every word I have written is well known to Hingun Lall, Deputy Collector of Jounpoor, to Rajah Muhesh Narain, to Mohomed Zahoor of the Magistrate's Office, and to a Kaiet (Kayasth) lad who was Mr. Jenkinson's *Moonshee*. Through these two last all my confidential business was transacted. I believe it was Ajoodiapershaud (Ayodhya Prasad), *Canoongoe*, if I remember right, who translated the Hindee letter into Oordoo; be that as it may, Hingun Lall can easily trace the matter out, if he will.

Jagesur Buksh and Arjoon Sing are both men born under our rule, they are not men of Oude fighting for their King; they are men, who have driven in and maltreated our Police and plundered the property of Europeans, and thus insulted our nation, yea more, they have conspired to murder Englishmen, and the power to do it was all that was wanting. Surely, for these men the gallows is the only suitable reward and to this end the Magistrate offered, and Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner, who considered himself under an obligation to them, on his brother's account, sanctioned large rewards for their apprehension.

It may well be supposed then with what feelings of surprise I heard recently that Mr. Lind's successor had said, that these men were only guilty of simple rebellion (as if rebellion could be simple) and had granted them a sort of parole, that Mr. Evan (Mr. Waliski's son-in-law) had forgiven them their sins, and had strongly recommended them to the Deputy Commissioner of Fyzabad, and that Mr. Forbes, who knew little of them, had appointed one, if not both of them, *Thannadar* in his district.

I was still more astonished to hear a certain high official pass severe strictures on the stern conduct of the Jounpoor authorities, in regard to these and other criminals, during a crisis in which he was in England, on information derived most probably from a gentleman, who was also in England, well knowing as I did that in Jounpoor great discrimination had been exercised, and every capital sentence that had been passed by Mr. Astell, the Special Commissioner, had met with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor, C. P.

I have not the slightest objection to Indigo planters doing their best to alleviate their losses by getting compensation from their plunderers, and Government has admitted their right to do so.

This squares account between the parties. But Government is no party to a compromise so obtained, and justice must still be vindicated. If Mr. Evan is satisfied, the charges of open rebellion, of making away with our Police and conspiring to exterminate the European race as regards the defendants, have still to be answered.

ACTIVITIES OF BINDESHWARI PRASAD

Bindeshureepersad (Bindehwari Prasad): Of this man I have not so much to say, but he is not a wit (bit) less guilty than the others.

1*st*—He seized our *Tehseeldar*, Saligram, by stratagem, and detained him a prisoner for several weeks, and until he was released by the influence of Muhesh Narain. (This man is at Jounpoor to tell his own tale).

2*nd*—With a large force he attacked our *Tehseeldar* of Jounpoor and the Rajah of that place, who was assisting us by maintaining order, and he carried off a gun, which I believe he still has.

3*rd*—After our re-occupation of Jounpoor he attacked our *Kham Tehseel* Establishment at Munihar, wounded 3 of our men, and carried off 50 Rupees of collections, (full particulars of which are known to Ajoodia Persaud and the Deputy) and lastly, he had men fighting against us at Chanda and elsewhere. He is no Oude man, but was born under our rule. Many a less guilty man has most justly been hanged, a reward has also been offered for him, but he actually had the impudence to call on me the other day at Sultanpoor. It was not however till he had left, (never having seen him before) that I discovered that he was the identical proclaimed offender.

I believe Mr. Jenkinson has been sent back to Jounpoor, many of the above facts are within his knowledge, and no better plan could be adopted than to allow him to prosecute these cases before Mr. Astell, the Special Commissioner.

Original demi-official correspondence about these men is in the office of the Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, and my journal and evidence are available.

I must conclude with a remark about Roostum Sahi[1], he has done great service, and we are under obligations to him, but this gives him no license (*sic*,) to try and obtain the absolution of heinous offenders by concealing their crimes, and of this, he should be solemnly warned.[2]

INVASION OF JAUNPUR AND AZAMGARH PLANNED

Extract from intelligence from the Magistrate of Jaunpur, dated October 15, 1857.

JAGESHWAR BAKHSH ADVANCES TOWARDS BADLAPUR

We heard yesterday from two or three sources that the rebel Juggeshur Buksh (Jageshwar Bakhsh) had made good his advance to Budlapore[3], and had taken possession of the *thannah* with 400 men. The *thannadar* had gone to Singramow to be under the protection of Rundheer Singh. I disbelieved this information, and thought the rumour might have originated from the circumstance of Juggeshur Buksh having been appointed *Thannadar* of Budlapore by one of the *Nazim's Chuckladars*. Rundheer Singh sent me copies of four *purwannahs* sent to him by the rebels, the purport of which is generally calling on Rundheer for supplies for the army, which is about to descend on this place; telling him to withdraw the men furnished to us, and immediately to join the rebel army with all his forces, informing him of the appointment of Juggeshur Buksh as *Thannadar* of Budlapore, and finally urging in very uncomplimentary language the extermination of the "infidel dogs". I have sent for the originals of these, and will forward them to you on receipt.

PHULLI SINGH RAIDS A CHAUKI

Subsequent information, however, confirmed the fact

[1] Spelt as 'Roostum Sah' or 'Roostum Sahai' in some documents, (pp. 213, 217, 226).

[2] Foreign Department Consultations, 11th March 1859, No. 18. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] *Badlapur*, Pargana *Rari*, District *Jaunpur*—It lies in 25° 53′ N. and 82° 27′ E., at the junction of the roads from Jaunpur to Sultanpur and from Badshahpur to Khutahan, at a distance of 19 miles north-west from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Jaunpur, 1908, p. 188).

of Juggeshur's presence at Budlapore; and later in the evening we heard that Phullee Sing had committed a raid on one of the *chowkees* in the jurisdiction of Bukshee *thannah*, and had seized a *Burkundauze*, and had carried him away.[1]

* * *

Extract from intelligence received from Carnegy, incharge of Intelligence Department, Jaunpur, dated October 15, 1857.

The *Nazim* is still at Hussanpore*, and his Aldamow *Naib* at Akbarpore†. The *Nazim* has six guns with him, of which three are old King's guns, one he has taken or received from Roostum Sahai, one he got from Mozuffer Jehan, and one from some *talookdar*.

NAZIM TO RAISE REGIMENTS

He has sanction from Lucknow to raise twelve regiments, of which eight, of 1,000 men each, have already been enlisted. Two of these regiments have been sent to Chanda, with the view of assisting any *talookdars* about Budlapore× that may require aid. Three days ago Syud Mahomed Hosen (Saiyid Muhammad Husain), *Chuckladar* of Azimghur with six guns and the Dobaie regiment of sepoys (41st Native Infantry), of which Bowanee Sing (Bhawani Singh), *Subadar*, is commandant, with 50 *Nujeebs* arrived at Tanda** and are waiting for Jyelal Sing (Jai Lal Singh), *Nazim* of Jounpore and Azimghur, to arrive there, preparatory to starting for the latter place. The *talookdars* have been pressed to join, and he (*sic*,-that) of Berhun has answered that his men can be picked up on the march to Azimghur. Rajah Jyelal, *Nazim*, with Sheikh Bhada[2] Buksh of Darranugger, *Chuckladar* of Jounpore (opposed to Journal of 13th, when Shah Golam Hosen was named for this office) with

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 33 in 7, p. 76.

Notes in Original :—

* Twenty miles from frontier of Jounpore.

† Twenty miles from frontier of Jounpore, north-east.

× A thannah in Jounpore.

** Twenty miles from frontier of Azimgurh.

[2] Correct name may be 'Khuda Bakhsh'.

[3] Spelt for 'Shah Ghulam Husain'.

5,000 *Nujeebs* and 14 guns, arrived at Begumgunge on the 11th, and will be at Tanda by this time.

GORAKHPUR NAZIM TO SEND 5,000 MEN

When the *Nazim* arrives there the force will be divided off to attack Azimgurh and Jounpore, and the *Nazim* of Goruckpore has been ordered to send 5,000 men to co-operate, which he will certainly do, though he won't go himself. The *Chuckladar* of Akberpore has twelve *hurkaras*, and Mehndie Hussein, ten, who bring them daily news from Jounpore. (Efforts are being made to discover these).

RESOURCES POOLED TO FIGHT THE BRITISH

On the 10th October, the *Chuckladar* of Aldamow received information that all the Goorkhas had left Jounpore for Allahabad, except 100 men who were in the fort. The *talookdars* have not yet paid in any regular revenue, but they have all advanced money to the government officers for expenses, and the Birhur man has sent to say that he has 1,400 men all ready to fight against the English, but they must be paid by the State. Khajah Hosen Buksh (Khwaja Husain Bakhsh) *Canoongo* (*Qanungo*) of *pergunnah* Akberpore has sent the *Chuckladar* 5,000 rupees, and has made over his hundred retainers to him. He is doing his utmost to collect a four anna instalment of revenue and all the arrangements of the *Chuckla* are made by him. Khajah Ehsan brother of the above *Canoongo*, has been appointed second in command of Munsub (Mansab) Ali's regiment, and Ashghur Ali (Asghar Ali) son of the same party, *Tomandar*. This regiment arrived at Tanda yesterday (the 11th).

A *hurkara* returned from Chanda. He says there are 600 or 700 *Nujeebs* with the *Chuckladar*; and a relative of Mehndie Hussein's is also there. *Zemindars* are constantly coming and going and of their retainers, there are generally 1,500 or 2,000 about the place. Circulars have been sent to *zemindars*, promising a remission of two years' revenue hereafter, if they will provide men and guns to go against Jounpore; 200 or 300 men at a guess, have occupied Budlapore under Jagesur Buksh. The messenger met 15 men between Budlapore and Singramow taking away a *Burkundauze* and *Hurkara* of ours, fastened with

ropes, who had been seized through Phullee Sing. The latter is at his (burnt down) village near Colingera, with 100 men.

ATTACK ON JAUNPUR AND BANARAS INTENDED

A second *Hurkara* of Ajeet Sing's came in afterwards from the same place, and corroborates the above. He adds, that he heard Mehndie Hussein had got six or seven guns set up on carriages at Hussanpore, and that the attack on Jounpore and Benares would be made with the assistance of Maun Sing's people. When this man was returning here, he saw Jagesur Buksh at Singramow, who was trying to get Kundheer Sing to make over our *Thannadar* and Police to him, but he refused.[1]

* * *

Extract from a letter from Carnegy, incharge of Intelligence Department, Jaunpur, dated 15th Oct. 1857.

The former (Ajeet Sing) has sent in copies of four *perwannahs* from the King's office and from the Chanda *Chuckladar*, desiring him at once to join in exterminating the *Kaffers*, and to collect *Russad* for Hussun Yar and his 4,000 men, who will soon go to annex Jounpore.[2]

ENCOUNTER AT MUBARAKPUR

Letter from the Magistrate of Jaunpur to the Commissioner of Banaras, dated Jaunpur, October 9, 1857.

I have the honor to submit the narrative of events for this district for the past week.

On Sunday night, at 12 midnight, a force, consisting of 1,000 Goorkhas and four guns, left this place, *en route* for Moobaruckpore (Mubarakpur). The distance by the road we were obliged to take, on account of having the guns with us, is not less than fifteen or sixteen miles. Rajah Iradut Jehan

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 36 in No. 7, pp. 77-78.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 35 in No. 7, p. 77.

talookdar of Moobaruckpore, has, by numerous acts, testified his disaffection to our Government; and as he was a man of influence and substance, I deemed it expedient to direct my first operations against him. His spirit of disaffection will be shown, in the sequel of this narrative, by his conduct on our near approach to the stronghold of Moobaruckpore. This stronghold is situated in a comparatively open space, being surrounded at some distance by heavy *dock* (*dhak*) jungle. It is encircled by a mud-wall and adjoining it is a grove of trees, also enclosed. These walls were all loopholed, and, we have every reason to believe, screened armed men. There are two entrances, one from the north and the other from the west; the former is the main entrance, and in front of it earthen *Moorchas* (*morchas*) had been recently thrown up.

Our force marched to the north of Moobaruckpore, and then deployed so as to bring the guns opposite to the principal entrance. Some time before our arrival before the place, the tocsin was heard sounding the alarm to collect the rebels. These we could distinctly see from the distance running in the direction of the stronghold.....[1]

BID TO OCCUPY JAUNPUR AND AZAMGARH

Extract from intelligence from the Magistrate of Jaunpur, dated October 16, 1857:

The plot is thickening. The rebels seem determined to occupy this and the Azimghur district. They appear to be advancing in large numbers. Carnegy's correspondent's letter is dated 12th instant, and before that time, it was known in the rebel camp that the Goorkhas were moving out of this district. This has emboldened the enemy very much. I think it probable that the severest attack will be made upon Azimghur.[2]

BRISK PREPARATIONS FOR AN ATTACK

Telegraphic Message from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Banaras, October 17, 1857.

I respectfully entreat immediate attention to my public

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 17 in No. 10, p. 274.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 34 in No. 7, p. 76.

dispatch, dated and posted 15th instant. The reports of yesterday and to-day leave no doubt that the enemy has the means and the design of a simultaneous and immediate invasion of Jounpore and Azimghur. The 41st Regiment has just marched into Tanda, twenty miles from frontier of Azimghur. Orders from the Oude officials for the collection of supplies for the army coming to uproot the infidels, have been discovered and sent to me. The Magistrate of Azimghur believes that they will advance in six or seven days, but that they will not be prepared to do so before. I have no reason to doubt this. That great preparations (they) are making is certain. I do not think the frontier can be left with safety to the 2,400 Goorkhas alone. I am convinced that a small body of Europeans with two guns for each of the two Goorkha bodies at Jounpore and Azimghur to give them consistency, and a good Military commander, is now absolutely necessary. I urge the employment eventually of two strong Wings, which will prevent invasion. As an immediate measure, I recommend an order from the Commander-in-Chief by return telegraphic message, to stop 400 men or one Wing to act immediately on the frontier according to circumstances.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER MENHDI HUSAIN FIGHT THE GORKHAS

Copy of letter No. 157 from Lieutenant-Colonel F. J. Wroughton, in Military Charge, Gorkha Force, to Lt. Colonel R. Strachey, Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, Camp Singramau, 20th October 1857.

From (*sic*,-for) some time past, rumours had prevailed that Mehndee Hossein, the *Nazim* of Sultanpore, was collecting an army, and putting together guns, with a view to seizing the district of Jounpore, and that he had dispatched an advance guard to Chanda (distant from our present encampment about 10 miles), and which place it was my intention to have attacked, had the rebels not moved down towards us.

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 32 in No. 7, p. 76.

MARCH TOWARDS SINGRAMAU

2*nd*—On the road between this and our last ground, one of my *Chuprassies*, whom I had sent to Chanda for information reported that the enemy had that morning quitted that place, and had come down to within three miles of Singramow. To this statement, however, I did not at first attach much credit, but as it was afterwards corroborated by others, leaving the fact of their proximity no longer a doubt, I lost no time in proposing to Colonel Puhlwan Singh an immediate attack, which was cordially responded to by that gallant officer, and by noon about (1,000) one thousand men and 4 guns had fallen in and were ready to start towards the enemy's camp.

3*rd*—Some little delay, however, occurred in making arrangements for the protection of our camp, surrounded as we were by the troops of a very doubtful friend, the *zemindar* of Singramow, by name Murdheer Singh, on whom I had reason to look with the greatest suspicion, and whom Mr. Lind, the Magistrate, took with us, to place beyond a possibility any attack on our camp during our absence.

ENCOUNTER NEAR THE VILLAGE OF KUDWA

4*th*—The force moved off at 2 P. M. and after considerable delay, caused by the bad state of the roads, we arrived in the vicinity of the enemy's position, near the village of Kodowah. The rebels were encamped in a tope of trees surrounded by *nullahs*, ravines, jungles, and dense cultivations of sugar-cane and Indian-corn, with a thick jungle on their left, and an extensive *jheel* of water on their right. In fact so dense was the vegetation all round, that nothing could be seen beyond the field immediately on our front, and I had almost commenced to despair of finding the enemy in such a country, when a number of horsemen met my observation, evidently making off towards the jungle on our left. I immediately ordered the guns to be unlimbered, and a line to be formed, and a few shot and shell from the former to be sent into the wood. This had the desired effect of making the horsemen return to their camp. We then advanced, and very shortly, to our astonishment, we came on the enemy's position. The Goorkhas, observing that a retreat was being made by the enemy could no longer be restrained; gave one cheer, and dashed at them in a splendid

manner, nor did they give up the pursuit until quite overcome by fatigue and exhaustion.

HASAN YAR KHAN IN ACTION

5*th*—Two Companies of the Shere Regiment managed to get beyond any others, and the officer reports having seen a person, evidently of some distinction, mounted on an elephant and surrounded by 30 armed men, beating a precipitate retreat. This was no doubt Hussen Yar Khan, the *Chuckladar*, whose capture would have been easy, had we had more Cavalry, that under Mr. Jenkinson having been at the time occupied in an opposite direction, the Goorkhas were so exhausted, (that) they could not move.

6*th*—There does not appear to have been much opposition shown by the enemy at first, but I, as well as others, witnessed some desperate hand-to-hand encounters.....

MENHDI HUSAIN'S TROOPS REPORTED DISPERSED

9*th*—The number of Goorkhas engaged was (1,000) one thousand, and I put the enemy down at (1200) twelve hundred, without guns. I understand there were three organised regiments consisting of about (800) eight hundred men, and the rest was made up of matchlock-men from the neighbouring *zemindars*. We took (7) seven standards. The enemy had no guns, we had four, but with the exception of the first few discharges, we could not bring them into play, in consequence of the rapidity with which the pursuit was followed up.

It was yesterday reported, that the road between this and Chanda was strewed (*sic*,-strewn) with the dead and (the) wounded, and that Mehndee Hossein's troops had, after plundering his treasury, totally dispersed.[1]

MENHDI HUSAIN LEADS TO FIGHT THE EUROPEANS

Letter No. 172 *from Lieutenant-Colonel F. J. Wroughton, in Military Charge, Gorkha Force, to Lieutenant-Colonel Strachey, Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, Camp Singramau,* 31*st October* 1857.

I have the honor to report, for the information of His

[1] *Agra Government Gazette*, Jan. to Dec. 1858, Agra, Tuesday January 19, 1858, pp. 17-19.

Honor the Lieutenant-Governor that the force under command of Colonel Puhlwan Singh gained a complete victory over the rebels yesterday, capturing four guns and all their ammunition.

CONCENTRATION OF REVOLUTIONARIES AT CHANDA

From the very excellent intelligence communicated to me the day before by Mr. Carnegy, it was evident that the rebels were collecting fast at Chanda, and that the arrival of the *Nazim*, Mehndee Hossein, would be the signal for a general advance on our position. Under these circumstances, I considered it advisable to attack the enemy at once, although very much our superior, both in numbers and in Artillery.

A Column, consisting of about (1,100) eleven hundred Goorkhas, left this at 8 A. M., and reached the enemy's position, which was an admirably chosen and excessively strong one, and distant about 10 miles at 11½ O'clock.

It being evident that it was the intention of the enemy to defend the road passing through his position, it was considered proper to attack in two Columns, which movement was admirably carried out by Colonel Puhlwan Singh. The enemy was taken in both flanks, and perceiving himself out-manoeuvred, began to fall back, having kept up a well-directed fire of Artillery for two hours.

The rebels numbered at least five thousand with five guns, under the immediate command of Mehndee Hossein, who had only been in camp a couple of hours previous to our attacking him.

BRITISHERS SUSTAIN HEAVY LOSSES

There cannot be a doubt that the *Nazim* had a number of mutineers, both Artillery and Infantry, attached to his force. The Artillery was manned by experienced gunners. Our loss, of which I beg to forward a return, was heavy. Amongst the killed, I regret to be obliged to include the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Muddun Maun Singh[1], an excellent officer, and one who, on the day of his death, had nobly done his duty as a soldier.

[1] Correct name may be 'Madan Mohan Singh' or 'Madan Man Singh'.

Lieutenant Gumbheer Singh, of the Shere Regiment, now lies covered with wounds. This officer I beg prominently to bring to the notice of Government for his great gallantry, such as would, in our service, entitle a person to the highest honor being conferred on him.

The Lieutenant rushed on seven men defending a gun, cut down five, and wounded the others, who made off. He himself received eight sword-cuts.

I cannot speak too highly of the behaviour of the troops on this occasion, and to Colonel Puhlwan Singh every praise is due for his coolness and tact.

The loss of the enemy I put down at only (200) two hundred, a small number indeed; but as we have no Cavalry, and as the men were completely exhausted by their long march and rapid advance, a pursuit was out of the question. I regret to say the enemy took away one small gun.

The force was accompanied by Captain Steel, Lieutenant Clark, Assistant Surgeon Paske, Mr. Carnegy, Deputy Collector, and Mr. Waleski, Indigo Planter, and to all these Officers and Gentlemen I am infinitely obliged for the assistance they rendered me. Lieutenant Clark had charge of the left Column of attack, and did his work admirably.[1]

BRITISHERS FALL BACK ON JAUNPUR

Telegraphic Message from the Governor General, Calcutta, to Brigadier Campbell, Allahabad, dated 29th November 1857.

I beg you to do your best to convey the following message to the Commander-in-Chief :—

The Oude rebels and sepoys who are pressing upon Jounpore (Jaunpur) and Azimghur have increased to 20,000 men with 16 guns. Lieutenant-Colonel Longden is in danger of being overwhelmed and has fallen back on Juanpore. He will probably have to retire upon Benares. It is of vital importance that Benares should be protected, and that the rebels should not cross the Ganges and pour into Behar. There are barely 200 European soldiers at Benares. This being so, and

[1] *Agra Government Gazette*, Jan.—Dec. 1858, Agra, Tuesday January 19, 1858, pp. 19-21.

communication between Benares and your camp being cut off I have directed that all bullock-train and horse-dawk detachments now on their way to Benares shall be halted there for the present. This will continue until further orders are sent from Calcutta or from yourself. Colonel Franks will start for Benares at once to take command of the troops in the field there. He will not interfere with Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon's Command. He is directed to ask for your orders as soon as communication is open between Benares and Cawnpore.[1]

BENI MADHO SINGH INSTRUCTED TO DESTROY THE ENGLISH

Translation of a letter from Banee Madho Singh (Beni Madho Singh) to Thakoor Rustum Sah Sing (Thakur Rustam Shah Singh), Taluqdar of Dera.

His Majesty directs me, by means of a force he has sent, to settle the districts of Jounpore and Azimghur, and to instruct the rajahs and *talookdars* of these parts to destroy the troops of the English. With my guns and men, and the assistance of the rajahs of these parts, I will start for and settle Azimghur in one week.

I write to you that if well inclined you may come and help me with your guns and men.[2]

KHUDA BAKHSH ACTIVE IN JAUNPUR

Extracts from Narrative of Events for Jaunpur.

23*rd*—The centre Column of Brigadier Franks' force under Colonel Eveleigh H. M.'s 20th Regiment advanced on the 9th to Budlapoor, on the 10th moved to the open plain near Peelkuchla Ghat.

24*th*—On the 11th a salute of 7 guns was heard to the north of the camp. It proved to have been fired by Khoda Buksh (Khuda Bakhsh) before retreating, which he did in such precipitate haste, that he abandoned his guns and baggage and

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th December 1857, No. 90. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 27 in No. 8, pp. 149-150.

only sent for, and recovered them when he perceived he was not followed. The force with Khoda Buksh consists, it is reported, of about 2,000 men, of whom 200 are sepoys and 40 sowars.

25*th*—An unfortunate writer of accounts belonging to the Tigra *tehsil*[1] who was made prisoner by the rebels when that post was abandoned was blown from a gun by this rebel, his hands and nose having been previously cut off.

26*th*—Mr. Lind was taking advantage of the presence of the Column on the frontier to attack or destroy the property of some of the leading rebels of the locality and one of them (a *Rajcoomar* chief) had been arrested.

27*th*—The disposition of the people generally is however reported as good, but from the cruel severity exercised by the rebels the most loyal are afraid to give any assistance to our troops and the Civil Officers in restoring tranquillity. On this account Mr. Lind does not anticipate the final settlement of the district until the troops of the rebel *Nazims* and *Chuckledars* have been completely broken and dispersed, and the confidence of the people in our power to punish and protect is once more restored.

28*th*—A party of about 50 disaffected persons of the locality, attempted to destroy during the night of the 17th (three days only after the Column had passed through) the house formerly occupied by the *thannah* at Budlapoor; they were however, surprised and dispersed by Sheorutton Sing (Shiv Ratan Singh), who with his levies holds the old fort at that place.[2]

BRITISH FORCES CONCENTRATED AT BADLAPUR

No reports received from Jounpore, but it is known General Franks' force is concentrated at Budlahpore.[3]

* * *

[1] *Tighra*, now a small village six miles from *Kheta Sarai* on the Kheta Sarai-Khutahan Road.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 16th January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 6th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Narrative of Events for Jaunpur.

The force under General Franks was concentrated at Budlapoor and preparing to advance on Sooltanpoor.

The convoy of ammunition for Goruckpore (Gorakhpur) was at Jounpoor on the 8th instant.[1]

MENHDI HUSAIN'S ADVANCED GUARD ENCOUNTERS THE BRITISH FORCES

It is known that Colonel Franks' entire force crossed the frontier into Oude on the 18th and on the following day attacked the advanced guards of Mehndee Hussun's force which was strongly entrenched to the number of 8,000 (of whom 2500 were sepoys, chiefly the 71st, 48th, 28th, and 20th Regiments) under Bundeh Hussun *Chuckledar*. They were driven out of their position with considerable loss, and pursued for several miles, when Mehndee Hussun's force which was coming up to join them was also intercepted and put to flight. Our casualties were very trifling and 6 guns were captured from the enemy.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Jaunpur.

Colonel Franks' Column has been altogether absent during the week in Oudh and its operations no longer come within the scope of this narrative. Mr. Lind the Collector has been active in furnishing this force with carriage and supplies.[3]

MARIAHU DISTURBED

The Murriahoo *pergunnah* is somewhat disturbed but Mr.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 21st February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 28th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Jenkinson is proceeding with a small force in that direction to bring it into order.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Jaunpur.

Mr. Jenkinson is still out in *pergunnah* Murreeahoo, but no event of importance has occurred in that or any other part of this district.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Jaunpur.

Mr. Jenkinson's report from the Murriahoo *pergunnah* has been received; it relates no event of importance; all the leaders in the acts of violence committed in this *pergunnah* had fled, and Mr. Jenkinson had been occupied mainly in collecting all the evidence existing against them, confiscating their property, and levelling their houses.[3]

JAUNPUR FRONTIER THREATENED

The frontier of this district is again threatened from Oudh and several small inroads have been actually made, some under the guidance of the dacoit Sungram Sing of Murreeahoo. On one occasion our *zemindaree* levies made a successful resistance, several of the rebels were wounded and 6 made prisoners.[4]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 13th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

ATTEMPT TO BURN AN INDIGO FACTORY

This district is more tranquil than ever; even the turbulent *pergunnah* of Murriahoo (Mariahu) has become settled.

Some Mussulmans attempted to excite a disturbance by proclaiming that the British army before Lucknow had been destroyed, but the numerous carters and other followers who have returned from the army before Lucknow, have widely diffused the true story.

The consequence is that the rural population have now turned in our favor. Singram Sing of Murriahoo a few days ago endeavoured to burn down an Indigo factory, and was prevented by the very persons who had been formerly his followers.[1]

GHULAM HUSAIN SWOOPS DOWN ON JAUNPUR

Gholam Hossein, son of the rebel *Nazim* of Goruckpore, towards the close of the week, came down on the northern portion of this district, and forced the *Tehsildars* of Tigra and Budlapore to fall back; his force was supposed to be about 4,000 to 5,000 men, of whom not a quarter were sepoys; he had also some guns.

Sir E. Lugard attacked them on the 12th. The rest of the district was quiet.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Jaunpur.

The last narrative stated the intention of Sir E. Lugard to attack the rebel force under Gholam Hoosein. He marched to meet them on the 12th but found they had fled. The heat had so much exhausted his troops that he was compelled to halt, but in the evening continued the pursuit with his Cavalry and Horse Artillery.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 12th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

They overtook the rebels in full flight, attacked and dispersed them with some loss and took all their guns. This success has totally overthrown the influence of the rebels but was purchased by the loss of Lieutenant C. W. Havelock 66th N. I., who was shot thro' the head; his was, however, the only fatal casualty, six sowars alone were wounded.

Since that time the district has been undisturbed, though Mehndee Hoosein is endeavoring to collect followers in Oudh. The weekly collections were 16,300.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ENTRENCH AT BADSHAHPUR

Jounpore is only disturbed by bands, half rebel half dacoit, with which the Police is generally strong enough to deal. One party at Badshahpore, on the Allahabad road, was however, said to be entrenching itself, and it was proposed to employ a small body of Military Police to disperse them.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES DISLODGED IN JAUNPUR

Jaunpur—In Jounpore one of the chief bands of rebels has been driven out of its entrenchment by a loyal *zemindar* and one of the enemy was killed.[3]

JHURI SINGH ENCAMPED IN A GARDEN

Jamadar Zahur Ali's letter to Naimat Ali Khan, Thanedar of Gopiganj, dated May 14, 1858.

(Salutations).....Submits that.....

Today at 2 P. M. it was learnt from the letter of Bisheswar

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 18th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 25th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 9th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Dayal, *Karinda* of.....(Illegible) Singh, *zemindar*, faithful to the Govt., that Jhuri Singh, the rebel and murderer of Mr. Moore, has come from the territory of the King of Avadh and has encamped with about 1500 men in the garden named Dasmi in the *ilaqa* of Bhameri, *pargana* of Mongir. You are being informed so that you may order the *Barqandazes* to keep proper vigilance lest.....(not readable).....may block the main road.[1]

JHURI SINGH IN MAUZA SUMRI

Statement dated May 15, 1858, *of Lotan.*

Lotan son of Alapay (Illegible) Pasi by caste, age—about 35 years, profession—service as a Watchman—resident—*mauza* Bardora—Gurait (watchman of the above-named village) presented himself and deposed:

I heard yesterday that Jhuri Singh came with his troops in *mauza* Sumri. I went to see with my own eyes and found that there were one thousand men armed with muskets. There were eight horsemen, one of whom was Jhuri Singh himself. I saw him with my own eyes. I did not go inside their ranks but watched them from close quarters and came back.

Question—Do these belong to the absconders from Pur Bhadra (Illegible) town or are they *Tilangas* ?

Answer—They are not *Tilangas* but the absconders of Pur Bhadra town.

Question—To what *ilaqa* does *mauza* Sumri belong ?

Answer—*Mauza* Sumri is in *pargana* Machhli Shahr District Jaunpur. It is one *kos* north-west of our village, Hardwa and at a distance of 10 miles to the north-west of, Gopi Ganj.[2]

BADSHAHPUR STILL DISTURBED

The Badshahpore *pergunnah* of this district is yet dis-

[1] Almora Mutiny Basta—File: 'Report regarding movements of Jhuri Singh and other rebels'.

[2] *Ibid.*

turbed; but the rest of the district is quiet, and Mr. Sandeman is working through the loyal *zemindars*, and with success.....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER JHURI SINGH AT KISHNI

Letter dated 17th May 1858.

(Salutations).....Submits that.....

It was learnt yesterday morning that Jhuri Singh and others moved from Sumri to Bazar Jhangoi District Allahabad at the distance of one *kos* from the borders of Bhadohi. They had an army of about 1000 men. Then in the evening, it was learnt that he, with Sitla Bakhsh, son of the Raja of Dalippur, a rebel who has a troop of 500 matchlockmen, encamped in *mauza* Kishni, adjacent to the *chowki* of Auj and close to the Bhadohi borders, near the main road to the north-west corner, in Allahabad district. It is also rumoured abroad that after offering prayers they will march to the place they are destined to go to. By your grace, our strength here is increasing. Submitted.[2]

JHURI SINGH ON ALLAHABAD AND JAUNPUR BORDERS

Letter dated 18th May 1858.

(Salutations).....Submits that.....

It was known till yesterday that Jhuri Singh and his followers were still on the borders of Jaunpur and Allahabad; Today it is being said that they will encamp somewhere in *pargana* Bhadohi, though it has proved to be only a rumour. Some troops have been despatched by the Maharaja and it is hoped that they will arrive here sometime today. After they have come, it is possible to pursue and punish them.

Submitted for information.[3]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Almora Mutiny Basta – File: 'Report regarding movements of Jhuri Singh and other rebels'.

[3] *Ibid*

JHURI SINGH ACTIVE IN JAUNPUR

At the close of the preceding week Jhoorye Sing entered the Badshahpore *pergunnah* and after plundering Mr. Saunders' factory at Summiho subsequently as has been already said plundered the bazar of Ghiswa or Muchlee Shehur.

The *Tehsildar* and *Thannahdar* however though not very forward in resistance, maintained their posts and so partly saved the place and the rapid concentration by Mr. Sandeman's orders of a considerable body of levies, Police and some Seikhs (Sikhs) and sowars under Mr. Jenkinson and Lieutenant Pullan in that direction induced Jhoorye Singh to quit his prey and even to turn away from Murreeahoo which he threatened and march westward as described before.

The movement of a more formidable body of rebels on the northern frontier is also noticed, but they are now said to be concentrating towards Fyzabad.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Jaunpur.

The Commissioner calls the attention of Government to the loyal conduct of Rajah Mohesh (Mahesh) Narain, during the disturbances caused by Jhoorye Singh's recent irruption, in raising a body of his clan for the preservation of order, and rendering valuable service on the western border of the district. Subsequently he attacked a smaller gang headed by one Phullee Singh, a notorious dacoit, who was slain in the fight which ensued, together with two of his followers, one an escaped life convict. The Commissioner also speaks in high terms of the zealous exertions of Mr. Jenkinson, the Assistant Magistrate.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES ENTER MARIAHU

A party of sepoys made their way into the Murriahoo

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

pergunnah and tried to raise that part of the country, but failed.[1]

SANGRAM SINGH ACTIVE IN BANARAS AND JAUNPUR

Banaras and Jaunpur—These usually tranquil districts have been disturbed by Singram Singh of Murriahoo[2] in Jounpore, a notoriously turbulent character, who possibly encouraged by the passage of the sepoys mentioned in the last Narrative, has been plundering on the borders of both districts. He is at the head of about 300 men and has carried off a good deal of property.[3]

SANGRAM SINGH ESCAPES CATPURE BY THE BRITISH

In this district nothing of importance has transpired; the rebel Sungram Sing is still in *pergunnah* Murreahoo; but has been successfully opposed by Mr. Taylor, the officiating Joint Magistrate, who on one occasion nearly succeeded in capturing him. A considerable body of Police levies, Horse and Foot, under *Resaldar* Augusty Waleski has been sent to support Mr. Taylor, and he will probably be able to quell that part of the country.

REPORTED DEATH OF JHURI SINGH

Jhoorye Sing the murderer of Mr. Moore C. S. is said to have died of cholera in Oude .....[4]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 3rd July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Mariahu,* Pargana and Tahsil *Mariahu,* District *Jaunpur*—The headquarters town of the Mariahu tahsil stands in 25° 36′ N. and 82° 37′ E., on the main road from Jaunpur to Mirzapur, at a distance of twelve miles south-west from the former. (*District Gazetteers,* Jaunpur, 1908, p. 279).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 11th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 1st August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

BANARAS RAJA'S MEN CLASH WITH POLICE

An affray of a somewhat serious nature between our Police levies, and the retainers of the Benares Raja has taken place in the Jounpoor district. One of the former is said to have been killed, and several wounded; the cause of quarrel is not reported. All else in these three districts is quiet.[1]

SANGRAM SINGH IN MARIAHU PARGANA

Benares, Mirzapoor, Jounpoor are all quiet though Singram and a few followers are still leading and committing occasional acts of plunder and violence in the Murreahoo *pergunnah* of the latter district.[2]

MARIAHU INVADED AGAIN

Jounpore is generally quiet but *pergunnah* Murreeahoo has been subjected to another incursion by the rebel Sungram Sing...[3]

REPRESSION IN JAUNPUR

BHAIRON PRASAD AND OTHERS APPREHENDED AND COMMITTED

Judgment dated Oct. 14, 1857 *by the Committing Judge.*

The seizing of some *Hurkaras* and on them some seditious letters, directed to Jawalanauth from Taranath by the *Thannadar* of Jalalpoor led to the apprehension of Bairo Purshad and Isri Purshad his father, *Mahajans* of Benares. Altogether one *Jemadar* Hiccha.....(Illegible) and eight *Hurkaras* were

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 14th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 22nd August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Jaunpur for the week ending 28th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

caught. The *Jemadar* says that he laid the *dak* by Bairo Purshad's orders, that he has been his servant for 10 years. The 8 *Hurkaras* all depose that they were appointed by the *Jemadar* to carry letters etc. between Hussenpore and Benares, and that Bairo Purshad, Isri Purshad and Jugdyal, who seems to have managed the *dak*, lived together. Bairo Purshad and Isri Purshad deny having any thing to do with it—the former says that the *Jemadar* is not his servant and that the case is a got up one, the latter denies knowing anything about anything. Against him I am afraid there is no proof.

Jawalanath to whom the seditious letter was addressed is acknowledged by Bairo Purshad to be known to him. By the evidence of Raja Deo Narain, Baboo Debi Singh and Narain Das all of Benares, and the latter a kinsman of Bairo Purshad, it is proved that Jawalanath was a servant of Bairo Purshad and that Bairo Purshad allowed him to leave Benares on his security.

It appears to me quite clear that the defendant sent this *dak*; and for what purpose will be best seen by perusing the seditious letters. He has been suspected for some time by the authorities at Benares of playing a double game. I therefore commit him on the charge of writing seditious letters and the eight *Hurkaras* and *Jemadar* on the charge of aiding and abetting such seditious correspondence.[1]

BHAIRON PRASAD AND OTHERS EXECUTED

Judgment dated 16th October 1857.

Court of Special Commissioner for the Trial of Offences against the state under Act XIV of 1857.

Whereas in a trial held on the 16th day of the month of October 1857 Bhyro Pershaud, Diteba[18], Nohim[19], Medhee[20], Bundhun[21], Mukdoom[22], Setul[23], Ujudha[24], Bhuwan Bheek[25], and Mohaoi[26]—having been convicted of crimes committed with the intention of assesting (*sic*,—assisting) them who are carrying war against the state, and sentence by the Special Commissioner for the Trial of offences against the state to be all hung by their neck until they were dead, one Issree Doss[29] (Ishri Das) having been acquitted, and ordered to (be) released.

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Bhairon Prasad and Ishwari Prasad etc.*" Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

It is hereby ordered that execution of the said sentence be made and done upon the said prisoners sometime before night-fall—and that you do return this warrant to me with an endorsement attested by your official seal and signature certifying the manner in which the sentence has been executed as commanded by the Regulations enacted by the Governor General in Council and now in force. Herein fail not.

Certified that the sentence has this day been explained to the within named prisoners.

I hereby certify that the sentence of death passed on Bhyro Persad, Ditcha, Nihim, Medhee (Midhai), Bundhun, Mukdoom (Makhdum), Sital, Ujudha (Ajudhia), Bhuwan Bheek and Mohaoi (Menhdi), by the Special Commissioner has been duly executed, that the said prisoners were accordingly hanged by the neck till they were dead on the 16th October 1857.

I further certify that the bodies of the prisoners were remained hanging and that no accident, error or other misadventure occurred during their duties.[1]

ARTICLES OF BHAIRON PRASAD CONFISCATED

Letter from the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Fort William, 18th January 1858, No. 93.

With reference to your letter no. 2784 dated the 22nd ultimo and the despatch from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors relative to the articles contributed by certain Benares manufacturers to the late Paris Exhibition, I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to transmit herewith for the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council the accompanying copy of a communication from Mr. A. M. Doweans, soliciting the instructions of Government for the disposal of 12 pieces of manufactures contributed by Baboo Byroopersad of Banaras, who, he believes is the identical person recently executed for treason and suggesting that in the

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the case *Government vs. Bhairon Prasad and Ishwari Prasad etc*". Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Note :—The numbers given over the names are those given in the Original. Some names are differently given.

event of the articles being escheated to the state, they should be transferred at their invoice cost, viz. Rupees 1200, to the Government *Toshakhana* for presents to Native Chieftains.[1]

Extract from the Proceedings of the Hon'ble the President of the Council of India in Council, in the Home Department under date the 4th of May 1858.

Baboo Bhyroopershaud having been convicted of treason and executed as reported to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, the Hon'ble the President in Council is pleased to determine that the articles noted on the margin (given in footnote)* contributed by him to the late Paris Exhibition and returned by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors as per their letter of advice No. 139 of 1857, dated the 28th October, be confiscated to the State.[2]

CONFISCATION OF PROPERTIES OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Judgment by H. G. Astell, Special Commissioner for Jaunpur, dated 23rd Oct. 1858, *in the Case : The Magistrate versus* 1. *Gunun Misr of Dehwah of Sera Bassi.* 2. *Mukdoombuksh of Nugerthi.* 3. *Bindesri Buksh Sing of Jhilleewah,** 4. *Jugesur Buksh Sing of Budlapoor.* 5. *Juffut Sing of Tilwary.* 6. *Phullee Sing of Meerchadpore.* 7. *Urgun Sing (Arjun Singh) of Budlapoor.* 8. *Rachpal Sing of Kutghur.*

[1] Home Department Public Consultations, 29th January 1858, Nos. 108/110. National Archives, New Delhi.

* Marginal Note in Original.

No. of Invoice		Price fixed
8540	piece of Kincob brown color	295
8544	Red Scarf.....	35
9545	Blue ditto.....	35
8546	Black ditto.....	70
8548	Pair of Shoes	25
8549	Doputta Yellow (Silver)	175
8550	Ditto Ditto (Gold)	290
8551	Ditto Blue (Ditto)	275

[2] Foreign Department Political Consultations, 26th August 1859, No. 62 and No. 1085. National Archives, New Delhi.

* "Kut Gurh (See 1 P. of Spl. Commr. dated 4th November 1858."—Note in Original.

9. *Pergus Singh of Meershadpore*[1]. 10. *Uhburn (Ahbaran) Sing of Buhara*[2]. 11. *Naipal Sing of Jhilleewah, under Act XXV of* 1857.

An inspection of the English proceedings of the Magistrate, dated 15th instant, as well as the Vernacular proceedings also forwarded, have satisfied me that all the defendants have committed crimes by which their lives and properties are forfeited a dozen times over, by Act XVI of 1857. No. 6 is said to have been killed by Rajah Mohesh Narain about April 1858, but there are people who still say that he is still alive. No. 1 was proclaimed dacoit before the mutiny. The Magistrate has shown that none of these eleven defendants can be at present apprehended. I therefore adjudge all their property and effects to have been confiscated to the state from the 5th June 1857.[3]

CHARGES LAID AGAINST JAGESHWAR BAKHSH

Letter No. 204 from F. B. Gubbins, Commissioner, 5th Division, to H. Monckton, Officiating Magistrate of Jaunpur, dated 18th Nov. 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter No. 238, of the 12th instant, with the enclosures as per margin (given in the footnote)*, which are being returned to you after perusal and copy.

2nd— In reply I beg to transmit you copies of two Memorandums prepared at my request by Messrs. Astell and Carnegy, the one Judge of Jounpoor, the other Deputy Commissioner of Salone; both of which documents relate to the same subject as that now mooted by you, namely, the misdeeds of the notorious murderer and dacoit Jugesurbuksh, and the extra-

[1] Spelt as *Meerchadpore* above.

[2] Apparently *Bahaura*, Pargana *Doaba*, Tahsil *Ballia*, District *Ballia*— This village lies in 25° 43′ N. and 84° 28′ E., at a distance of some 22 miles from the district headquarters, and about three miles south of Bairia, on a road leading from the latter place to Lalganj and the Damodarpur ferry over the Ganges. (*District Gazetteers*, Ballia, 1907, p. 164).

[3] Foreign Department Consultations, 11th March 1859, No. 18. National Archives, New Delhi.

* "Mr. Commr. Tucker's letter dated 8th November 1858, Mr. Dy. Commr. Forbes's letter, dated 12th October 1858, Mr. Asstt. Commr. Shaw's, dated 10th idem"—Note in Original.

ordinary protection given to both, him, and other persons of the same description, by the Deputy Commissioner of Sultanpoor.

3rd—I would now suggest the advisability of your furnishing the Deputy Commissioner of Sultanpoor with a copy of these Memos; and of your demanding of him the arrest and delivery of the miscreants, who have imposed upon his goodness. I would further advise that you fix a certain term within which he should be requested to comply with your demand, and that should he fail to do so, you report the matter to this office.[1]

JAGESHWAR BAKHSH AND ARJUN SINGH AND THEIR PARWANAS

Letter No. 18 from F. B. Gubbins, Commissioner, 5th Division, Banaras, to William Muir, Secretary to Government N. W. P., Allahabad, dated 12th January 1859.

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter No. 12 of the 3rd Instant, and as directed in its 2nd para beg to submit an explanation of the terms used by me in my communication No. 587, dated 29th ultimo, relative to the lenient treatment of some of our worst malefactors by the Oude authorities.

2nd—The persons, who were principally alluded to by me in the communication in question, were two brothers, named Jugesherbux (Jageshwar Bakhsh) and Urjoon Sing (Arjun Singh).

3rd—I beg to submit a copy of a Memo: prepared on the subject of these two malefactors, by Mr. P. Carnegy, Deputy Commissioner of Salone, and would venture to draw His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor General's attention to the marks A, B, C, and D, affixed by me in red ink to portions of paras 5, 6, 8 and 15.

4th—These portions of Mr. Carnegy's Memo: prove first, that these brothers, while in open rebellion against their own Government, carried off and murdered one of our Police *Burkundazes*, (2) conspired to murder all Christians, and (3) fought against us in open battle. That portion marked

[1] Foreign Department Consultations, 11th March 1859, No. 18. National Archives, New Delhi.

'D' in the 15th para: proves Mr. Forbes, Deputy Commissioner of Sultanpoor in Oudh, to have appointed one or both of these brothers to *Thanadarships* in his district, on the mere representations (representations which were both false and interested) of an Indigo planter, named Mr. Even[1].

5*th*—I beg also to submit, for the consideration of Government, a copy of the finding of the Special Commissioner of Jounpoor on the misdeeds committed by these malefactors, as also of the directions sent by me to the officiating Magistrate of Jounpoor, regarding their extradition from Oude.[2]

IRADAT JAHAN ISSUES A PROCLAMATION

Translation of Iradat Jahan's notification dated 28th Zilhajja (Apparently 19th August 1857).

By the grace of Ali and Husain, the *Naib Nizamat* of Jaunpur and Azamgarh has been bestowed upon me by the Government of Avadh. Therefore, all the *taluqadars*, *Chaudharis*, *Qanungos* and the people should consider the obedience to my order binding and should present themselves in my *Darbar*. Shortly after it, Raja Beni Madho Singh, the *Nazim* will visit this locality. Those who fail to obey or to present themselves will be considered as unfaithful. Hence, they should pursue the path of obedience and present themselves (in the *Darbar*); otherwise it will not be conducive to their well being.[3]

ROLE OF IRADAT JAHAN AGAINST BRITISHERS

Order No. 3 passed by H. G. Astell, Special Commissioner for adjudication of forfeitures of property under Act XXV of 1857 passed on 10th February 1858.

This is an application to adjudge all the property of the defendant forfeited to Government, made by the Magistrate of Jounpore on 5th instant to this court.

[1] Correct name may be 'Evans', in some documents it is spelt 'Evan'

[2] Foreign Department Consultations, 11th March 1859, No. 18. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Raja Iradat Jahan*", File No. 4/23. Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

It appears from the evidence of various witnesses taken by the Deputy Magistrate that the late Iradut Jehan, whose principal residence was at Mubarukpore in this district, did about the month of August last send one Nuzzur Husein to Rajah Hussun Ully Khan at Hussunpore Bundua in the province of Oude: this person being at the time in open rebellion and that in consequence one Hussein Yar Khan was despatched from Hussunpore to Lucknow as Iradut Jehan's agent with a sum of money as a "*Nuzzur*", that shortly afterwards Iradut Jehan received letters from Lucknow that he had been appointed *Naib* to the new *Nazim* of Jounpore and Azimghur viz. Beni Madho Singh son of Ghalib Jung; that in consequence Iradut Jehan on or about the 19th of August last did cause to be stuck up at the principal entrance of his residence a proclamation to the effect that he had been duly appointed *Naib Nazim* and that all the *rayats*, *talukadars* and *zemindars* etc. of the district should attend at his *Durbar.*

One witness Ujudhia Pershad swears that he saw such a proclamation hung up as described and that then took a copy and forwarded the same at once to Ujudhia Pershad, the *Canoongoe*, who he believes forwarded the same to the Collector and is the identical copy now produced. This witness was a servant of the defendant and describes how one Talamund Khan, another servant, wrote the proclamation at the Rajah's direction and stuck it up on the gateway.

It has been undoubtedly proved that the defendant did issue such a treasonable proclamation about 19th of August 1857 but the offence was completely consummated about the end of September last; when, as it proved from a copy of Lieutenant-Colonel Wroughton's letter to the Magistrate of the district dated 22nd January 1858, the Rajah Iradut Jehan did oppose by force of arms the constituted authorities at Mubarukpore on which occasion his residence was found fortified and his followers armed, and he himself was hung by order of a Drum Head Court Martial on charge of being found in open arms against the state.

JUDGMENT

I find that Rajah Iradut Jehan of Khorason in the district of Azimghur (Azamgarh) did, on or about the 19th of August 1857, commit treason and I accordingly hereby

adjudge all his property and effects of every description to be forfeited to Government.[1]

MAHTAB RAI AS DIWAN-I-KUL OF IRADAT JAHAN

Ayodhya Prasad's deposition before Carnegy, Deputy Magistrate, dated Nov. 15, 1857.

Gives the same details as in the preceding depositions except that he names one Talemand Khan, resident of Fatehabad near Jaunpur as the person who used to copy such proclamations and that his father was in Iradat Jahan's service and he himself was employed to write family letters. Says also that his brother Mahtab Rai was a hereditary servant and his *Dewan-i-Kul.*[2]

GHALIB JANG APPOINTED AS NAZIM

Deposition of Bhukkoo Singh dated Nov. 15, 1857.

Says that his brother, Ram Prasad, was in the service of Iradat Jahan. He himself saw with his own eyes the proclamation, appointing Iradat Jahan as *Naib Nazim* of Jaunpur and Azamgarh, pasted on his door but could not read it being illiterate. He heard this from other people that Iradat Jahan was appointed *Naib Nazim* and Ghalib Jang as the *Nazim.*[3]

RAJA BENI MADHO SINGH AS NAZIM

Deposition of Bishan Prasad before Carnegy, Deputy Magistrate, dated Nov. 15, 1857.

Says that he has been a servant of Raja Iradat Jahan for 15 years and left his service when he (Raja Iradat Jahan)

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Raja Iradat Jahan*", File No. 4/23. Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

was hanged. He heard from reliable sources that the Raja was appointed *Naib Nazim* and Raja Beni Madho Singh the *Nazim* by the Avadh ruler. One Nazar Husain, a resident of Allahabad, was sent by the Raja as his agent to Lucknow. A month and a half or two months elapsed when he heard that Iradat Jahan had got the proclamation pasted at his door.[1]

IRADAT JAHAN APPOINTED AS NAIB NAZIM

Deposition of Kishan Dayal Tewari, dated Nov. 15, 1857.

Says that Iradat Jahan sent one Nazar Husain to Lucknow in the month of Bhadon for the *Sanad* of *Naib Nizamat* of Jaunpur and Azamgarh and after the receipt of the *Sanad* Iradat Jahan had pasted it for notification on his door. Nazar Husain had asked all the *zamindars* to treat Iradat Jahan as the ruler designate of that part and Iradat Jahan had sent letters to the *Qanungos* to present themselves with lists of villages and to bring the *zamindars* with them.[2]

* * *

Deposition of Mahtab Rai in the Court of Carnegy (Deputy Magistrate).

States that Nazar Husain, *Karinda* of Iradat Jahan went to Hasanpur with Rs. 150/- and sent Hasan Yar Khan, agent of Iradat Jahan to Lucknow in order to secure the *Sanad* which he brought for Jaunpur and Azamgarh. He was questioned as to who wrote the notification issued by Iradat Jahan and he answered that it was Talemand Khan, the *Munshi* of Iradat Jahan who did this. Further he was asked from whose (*Tahwil*) custody this money was given and he answered that it was given from Subhani *Khansamah* and *Tahsildar's*. He was further questioned if all that he stated was from his own observation or he had merely heard of those things, to which he answered that he was Iradat Jahan's hereditary *Diwan Khas*,

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Raja Iradat Jahan*", File No. 4/23. Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.
[2] *Ibid.*

had seen all those things with his own eyes and the money (mentioned above) was entered in his accounts.[1]

* * *

Lala Jai Gopal's deposition before Carnegy, dated Nov. 15, 1857.

Lala Jai Gopal was an old servant of Raja Iradat Jahan. He stated that Iradat Jahan sent Hasan Yar Khan, resident of Hasanpur through Husain Ali, *Rais* of Hasanpur as his agent to Lucknow and gave him Rs. 500/- for *Darbar* expenses. He wrote to the Raja from Lucknow that he (Raja) was appointed *Naib Nazim* but the *Sanad* would be sent to him afterwards. The proclamation was issued on behalf of the *Chakledar* whose name is not known to the deponent but it was notified by Iradat Jahan.[2]

* * *

Deposition of Bechoo Lal in the Court of Carnegy, Deputy Magistrate, dated Nov. 16, 1857.

States that in the month of Sawan, Nazar Husain, *Karinda*, took Rs. 125/- to Husain Yar Khan, *Mukhtar* at Hasanpur, and sent him to Lucknow for obtaining the *Sanad* of *Nizamat*. Then gives the same details as given by others excepting that he says he was employed at the Raja's place for testing the coins and this money therefore passed through his hands for test, before it was handed over.[3]

MUZAFFAR JAHAN AND IRADAT JAHAN

Official copy of letter No. 369 *to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Avadh,* 26*th August* 1858.

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 370 of 19th August 1858 with its inclosures viz. an original

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Raja Iradat Jahan*", File No. 4/23. Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

letter in English from Moozuffur Jehan styling himself a farmer (?) in the Fyzabad district.

2*nd*—This man is the eldest son of Raja Iradat Jehan who was a very considerable landholder in this and the Azamgarh district. Both father and son early threw off their allegiance to English Govt. and (on) 28th June '57 Moozuffur Jehan took possession of the *tahsildary* and *thanah* of Mahowl in the Azimgarh district having sometime before taken up his abode in the Government buildings there under pretence of protecting the Govt. officers. He held possession till 2nd Oct. and fled when the Goorkhas were approaching to his fort early in the October last. During the time of his occupation he enlisted a considerable body of *Rajcoomars Shazadas* with whom he plundered, report says, attended with horrible acts of cruelty in every direction. He and his men formed part of the large body of rebels under Madho Pershad Pulwar, *Tahaldar* (?) of Birhur, Oudh who made an attack on the station of Azimgarh on 18th July 57.

3*rd*—In this district there are numerous well ascertained cases against him in which many persons were murdered who resisted his attacks. His father Iradat Jehan had succeeded in obtaining a *Sunnud* from Lucknow and assumed the Govt. of the northern part of this district. He resisted the Govt. Goorkha force in October when his fort was taken and he himself fleeing. Since then Moozuffur Jehan is reported to have joined every hostile raid which has been made into this district and to have been with others the chief instigator of many of the Oudh Govt. invasions. Iradat Jehan's property in both districts has long since been confiscated and reward of Co's. Rs. 500/- has been sanctioned for Moozuffur Jehan's capture. Moozuffur Jehan is a rebel of the worst description and before and during the disturbances here a very bad character amongst the natives of the district.

4*th*—As far as his being a farmer in Oudh, I believe his connection there is founded only on an act of treachery. The Oudh States—Summunpur, Sultanpur etc. I am told were the property of his sister's husband Mulick Heedaet Hussain (Malik Hidayat Husain) and at the annexation, Iradat Jehan sent Moozuffur Jehan with money etc. to arrange for the settlement etc. of his daughter's estate under the idea that Moozuffur Jehan was better acquainted with English Laws and courts etc. Moozuffur Jehan made such a good use of his

knowledge that he got all the lands settled in his own name i. e. he made over his father's money, he was charged with, to his brother-in-law as a *zarpishagi* advance from himself and had his own name entered as in possession.[1]

5*th*—The above facts have been communicated to me by Mr. Astell who was in this station throughout the last cold season and from his local experience both in Jounpur and in Azimgarh is thoroughly acquainted with Moozuffur Jehan and his infamous crimes like many others of the same stamp. This man now is as cunning and servile as he had been cruel and treacherous. I trust sincerely that no hopes of pardon may be held out to him.[2]

MIRZAPUR

REINFORCEMENT OF BRITISH FORCES

Letter No. 121 *from St. G. Tucker, Magistrate, Mirzapur, to H. C. Tucker, Commissioner, 5th Division, Banaras, dated 7th Sept.* 1857.

With reference to your letter No. 78 dated 20th July last, I have the honour of soliciting your sanction to the measures which I have since adopted in increasing the efficiency of the sowar establishment.

2*nd*—You, in the letter quoted, sanctioned the expense incurred in the entertainment of 20 extra sowars. Four of them I dismissed on the 8th and 10th July as I did not consider them efficient and one has been appointed to a vacant sowarship. The remaining 15 have been retained in the service of Government up to the present day.

JHURI SINGH ACTIVE IN BHADOHI

3*rd*—On receiving authentic intelligence that Joorye Singh (Jhuri Singh) and his followers were plundering with impunity in *pergunnah* Bhudoee (Bhadohi) and that the Dinapore mutineers were disturbing the peace of the southern *pergunnahs* of the district, I sought to increase the number of

[1] Sentence is confusing.

[2] Jaunpur Collectorate, English Department, Miscellaneous Papers 1857-70. "Reference of persons charged with rebellion", August 1858;

Horse Police. Two were enlisted on the 5th and 6th August and seven more on the 16th and 25th August (2 on the 16th, 5 on the 25th). The latter have been accepted on the agreement that they are to receive no *batta* until they can provide themselves with full sized horses.

4*th*—I am of course personally responsible for the pay of these men, but solicit the sanction of Government to the payment of their salaries from the date of their enlistment as the necessity for enlisting them was urgent.

5*th*—I have already requested your sanction to the appointment of a *Jemadar* of sowars as a temporary arrangement.

ACTION OF 20TH AUGUST

6*th*—The sowars have done good service. Muddut Ulli (Madad Ali) on the permanent establishment was shot through the arm on the 5th July at Suddoopore when Colonel Pott attacked Joorye Singh and his accomplices Eemam Ullee (Imam Ali) and Ullee Oomoodeen (Alimuddin) were captured by the mutineers during the action of the 20th of last month, the latter alone has as yet managed to escape.

7*th*—Tilok Sing, who was severely wounded at Pallee factory at the time of Mr. Moore's murder, is unfit for the duty of a sowar and will resume his duties as an orderly *Chupprassie* in the Superintendent's office. I hope soon to find an opportunity of promoting him.

8*th*—I send herewith a list of sowars in the service of Government with an account of the extra expense which will be temporarily incurred, 35 were placed at Mr. Elliott's disposal during his recent expedition and 21 of them are at present patrolling the high road to Rewah between Lalgunje and the Kutra Pass. I request sanction to the granting of *batta* to the sowars on the Grand Trunk Road as long as Mr. Elliott remains at Gopeegunj, and they are liable to be called upon to make long and harassing marches.[1]

[1] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 223, pp. 207-208. "Letters issued to the Commissioner from 1856 to 1858". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES TO COUNTERACT THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter No. 159 from H. C. Tucker, Commissioner, 5th Division, Banaras, to R. Strachey, Secretary to Govt., Central Provinces, dated 24th August 1857.

BRITISH ENGAGEMENT WITH DINAPUR REVOLUTIONARIES

I have the honour to submit for the information of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor an original letter No. 111 dated 22nd instant, from the Magistrate of Mirzapoor regarding an engagement between the mutineers from Dinapoor, and part of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers under Major Simmons in which the former were put to flight with the loss of a quantity of their baggage.

2*nd*—Only one *Havildar* was hung, and four sepoys shot; but good has been done in turning the two regiments from the north road via Mirzapoor, to the western part via Mandah, towards Calpee.

3*rd*—Messrs. Elliott and P. Walker have always been prompt and ready to assist in every way.

4*th*—I have already in my letter No. 155 dated 22nd instant suggested to His Honor the advisability of stationing Mr. Elliott, with the powers of Joint Magistrate, at Gopeegunge, to keep in order that part of the country, afford correct information to Major Barrett commanding there, and induce him to attack the gangs of Joorye Singh (Jhuri Singh) and other murderers of Mr. W. Moore.

5*th*—If Lieutenant Buttonshaw can also be brought on civil employ so much the better. There is plenty of room for the exercise of all available European energy and influence. If Jounpoor be reoccupied Mr. H. Fane who is at present doing duty as Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Mirzapoor, will have to remove (*sic*,); and Mr. St. G. Tucker will be left with hardly any staff to manage his extensive district.

6*th*—Mr. Walker is not a regular Deputy, but only a Deputy incharge of the Kuntit mortgaged, and the Agoree Burhur Court of Wards estates, and receives his pay from them. I shall be very glad if His Honor brings him upon the list of regular Deputies, as he has behaved remarkably well during the troubles, sticking bravely to my brother when the covenan-

ted Europeans deserted him, and assisting readily whenever and wherever his services were required. His father is an old and respected Deputy, at present absent on sick leave.[1]

BRITISHERS' MEASURES TO CHECK THE ACTIVITIES OF DINAPUR REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter No. 111 *from St. G. Tucker, Magistrate of Mirzapur, to H. C. Tucker, Commissioner, 5th Division, Banaras, dated* 22*nd Aug.* 1857.

REVOLUTIONARIES ENCAMPED AT AMOI

I have the honor of informing you that Major Simmons with part of H. M.'s 5th Fusiliers left Mirzapore on the morning of the 19th in search of the mutineers from Dinapore. He encamped at Gertootwa about 9 miles south of Mirzapore. In the afternoon Lieutenant Haig of the H. M.'s 5th accompanied by Lieutenant Buttonshaw, Mr. P. Walker and myself proceeded southward in order to ascertain the position of the mutineers and make himself acquainted with the features of the country. He found them encamped at Umoee about 20 miles south of Mirzapore.

2*nd*—On the morning of the 20th Major Simmons met their advanced guard about 2 miles north of Umoee and put them to flight. The main body was seen retreating to the westwards to Doobar.

3*rd*—The enemy appear to have been completely ignorant of our movements. They were on their march towards us without any expectation of meeting us and in their flight left a quantity of their baggage behind. You will perceive by their having taken the northern road that they had made up their minds to come by Mirzapore. Major Simmons' attack has driven them to the westward and has thus saved Mirzapore from being plundered. The mutineers are said to be at present within a few miles of Manda in the Allahabad district. The Rajah of that place has assured me of his intention of attacking them.

[1] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 23, pp. 153-154. "Letters received from Commissioner to Magistrate from March 1857 to Nov. 1857". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

4*th*—Allow me to call your notice to the services of Mr. Elliott and Mr. P. Walker. Mr. Elliott at Major Simmons' request reconnoitred the position of the enemy and Mr. Walker's activity, zeal and readiness to encounter danger were conspicuous.

REVOLUTIONARIES IN ACTION AT GOPIGANJ

5*th*—I am anxious to draw your attention to the state of *pergunnah* Bhudohee. Gopeegunje has for six weeks been left without a Civil Officer, the state of the country to the north of it has consequently become more and more disturbed, the murderers of Mr. Moore have gained courage again and are plundering the country without the fear of being molested. The fears of the *Thanadar* of Gopeegunje have induced him to make alarming reports of the strength of the rebels to Major Barrett and have thus prevented that Officer's attacking them. I myself have not found leisure to proceed to Gopeegunje for the purpose of tranquillising the country and therefore request to appoint Mr. Elliott to this special duty and to increase his authority by investing him with the powers of a Joint Magistrate. I assure you that Mr. Elliott will use the authority you may grant him with zeal, prudence and sound judgement and am confident that he will succeed in convincing Major Barrett of the propriety of attacking a band of half armed murderers and plunderers without delay.

6*th*—Should you be of opinion that Mr. Elliott has not sufficient experience and influence for the performance of this duty, I would beg to recommend the appointment of Lieutenant Buttonshaw of the 47th N. I. who volunteered to accompany Major Simmons' force and whose co-operation in the performance of civil duties would be greatly valued by me. Colonel Pott who commands the 47th, authorizes me to state that he is willing that Lieutenant Buttonshaw should be employed in a civil capacity as the number of officers remaining with the Regiment will be sufficient. Lieutenant Buttonshaw has passed his examination in Hindoostanee and has served for nearly 8 years.[1]

[1] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 223, pp. 200-202. "Letters issued to the Commissioner from 1856 to 1858". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT LALGANJ

Extract of a Message from Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien to the Governor General, dated Allahabad, 21st August 1857.

One party of the d.....[1] mutineers are reported to have gone as far as Lallgunje (Lalganj) about 18 miles south-west of Mirzapore.

Oude people making gradual aggression on our villagers (villages) north of the Ganges.[2]

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT GOPIGANJ

Letter No. 101 *from H. C. Tucker, Commissioner, 4th Division, Banaras, to G. Tucker, Magistrate of Mirzapur, dated 27th August* 1857.

In reply to your letter No. 114, dated 25th instant and its enclosures, reporting that the murderers of Mr. Moore are plundering the country without fear of being molested, I have the honor to remind you that Gopeegunge is in your district; that there are 3 Military Officers of considerable standing with a strong force of Seiks (Sikhs) and sepoys stationed there; and that you have three European subordinates. You have been already requested to send Mr. Elliott, as the most (*sic*,) available to Gopeegunge; but I shall feel obliged by your not depending entirely upon an officer, who, though so spirited and zealous, is yet inexperienced and unacquainted with the language, but by your taking such measures, in concert with the Military Officers and the Rajah's Deputy as may appear advisable for putting down and apprehending the murderers of the late Mr. Moore and their gangs. No force can go from Benares. The troops with which they must be put down are already on the spot, and will act upon your information and requisition. I feel assured you will lose no time in instilling a very strong fear into the marauders and proving to them that they cannot murder and plunder with impunity in your district.[3]

[1] The word is erased. Apparently 'Dinapur' may be written here.

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th Dec. 1857, No. 595. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 23, p. 163. "Letters received from Commissioner to Magistrate from March 1857 to Nov. 1857". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN MIRZAPUR

Diary of events from 29th *Sept. to* 5th *Oct.* 1857, *forwarded by C. Tucker, Magistrate, Mirzapur, to Commissioner,* 5th *Division, on the* 7th *Oct.* 1857.

Sept. 30*th*—A report of the *Thanadar* of Robertsgunge of the 29th reported that a body of rebels were at Bilkub in Agoree and that 25 sowars had come to reconnoitre.

October 1*st*—A report of ditto (*Thanadar* of Robertsganj) of the 30th that they (the rebels) had reached Shahgunge and were proceeding to Gorawul (Ghorawal); no guns with them.

October 2*nd*—A report of ditto (*Thanadar* of Robertsganj) of the 1st that the rebels had left Gorawul and gone to Sirsain in the direction of Rewa.

PLUNDER OF VILLAGES IN BIJAIGARH

October 3*rd*—A report from the *Jem.*[1] of Bijeyghur of the 29th Sept. that a body of rebels from the east were plundering some villages in Bijeyghur, also a report of the *Thanadar* of Robertsgunge that the first body of rebels had crossed the Beylun (Belan) and entered Rewah and that there was another body of. . .[2] at Shahgunge and Robertsgunge; another report from the *Daffadar* of Bijyowar that a body of rebels were encamped at Markoondi Talao south of the Soan (Sone) and were proceeding towards Gorawul. The Magistrate, Mr. Simpson, and the Deputy Magistrate proceeded with the troops to Bhugwan Talao.

October 4*th*—Report of *Thanadar* of Lalgunge of the 3rd that a body of rebels were at Tilso in Rewah and had reached Mutwar in Hullea[3] on 4th of Oct. The Magistrate and Mr. Simpson with some sowars rode out this morning to Lalgunge and learnt that the rebels were at Hullea. Scouts were sent to that place to ascertain their real strength.

[1] Probably it stands for 'Jemadar'.

[2] Not decipherable; perhaps 'rebels' is meant.

[3] *Halia,* Tappa *Upraudh,* Tahsil *Mirzapur,* District *Mirzapur*—Halia is an important rural bazar and village, distant 34 miles south-west from Mirzapur and 20 miles south from Lalganj, and lies in 24° 50′ N. and 82° 20′ E. With Lalganj and Drummondganj it is connected by unmetalled roads, which join the Great Deccan Road leading from Mirzapur to the south. (*District Gazetteers,* Mirzapur, 1911, p. 330).

October 5th—The troops returned from Bhugwan Talao. A report of the *Thanadar* of Robertsgunge of the 5th that a body of rebels were at Salkun in Agoree and were coming to Gorawul in number about 7000.

The Magistrate and Mr. Simpson proceeded from Bhugwan Talao to Gortotwa on the Gorawul road and ascertained that the pathway in its present state is impracticable for Artillery or carts of any kind.

Note by H. C. Tucker, Magistrate, Mirzapur, dated Oct. 7th. 1857.

There is no sympathy between the peasantry and the rebels who are passing through the district. The former desert their houses and seek refuge in the jungles and Government servants of all grades display a most unmistakable dread of the latter. The people have been quiet and loyal since they have been taught that plundering under the British Government is not a profitable occupation. The *Khureef* harvest is favorable. *The price of food is still very high, trade is inactive but the military preparations find employment for many people*, and I trust to be able to report the revival of trade and consequent prosperity of this city and district as soon as the roads to Futtehgurh and Agra shall have been rendered safe.

Diary of events in Mirzapur from 6th to 12th Oct. 1857.

October 6th—Report of the *Jemadar* of Hullea of the 5th that the rebel sowars had plundered the bazar of Hullea and the villages of Poorwa and Baida and also the police *chokey;* another from the *Thanadar* of Lalgunge that the sowars had marched westward towards Drummondgunge[1]. The Europeans who were in the entrenchments left for Allahabad.

REVOLUTIONARIES MOVE ON TO RAMGARH

October 7th—A report of the *Thanadar* of Lalgunge of the

[1] *Drummondganj*, Tappa *Upraudh*, Tahsil *Mirzapur*, District *Mirzapur*—Drummondganj is otherwise known as Deohat and is situated on the Great Deccan Road at the foot of the Katra Pass. It is distant 35 miles south-west from Mirzapur, and lies in latitude 24° 53′ N. and longtitude 82° 10′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 321).

6th that the sowars having heard of the force advancing from Mirzapore, did not halt at Dummondgunge but went on to Ramghur[1] further westward. A report of the *Thanadar* of Agoree of the 1st that on the approach of the rebels he took precautions to prevent them crossing the Sone, by sinking the boats and preventing fords being made known and they consequently did not approach the fort. The rebels plundered three villages.

October 8th—Report of the *Thanadar* of Lalgunge of the 7th that the sowars who encamped at Ramghur had gone on further to Kheyrey[2] in Allahabad.

October 11th[3]—A portion of the Madras Regiment arrived.

October 12th—The Madras troops with 2 guns moved out to Bhugwan Talao on the Rewah road.

Diary of events in Mirzapur from 13th to 16th October 1857.

October 13th—The Magistrate Mr. Simpson and the Deputy Magistrate proceeded to Lalgunge. Reports from the *thanahs* of Lalgunge, Robertsgunge and Gorawul that there was no news of any body of rebels in those parts.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT SESEE

October 14th—A report of the *Jemadar* of Gorawul of the 11th that a body of rebels was at Sesee *pergunah* Bijeyghur on the banks of the Sone, 8 *coss* south of Bijeyghur. This report has not been confirmed and appears to have been without foundation.

[1] *Ramgarh*, Pargana *Barah*, Tahsil *Chandauli*, District *Benares*—This large village stands in 25° 27′ N. and 83° 15′ E. on the east bank of the small and irregular water-course known as the Banganga, of which mention has been made in the pargana article, at a distance of eighteen miles north-east from the civil station of Benares and sixteen miles north from Chandauli. (*District Gazetteers*, Benares, 1909, p. 338).

[2] Apparently *Khiri*, *Khairagarh*, Tahsil *Meja*, District *Allahabad*—A small village in the west of the tahsil, standing in 25° 2′ N. and 81° 49′ E., on the unmetalled road from Manda and Kuraon to Shankargarh, which is here joined by one leading to Kohrar and Meja, at a distance of 29 miles from Allahabad and 21 miles from the tahsil head-quarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 260).

[3] Dates showing events of practically little importance have been omitted here as well as in the following pages.

October 15*th*—The Magistrate Mr. Simpson, and the Deputy Magistrate returned to Mirzapore. The Madras troops remained encamped at Drummondgunge.

October 16*th*—A report of the *Thanadar* of Agoree of the 10th that a body of rebel sepoys was coming from the eastward.

Diary of events in Mirzapur from 17*th to* 22*nd Oct.* 1857.

October 17*th*—Report of the *thanah* of Agoree of the 11th that there was a rumour of a body of rebels coming from the eastward, and that the inhabitants of several villages had in consequence left their houses. A Wing of a Madras Regiment with four guns arrived at Mirzapore.

ILAQADARS IN LEAGUE WITH REVOLUTIONARIES

October 18*th*—Report of the *Thanadar* of Robertsgunge of the 16th that about 33 mutineer sepoys were at the village of Poornah *pergunah* Bijeyghur, and that the *elaquadars* with 30 or 40 men were in league with them; the reason being their dissatisfaction with the Ranee of Bijeyghur.

October 19*th*—Reports of the *thanahs* of Lalgunge and Robertsgunge of the 17th that all was well.

October 20*th*—A report of the *Thanadar* of Agoree of the 17th that the *Burkundaz* sent out for information had gone as far as Kon[1] Bazar 17 *coss* to the eastward but had brought no news of the rebels and that the people who had left their villages had again returned. The Madras troops with 4 guns under command of the Brigadier proceeded in the direction of Rewah.

KUNWAR SINGH AT ROHTASGARH

October 22*nd*—Report of *thanah* Agoree of the 17th that Kuar Singh who was reported to have left Rohtasghur was still there with one or two hundred men. Report of *Thanadar* of Robertsgunge of the 18th that the 33 sepoys (mentioned in the diary of the 18th) had on enquiry turned out to be only two in number and that they had left the village Poornah.

[1] Can be read as 'Kori' or 'Kosi' also.

Diary of events in Mirzapur from 23rd to 28th Oct. 1857.

PURNAH ILAQADARS DEFY BIJAIGARH RANI

October 26th—Report of the *Thanadar* of Robertsgunge of 22nd that the *elaqadars* of *moujah* Poornah being dissatisfied with the Ranee of Bijeyghur, in conjunction with a few mutinous sepoys had stopped the collection of the Ranee's rents. Her son-in-law, Baboo Sahib, had collected 200 men to oppose them.

October 27th—A letter of Baboo Brij...[1] (Mss. torn.) Bahadur (Baboo Sahib) that he with the *Tahsildar* and *Thanadar* of Robertsgunge[2] had gone to the village of Poornah gunge[3] to seize the rebels (mentioned above) but that the other party appearing too strong they had returned. The Madras troops under Brigadier Carthew crossed to the other side of the Ganges.

Diary of events in Mirzapur from 29th October to 5th Nov. 1857.

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER ISHWARI SINGH'S LEADERSHIP

Oct. 31st—A report of the *Tahsildar* of Robertsgunge of the 29th that 16 mutinous sepoys were still at the village of Poornah and that four or five hundred men in arms were still with Eishuree Sing (Ishwari Singh) and were plundering and interfering with the collections of the Ranee of Bijeyghur's revenue.

Nov. 3rd—Some of Catania's levy arrived from Gopeegunge.

Nov. 4th—A report of the *Thanadar* of Agoree forwarding a letter of the *Daffadar* of *chokey* (*chauki*) Kone to the effect that a *buniyah* named Harkishen had come in from the east and reported that 50 men had left Bholaghur and proceeded to the south to a village 16 *coss* east of Kone and were in communication with Futteh Buhadur Sing, a *zemindar*, and were plundering.

Diary of events in Mirzapur from 5th to 12th Nov. 1857.

REVOLUTIONARIES ASSEMBLE IN ROBERTSGANJ

Nov. 5th—Report of the...(Mss. torn) Robertsgunge of the 4th that 4000 men, carts, 16 elephants, 100 horse and some

[1] Perhaps the name is 'Brij Narain Bahadur'.
[2] In the original it is only 'Roberts'.
[3] 'Gunge' is superfluous here.

small guns on elephants had arrived from the east in Tuppah Jusowlee.

Nov. 6th—Report of Thanadar of Robertsgunge that the force of rebels had reached Robertsgunge and had burnt the bazar, the school etc.

Nov. 7th—Report of *Jemadar* of Gorawul of the 6th that six elephants and some Foot and Horse had encamped at Gorawul and were plundering the *chokey Burkundazes*, and retired into the jungle. 17 prisoners of the worst kind,...(Mss. torn).

ENCAMPMENT AT BILLI

Nov. 8th—Report of the *Daffadar* of Rujowan of the 7th that part of the rebels had proceeded to the Bughur at Jugdadhar.[1] A report of *Tahsildar* that the establishment had returned to Robertsgunge and found that the different buildings had been burnt. Report of the *Thanadar* of Agoree...(Mss. torn) party of sepoys about 25 men had crossed the Sace and encamped at a village named Billee.

Nov. 9th—Report of *Jemadar* of Gorawul of the 7th that part of the rebels had moved and (*sic*,) of Gorawul 1 *coss* to the south after seizing two *Burkundazes*, burning the *chokey* furniture and that it was reported that 50 men had been sent towards Mirzapore. Report of *Daffadar*[2] of Rujowan of the 9th that the rebels, who had left Gorawul for the Rewa territories, had returned and were waiting for the party coming up behind.

Nov. 10th—Report of *Daffadar* of Rujowan of 10th that the rebels having heard of an entrenchment on the Beylun river had moved in the direction of Rewah territory.

Nov. 12th—Report of *Thanadar* of Lalgunge of the 11th that the rebels who were at Chirora had reached Baboorah on the 10th and would proceed to Dummondgunge on the 11th.

Diary of events in Mirzapur from 12th to 19th Nov. 1857.

REVOLUTIONARIES MARCH INTO ALLAHABAD DISTRICT

Nov. 12th—A report of the *Th.*[3] of Lalgunge (of) 11th that

[1] Not clearly decipherable.
[2] Probably used for 'Daffedar'.
[3] Probably abbreviated for 'Thanadar'.

the body of rebels had marched into the district of Allahabad.

Nov. 13th—That the rebels had left Jhinjhun[1] in Allahabad and gone to the westward. Report of the *Jem.* (*Jemadar*) of Rujowan that the two *Burkundazes* of his *chokey* seized by the rebels had been released and had returned.

Nov. 15th—A report of the *Th.* (*Thanadar*) of Lalgunge of the 14th that the rebels had crossed the Beylun in the Allahabad district and gone westward.

Nov. 16th—Report of *Tahsildar* of Robertsgunge of 15th that 300 men with 14 elephants and 3 guns had entered Tuppah Jusowlee from the eastward.

Nov. 17th—A report of the Supt. (Superintendent) of Burhur of the 16th that a body of men about 1000 in number with 18 elephants and 6 small guns had reached Ramghur in Bijeyghur.

Nov. 19th—Report of the *Tahsildar* of Robertsgunge of 17th that the rebels were at Kunolee in Bijeyghur—3 or 4 hundred men, 16 elephants.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES ENTER REWA

Telegraphic Message from the Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Banaras, November 10, 1857.

The Magistrate at Mirzapore reports as follows—

"The *Jemadar* of Rajwan explains only the mutineers had returned to Ghortwan. They heard that Government had a fortified post in their front on the Beylun. Their scouts having informed them that there was no such post, they advanced again, crossed the Beylun, and entered the Rewah territory."[3]

BRITISH EXPEDITION AGAINST REVOLUTIONARIES AT BHUNDA

Letter No. 422 *from H. C. Tucker, Commissioner, 5th Division, to R. Strachey, Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, dated Banaras,* 16*th Nov.* 1857.

I have the honor to submit for the orders of His Honor

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

[2] *Diary of P. Walker*, Deputy Collector, Mirzapur. Mirzapur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

[3] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 7 in No. 3, p. 139.

the Lieutenant-Governor a letter No. 159 d/14th instant from the Collector and Magistrate of Mirzapoor, with its accompaniments from Mr. Elliott, in connection with the expenses attending an expedition against the rebels of a village called Bhunda....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES SUCCEED IN GETTING GUN POWDER

Letter No. 168 *from H. C. Tucker, Commissioner, 5th Division, to St. G. Tucker, Magistrate of Mirzapur, dated Banaras, 26th Dec.* 1857.

With reference to the statement in Mr. Simson's report on the disturbances in Bijyegurh, that the rebels had been successful in obtaining gun-powder from Ahrora, I shall feel much obliged by your kindly ascertaining who manufactured and sold the said powder, and by your taking every likely means to prevent such manufacture and vend in future.[2]

REWARDS FOR THE ARREST OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter No. 170 *from H. C. Tucker, Commissioner, 5th Division, Banaras, to St. G. Tucker, Magistrate, Mirzapur, dated* 30*th Dec.* 1857.

...In reply to your letter No. 177 dated 26th instant, I have the honor as requested to authorize the offer of a reward of Rupees (200) two hundred each for the apprehension of Rughbur Sing, Chutturjeet Sing (Chhattrajit Singh) and Ruttun Sing (Ratan Singh) concerned in the murder of the *Darogah* of Lallgunge (Lalganj) and the *Jemadar* of Hullcea, (Halia) payable on conviction.

2*nd*—As this is an office of English, not Vernacular, record, I shall be obliged by your transmitting the pith of your Vernacular proceeding in English, to be appended to your letter under acknowledgment, and also by your having the

[1] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 24, p. 21. "Letters received from Commissioner to Magistrate from Nov. 1857 to Dec. 1857". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 24, p. 27. "Letters received from Commissioner to Magistrate from Nov. 1857 to Dec. 1857". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

goodness to report fully in English in future, and also in the form prescribed for applications for rewards.[1]

ACTIVITIES OF SINGRAULI RAJA

Extracts from the Narrative of Events for the Banaras Division.

14*th*—With the exception of a trifling success against the Bijeygurh (Bijaigarh) party of rebels in Tuppeh Jesowlee, there is nothing to report. The Jounpoor Column had moved towards Pell Kuchla Ghat, and that portion of the border was for the time comparatively quiet.

15*th*—Returns of Revenue for the week are given in the margin (footnote).*

BANARAS AND GHAZIPUR

16*th*—These districts continue quiet as usual.

MIRZAPUR

17*th*—The order for his recall had not reached the Magistrate on the 12th January, the latest date of letters from his Camp, which was then on the furthest verge of the district and above 100 miles from Mirzapoor itself.

18*th*—On the 9th he received information of the Bijeygurh mutineers being in the neighbourhood and went in pursuit with 200 of Mr. Catania's levy, about 100 of the Raja of Benares' matchlockmen and sowars, some district sowars and a few matchlockmen brought to his assistance by Baboo Bance

[1] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 24, p. 35. "Letters received from Commissioner to Magistrate from Nov. 1857 to Dec. 1857". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

*Marginal Note in Original—

	Rs.	As.
Benares	130419-	8
Ghazeepoor	59229-	8
Mirzapur	23604-	15
Azimgurh	68829-	15
Jounpoor	23950-	2
Total	306034-	0

Bahadoor (Babu Beni Bahadur), a relative of the Raja of Kuntit in the Mirzapoor district. The mutineers were overtaken not far from Rhotas and made no stand collectively, though their numbers were estimated at about 150 of whom one third were sepoys. A good deal of plunder and a few arms were abandoned by them in their flight, and 20 of the fugitives were overtaken, of whom 10 were killed, and as many captured; of the former 4, and of the latter 6 were sepoys.

19*th*—The Magistrate has since sent back the prisoners with a portion of the levy under Mr. Catania himself, for the protection of the station; and in ignorance of the orders issued forbidding his doing so was himself preparing to move against Singrowlee, the Raja of which place and his cousin Rundheer Singh have been levying black-mail, and committing various other acts of violence. *Indeed, the rebels appear to have everywhere alienated the population by their shortsighted cruelty and rapacity; and the population have received our officers gladly, and, whenever they dare do so, give us every assistance.*[1]

* * *

Extracts from the Narrative of Events for the Banaras Division.

14*th*—No event of importance has taken place in this Division during the past week on the Mirzapoor frontier, the Singrowlee Raja is still giving trouble, but his power for evil is very limited; his punishment can therefore be deferred to a more convenient season, without much detriment to the interest of Government.

15*th*—A memorandum of the revenue collections for the past week cannot be given in this Narrative, the requisite returns not having been yet received.

16*th*—Mr. Taylor, C. S., Assistant Magistrate and Collector has under instruction from the Lieutenant-Governor been sent on board the "Jumna", with orders, under guidance of the Deputy Collector of Bulleah (Ballia), Khairoodeen, who reports from the result of his own trial, the existence of a channel up the Gogra to see that every exertion is made to

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 16th January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

get the steamer into the river where her services will be most valuable to the forces on both banks. The district is undisturbed.[1]

SINGRAULI RAJA HOSTILE TO THE BRITISH

Extracts from Narrative of Events for Mirzapur.

18*th*—The Raja of Singrowlee has returned insolent answers to the demand made upon him by the Magistrate for an explanation of his conduct; he has always shewn himself disaffected to the British Government, and it is reported that he has been recently threatening the village Police with his vengeance if they obey the Magistrate's orders, and has also forbidden the people to pay revenue to us. The Magistrate has, in obedience to the Lieutenant-Governor's instructions, been desired by the Commissioner not to entangle himself with his present inadequate force in these wild hills but to collect evidence on the spot against the Raja.

19*th*—A band of 300 dacoits is said to be established near Dhoodhee (Dudhi), but for similar reasons, the Magistrate has been desired not to proceed against them for the present.

20*th*—Sirdar Golab Sing's Sikh levy has returned to Mirzapoor.

21*st*—The Officer Commanding the station having declined to take charge of the prisoners captured at Bijeegurh (Bijaigarh) pending their trial, they were of necessity sent to Benares by steamer, and were made over to the Military Authorities at that station to be tried there.[2]

* * *

Extract from Narrative of Events for Mirzapur.

14*th*—The Rajah of Singrowlee has written to the Magistrate proferring the most loyal intentions. Captain Osborne

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 23rd January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings), Narrative of events for Mirzapur for the week ending 23rd January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

and the Rewah Raja have countermanded their previous order under shelter of which he had assembled his followers.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES RETURN TO BIJAIGARH

It is known that some mutineers have returned to Bijeygurh having been driven out of the neighbouring Bengal districts by a Military party from Sasseram. The Magistrate with Mr. Catania's levy has gone in pursuit.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Mirzapur.

Nothing has been heard from this district or of what resulted from the movements of the Magistrate after the mutineers at Bijeygurh, reported in the last Narrative.[3]

CHANDEL RAJPUTS ACTIVE

The Magistrate found no organized enemy in his expedition towards Bejeygurh. Gangs of dacoits, however, chiefly Chundel Rajpoots, plunder the country, and these must be systematically hunted down as soon as arrangements can be made for that purpose.[4]

MIRZAPUR DISTURBED

Narrative of Events for the Banaras Division.

Except on the northern frontier of Azimgurh it can

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Mirzapur for the week ending 6th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Mirzapur for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Mirzapur for the week ending 21st February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Mirzapur for the week ending 28th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, ucknow.

scarcely be said that any excitement exists in this Division. The weekly collections of Revenue are noted in the margin (footnote)*.

BANARAS, GHAZIPUR AND MIRZAPUR

A few small bands of plunderers disturb the wild hill country south of Mirzapore; but for this, these three districts might be called perfectly tranquil.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH'S MEN ON MIRZAPUR BORDER

The reports from this district relate mainly to the acts of Jhoorye Sing (Jhuri Singh) which have been detailed above. A body of fugitive sepoys from Kooer Sing's force said to be from 300 to 400 strong shewed themselves early in the week on the S. E. (South-East) border of the district; they withdrew, however, without actually crossing.[2]

SINGRAULI RAJA MAKES PREPARATIONS

The Raja of Singrowlee is again threatening to give trouble; he has it is said cast four new guns. A party of dacoits under one Surubjeet Sing (Sarvjit Singh) are also said to have plundered some villages in *pergunnah* Bhudohee (Bhadohi), and to have retired subsequently into the Allahabad district.[3]

* Marginal note in Original—

	Rs. as. p.
Benares	2266- 7- 9
Ghazeepore	13241- 1-11
Mirzapoor	4450-12- 0
Azimgurh	44765-15- 0
Jounpore	57892-15-10
Total	116617- 4- 6

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 13th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Mirzapur for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Mirzapur for the week ending 20th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

GHAZIPUR

GHAZIPUR REPORTED QUIET

The Narrative transmitted by the mail despatched on the 10th instant containing the news received up to that date—(Signed by R. I. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, dated Fort William, the 24th of September 1857).

Ghazeepore—All quiet.[1]

A PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARIES ESCAPES

Nothing of importance has been reported from this district; a party of 12 mutineers, who were sheltered by a *bunyah*, were pursued, but escaped. The *bunyah*, however, and part of their booty were seized.[2]

BRITISHERS SEND SUPPLIES INTO AZAMGARH

Mr. Brandreth has exerted himself very creditably in throwing supplies into Azimgurh; he reports the population as firmly believing Kooer Sing and his rebels will soon be annihilated.[3]

KUNWAR SINGH'S RELATIONS IN GHAZIPUR

This district though containing many connections of Kooer Sing is quite tranquil; the people are fully impressed with the belief that the sepoys are playing a losing game, and no longer care to identify themselves with it.[4]

[1] Original Military Consultations, A, No. 410 of 25th September 1857. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 12th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

AZAMGARH REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS GHAZIPUR

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government of India, with the Governor General, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 15th April 1858, (10 *A. M.*).

...The Magistrate of Azimghur reports on the 14th that a large body of the Azimghur rebels with 3 Horse Artillery guns had marched, it was supposed, towards Ghazeepore.

Brigadier Gordon had consequently ordered the 2 Companies of H. M.'s 54th to make Ghazeepore in two marches, one half of the soldiers being carried on elephants or *ekas.*

Brigadier Gordon has also recommended that the 54th Companies be at once sent off to join the party already covering Ghazeepore, which will then consist of about 300 Infantry, 50 European Cavalry, 100 Madras Cavalry, and 2 six-pounder guns.

From Jounpore it is reported, that Gholam Hussein is again collecting his followers but it is not supposed they will venture near the station....[1]

BALLIA DISTURBED

The excitement at Azimgurh has spread somewhat to the S. E. (South-East) corner of this district; the country about Bulliah (Ballia) has shown signs of disaffection, and in one village the inhabitants rose and rescued from arrest a fugitive sepoy who had been captured.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES' RETREAT TO GHAZIPUR

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 21st April 1858, (8-20 *P. M.*).

The Commissioner of Benares reports today that the

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 18th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

rebels reached Bansdih in Ghazeepore last night and that Brigadier Douglas was in pursuit. The steamer "Agra" has gone to intercept them with two Companies H. M'.s 54th and the steamer "Jumuna" following them down the "Gogra". 500 *Vilayutees* from Korab[1] and Mundipore are said to be at a village (15) fifteen miles from Goonah[2]....[3]

GHAZIPUR IN FERMENT[4]

Colonel Cumberlege did not punish the village of Cheet Burragaon (Chit Baragaon); and its impunity in open rebellion keeps the neighbouring part of the district in a ferment. Orders have since been issued for its punishment. Sir E. Lugard completed the passage of the Ganges on the 4th.[5]

CHIT BARAGAON DISTURBED

Ghazeepore is pretty quiet, with the exception of the neighbourhood of the rebel village of Chet Burragaon. Many sepoys of Koer Sing's force are said to be making for their homes in this district.[6]

CHIT BARAGAON ATTACKED

The village of Chet Burragaon (Chit Baragaon) has under orders from Government been attacked and destroyed; its persistence in open rebellion and its long notorious charac-

[1] Not decipherable.

[2] *Guna*—Town and British military station in the *Lagarh* District of *Gwalior State, Central India*, situated in 24° 39′ N. and 77° 19′ E., on the Agra-Bombay road, and on the Bina-Baran branch of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII, 1908, p. 386).

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] For the Narrative of Events for Ghazipur for the week ending 25th April 1858 and 2nd May 1858, *cf* Chapter IV.

[5] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 9th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[6] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

ters had rendered its impunity dangerous to the peace of the country and punishment was therefore indispensable.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Ghazipur.

The attack on Barragaon to which allusion was made in the last narrative is described at length by the Magistrate. The village was so strong, and its inhabitants so dreaded in the neighbourhood, that Colonel Cumberlege and Mr. Bachman at first hesitated to attack, but Mr. Probyn who was the Senior Civil Officer present strongly urged a bolder course, and the Column accordingly advanced when the village was found empty. Two of the most notorious ringleaders were, however, fortunately caught lurking in the neighbouring ravines and immediately tried and executed; their houses and those of the other ringleaders were levelled to the ground. The delay in the advance had unfortunately enabled the inhabitants to carry off and to conceal all their plunder.....[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES' ENCOUNTER WITH LUGARD'S FORCES

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated June 8, 1858, (10 A. M.).

MUHAMMADABAD TAHSIL ATTACKED

The Commissioner of Benares reports today that a party of rebels (sepoys) and sowars yesterday attacked and robbed the *tuhseel* of Mahomudabad (Muhammadabad)[3] which is 12 miles

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Muhammadabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Muhammadabad*, District *Ghazipur*—The capital of the pargana is a large and straggling town situated in 25° 37′ N. and 83° 45′ E., at a distance of twelve miles north-east from the district headquarters by the metalled road leading to Korantadih and Ballia. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, p. 224).

east of Ghazeepore. Colonel Cumberlege's force recrossed the Ganges last night.[1]

AVADH REVOLUTIONARIES' INROADS INTO GHAZIPUR

This district has been much excited during the past week. Small bodies of sepoys from Oudh, have been making their way down through this and the Azimgurh district. One party, even though numbering 150 men, contrived, by avoiding the high roads and chief places, and by making long marches and short halts, in getting unreported to the Ganges which they crossed and joined the rebels in the Jugdeespore (Jagdishpur) jungle on the 3rd.

VILLAGERS OF GAHMAR JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The following day Sir E. Lugard attacked the rebels and drove them out of the jungle, but they moved to the north-west and occupied the large village of Guhmur on the railway line west of Buxar; *here the villagers joined them heartily*, and they sent a detachment up the railway line consisting of about 300 sepoys and as many villagers, who did all the damage they could, plundering and burning everything either movable or inflammable. Colonel Cumberlege crossed a portion of his force from Ghazeepore on which this party returned to Guhmur, but the whole of the Ghazeepore district on the right bank of the Ganges is disorganized.[2]

MENHDI HUSAIN'S FORCE IN THE NORTH OF GHAZIPUR

This district was not actually disturbed but its contiguity on the south to the disorganized portion of the Ghazeepore

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 7th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

district, and to the headquarters of Mehdee Hussun's large force on the north, left little hopes of its continuing quiet.[1]

BALLIA IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

The return of the bulk of Umr Sing's (Amar Singh's) party into Behar, and the dispersion of many of the rest towards Oude, has to some extent relieved this district, but Bullcah and its neighbourhood are still altogether in the hands of the rebels, consisting partly of sepoys of that neighbourhood and of their brotherhoods among the *zemindars*. To the south of the Ganges till the close of the week, the district had been abandoned to anarchy; it is now only held by a weak party of 30 Madras Troopers. The want of native troops, Horse and Foot, is sensibly felt here and wherever the rebels break up in small plundering light marching bands, for these can undergo an (*sic*,-any) amount of exposure and fatigue to which no European soldiery is equal in the present weather.[2]

EASTERN GHAZIPUR MUCH DISTURBED

The state of this district has undergone little alteration. The eastern portions are still thoroughly disorganized; about 400 or 500 sepoys, residents of the neighbourhood, are in the Bulliah and Russearh (Rasra) *tehseeldarees*; in Zumaniah about 150 more (these numbers include a few sowars) but they form nuclei round which large numbers of bad characters and disaffected *zemindars* rally whenever occasion offers.

SAIDPUR THREATENED

A considerable party of mutineers crossed the Ganges west of Ghazeepore and threatened the *tehseel* of Syedpore on

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. Also see Ch. IV, *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. IV.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 20th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

the Benares road. A party of Horse and Foot sent out by Brigadier Gordon from Benares was however in time to save the *tehseel*, and the sepoys escaped to the north.

Brigadier Douglas at the close of the week arrived at Ghazeepore and proposed placing detachments at Bulliah, Byreah, Russearh (Rasra) and Zumaniah, in the Ghazeepore, and at Nugra, in the Azimghur district.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Ghazipur.

The state of this district was hardly improved, though measures were in progress for tranquillizing it. Detachments of Berry's (now McMullin's) Sikh Corps had been told off to occupy Bulliah, Bhyreah[2] and Nuggra to the north, and Zumaniah to the south of the Ganges. At the first named place the sepoys were said to be congregated to the number of 800 with an equal number of matchlockmen. Mr. Bax with Captain McMullin was proceeding against it, but the rebels had broken down a bridge on the road, which would cause some delay in their approach. The sepoys still continued to hunt down the Government officials. One *Thannahdar* was murdered during the week by a sepoy who, dressing himself as a *Chuprassie*, went to the village where he was hiding pretending to be the bearer of an order from the Magistrate, and when the *Thannahdar* came out to receive the message, immediately killed him.[3]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 27th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently *Bahriabad*, Pargana *Bahriabad*, Tahsil *Saidpur*, District *Ghazipur*—The capital of the Bahriabad pargana is made up of the three villages of Farid Chak, Khwajepur and Nadepur, as well as some insignificant hamlets, standing in 25° 42′ N. and 83° 15′ E., on the unmetalled road from Saidpur to Azamgarh which is here joined by the road from Shadiabad at a distance of 24 miles north-west from Ghazipur and 14 north from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, pp. 178-79).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 3rd July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

CHHAPRA REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 9th July 1858 (10 *A. M.*).

The following information dated 5th July had been received from Patna. The Chuppra rebels moved rapidly some twenty-five miles south-west burning the Tresor *thanna* and halted at Chundual[1] north-west of Ekora. Major Bannish has moved to Hussanpore to intercept them; they intend it is said to return to Ghazeepore as no body joins them. Captain Rattray reports from camp Kurmah 5th July that after a march of six hours he came up to Jeoodher Sing at Kurmah. His force consisting of about 400 men awaited Captain Rattray's approach very steadily. They were immediately attacked by Captain Rattray with 150 Sikhs and 40 Cavalry and completely routed, upwards of 100, great many of whom were sepoys being killed. Captain Rattray pursued them till very dark, the Cavalry cutting up nearly fifty. Jeoodher Sing escaped with difficulty, but some Sikhs mounted on elephants are in close pursuit. The country was entirely under water otherwise none would have escaped. Only two of Rattray's men wounded.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES MAKE A STAND AT BALLIA

The state of this district continued unchanged though the Sikhs had gone out. At Bulliah as mentioned in the last narrative a large body collected and threatened to make a stand. They abandoned the post however on the approach of Captain MacMullen[3] and his Sikhs. They then moved

[1] Apparently *Chandauli*, Pargana *Majhwar*, Tahsil *Chandauli*, District *Benares*—The headquarters of the tahsil are located in a large village lying in 25° 15′ N. and 83° 16′ E., on the Grand Trunk Road, at a distance of twenty miles east-south-east of Benares. Branch roads lead hence to Sakaldiha on the north, to Kaili on the north-west, to Baburi and Chakia on the south-west and to Majhwar and Dharauli on the south-east. Parallel to the main road on the north runs the Gaya chord line of the East Indian Railway, with a station known as Majhwar within a very short distance of the main site. (*District Gazetteers*, Benares, 1909, pp. 267-268).

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] It has been spelt as 'McMullin' or 'MacMullan' in other documents pp. 273, 275, 278; correct name may be 'McMillan'.

towards Byreeah where Mr. Probyn had gone with 100 Sikhs and 30 Sikh Cavalry under Lieutenant Jennings of the 2nd B. (Bengal) European Cavalry.

The rebels had surrounded the house in which the party were posted on the afternoon of the 11th.

The rebels still continue their policy of cruelty, murdering or mutilating every Government servant, and every adherent of Government whom they can get into their power, and they plunder and maltreat without mercy, and one from whom valuables can be extracted.[1]

BRITISHERS EVACUATE BALLIA

REVOLUTIONARIES INVEST A HOUSE

The last Narrative for this district concluded with the report that Mr. Probyn's party had been besieged at Byreeah. It appears that the party who (which) evacuated Bulleeah before Captain McMullin's approach, first marched on Reotee[2] and hearing there, that Mr. Probyn's party consisted of only 100 newly raised Seikhs and 30 Seikh Horse, hoped to overpower it, posted as it was in the angle formed by the junction of the Ganges and the Gogra. Fortunately, the party had occupied a strong brick house and had well provisioned it. The rebels numbered 1200 men and invested the place, but until the 13th not very closely; upon that day they occupied a neighbouring garden and loopholing it, opened a very harassing fire on the garrison; a sortie was therefore planned and executed on the 14th with complete success, the rebels were

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 11th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently *Reotipur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Zamaniah*, District *Ghazipur*—The important village of Reotipur stands in 25° 32′ N. and 83° 43′ E., on the unmetalled road from Ghazipur to Gahmar and Buxar, at a distance of eight miles east-south-east from the district headquarters and twelve miles north-east from Zamaniah. From the east of the village, which is built on a fairly raised site overlooking the Ganges, a branch road runs southwards to Nauli and Bhadaura station on the East Indian Railway. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, pp. 239-40).

driven from the garden with the loss of 20 killed, ours being but one killed and one wounded.

CAPTAIN MCMILLAN'S POST ATTACKED

The force under Captain McMullin (about 170 fit for duty) marched to the relief of Mr. Probyn and reached within 4 miles of Byreeah on the 12th, but Captain McMullin considering the rebels too numerous to attack, fell back on Bulleeah, where he threw up a small entrenchment. His retirement appears to have emboldened the sepoys, for on the 14th after their repulse at Byreeah, and possibly aware of the neighbourhood of European reinforcements they withdrew from that place, and marched towards Bulleeah, where they attacked Captain McMullin's post on the 13th, but were driven back with some loss. Our casualties occurred only at Byreeah, where five were killed, and as many wounded during the siege. On the 14th also a steamer reached Sheopoor[1] near Byreeah with Brigadier Douglas, his staff and 200 men of H. M.'s 10th Foot.

The Brigadier passed a high encomium on the gallantry and judgment with which the defence of the post had been conducted by Lieutenant Jennings, Messrs. Probyn and Dunne and on the behaviour of the men; and arrangements were made for further strengthening the force stationed in that neighbourhood. The following day the Brigadier marched to Bulleeah, which he reached on the 16th. The rebels who were holding a bank only a short distance from the entrenchment retired at his approach towards Reotee. On the arrival of further reinforcements he pursued them, but on nearing them, they broke up and dispersed in all directions, one only of their party being killed. The rest are said chiefly to have

[1] *Sheopur*, Pargana *Sheopur*, Tahsil *Benares*, District *Benares*—This small town, which gives its name to the pargana, may almost be described as a suburb of Benares. It lies in 25° 21′ N. and 82° 58′ E., on the Jaunpur road, a mile west of the civil station, and a short distance north of the central jail. The railway station of Sheopur is about a mile and a half to the west, in the village of Bharlai, at the point where the road is crossed by the loop line from Benares cantonment to Fyzabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Benares, 1909, p. 363).

gone northwards. Fifty Sikhs have been located at Zamania, which part of the country is still much excited and disturbed.[1]

ARRAH REVOLUTIONARIES THREATEN ZAMANIA PARGANA

Ghazeepoor is again free from open rebellion, the sepoys having escaped northward by rapid marches with little molestation. A good deal of excitement and disorder however prevails in the district, and the Zamania *pergunnah* is still threatened by the Arrah rebels, who have also been plundering near the Grand Trunk Road.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Ghazipur.

The district is in no part any longer in open rebellion, and the *thannahs* are everywhere re-established. Lieutenant Champain of the Engineers has been deputed to fortify the small posts which it is purposed to hold. Dacoities, however, on the river bank are numerous, and to the south the Arrah rebels still trouble the country and have even threatened the Grand Trunk Road, for the protection of which, however, measures have been already taken.[3]

ZAMANIA TAHSIL INVESTED

The district on the left bank of the Ganges is not much disturbed but the whole of the *tehseeldaree* of Zumancah is more or less invested with rebels the chief of whom is one Mygur Rai (Meghar Rai). In consequence of incursions headed by this man the *thannah* of Dildarnuggur has been

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 18th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 25th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 1st August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

abandoned nor is there any prospect of peace being restored till Arrah and Behar generally are quieted.[1]

AVADH REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS SHAHABAD

Copy of Telegraphic Message No. 145 *from Commisisoner, Banaras, to Muir, Secretary to Government, Allahabad, dated* 11*th August* 1858, (8-15 *A. M.*).

Intelligence received from the Magistrate of Ghazeepore that the Oudh rebels have circumvented the 7th Regiment Infantry and are coming down on Shahabad via Bulliah (Ballia). Telegram is being sent to Dinapore to inform Brigadier Douglas and another to Calcutta. The Magistrate of Ghazeepore is having all the boats on the river stopped.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT NAGRA

The notable event of this week has been the advent of the body of sepoys above noticed. They were at Nuggra (Nagra) on the 15th. Zumaniah was quiet, but the Kurumnasa (Karamnasa) is fordable, so that an irruption of the Arrah rebels is at all times imminent.[3]

ENCOUNTER WITH BRITISHERS NEAR REOTI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, to E. A. Reade, dated Allahabad, 30*th August* 1858, (2-40 *P. M.*).

Sir Hope Grant on the twenty six had sent twelve hundred Infantry and two guns, across the Goomtee (Gomati) at Sultanpore and occupied three villages in his front that afternoon meeting with little opposition. Captain MacMullan with his Seikhs fell in with the rebels at a village near Reotee

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 8th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 24th September 1858, No. 95. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 14th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

and the Ghazeepore district on the twenty third, and drove them out killing and wounding sixty five with a loss among his own men of fifteen. Rebels dispersed in different directions. Troops all well. Captain Dennehy with a party of the Allahabad Military Police went out against a band of rebels under Punjab Sing of Rewah who had posted themselves near Barah on the other side of the Jumna. Captain Dennehy attacked the rebels on the 28th instant and killed Punjab Sing and about two hundred of his men. The Police behaved very well, only two of them were killed and seven wounded.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Ghazipur.

The rebels who besieged Russerah (Rasra) were overtaken at Reotee by Captain McMullin and a detachment of Sikhs, and after a smart action driven out of the village; night prevented the pursuit, but 20 of the rebels were killed and 40 or 50 wounded. Captain McMullin's loss was also somewhat severe. The Zamania *pergunnah* is in a most unsatisfactory state and anyone supposed to be friendly to us is generally murdered.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES STILL INFEST GHAZIPUR

In the Benares Division a few sepoys still lurk about especially towards the southern, and eastern *pergunnahs* of Ghazeepoor; they have however confined themselves recently to acts of plunder on a small scale.[3]

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AT GAHMAR

Service Message No. 153 *from Commissioner, Banaras, to the Secretary to Government of Bengal, dated 8th April* 1859, (4-35 *P. M.*).

A considerable body of rebels coming from south Mirza-

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 28th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract

pore appeared yesterday at Gahmar 12 miles west of Buxar. They were busy crossing the Ganges last night and intelligence just received from Mirzapore leads me to believe that they are making for Chuprah.[1]

ACTIVITIES OF MEGHAR RAI

MEGHAR RAI JOINS AMAR SINGH

Letter from Fazal Husain, Darogha, Thana Dildarnagar[2]*, Barah, dated May* 30, 1858.

A rumour prevails since this morning that Meghar Rai, resident of Gahmar with other residents of the place, has approached Amar Singh *Badmash* and has become his ally. He has suggested to him, "If I am helped I would move the residents of *pargana* Rhath to rise against the British". He has, therefore, been assisted with two platoons and has returned with them. After this it was learnt at noon that Meghar Singh[3] with his platoon had reached Rajpur in District Shahabad. I have sent three or four spies to *mauza* Niyazpur and Rajpur in order to get the news. The above mentioned persons state that Meghar Rai with the *paltan* consisting of 250 or 300 armed persons who appeared to be absconders, and with cannon had entered Rajpur in *ilaqa thana* Chausa, District Shahabad, killed a *Barqandaz* of that *chowki* and a *Patwari*. All of them are staying in Kheri Makraon, today; Imdad Ali, resident of Harkoli is their *Subedar* and accompanies them, as already reported. A large number of rebel *sipahis*, residing in Gahmar and Barah have accompanied him. They have resolved to stay at Gahmar and Barah and to persuade the whole *pargana* to rebel against the Government. Some people even say that they are coming to fight the British.

Proceedings). Narrative of events for the Banaras Division for the week ending 25th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 22nd April 1859, No. 155. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Dildarnagar*, Pargana and Tahsil *Zamaniah*, District *Ghazipur*—A large village on the old road from Benares and Zamaniah to Buxar, standing in 25° 26′ N. and 83° 40′ E., at a distance of seven miles east from the tahsil headquarters and twelve miles south from Ghazipur. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, p. 191).

[3] Spelt as 'Meghar Rai' above.

This is what we have learnt today. Considering that it is necessary to send this news to you, Faqir Allah *Barqandaz* is being sent to you to hand over the report.

Submitted :—

Top script dated 31st May 1858 (orders).....The *parwana* be sent that after full investigation it may be reported as to how many rebels have collected so that the Govt. army be sent to check them. The *Thanedar* of Ghumair should ask the Chiefs to join the rebels if they believe that the British rule would come to an end, otherwise they should not.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES IN PARGANA RHATH

Letter from the Police Officer dated 4th June 1858.

(Salutations)—Mir Modan, Nabboo Khan, foot soldiers posted with *sazawals* at Barah stated that 500 rebels were still staying in Pargana Rhath and they burnt five iron bungalows on the other bank of the Karamnasa river yesterday. At 4 P. M. they went to Chausa to burn the *thana*. They have resolved to go via Oosia and attack the *tahsildari*. Megh Rai[2], the *zamindar* of Gahmar is their leader. Other *zamindars* of Gahmar have also joined the rebels.

Submitted.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT GAHMAR UNDER MEGHAR RAI

Letter from the Police Officer dated June 7, 1858.

Usual salutations—To-day the informer has brought the news that 400 rebel *sipahis* are still staying at *mauza* Gahmar, under the command of Meghar Rai. Yesterday, 200 rebels consisting of 150 Foot-men and 50 Horsemen came from the east, burnt the *thana* of Chausa, District Shahabad, one indigo godown and one bungalow made of iron (آہنی). After

[1] Ghazipur Collectorate Mutiny Basta: File regarding *'Government vs. Zamindars of Gahmar'*.

[2] Given as 'Meghar Rai' at other places. (pp. 280-283).

[3] Ghazipur Collectorate Mutiny Basta: File regarding *'Government vs. Zamindars of Gahmar'*.

meals they set out for Muhammadabad. The horse of one of these sowars died. They took away the three *sands* (stallions) kept here by the state, one of which was used by the sowars for riding and the two others are with the rebels.

Submitted for necessary information.....Usual endings.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES IN DEOTHA

Petition from the Police Officer, Kashni, on the Ghat opposite Rhath, dated 16th June 1858.

Salutations.....

Reached Rhath to-day and tried to go inside the town. On my arrival it was authentically learnt that 100 rebel *sipahis* under Meghar Rai collected in *mauza* Deotha of *pargana* Zamania, at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kos* from the *tahsildari*. A *pahar* before sunset and having heard that the officers of the Govt. were in Rhath they intended to go there. They had got together the rebels residing in the different villages, and are staying in Kashni as there is no safe residence opposite the Rhath Ghat. The statement of the assistants of the Rhath *chauki* that there were no rebels, is surprising.

Submitted for necessary information.[2]

VILLAGERS CO-OPERATE WITH MEGHAR RAI

Petition dated 18th June 1858 signed by the Tahsildar and Police Officer.

Salutations—

It has been learnt to day that 300 rebel *sipahis* and 25 or 30 horsemen are stationed at Dildarnagar, three *kos* from the *tahsil* on the side of the road. The people of Gahmar, Kashna[3], Barah and Naoli have joined them. Although the residents of Gahmar have left the place, their *zamindars* are staying in the neighbouring villages at the distances of three, four or five *kos* and harbour evil intentions. The residents of Barah are also supported by the people of the several neighbouring

[1] Ghazipur Collectorate Mutiny Basta: File regarding '*Government vs. Zamindars of Gahmar*'.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Spelt as *Kashni* in the previous document.

villages of the *pargana*. Imdad Khan, rebel, resident of Chhatar Koni who alleges to have 4 *paltans* in his command is also staying with 16 rebel *sipahis* posted as his guard. There are other people of this *pargana* with Meghar Rai who is bent upon its destruction. If a small British army is requisitioned, it is hoped that Meghar Rai will either be made captive or killed and the other rebels put to flight or adequately punished. Their stay here is fraught with danger as others are becoming recalcitrant and rebellious every day. It is, therefore, a necessity to nip the evil in the bud. So far only a few *mauzas* have joined them but their number will considerably increase if no steps are taken to check. If two cannon and an adequate army be sent, the *pargana* will be well controlled and the evil suppressed.

Submitted.[1]

MEGHAR RAI ATTACKS MAUZA NIWALWAN

Petition dated June 19, 1858 *from the Police Officer.*

Salutations—

It has been authentically learnt that Meghar Rai, resident of Gahmar, with 100 rebels attacked *mauza* Niwalwan *pargana* Chainpur, District Shahabad on the.....Karamnasa at a distance of 3 *kos* from the *tahsil* and has made up his mind, to burn down the godown of Mr. Samuel but uptil now he has not perpetrated this crime owing to the admonition by the *zamindars*, and other worldly temptations. Having cooked their meals, they are still staying in the grove by the side of the road. The event is awaited till tomorrow morning.

Submitted for necessary information. (Usual endings).[2]

THE FINALE

Deposition of Meghar Singh dated November 27, 1860 *in the Court of William Ordros, Special Commissioner, Banaras.*

Meghar Singh presented himself and deposed—My

[1] Ghazipur Collectorate Mutiny Basta: File regarding '*Government vs. Zamindars of Gahmar*'.

[2] *Ibid.*

name is Meghar Singh, I am a Kshattriya. My father's name is Bhajan Singh. I am resident of *mauza* Gahmar, *pargana* Zamania, District Ghazipur. My age is about 40 years. My profession is *Zamindari* and *Nambardari*. In the month of Jeth and Baisakh of the second year of the rebellion, Vijai Singh son of Meghbaran Singh, Kshattriya, Ram Saran Singh son of Hukum Singh, Kshattriya, Apoorb Singh son of Hukum Singh, Dalgojan Singh and Arjun Singh sons of Karam Singh, Kankan Singh son of Sothar Singh, Jita Singh *Nambardar*, son of Sarnam Singh, Sarabjit Singh son of Roopan Singh, Holkar Singh son of Baljor Singh, Abhay Singh son of Balwant Singh, Chhatar Singh son of Anrup Singh II, Anirudh Singh son of Ram Phal Singh, Lachhman Singh, Bhopal Singh sons of Sambal Singh, Naubat Singh son of Faujdar Singh, residents of Gahmar *pargana* Zamania, Sheo Ghulam Rai Bhobhar son of (father's name not known), resident of Reoti Pur, *pargana* Zamania, Ram Pratab Rai son of (father's name not known) Bhoomhar by caste, resident of Hasan Para, Kali Charan son of (father's name not known), resident of Baska, Shiva Charan Rai Bhoomhar by caste, resident of Barainpur, Ram Jeawan Rai Bhoomhar, resident of Deoria, son of (father's name not known), Shiva Pal and Santoo, Bhoomhar by caste, residents of Sher Pur, Isoo Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Qasim Ali Khan Pathans, residents of Bara, Nar Singh Rai son of Soojan Rai, Kshattriya, resident of Karhna, *pargana* Zamania, District Ghazipur, Rohan Rai son of (father's name not known), Kshattriya, resident of Newhar, *pargana* Chainpur, Radhey Rai, Mohan Rai, Drig Vijai Rai, sons of (father's name not known), Kshattriya by caste, resident of *mauza* Gur Sarai, *pargana* Chainpur District Shahabad, Ajhmat Rai son of Badrak Rai son of (father's name not known), Bhoomhar by caste, resident of Sopna, *pargana* Chausa District Shahabad, Ugra Pandey son of (father's name not known), Brahman by caste, resident of *mauza* Manikpur, *pargana* Chausa, Domanzari (Illegible), Bhoomhar by caste, son of (father's name not known), resident of Sukran, *pargana* Chausa, Salik Singh son of (father's name not known), Kshattriya by caste, resident of *mauza* Indore, *pargana* Chausa, Sheo Jagat Rai, resident of Naoli *pargana* Zamania, Lachhman Rai and Prag Rai, Kshattriya by caste, sons of (father's name not known), residents of *pargana* (*sic,-mauza*) Utranhi, *pargana* Zamania, Tilak Rai son of (father's name not known), Bhoomhar, son of (father's name

not known) resident of Sohal, *pargana* Zamania and myself, assembled on the boundary of village Biranji on the Karamnasa, about 3 *kos* from Gahmar, a *pahar* after the dawn (say we assembled several times). We conferred that there was rumour that the British were going to set fire to six villages namely Sher Pur, Reoti Pur, Barha, Gahmar, Ausiya and Khareba. We deputed Nahmar Das, Kayastha, son of Chait Das resident of Gahmar, Kankan Singh, Kshattriya by caste, son of Sotal Singh, Umrao Singh son of Ram Phal Singh and Lodhi Singh, son of Megh Baran Singh, Kshattriya by caste, resident of the same place, to Ghazipur to find out the truth. They returned and told us that only those six villages would be set fire to. Thereupon, we selected the names of two or three *raises* from each of the *parganas* of Mhanj, District Ghazipur, *pargana* Sahasram, District Shahabad and *pargana* Narwan, District Banaras and wrote to them about this. About 10 or 12 thousand men from these *parganas* collected in the grove of Dewal, *pargana* Zamania. The people of Zamania also came there. I do not know the names of all of them. A letter was sent to Amar Singh resident of Jagdishpur, *pargana* (not known), District Shahabad, on behalf of these *raises*, telling him that the British were going to set fire to our villages and requesting him to help us as he was an Indian. Amar Singh sent a reply asking us to send two reliable persons and promising to help us as we required. The people sent Lodhi Singh and myself, together with eight other persons to Amar Singh with Rs. 2000 as *Nazrana*. Those who were present signed a deed promising to live and die with us. Now we all set out for Jagdishpur. Lodhi Singh fell ill and died on the way. I alone reached the place, handed over the *Nazrana* and told Amar Singh about the state of affairs. Amar Singh then ordered 500 *Tilangas* to go with us for our help. I informed those who had sent us that we would also be there after five days. They sent reply asking us to reach there immediately with the *Tilangas*. After 15 days we reached *mauza* Kharha, *pargana* Chausa, District Shahabad where they were all staying. Now they began plundering and looted the bungalow and the godown of the Indigo factory with a body of a few hundred men. They also plundered the boats carrying grain; five days after Amar Singh came up with an army of 15 or 20 thousand Foot-soldiers and Horsemen. All the *Zamindars* and *Mahajans* of the *parganas* of Chausa, Zamania,

Chainpur, Mhanj and Narwan collected Rs 25,000 and offered him the amount as *Malguzari* and *Nazrana*. Amar Singh stayed there for five days. But when the British troops came up, Har Kishan Singh, the *Karinda* of Amar Singh with the army left the place in the night. Amar Singh who was now left with only two soldiers fled away in the morning by the south side of Gahmar. The British troops came from the east and Amar Singh fled towards Jagdishpur. We now came with a body of 500 men to Dewal, a *mauza* at a distance of 4 *kos* and stayed there. We conferred together and it was decided that we should submit ourselves before the British. But I decided to submit because I had earned a bad name. Some of our men went away. I went to *mauza* Kherai with 500 *Tilangas* and 10 or 12 thousand men of the *zamindars* and *raises* and stayed there for 3 months. Some of our men won favour of the English gentlemen in charge of roads, some of the Englishmen of the Indigo Factory and some of the officers of the *thana* and secured confidence and submitted to the Government; I was now left alone. Now, Pitambar Das *Patwari*, Kayastha, Kankan Singh Kshattriya, Har Sahai Dass Kayastha and Jhagru Dass *Patwari* advised me to present myself. I asked them as to how I should do it and they advised me to present myself with some Govt. article, as a gift. I then bought a Govt. stallion for Rs. 100/-, two carbines for Rs 60/- each bought from the rebels and 50 gold *mohars* (*Kaldar*) and sent them through Kankan Singh to the Captain at Baksar. Kankan Singh came back and told me that the Captain said my case would be dealt with according to the orders received from there. We stayed for 3 months with about 10 or 12 thousand men waiting for these orders and made no raids for plunder. The people of the six *parganas* named above met our expenses. When the British troops came they dispersed and fled away. Only the 500 *Tilangas* sent by Amar Singh faced them, were defeated and they took to flight towards the south. I also accompanied them. We did not stay in Bihar but moved about and purchased our own meals. When we saw that there was no place of protection and safety in Bihar we crossed over to the Ganges and went to the Nepal side where we joined the forces of the Begam, Raja Debi Bakhsh, Raja Beni Madho and other rebels. I had those 500 *Tilangas* with me. After one year and 3 months, Raja Jang Bahadur came to our place with his troops, disarmed all the rebels, took a large

number of the rebels captive and sent them to the British. Some of the rebels fled away. Sickness had broken into the rebel camp because of the change of climate and a number of rebel chiefs had died at the time when Raja Jang Bahadur came with his army. This was why the rebel army made no resistance. I do not know the names of the rebel Rajahs who died. Those who survived were Raja Beni Madho, Raja Debi Bakhsh, Raja Har Das Rai, Raja Nana Rao, Raja Bala Rao, Raja Narharpur (name not known), Nawab of Azimabad (name not known) and Nawab of Farrukhabad (name not known). Raja Jang Bahadur took Amar Singh captive and sent him to the British. He died after being taken captive. The rebel armies of the Begam and of Nana Rao fought the British troops at one or two places.

Question—How and when did Nana Rao die ?

Answer—He died of fever and diarrhoea last year in Bhadon.

Question—Did you fight the British army with your *Tilangas* anywhere ?

Answer—Yes, I did fight with my *Tilangas* at Kherai, Dildarnagar, Kerghar in *pargana* Sahsaram, Rooppur, in *pargana* Jinnor and at Daron.

Question—When did you come down from Nepal and where are your *Tilangas* ?

Answer—I have been here for the last eight months. I stayed at Gaya, Prayag and Jagannath Ji. Then I went to Calcutta in the month of Asadh in order to present myself before the Governor General. But he was out. I then returned to my native place. I have been in Kashi for the last 20 days. I went to the Commissioner's residence but he was out. Then I went to the Judge. I considered that my presence before the Government will be beneficial for me. Some of my *Tilangas* were taken captive with Amar Singh, some of them died and others had fled away. The money we had was taken away when Amar Singh was taken captive.

Question—Where did Nana Rao die ?

Answer—At Dang in the Nepal territory.

Question—Were you present there when Nana Rao died ?

Answer—I was not there. I was at Tolia, 20 *kos* from the Nepal territory. His army disbanded and his soldiers took service with other Rajahs. Jawahar Singh, a soldier of his army who was a resident of my native village, came here and

said that Nana Saheb had died. All his followers who had dispersed said that he was dead and his family was taken to Nepal by Raja Jang Bahadur.

Question—Who performed the (*Kirya Karam*) funeral rites of Nana Rao ?

Answer—His mother.

Question—Why did you not present yourself soon after the Queen's proclamation was promulgated ?

Answer—The above named *zamindars* of Ghazipur had asked the Collector if I was required to be present, but he replied that orders about Amar Singh, Sidha Singh and myself were not yet received from the headquarters and therefore it was on my option to do as I pleased. This was when the Queen's proclamation was issued.

Question—Where were you then ?

Answer—I was in the hills. When I came down I asked the *zamindars* to enquire from the Collector. When he gave the above reply, the *zamindars* said to me that they thought I could not be pardoned without the orders received from the headquarters of the Government. I then went to Nepal. This year when I returned from Calcutta I sent a petition to the Collector Ghazipur from Gyanti (Illegible) by post stating my circumstances and requesting for pardon.

Question—Did you have any property ?

Answer—My *zamindari* has been confiscated by the Govt., my residential building was demolished and burnt down. I had founded a village which has been depopulated.

Question—Is your name on the list of rebels ?

Answer—Yes.

Question—Has the Govt. announced a reward for bringing you in as captive ?

Answer—Some say, it is six thousand, others say it is three. This was announced from Ghazipur.

Question—Where is Jawahar Singh who brought the news of Amar Singh's death ?

Answer—He is dead. He was taken prisoner in Nepal. He came to Gorakhpur, was challaned and sent to Ghazipur. I heard that he died in the way. He had been with us in Nepal since Nana Rao's death in Bhadon to the month of Aghan. Jawahar Singh was with Nana Rao. He was a *Subedar*. Shiva Charan Singh Rajput who was also a *Subedar* was with Nana Rao. He was challaned and sent to Gorakhpur. I do

not know exactly his place of residence but he belongs to some place near *mauza* Kari near Jagdishpur.

Question—How many *Tilangas* and other rebels died in the Gorakhpur territory ?

Answer—70,000.

Question—Do you know anything about Firoz Shah ?

Answer—He was with Nana Rao whose family is in Nepal. Jang Bahadur took them with himself. Kochak Sultan is also in Nepal. He is one of the Delhi princes. Beni Madho's family is also in Nepal. Birjis Qadar is also there. There are 120 servants with the Begam.

Question—Do you know their names ?

Answer—They are residents of Lucknow. But I do not remember their names.

Question—Were you Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh's *Vazir* ?

Answer—No.

Question—State fully which of the rebels were killed, who are still alive and whom did you see with your own eyes ?

Answer—I saw Nana Rao, Bala Rao, Beni Nadho, his brother Jiwaraj Singh[1], Raja Debi Bakhsh—the Raja of Gonda, Jyot Singh of Bhinga, Har Dat, of Londi, Raja of Har Harpur, Khan Bahadur, the Nawab of Bareilly and Nana Rao, first at Bhutwal, then across the Gunnor Hills and then at Laon. I also saw them at Dang. Both the brothers reached Dang in Jeth. They and the people of their army began to fall ill in Asadh. I with my followers then moved to the forest grown over the Laon.[2]

[1] Should be 'Jagraj Singh'.

[2] "Trial Proceedings in the Case, *Government vs. Mangor Singh*", File No. 74. Ghazipur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

CHAPTER THREE

GORAKHPUR DIVISION IN FERMENT

BRITISH ABANDON GORAKHPUR

Extract from letter from the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors, dated October 3, 1857.

6*th*—*Goruckpore*—The first thing which the Lieutenant-Governor heard at Patna was the abandonment of the Goruckpore district, which took place on the 13th of August. This has been reported to the Government of India separately, and calls for no further notice here.

7*th*—The leader of the rebellion in Goruckpore is one Mahomed Hussun. He appears to be at the head of a poorly armed rabble, rather than any Military force, and is said to have been perpetrating acts of great barbarity. There is a rumour of a probability of a rise of Hindoo landholders against Mahomed Hussun; but it is not much to be depended on. The great extent of the district, and the inundation of the country, make its recovery difficult without greater numerical force than is now available.

8*th*—The escape of Mr. Bird to Bettiah[1] is reported. He remained behind, at his own desire, when the rest of the Civil Officers left Goruckpore, in the hope of being able to maintain his position. He was, however, unable to do so.

13*th*—*Benaras and Ghazeepore*—The Benares and Ghazeepore districts have been quite tranquil; seditious correspondence has been seized at Benares and of the persons criminated by it, some have been tried and executed; others remain under trial.[2]

[1] *Bettiah Town*—Head-quarter of the subdivision of the same name in *Champaran* District, *Bengal*, situated in 26° 48′ N. and 84° 30′ E, on an old bed of the Harha river. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. III, 1908, p. 6).

[2] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure in No. 8, p. 84.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN GORAKHPUR

ACTIVITIES OF MUHAMMAD HASAN

Letter from the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated Fort William, September 23, 1857.

GORKHAS WITHDRAW FROM GORAKHPUR

5*th*—In the 2nd paragraph of our letter No. 83, dated the 22nd August last, we referred to the state of affairs in the district of Goruckpore, and hinted at the probability, under a certain contingency, of that district being abandoned by the Goorkha troops. We regret to say that the entire Goorkha force, together with the Civil and Military Officers, with the single exception of Mr. F. M. Bird, the Joint Magistrate, withdrew from that district on the 13th ultimo, under circumstances which, in our opinion, did not warrant such a step.

MUHAMMAD HASAN APPOINTED NAZIM

6*th*—On leaving the station, Messrs. Wynyard, Wingfield, and Paterson, made over charge of the district to a *Punchayet* of Rajahs, who, however, were unable to hold it against an Oude *Chuckledar*, named Mohummud Hussein[1], who has declared himself "*Nazim*" of Goruckpore and Azimgurh, by appointment of the king of Oude. Mr. Bird has escaped from the district. The account furnished by him of the proceedings at Goruckpore, and of his escape from that place, will be read with interest.

7*th*—The Lieutenant-Governor of the Central Provinces placed Messrs. Wynyard and Paterson in the position of civil servants out of employ, from the date on which they abandoned their district; but we await the receipt of the further explanation, which the Lieutenant-Governor has given Mr. Wynyard an opportunity of making, before finally confirming His Honor's proceedings.

8*th*—We transmit a copy of a correspondence which has been communicated to us by the Government of Bengal, on matters connected with the state of affairs in the Patna

[1] This name has been spelt both as 'Mohummud Hussein' and 'Muhamad Hussun'.

Division, with special reference to the effect of the abandonment of Goruckpore on the Sarun and Chumparun (Champaran) districts. The abandonment of Goruckpore has exposed the districts of Sarun and Chumparun to danger. The arrangements made for the protection of those districts are stated in the document which forms No. 38 (?) in the packet.[1]

MAHARAJA JANG BAHADUR OFFERS AID TO BRITISHERS

News dated Friday, the 2nd October 1857.

.....Jaunpore and Azimgurh are still held by the authorities; but a Mahomedan, a self elected Governor for the Emperor of Delhi, rules Goruckpore. Much is said of the Goorkha troops employed there, and it is stated that Junge Bahadoor (Jang Bahadur)[2] has offered the aid of several organized battalions from Nepal.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES ENCAMP AT BARHAL

Extract of intelligence received from the Joint Magistrate of Azamgarh, dated October 14, 1857.

A band of mutinous sepoys, from 400 to 500 men, armed with Government muskets, and having a number of tats and horses, supposed to be loaded with plunder, entered the Goruckpore district near Fyzabad, passed on to *thannah* Sikiagunj, and thence to Golah[4] Bazar, near the river Gogra. The

[1] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, No. 20, p. 105.

[2] Refers to 'Maharaja Jang Bahadur'.

[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, October 8, 1857, p. 323. National Library, Calcutta.

[4] Apparently *Gola*, Pargana *Dhuriapar*, Tahsil *Bansgaon*, District *Gorakhpur*—The town of Gola also known as Madaria and Gola Gopalpur or the grain market of Gopalpur, stands in tappa Barhaj on the bank of the Ghagra, in 26° 20′ N. and 83° 22′ E., at a distance of 33 miles south from Gorakhpur. It is connected with the latter both by the road running through Sikriganj to Barhalganj, and also by an unmetalled road from Kauriram of the main road to Azamgarh. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 232).

Rajah of Gopalpore received intelligence before-hand of their intended course, and prevailed upon them not to plunder his bazar. They marched on to Barhal, and are now encamped on the opposite side of the river at the above place. They represent themselves to be a portion of the 17th Native Infantry which mutinied at Azimghur, but seemingly the force consists of Bhojpore fugitives, collected from several regiments, for mutual protection, returning to their homes beyond Buxar from Delhi and Lucknow; several are wounded.

Mahamud Hussun, the *Nazim* of Goruckpore, has written, offering the mutineers' service under himself. Their determination is not yet known.[1]

MUHAMMAD HASAN'S MOTTO

News dated Saturday, the 28th November 1857.

Mahomed Hussain Khan, who holds the Goruckpore district, has adopted for his motto "High above the stars stands the name of Mahomed Hussain Khan". Some people have been suggesting his being hanged when caught. A rebel's life is of course forfeit, but if this be the man who saved Colonel Lennox and his family, and if he has not since murdered any Europeans, we would recommend a mitigation of his punishment.[2]

THE BATTLE OF MAJHAULI

Letter from Colonel Rowcroft to the Secretary to the Government of India, Camp Majhowlee (Majhauli) on the river Chota Gundah[3], *dated 28th December* 1857.

MAHARAJA JANG BAHADUR SENDS GORKHA REGIMENT

I have the honour to report, for the information of the Governor General, that the field force under my command

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 28 in No. 7, p. 73.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, December 3, 1857, p. 385. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Probably 'Gandak' is meant here.

received a reinforcement of the 'Gorucknath Regiment' of Goorkhas, 500 strong, on the morning of the 25th December sent to join me by forced marches from Segowlee, by His Excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadoor and Mr. Samuels, the Commissioner. It was represented to me strongly that they were too fatigued, footsore, and hungry to march again that day, and that they had been without sleep for two nights. I therefore postponed for the day, though reluctantly, my arrangements to move and attack the rebels at Sohunpore, seven miles distant and about midway between entrenched camp at Myrwa and Mejhowlee. About 7.30 on the morning of the 26th Dec. I marched from camp with force noted in the margin (footnote)* leaving two Companies, 100 men of Goorkhas, and 50 matchlockmen of the Hutwa Rajah's for the protection of the camp, and of these half a Company and twenty matchlockmen to watch and secure the narrow causeway bridge over the river Jurhall, less than half-a-mile in front of my camp. It was reported to me that the rebels were posted in the village of Sohunpore, and in two or three large topes (woods) close to it on either side of the Mejhowlee Road, with a tank with high banks close in front of the village on the north, in which most of the sepoys and three of their four guns were posted. On arriving within little more than half-a-mile of the position of the rebels, I formed line and took ground to the right to turn their left flank and act more easily on the tank.

FIRE OPENED ON BRITISHERS

During this movement the enemy pushed forward numerous skirmishers into the topes and cultivation, and opened fire of guns and musketry on our line. Our skirmishers, consisting of the Marines, part of the Naval Brigade, and Seikhs (Sikhs), soon returned their fire, doing much execution among the enemy, especially the Marines with the Minie rifles. We also opened fire with our guns, and a few

* "Royal Marines, 30; Naval Brigade, 130; Ramdul Goorkha Regiment 500; Gorucknath Regiment 350, 1 company of this Regiment being at Sewan, and 2 in camp; 4 guns, twelve-pounder howitzers, 2 being Mountain Trains; Captain Rattray's Seikhs 50"—Note in Original.

shells, well-thrown in two or three directions, checked the rebels for a time. I advanced the line a short distance, when the main body of the enemy rapidly moved to their right, to join a force previously in position, I strongly suspect on our left, their aim apparently being to surround us with their numbers. I changed our front immediately to our left. During this time a village on our left was steadily and gallantly held by Lieutenant Burlton, 40th Regiment, Native Infantry, with the fifty Seikhs, and I sent two Companies of the 'Ramdul Regiment' of Goorkhas to reinforce him in holding that post, and, if possible, to capture a gun firing on our left. Lieutenant Burlton reports that Soobadar Himkumal Bashnia, 9th Company, Ramdul Goorkhas, behaved very gallantly, constantly encouraging his men, and in riding at one of the rebels who was attacking Lieutenant Burlton, inflicting fortunately only a cut through his turban and helmet; the *Soobadar* was very severely wounded by a *tulwar* cut round the left hip, a Seikh then rushing up, cutting down and killing the rebel.

HEAVY EXCHANGE OF FIRE

After changing ground to the left I advanced the line towards the enemy, now and then allowing our guns to throw a shell or two. The enemy made a show of advancing a short distance with about fifty sowars in their front. After advancing the line a short distance two or three shells were beautifully pitched into the midst of this large body of Foot and Horsemen, at 900 or 1000 yards distance, scattering them in all directions. I am sorry there was no opportunity to allow of the Goorkhas joining in a charge. The main body then moved rapidly to their left, as if to gain their old position in the topes and village. Our line was changed to the right. During the former advance and this movement the rebel skirmishers were firing from heavy cover on us from our right and right rear. I ordered the Marines to skirmish and cover our right, and two Companies of the 'Gorucknath Regiment', who were placed in reserve, to cover our right rear. The line and skirmishers advanced, firing a few rounds from our guns into topes, and in the direction of the tank. The rebels seem to have had only a rear-guard at this time left at Sehunpore (Sohanpur). The skirmishers rapidly advanced into the topes, which we found quite clear of the enemy. Three

tents of Baboo Koer Sing's nephew, Hurkishen Sing (Har Kishan Singh) were here found all pitched, and a quantity of grain, etc. I ordered the tents to be burned at once. We then moved to the right to get on the Mejhowlee road, and continued our advance without further delay to Mejhowlee, some six miles distant. Within about two miles of Mejowlee we saw the rear of the rebels entering the place, and on nearing it I ordered the Marines and part of the Naval Brigade, and four Companies of the 'Gorucknath Regiment' to push on rapidly after the Seikhs composing the advance-guard, in the hopes of capturing their guns crossing the deep ford of the Gunduk (Gandak). I am happy to say one large iron 6-pounder gun and limber complete, full of ammunition, was taken in the river. The Seikhs and some men of the 'Gorucknath Regiment' with Captain Koolpurshaud Sing Bushriat were among the first down at the river in capturing the gun. The cultivation was so heavy and we advanced on so quickly, it was difficult to ascertain the number of the rebels killed. The other tumbrils—one full of ammunition, the other of powder—and two or three carts were also taken.

MUSHARRAF KHAN AND ALI KARIM PRESENT IN THE FIGHT

The rebels, by all reports and appearances, were 1,100 or 1,200 sepoys, and between 4,000 and 5,000 other armed men. The *Naib Nazim* Mushurraf Khan was present in the action with his force, and also Ali Kurreem (Ali Karim), Moulvie of Patna, who was first reported to have been killed in the action, but now said to have got away the evening before. The Governor General will be pleased to learn that this one day's work has completely cleared the district of this horde of marauding rebels, relieving the many villages of their plundering and oppression. The Rajah of Mejhowlee and the people gladly welcomed us, as did other people on the road. I had promised the Rajah I would soon relieve him. The Rajah states the rebels made sure of surrounding and destroying us, as we were so few, and of being able to get into Chupra (Chhapra) and plunder the district. The Rajah also states that with the sepoys, matchlockmen, sword and spearmen, the rebels were more than 6,000 or 7,000 strong. I

do not think the rebels had heard of the arrival of the second Goorkhá Regiment on the 25th December. I learn from the Mejhowlee Rajah and other reports, that there must have been 120 of the rebels killed by the number of bodies since seen in their positions in the field. Besides many wounded a few rebels were killed at the ford, and six in one boat. I am happy to say we have had few casualties. The gun and musket firing of the rebels was too high, the round shot and matchlock balls mostly passing over our heads, the round shot killing a *doolee* bearer and a villager in our rear. A Goorkha private of the 'Gorucknath Regiment' was wounded by a musket ball, and also one of the Magistrate's sowars. It is a marvel none in the line were hit, for numbers of the round shot, etc., passed over or by us, tearing up the ground, and ricochetting, but without hitting any one. The action commenced about 10 A. M., and by 1.30 P. M. we had dispersed and driven the rebels through the topes and village of Sehunpore, and followed them up and driven them out of Mejhowlee, and over the river Gunduk by 4 P. M. The troops had a hard day's work, and went through their fatigue cheerfully. I was myself in the saddle for ten hours, or would have written to you earlier, but I wrote and reported our advance and successful attack and complete operation to Brigadier-General MacGregor, with Maharjah Jung Bahadoor, the same evening, express to Bettiah. We bivouacked for the night near the river, having marched without tents or baggage, except two or three tents for the men of the Naval Brigade, and a few hackeries for the ammunition and to carry the Goorkhas and Seikhs in case of accidents during the action.

BRITISHERS DESTROY NARAIN DAYAL AND SANGRAM LAL'S HOUSES

I marched again yesterday morning 27th December, with a detachment of the Naval Brigade, two guns, and eight Companies of Goorkhas. Four hundred men and the Seikhs crossed the river, and moved through Selimpore, and about two miles beyond, to the house of one Narain Dial *Canongoe* (Narain Dayal *Qanungo*) formerly an Assistant-Collector, who had been forward in marauding and giving aid to the rebels. His house was blown up, burnt, and destroyed. We also moved to another village, to the house of one Sungram

Lall, the nephew and *Toomandar* of the above, and destroyed his house, but neither of the villages were injured. We returned to camp at 4½ P. M.

I need hardly say, that the troops behaved as British marines and seamen ever do, most excellently and gallantly. Captain Sotheby, ever ready and present with the guns, afforded me every assistance in the field. Captain Sotheby has paid great attention to the drill and training of the Naval Brigade for land service, and in quickly training the horses and ponies for the guns; horses for the large 12-pounder howitzer, and ponies for the three others, and the seamen to ride and act as gunners; and under Lieutenant Turner, R. N., in charge of the Artillery, they have had constant drill and training, and are now ready and steady for field service, and were in the action of the 26th December.

I have reports that the rebels left their gun, which played on our left, behind them, in some well or jungle at Selimpore, and also the two guns they are said to have crossed over the river, somewhere hidden beyond Selimpore. The rebels will feel the want of their guns and ordnance stores at Goruckpore, as they are said to be in want of ammunition....

I have ordered a bridge of boats to be got ready to cross the river to-morrow, to facilitate the movement over of the numerous hackeries, the only carriage we have, to be ready to move and act according to reports brought in, and probable orders from Brigadier-General MacGregor, to co-operate with the Maharajah's Nepaulese Army.

REWARDS OFFERED FOR THE CAPTURE OF REVOLUTIONARIES

A few sepoys and rebels were brought in prisoners during yesterday. They will be duly and speedily disposed of. Proclamations have been sent out to the villagers to capture all rebels, and offering rewards.

P. S.—A list of ordnance stores captured, and a memorandum of casualties are attached.[1]

* * *

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 24 in No. 3, pp. 87-89.

LIST OF ORDNANCE STORES CAPTURED ON 26TH DECEMBER 1857 AT MAJHAULI

1. 6-Pounder large iron gun, with limber complete, and two spare ammunition waggons, containing 8 cwt. of powder.

132 round shot.
186 charges.
32 cases of Jagged canister.
160 Port fires.

And a large quantity of langridge shot and musket balls, all in good serviceable order. Also one gun, supposed to be thrown down a well.[1]

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Extract from 'the Friend of India'.

A letter has been received by Jang Bahadur from Mohammed Hossein. It expresses surprise that "His Excellency" should take part with those who "tolerate the destruction of Bramhuns and Cows." Mohammed Hossein is a Mahomedan as indeed his name imports, he therefore does not object to the slaughter of cows. The letter affords an insight to the way in which Hindoos and Mussulmans have been united.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES' FLIGHT FROM GORAKHPUR

Telegraphic Message from Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, Allahabad, to Colonel Birch, Secretary to Government, Military Department, Calcutta, dated 8th January 1858.

The Magistrate of Azimghur reports that firing was heard from 10 A. M. till evening in the direction of Goruckpore on the 4th. Large numbers of rebels are said to have again

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 25 in No. 3, p. 90.

[2] *The Friend of India*, Jan. 7, 1858; Epitome of News, Dec. 31, page 7. National Library, Calcutta.

assembled at Burhal supposed to be desirous of escaping from Goruckpore into Behar. The rebels are committing excesses at Pulkubba[1] in the Jounpore district about 20 miles from Jounpore. They are in small parties. From Cawnpore it is reported that inroads have been made into that district from Calpee, and from Oude. The Calpee rebels have been in the district for 2 or 3 days not in large force.[2]

EVENTS AFTER THE REOCCUPATION OF GORAKHPUR

Extracts from Narrative of Events for Gorakhpur.

29*th*—The first official narrative has been received from the Commissioner of this Division. It embraced the occurrences of the fortnight ending the 16th January. The military operations which ended in the re-occupation of the station were described briefly in last week's narrative, and have since been made more fully known to the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council by the despatches of Brigadier General MacGregor, C. B.

RAJA OF BANSI AND RANI OF BASTI SIDE WITH THE ENGLISH

30*th*—After the re-occupation of Goruckpoor the Rajah of Bansee (Bansi) and the Ranee of Bustee (Basti) who have evinced their loyalty in many ways during the present disturbances, both rose in our favor; the former defeating the rebel detachment, which had been quartered on him, and the latter falling upon the rebel army in its flight and capturing one of its guns. Nor was this feeling confined to a few isolated persons of wealth and station. Mr. Wingfield reports that the peasantry are very well affected, and have proved

[1] Apparently *Pilkichha*, Pargana *Ungil*, Tahsil *Khutahan*, District *Jaunpur*—A large and scattered agricultural village, standing on the high left bank of the Gumti in 25° 58′ N. and 82° 33′ E., at a distance of two miles west from Khutahan, ten miles from the Kheta Sarai station and 19 miles from Jaunpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Jaunpur, 1908, p. 295).

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 29th January 1858, No. 72. National Archives, New Delhi.

their goodwill by capturing and bringing in many stragglers from the rebel army with horses, cattle etc. abandoned by them in their flights.

KHALILABAD TAHSIL BLOWN UP

31*st*—The rebels in their retreat blew up the *tehsil* of Khuleelabad, which they had turned into a strongly entrenched post, and where they kept a large magazine of powder.

32*nd*—The force under Colonel Rowcroft has moved up by Deorye[1] on Roodurpoor[2] residence of the rebel Raja of Sutasse; it was, though undefended, strongly fortified; and much European, and other property was found inside. Arrangements have been made for bringing in treasure from Azimgurh under escort of this force, which will be employed also against several parties of rebels *en route*.

BRITISHERS' ACTION AGAINST RAJA OF NICHLAUL

33*rd*—On the 13th a force of 3 Regiments of Goorkhas with 6 guns moved towards Bustee. Mr. Brereton accompanied it, taking with him the staff of the Captangunge (Captainganj) and Khuleelabad (Khalilabad) *tehsils* and *thannahs*. This force will remain at Bustee until on (*sic*,) general advance is ordered. Another detachment of two regiments has been sent against the rebel Raja of Nichloel, who was fortifying his house and collecting men. Mr. W. Forbes was sent with the detachment and desired to level the house and its defences.

[1] Apparently *Deoria*, Pargana *Salempur-Majhauli*, Tahsil *Deoria*, District *Gorakhpur* (now a separate district of the same name)—The town which gives its name to the tahsil and subdivision lies in 26° 30′ N. and 83° 47′ E. in tappa Deoria, on the metalled road from Kasia to Barhaj, and close to the main line of railway and the unmetalled road from Gorakhpur to Chapra, at a distance of 33 miles from the district headquarters. Unmetalled roads lead to Rudarpur, on the south-west and to Hata on the north. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 221).

[2] *Rudarpur*, Pargana *Silhat*, Tahsil *Hata*, District *Gorakhpur*—Rudarpur is a town of considerable size standing in tappa Nagwan Tikar, in 26° 26′ N. and 83° 37′ E., on the unmetalled road from Gorakhpur to Barhaj, at a distance of 27 miles from the former. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 294).

MUSHARRAF KHAN TAKEN PRISONER

34*th*—The Police posts and *tahsils* eastward of the Raptee have all been re-established, and this is also the case at Bansee. Measures are in progress for sending out the rest of the leading rebels; the greater number have escaped to Oudh but Mr. Wingfield believed that the Rajas of Sutassee, Nuggur, and Nurhurpoor (Narharpur) are still with their immediate followers in the Goruckpoor jungles. One important prisoner has been taken, "Mushurruf Khan"—the former manager of the Raja of Sutassee and late *Chuckledar* of the rebel *Nazim* Muhomed Hussen. This man, the prime mover in the revolt, was sent in as a peace offering by the Ranee of Mehson who has been herself implicated in the rebellion.

35*th*—The records of the English office are said to be nearly uninjured, including the professional village survey maps, most of the other records are in confusion, the wrappers in which they were tied having been in every instance carried away. The doors and windows of the church and the monumental slabs had been removed, but the building was not otherwise injured.

36*th*—The Commissioner draws attention to the excellent behaviour of the Goorkha force, who not only abstain from plunder but pay with so great regularity, that the peasantry everywhere are induced to bring supplies, and a flying bazar attends the army whenever it marches, which is so plentifully provided, that the supplies brought by the commissariat from Chupra have been scarcely touched.[1].....

BRITISH ACTION AGAINST NOTED REVOLUTIONARIES

MUSHARRAF KHAN EXECUTED

23*rd*—The main feature in the proceedings of the week in this Division has been the public *Execution of the rebel Naib Nazim Moshurruf Khan.* He was hanged in the centre of the

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 16th January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

principal bazar of the city of Goruckpoor, which he had desolated by his cruelty and exactions. The inhabitants, crowded in thousands to view the spectacle, and expressed the utmost delight at his well merited fate.

24*th*—*This man had held his Court in regular form, and its records which have fallen complete into our hands are likely to prove of great value.*

WALI MUHAMMAD CAPTURED

25*th*—Mr. Brereton has accompanied a Brigade of Goorkha troops to Bustee and Nuggur, capturing *en route* to the former place a notorious rebel and dacoit named Wallee Mahomed of "Tiljee", and at the latter place he seized all the property which remained of the rebel Raja of Nuggur, but most of what was valuable had been previously removed.

26*th*—On the 22nd Mr. Brereton rode to Bilwa Bazar, opposite to Fyzabad and found that a party of Sikh sowars he had sent on ahead, had captured a small party of Raja Maun Sing's people, and also a servant of his who was carrying a letter to the Raja's tenantry on the Goruckpoor side of the river, forbidding them to oppose the British authorities. Altho' (Although) this note may possibly have been written for the purpose of being intercepted, yet from the concurrent accounts of these people, and of many others on whom they can rely, Messrs. Wingfield and Brereton are of opinion that no resistance is contemplated at Fyzabad, and that there is not any force there capable of offering opposition to the Maharaja's army. Mr. Wingfield has since succeeded in sending a news-writer to that place.

REVOLUTIONARIES ASSEMBLING AT GONDA

27*th*—On the other hand, there is no doubt from information received through many trustworthy channels, that a considerable number of men are assembling at Gonda, under orders from the Lucknow *Durbar*. These consist partly of fugitive rebels from Goruckpoor, and partly of men collected by the *talookdars* of Gonda; a regiment or more is also said to have been sent from Lucknow to their assistance.

RAJA OF NICHLAUL TAKES REFUGE IN TARAI

28*th*—The detachment directed against the rebel Raja

of Nichloul, found he had fled, at their approach and had taken refuge in the depths of the Terai. The force therefore returned, after levelling his house; its march through that part of the country has not been without useful effect.

29*th*—The 2nd Brigade of the Goorkha troops occupies Bustee, the first having marched thence to Amorha, under cover of their advance carriage and supplies are being collected with the aid of the Ranee of the former place, and of the Raja of Bansee; much of the cattle in the district has however been plundered during its occupation by the rebels, and the villagers have taken away or concealed their carts.

30*th*—Colonel Rowcroft's force has moved to coerce the dacoits of Pinah and Burhuj; thence a party will be detached to fetch treasure from Azimgurh, its subsequent movements are not yet determined; for the present it will stand fast at Dooree Ghat.

31*st*—Except along the banks of the Gogra whence the rebels from the other side can give annoyance, and in the notoriously disaffected *pergunnah* of Nuggur and Amorha the district remains quiet.

32*nd*—The Revenue is coming in slowly as yet, but in a great measure this is, the Commissioner says, owing to the remissness of the *Tehsildars*. The *pergunnah Kisthundees* for 1858/59, have been discovered in the office, and the annual village *Jumma* statements, so that there is no difficulty in ascertaining the demand as far as the *Khurreef* payments are concerned.[1]

ENCOUNTER WITH GORKHA TROOPS

The Captaingunge Brigade of Goorkhas joined the advanced brigade at Bilwa Ghat on the 2nd February, a third brigade left at Goruckpore the same day for Gai Ghat. On the 2nd also Raja Man Sing sent into (*sic*,-unto) Mr. Brereton Mrs. Duhan, the lady mentioned in the last narrative and her three children; he had it appears brought them from Lucknow with him and kept them at his fort at Shahgunge (Shahganj).

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 23rd January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT SHAHGANJ

16*th*—On the 5th the Bilwa Brigade Force under the guidance of Captain Plowden moved out to attack the Oude rebels who were posted in force on the left bank of the Gogra at Shahgunge near Nawabgunge[1] with 10 guns. Their numbers proved to be about 10,000 men and they advanced with great boldness to meet the Goorkha force, but fled almost immediately on experiencing the effect of the five guns which were extremely well directed by Captains McMille and Holland, Bengal Artillery.

BATTLE NEAR AYODHYA

17*th*—The action was fought opposite to and in sight of the town of Adjoodeea (Ayodhya) from which preparations were made to reinforce the enemy; these rendered necessary at one time, some caution in our advance and the rapid flight of the enemy combined with our want of Cavalry preserved them from decisive loss, and enabled them to secure their guns. One limber of a light field gun was however abandoned, and about 50 dead bodies left on the field, several others of their killed and wounded were carried off including a chief named Banee Sing. The Goorkhas lost one killed and one wounded.

Revenue is now coming in regularly, but Mr. Wingfield was only able to tell the total amount received since our reentry into the district and of that sum, which is noted on the margin (footnote)* fifty two thousand and forty-eight Rupees had been collected for us by the Bansee Rajah previous to our arrival.

[1] Apparently *Nawabganj*, Pargana and Tahsil *Nawabganj*, District *Bara Banki*—Nawabganj is situated in latitude 26° 56′ north and longitude 81° 13′ east, at a distance of seventeen miles east of Lucknow, 61 miles west of Fyzabad and 22 miles south of Bahramghat. Close to the town on the south runs the provincial trunk road from Lucknow to Fyzabad, which crosses the Jamaria stream in Bara Banki by an old stone bridge. Branches lead from this road to the town on the east and west. Metalled roads lead from Bara Banki to Fatehpur on the north, Bahramghat on the north-east, and Haidargarh on the south, while an unmetalled road runs south-east to Zaidpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Bara Banki, 1904, pp. 238-39).

* "Total Collections—Rs. 156081-12"—Note in Original.

18*th*—Great and successful exertions were being made to meet the demand of the Goorkha troops.

19*th*—The Yeomanry Cavalry were expected to enter the district on the 9th of February.[1]

RETREAT OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from Magistrate, Gorakhpur, to C. Wingfield, Commissioner, Gorakhpur, dated 6th Feb. 1858.

I have the honor to report to you that Shahgunge, was attacked by the two Gorkha brigades and that the enemy though not fewer than 12000 men were driven from their position after a cannonade of about two hours' duration on the advance of the Gorkha line.

The rebels had a large number of Cavalry perhaps 500 sowars on each flank—but the fire of the Gorkha guns on each flank effectively prevented them from getting round as they threatened; they fired the village to cover their retreat. When the *villages of Shahgunge and Kutera had been thoroughly cleared* of the rebels the Gorkha force returned to Belwah. I was with the left brigade throughout the day and Mr. Forbes in the same way was present with the right brigade.

REVOLUTIONARIES EXPECTED HELP FROM RAJA MAN SINGH

The reports of this morning show that some 50 of the rebels were killed, they expected to be supported from Ajoodhea by Raja Man Singh; some sepoys with 2 guns did attempt to cross the Gogra whilst the firing was going on but were recalled.

REINFORCEMENTS FROM LUCKNOW EXPECTED

I have heard that it is proposed to withdraw one brigade from Belwa to Captaingunge. This is a military arrangement which I cannot presume to discuss, but as a District Officer

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 6th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

it is necessary to point out that the rebels have large numbers of Cavalry and hope for reinforcement of sepoys from Lucknow who are said to be close to Fyzabad if not actually there. They dispersed yesterday before the Gorkha guns but there is no reason why they should not collect again in this neighbourhood. The want of Cavalry yesterday prevented the destruction which would otherwise have befallen them and the return of the Gorkhas to Belwa after the action is already looked upon by the natives as a sign of weakness on our part.

The withdrawal of a brigade from here, would, I fear encourage the rebels in their avowed design of harassing the Goruckpoor district, and there is no doubt that they could give us a great deal of trouble by guerilla warfare if the frontier is not protected by regular troops and sufficient force to admit of their moving out a Column whenever necessary, and at the same time having a sufficient garrison for the protection of this entrenchment.[1]

MOBILIZATION OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

Letter from Magistrate, Gorakhpur, to C. Wingfield, Commissioner, Gorakhpur, dated 7th Feb. 58.

RAJA OF GONDA JOINED BY HAR KISHAN SINGH

I beg to send you two letters from the news-writer at Fyzabad, the latest of to-day shows that the sepoys' Regts. (Regiments) from Lucknow have reached Ajoodhea. This is also known that Mohomed Hoosein and Hurkisen Sing have come up from Tanda. The Gonda Raja is again collecting men at Nawabgunge, and some of the sepoys with Hurkisen Sing have joined him.

There is little doubt I think that these rebels intend to collect again on this bank of the Gogra and thus to create a diversion against the passage of the river by the Gorkha force.

[1] Gorakhpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 177. "Letters issued by Magistrate from January 1855 to April 1858". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

REINFORCEMENTS FROM LUCKNOW

Reports still come in that reinforcements of sepoys are coming in from Lucknow. It is highly probable that the sepoys not liking to face the Europeans at Lucknow are looking to the left bank of the Gogra as their line of retreat and I beg again to press this point on your attention as involving great risk to this district, should the Gorkha force cross in mass to the right bank.

There would be nothing to prevent the rebels in force from pouring over the district and rendering our position in Civil Authority ten times worse than it was two months back besides the risk for the Bengal Province.

A man has just come in with a note from the Gonda Raja ante date some days in which he proposes to send in a *vakeel* to speak of important and secret matter. I refused any reply but took the man's deposition which is forwarded.[1]

FIGHT AT BILWA GHAT

The fight at Bilwa Ghat, although their loss was trifling, has disheartened the raw levies of the Gonda Raja, many of whom have since deserted. The Raja himself consequently sent a messenger to the Magistrate who was in the camp at Bilwa Ghat, soliciting permission to treat. Mr. Brereton refused to send any reply and expelled the messenger from camp. Maharaja Jung Bahadoor with the Head Quarters of his force was at Bustee on the 12th instant. The want of ammunition and the necessity for preparing boats is delaying his advance.

RAJA OF TULSIPUR'S MEN ATTACK A POLICE POST

An attack had been made by one of the Raja of Toolseepore's[2] satellites on a small police post on the northern frontier;

[1] Gorakhpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 177. "Letters issued by Magistrate from Jan. 1855 to April 1858". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Tulsipur*, Pargana, Tahsil *Bahraich*, District *Bahraich*—This pargana lies in the extreme north-eastern corner of the district between the Nepal hills and the northern borders of Bhinga and Ikauna. It formerly belonged

two of the Police who behaved with singular gallantry were killed.

The district is otherwise peaceful as may be gathered from the amount of revenue collected during the past week, and the large number of carts (three thousand two hundred and sixty) furnished to the Maharaja's army.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES MOVE TO REINFORCE

No event of very striking importance has occurred in this Division. The Maharaja's Head Quarters reached Berarec Ghat opposite Tandah on the 18th and were to have crossed the following morning, but were detained by the absconding of the boatmen. A body of 1100 sepoys and one gun are said to have crossed from Ajoodhya to reinforce the Gonda Rajah, who was still at Nawabgunge with about 5,000 men; the Goorkha Brigade at Balwa (Bilwa) Ghat has entrenched itself.

MAN SINGH RETIRES TO SHAHGANJ

At Fyzabad the late *Nazim* of Goruckpoor is under duress, at the hands of the mutineers, who had formed part of his army, in order to extort payment of their arrears. Man Sing has retired to Shahgunge, and Kooer Sing's nephew with the 2000 men, who have followed his fortunes, has gone to oppose the Maharaja at Tandah.

RAJA OF GONDA EXERTS TO RAISE THE COUNTRY AGAINST BRITISH

A singular rumour has prevailed in the neighbourhood of Fyzabad to the effect that a force of Goorkhas headed by Mr.

to the Gonda district. It consists of pure terai country, of which the northern portion consists of Government reserved forest, while the remainder is partly cultivation and partly grass jungle with a few detached blocks of forest belonging to the Maharaja of Balrampur. (*District Gazetteers*, Bahraich, 1903, p. 221).

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Owen, late Extra Assistant, had descended from the hills, and had defeated with great loss the Rajas of Toolseepoor and Bhinda. So positively was this fact asserted that Mr. Wingfield was inclined at first to believe that it was erroneous only in respect to Mr. Owen's name, as that officer was on leave at Calcutta, and he believed that some of Captain Hearsay's party of refugees had raised armed men in Nepal and descended into the plains, but the survivors of this party are now known to have escaped to Kumaon; the story appears utterly without foundation. It has, however, had much effect in counteracting the exertions of the rebel Rajah of Gondah to raise the country against us.

ESCAPE TO TULSIPUR

The escape of the remainder of the mutinous Companies of the 73rd N. I. to Toolseepoor has been separately reported by Mr. Wingfield to the Supreme Government as well as the arrest of five of their number by Mr. Peppe, Deputy Magistrate.[1]

GONDA RAJA OCCUPIES ENTRENCHMENT AT BILWA

Three regiments of mutinous sepoys having extorted arrears of pay, amounting to upwards of a lakh of Rs. from Mahomed Hussun, Ex-Nazim of Goruckpore, crossed the river and joined the Gonda Raja. With this reinforcement he occupied the entrenchment at Bilwa, which had been thrown up by the advanced Goorkha Brigade, and abandoned by them under circumstances, which have led to a separate correspondence. 3,000 maunds of grain fell into the insurgents' hands. On the 23rd the Yeomanry Cavalry arrived at Amorha, to which place Colonel Rowcroft's force will probably move after being reinforced by the Burruk Gorkha Regiment from Goruckpore. The enemy will then be attacked, if military considerations permit, in their own entrenchments, which they still hold, though the bulk of their force has returned to Nawabgunj.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 21st February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

DEATH OF BRERETON

On the 25th Mr. Brereton, the active and intelligent Magistrate of the district died, after a brief illness. Mr. Wingfield at first entertained suspicions of poison, but eventually the cause of his death was declared to be undoubtedly "Purpuree". His loss is particularly to be deplored, at the present conjuncture.

DEFEAT OF RAJA OF BALRAMPUR

The Toolseepoor Ranee, (mother of the Raja, who recently died a prisoner at Alumbagh) has entertained the escaped mutineers of the 73rd N. I. and 11th Irregular Cavalry. The Raja of Bulrampoor has recently had a slight skirmish with them and suffered some little loss.

ENCOUNTER NEAR BILWA

On the 27th also a slight encounter took place between a reconnoitring party of the Yeomanry Cavalry, and the enemy near Bilwa. One trooper, and three of the enemy were killed.

An enormous quantity of carriage and grain has been supplied to the Maharajah's army by the Civil Officers of the district, and the Commissioner especially notices the energy and successful exertions of Mr. Cooke, grantee of Bustee (Basti) and Honorary Deputy Magistrate.[1]

MEASURES TO REINFORCE BRITISH FORCES AT GORAKHPUR

Telegraphic Message from the Governor General of India to the President in Council, Allahabad, dated 11th March 1858.

I have provided for the reinforcement of the Goruckpore district. The Wing of the 13th at Azimghur has been ordered

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 28th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

to move across the Gorgra(Ghagra)and join Colonel Rowcroft, and a regiment of Madras Cavalry, which arrived here yesterday, marches at once, by Juanpore (Jaunpur) and Azimghur (Azamgarh) to Goruckpore (Gorakhpur). The detachment of the 37th at Ghazeepore will proceed with two guns to Azimghur, and another detachment of the same regiment now at Dinapore will come up to Ghazeepore. The 35th are at Dinapore.[1]

PREPARATION FOR THE INVASION OF GORAKHPUR

REVOLUTIONARIES AT BILWA ENTRENCHMENT MUSTER STRONG

This Division has been, during the past week, the scene of important events. No sooner had the enemy ascertained that the Goorkha force would pass Fyzabad on the march to Lucknow without attacking it, than preparations were commenced by them for an invasion of Goruckpoor. A force of some 2,000 men and Hurkishen, a nephew of Raja Kour Sing, marched towards Tandah, to cross the Gogra near that place, while the sepoys at Fyzabad having been paid their arrears by Mahomed Hussun crossed the river to reinforce the Gonda Raja. A smaller body, composed of the men of some lesser *talookdars*, threatened the northern frontier of the district between the Gogra and the Terae (Tarai). On the 2nd Colonel Rowcroft therefore moved towards the Belwa entrenchment, where the main body of the enemy were posted, but found it so strong, and held in such force, that he considered it inexpedient to attack and after an almost harmless cannonade, he retired to Amorha. Emboldened by his retrograde movement, the enemy advanced out of their entrenchments on the night of the 4th and at 8 A. M. of the 5th were met by Colonel Rowcroft when an obstinate engagement ensued.

BRITISH FORCE ENCIRCLED

The overwhelming numbers of the rebels enabled them almost to encircle the inferior force opposed to them, and the

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 25 in No. 9, 122.

nature of the ground afforded them excellent cover; nevertheless after some hours' fighting they were totally repulsed and pursued to within a mile of Belwa. The Yeomanry Cavalry did excellent service and made several most effective charges during the day. Colonel Rowcroft reports the rebels to have numbered nearly 15,000 of whom 4,000 were Regular sepoys, composing the 1st, 53rd and 56th Regiments Native Infantry (the Cawnpore Brigade) and the 5th Regiment Gwalior Contingent. These battalions had been recruited to a strength of 500 or 600 each; the other sepoys belonged to Oude Irregular Corps or detachments of broken regiments. The rest of the force consisted of Goruckpoor rebels and the contingents of the Rajas of Gonda, Bondee Akowna[1], Charda[2], Nanpara[3], Ootrowla and other *talookdars* of Gonda and Baraitch (Bahraich).

The loss of the enemy was certainly not less than 400 or 500, and of nine guns they brought into the field, seven were taken. The result of these operations has been to disconcert the enemy's plan of invasion.

TANDA FORCE ON GORAKHPUR FRONTIER

The Tanda force has indeed shown itself on the frontiers of the district, but has not yet ventured to attempt any serious operation. The party of the north have been kept in check by the followers of the Bansee Raja.

The remnants of the discomfited army, however, still hold the Bilwa entrenchments where they have several guns

[1] Apparently *Ikauna*, Pargana *Ikauna*, Tahsil *Bahraich*, District *Bahraich* — The capital of the pargana lies in latitude 27° 32′ north and longitude 81° 59′ east on the road from Bahraich to Balrampur, at a distance of 22 miles east of the former. (*District Gazetteers*, Bahraich, 1903, p. 190).

[2] *Charda*, Pargana, Tahsil *Nanpara*, District *Bahraich*—This pargana lies along the Nepal border in the north of the district, being bounded on the west and south by Nanpara, on the south-east by Bahraich and on the east by the Bhinga pargana, from which it is separated in part by the Rapti river. (*District Gazetteers*, Bahraich, 1903, p. 166).

[3] *Nanpara*, Tahsil, District *Bahraich*—This, the northernmost subdivision of the district Bahraich, comprises the tract of country lying to the north of the tahsils of Kaisarganj and Bahraich, between the Kauriala on the west and south-west, which separates it from the Kheri district, and the territories of Nepal on the north. (*District Gazetteers*, Bahraich, 1903, p. 210).

and there is no doubt that had they succeeded in evading or defeating Colonel Rowcroft, they had many adherents in the northern *pergunnahs* who were prepared to rise in their favor...[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES' ATTEMPTS TO CROSS THE GHAGRA

The news from this Division though not absolutely important is not uninteresting. The Tanda rebels have made two abortive attempts to cross the Gogra; on both occasions they were driven back by the *talookdars'* levies, whom the Civil Authorities have by great exertion arrayed against them in somewhat formidable numbers. To the northward these levies assisted by loyal *zemindars* have rescued the Police of a frontier post who had been carried off by a party of Oude rebels.

The latter, however, subsequently attacked and burnt a *thanah* in the same neighbourhood. The Police escaped, but the Commissioner is inclined to think the rebels' success was owing to some degree of neglect or misconduct, though the particulars of the affair had not reached him.

The loyal Rajah of Bulrampoor (Balrampur) in Oude has, meanwhile, been begged to keep in check this party who chiefly come from his neighbourhood.

DEFENSIVE PREPARATIONS BY REVOLUTIONARIES

After their discomfiture at Amorha, the rebels under Mohomed Hussun and the Gonda Rajah made for some time, and with some success, strenuous efforts to recruit their forces and repair the consequences of their defeat. Within the past few days, however, owing to the arrival of fugitives from Lucknow and the accounts they have brought from thence, the forces of the rebels have again begun to disperse. *They are still, however, formidable in numbers, and are making large preparations for defence.*

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

RANI OF AMORHA'S AGENTS IN LEAGUE WITH SEPOYS

The agents of the Amorha Ranee whose conduct has been throughout equivocal have at length been fairly detected in a treasonable correspondence with the enemy. On learning this discovery the Ranee herself immediately fled to Fyzabad.[1]

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Narrative of Events for Gorakhpur.

Two of the Police stations on the northern border of this district have been temporarily occupied by parties of Oude rebels; but no loss of life, and little injury, except to the confidence of the people, occurred from these raids.

On the 17th, however, at Salona Ghat, about 10 miles above Tandah, an affair of some gravity occurred.

BALI SINGH ACTIVE

Bullee Sing, a notorious dacoit, had been for some time threatening to cross the Gogra. To oppose him, the *Thannahdar* had collected a considerable body of the Rajah of Gopalpoor's men, and of other levies, and had succeeded in arresting some of Bullee Sing's followers.

BID TO RESCUE ARRESTED REVOLUTIONARIES

These, he imprudently retained in his camp; and their comrades accordingly determined to rescue them. In pursuit of this design, a body of about 100 crossed the Gogra on the evening of the 16th and concealing themselves during the night in a heavy jungle, at daybreak surprised the *Thannahdar's* camp.

Panic-struck, the raw levies fled in every direction without firing a shot; but the *Thannadar*, 2 Policemen, and a *Jemadar* in the Rajah of Gopalpoor's service, were killed.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 13th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

The rebel sepoys who still hold the Belwah Ghat entrenchment, are nearly 2,000 in number. The forces of the rebel Rajahs, and of Mahomed Hoosein also, still numbered some 5,000 or 6,000 men.

These circumstances though not of much intrinsic importance, have maintained an uneasy feeling in the district, in consequence of which the revenue collections have fallen during the past week to Rs. 54,000.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS GHAGRA INTO GORAKHPUR

Letter from F. Bird, Magistrate, Gorakhpur, to C. Wingfield, Commissioner of Gorakhpur, dated 28th March 1858.

I have the honour to report the following event for your information and orders—

2nd—Two hours before daylight on the morning of the 23rd March 200 or 300 men, servants of Madhopershad, crossed the river Gogra from the fort of Chandepoor in Oudh into this district and attacked a party of Police stationed at village Subya to prevent the passage of any enemy. A fight ensued, Jhagru Tewari and his nephew, retainers of the Gopalpoor Rajah, were killed and four others wounded; a small gun, some horses and oxen etc. were seized by the rebels, also the houses of Jankeedas and Kundhai Aheer, where the Police quarters were, burned.

3rd—In this case the deceased clearly lost their lives fighting for our cause. They are wealthy people, their families would not much care for an ordinary reward. Moreover, they have been plundered by the Chillupar *baboos* during the *Nazim's* reign chiefly owing to the fidelity to our Government. I think they ought to have a *jageer* from the estates confiscated for rebellion.

4th—A pecuniary reward would be sufficient for the wounded men.[2]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Gorakhpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Book No. 177. "Letters issued by Magistrate from January 1855 to April 1858". State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

EFFECT OF EVENTS IN AZAMGARH ON GORAKHPUR

An agitation has naturally resulted in this Division from the unfortunate events in Azimgurh, but no serious disaffection has shown itself. The arrival of Major Coxe's Column has enabled Colonel Rowcroft to detach a party to act in concert with the Rajah of Bansee in punishing the insurgents on the northern frontier of the district especially at Roodhowlee.

GAI GHAT THANA PLUNDERED AND BURNT

It is in contemplation to send a similar party down the left bank of the Gogra to keep in check the rebels from the neighbourhood of Tandah whence two incursions have been recently made. One against the *thanah* at Gai Ghat was only partially successful, some of the *thanah* buildings were burned, the bazar plundered, and 2 Policemen wounded, but the Police kept their post, and the rebels ultimately retired; this took place on the 23rd; but on the previous morning there was a far more serious affair at Chandeepoor Ghat about 30 miles east of Tandah. Some men believed to be Pulwars crossed and surprised a small post of the Gopalpore Rajah's men who were after a stout resistance overpowered and their two small guns taken. Six or seven . . . . . (space left in original) were wounded and the Commandant of the post, Jigroo Tiwarry (Jhagru Tewari) by name, died gallantly defending the guns; he had previously done good service. At Bilwa the Rajah of Gonda still remains, he has about 1,500 sepoys with him, but his own confederates are falling away, the Rajah of Churda (Charda) among others has gone to his home.

At Ajoodhia and Fyzabad are 5000 to 6000 fugitive sepoys; they have one horse battery of six guns with them; and the Rajah of Gonda has been bidding high for their assistance, hitherto however in vain.[1]

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[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Narrative of Events for Gorakhpur.

The Rajah of Bansee has had an engagement with the rebels, consisting of distant cannonade, which however was effectual for their expulsion from the northern part of the district. Petty raids and local disturbances continue on the banks of the Gogra. Arrangements have been made for a party of troops to patrol this part of the frontier; and Mr. Herbert Wilson, the Assistant Magistrate, accompanies them.

PANIC AMONG EUROPEANS

The disturbances at Azimgurh (Azamgarh) have created much alarm, and some of the European settlers have withdrawn from their estates. Mr. F. M. Bird, the Offg. Magistrate, is exerting himself very creditably to calm the panic.

BHOJPUR REVOLUTIONARIES JOIN KUNWAR SINGH

The Fyzabad sepoys have nearly all gone away. Some, who are inhabitants of Oudh, have sold their arms and gone to their homes. *A large body of Bhojpore sepoys about* 2000 *in number, with* 2 *H. A. (Horse Artillery) guns of the troop which mutinied at Neemuch, have joined Kooer Singh at Azimgurh.* The rest, all natives of Oudh, or of our Eastern Provinces, about 1500 in number, with two iron guns, and two remaining guns of the Neemuch troop, have joined the Rajah of Gonda. These two latter bodies are probably mostly sepoys who have mutinied; those who have gone to their homes are, it is supposed, in a great measure recruits enlisted since the mutiny. It is known that a large proportion of the so called sepoys consisted of such men, and that they were anxious to get home considering their cause lost, and themselves not yet so-deeply committed, as to have no claim to mercy.

The same feeling of despair is believed to exist among the regular sepoys; but Mr. Wingfield's spies all represent them as still impressed with the full belief, *that they have been fighting for their religion, and that they now have no alternative but to become Christians.*

GONDA RAJA'S FORCES STILL AT BILWA

The Rajah of Gonda's forces still hold the Bilwa entrenchment.[1]

ACTION AT AMORHA

SHIV GHULAM SINGH THREATENS NORTHERN FRONTIER

During the week ending the 18th of April (the previous week's narrative is still missing) the rebel Sheo Golam Sing has threatened the northern frontier of this Division, but the Bansee Rajah has prevented his doing any material harm.

Collections of rebels about Tandah have also been reported but they have made no attempt to cross the Gogra.

MUHAMMAD HASAN TOWARDS NORTH

It appears that in the previous week, Mahomed Hussein, with nearly all the sepoys, and the 2 H. A. (Horse Artillery) guns, left Bilwa for the north, but a few days after a split occurred in his camp, and most of the sepoys with 4 guns returned to Bilwa. On the 17th an action took place between this force and that of Colonel Rowcroft at Amorah (Amorha). It was brought on accidentally; a party of the enemy while out plundering, ventured unawares to near Amorah; they were attacked, and supports arrived on either side, till the action became pretty general. It ended in the discomfiture of the enemy, who were pursued to within a mile of the entrenchments, leaving one gun and about 100 men on the field. The Yeomanry Cavalry behaved exceedingly well. Our loss was Cornet Troup, and one private killed, four officers and 17 men wounded.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

GONDA RAJA IN LEAGUE WITH HAZRAT MAHAL

The *talookdars* and Rajahs of Gonda, Baraitch (Bahraich) are said to be in league with the Begum[1], who has promised them 5 years' exemption from revenue.

COUNTRY ABOUT FAIZABAD DISTURBED

The country about Fyzabad, and that city itself, are a prey to great disorders, which Man Sing is powerless to check.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Gorakhpur.

JANG BAHADUR ANXIOUS TO WITHDRAW GORKHA BRIGADE

Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, with his personal guard was marching through Goruckpore and was anxious to withdraw also the Goorkha Brigade at Amorha; it was, however, so inexpedient to do so at that conjuncture, that the local officers, Civil and Military, have strongly urged its temporary retention.

ATTACK ON COLONEL ROWCROFT

On the 25th the enemy at Belwa (Bilwa) turned out about 11 A. M. and moved to attack Colonel Rowcroft's position in three Columns. He went out to meet them, and engaged them about two miles from Amorha; each Column attacked separately, and it was dark before they were all fully repulsed. They therefore were enabled to carry off all their guns, two of which were horsed. Their numbers were estimated at about 2,500 of whom 800 to 1000 were sepoys.[3]

[1] The reference is to 'Begam Hazrat Mahal of Avadh'.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 18th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 25th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

EVENTS AT BASTI

Letter No. 129 *of* 1858 *from the Commissioner of Gorakhpur to W. A. Muir, Secretary to Government, N. W. Provinces, dated Camp Captainganj, 1st May* 1858.

SHIV GHULAM SINGH COMMANDS THE REVOLUTIONARIES

I have the honor to forward my narrative for the week ending 1st May 1858.

2*nd*—The insurgents, who under the command of Sheo Golam Sing of Roodhowlee and other rebel *zemindars* lately refugees in Oudh plundered Bukra and decapitated the Government Receiver as detailed in my last narrative, appear afterwards to have broken up into parties; one made an unsuccessful attempt against the flourishing bazaar of Myndawal which was repulsed by the neighbouring *zemindars* who came to the support of the mercantile population. Sheo Golam Sing himself with about 300 men repaired to the village of Pamra[1], about 6 miles north of Bustee[2], when it appears a rendezvous for other rebel bands, specially that formed in the Bubnee Jungles by the fugitive Raja of Nuggur, had been appointed with the object of attacking Bustee then held by 200 Goorkhas and a troop Madras Cavalry.

BRITISH ATTACK ON SHIV GHULAM SINGH

3*rd*—The Assistant Magistrate, Mr. Wilson, stationed at Bustee, having obtained accurate information of the arrival of Sheo Golam Sing and his party at the above named village urged an attack being made on them, which was carried out successfully on the 25th by the troops under command of Captain Clerk and terminated in the destruction of Sheo Golam Sing with 30 of his followers.

[1] Apparently *Panera*, Pargana *Haveli*, Tahsil *Maharajganj*, District *Gorakhpur*—The small village of Panera belongs to tappa Banki, and stands in 26° 59′ N. and 83° 28′ E. on the north side of the unmetalled road from Captainganj to Campierganj and Karmaini-ghat, at a distance of 16 miles from Captainganj and 24 miles north from Gorakhpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 291).

[2] Apparently spelt for *Basti*.

BRITISHERS EVACUATE BASTI AND RETIRE TO CAPTAINGANJ

4*th*—But later in the day on receipt of intelligence that a very large body of rebels with guns under the command of Mohamed Hossein was moving on Bustee which would probably be attacked that night, they decided in evacuating that place at once and retiring to Captain Gunge which they reached early on the 26th.

CONCENTRATION OF REVOLUTIONARIES AT TANDA

5*th*—The news of this movement on their part which reached me at Amorha on the morning of the 26th gave me much anxiety. I knew the report of Mohamed Hossein with his entire force being close to Bustee was false because I had positive information he was still near Doomurria Gunge. But the Nuggur Raja was not above 12 miles from Bustee and I greatly feared that his or other bands uniting would take possession of Bustee as soon as they heard of its being abandoned by our troops. There was also a large assemblage of rebels including many sepoys and guns at Tandah. The danger seemed imminent that a considerable.....our communications with Goruckpore.

BASTI—STRATEGIC POINT FOR BRITISHERS

6*th*—I, therefore, advised Colonel Rowcroft to retire immediately on Captain Gunge sending orders to Captain Clerk to return to Bustee immediately should it not in the meantime have been occupied by the enemy in too great force. In that case Colonel Rowcroft would aid him to recover possession for it was indispensable that Bustee should not remain in the hands of the enemy.

7*th*—These arrangements were carried out. Luckily Bustee had not been occupied by the enemy on the 26th, so Captain Clerk re-entered it on the morning of the 27th and Colonel Rowcroft's force making a night march reached Captain Gunge at the same time. Before we left Amorha I had heard that the advanced brigade of Goorkhas would enter Fyzabad the next morning, so there was little fear of the

enemy from Bilwa following us up and overrunning the district we left behind.

DEATH OF SHIV GHULAM SINGH

8th—Though the report of Mohamed Hossein being close to Bustee turned out, as I knew it would, to be devoid of foundation, yet it is certain that a body of 400 men did arrive at Poorva to join the rendezvous on the evening of the 25th but retired disheartened on hearing of the death of Sheo Golam Sing in the morning.

RAJA OF NAGAR'S KARINDA HEADS THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Also that on the night of the 26th the *Karindah* of the Raja of Nuggur led a large body of insurgents, including many sepoys from the borders of the Bubnee *pergunnah* to regain possession of his master's confiscated estates and residence at Nuggur. They crossed the road so close to us on the morning of the 27th that several of our camp followers going in advance were killed by them and all Major Richardson's property with a valuable horse fell into their hands.

10th—Immediately after reaching our present ground on the 27th word was brought that some of the Nuggur Raja's followers, were besieging the Pindarah in his fortified house at Gunneishpore (Ganeshpur) about 8 miles north-west of this place. As it was important for the vindication of authority to strike promptly whenever insurrection shewed itself, I prevailed on Colonel Rowcroft to detach a small party of troops to Gunneishpore, but the rebels retired on hearing of our approach. They turned out to have been a detachment of the Nuggur Raja's forces between whom and the Pindarah there has been deadly enmity in consequence of the Government's having given in *Jagheer* to the latter an estate claimed as *zemindaree* of the Raja.

11th—On the 28th the entire Goorkha army reached Fyzabad, and Ajoodhia (Ayodhya).

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER MENHDI HASAN

12th—I waited all the 28th to procure accurate information of the numbers of the insurgents at Nuggur, and the

nature of the position they had taken up which I knew from repute to be formidable. When the data had been obtained, I pressed on Colonel Rowcroft the necessity of dislodging them from it without a moment's delay, as I had good reason to believe they would very shortly be joined by the rebels from Tandah under Mehdee Hossain with several guns. The night of the 29th was indeed fixed for the crossing of the latter.

THE ACTION AT NAGAR

13*th*—Colonel Rowcroft assented to my views, and on the 29th a detachment of Infantry, Cavalry and guns proceeded to Nuggur, which as you will see by the map is 6 miles south-east of Captain Gunge. Noon was the hour selected as best calculated to effect a surprise, and secure information of the proceedings of the enemy up to a late hour of the morning so as to obviate all chances of our being deceived. The details of this affair at which I was present will be given by the Military Officer. I will merely say that it was entirely successful and that the insurgents after being completely driven out of the place crossed into Oudh by the *Ghats* near Tandah the same evening.

14*th*—The position was a very strong one not from the earth works, for these though on a great scale and once very formidable had crumbled away for want of repair for many years past, and the ditch had nearly filled up, so that there was no difficulty for men or horses to cross it and enter the place. The strength lay rather in the close Bamboo fence, that surrounded all of our sides of the entrenchment in the dense tree jungle that covered two faces for a depth of more than a mile and in a deep and broad lake, that protected the third, the fourth face only looked on open country and of course the rebels did not attempt to escape by this outlet but sought the protection of the jungle; consequently the Cavalry not being able to get at them, their loss was I fear not heavy. About half of the defenders who are estimated at 800 in all, were sepoys, and I myself saw the ground within the entrenchment strewn with cartridges of Government manufacture. It is worth mentioning that all Major Richardson's property was recovered here.

15*th*—The result of these expeditions, so promptly

executed has been that the country has been completely cleared of insurgent bands and authority re-established. It will at the same time be apparent, how urgent had become the necessity for retreating on Captain Gunge, and that if this movement had been delayed two days or even one, the plans of the rebels would have been matured; Bustee would have fallen into their hands, and we should have found Nuggur with its defences repaired and held by four-fold numbers with guns.

EXCHANGE OF FIRE WITH GORKHAS

16*th*—My anticipations too, that no harm would attend our retirement from Amorha, have been completely fulfilled. The next day some few horsemen and sepoys visited the place, but all returned the subsequent morning, and since then the whole energies of the rebels at Bilwa seem directed to opposing the passage of the river by the Goorkhas. They have raised breastworks and placed their guns behind them, and the reports last brought in are that a desultory fire of Artillery has been going on between them, and the Goorkhas all yesterday.

MUHAMMAD HASAN TOWARDS TULSIPUR

17*th*—Mohamed Hussein, for some reason not yet explained, for I have not heard from the Raja of Bansee for five days, has not advanced beyond Doomurria Gunge. Indeed it seems he has abandoned all designs against Bansee, for though it does not come from official sources, I am disposed to believe the report which has just reached me, that he has crossed the Raptee and moved towards Toolsipore. I have heard for some time that an ex-Soobadar of the 42nd Native Infantry who is a relative of the Raja's, and commands his soldiers, had succeeded in sowing dissension between Mohamed Hussein and the sepoys who form part of his forces, and diverting the latter from attacking Bansee.

18*th*—You have already been informed by me that Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, who came prepared to order the immediate withdrawal of the two Goorkha regiments that form part of Colonel Rowcroft's force, has, on our representation of the consequences that might ensue, consented to leave them

and a third regiment in addition until the army under General Bhukt Sing[1], passes through the district, when they will irrevocably be withdrawn. The Maharajah arrived at Goruckpore on the 24th and left on the 26th for Bootwal (Butwal) under escort of two regiments, who would accompany him only for two marches, when he would proceed on by horse carriage. His troops marched by Segowlee.

REVOLUTIONARIES ASSEMBLED AT TANDA

19*th*—The rebels under the command of Mehdee Hossun, Golam Hossun and Raja Abbas Ali of Tandah to the number of three or four thousand men including 1200 or 1500 sepoys are still assembled at Tandah and the *Ghats* west of it. They have given up all intentions of crossing there since our attack on Nuggur, and I think it probable they will move on to Fyzabad when the Goorkhas shall have evacuated that place.

20*th*—Smaller bodies of insurgents many of them sepoys are sprinkled along all the ferries down to Chundeepore 20 miles west of Gopalpore.

21*st*—The collections during the week amount to 63,000 Rupees. They ought at the season to be much more, but when a district gets disturbed, and authority is shaken a falling off in the collections is the unfailing consequence. Now, however, they will improve. In the meantime I have directed that payment be vigorously pressed for.

GORKHA FORCE HELPLESS TO CROSS THE RIVER

22*nd*—Since the above was written I have received a letter from Captain Plowden in military charge Gorkha Army intimating that he would not be able to effect a passage of the river at Ajoodhia as the enemy were in great force on this side. He enumerates them as 15,000 Infantry, 1000 Cavalry and 18 guns. I am convinced he has been grossly deceived. For the last three weeks, that we were at Amorha the numbers of the insurgents at Bilwa never exceeded 4000 men of whom not above 1500 were sepoys with 6 guns, of sowars they had not 150. In the last attack they made on us, they did not

[1] Spelt as 'Bukht Singh' in another document (p. 332).

bring 2000 men out. It is utterly impossible that such force as Captain Plowden speaks of or even half such a one should have been assembled since.

23*rd*— Besides my spies who have all along given me the most trustworthy information assure me, there are not more than 5000 men assembled now, two or three thousand were villagers the Rajah of Gonda may have collected to make an imposing show, and this is their invariable custom, but any considerable addition to the sepoys or guns is out of the question. The fact is the Goorkha Army is so utterly helpless by itself that it is frightened at the prospect of crossing a river under any opposition whatever, and Man Sing probably wishes them to cross lower down, and so exaggerates the danger.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Gorakhpur.

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE UNDER MUHAMMAD HASAN AND SHIV GHULAM SINGH

Mahomed Hosein's party who, as mentioned in previous narratives, had gone north from Belwa, made, at the close of the week preceding that under review, an irruption as far as Bukhura and there killed several of the Police and also brutally murdered Mr. Augustine, who had the charge of certain forfeited estates in that neighbourhood. Mahomed Hosein appears either before or subsequently to this event to have left this body of men and gone north with a few followers, but the rest of his force broke up into smaller parties and commenced plundering the country under the direction of Sheo Golam Singh of Rodhowlee. This man having arranged a combined attack on Bustee appointed a rendezvous at Poorwa, a village 4 miles north of that place, and himself on the 24th proceeded thither with at least 300 followers. Mr. H. Wilson, C. S., the Assistant Magistrate, who with 200 Goorkhas and a troop of the 4th Madras L. C. (Light Cavalry) under Lieutenant C. Clerk of that Regiment was stationed at Bustee, moved out to attack him early in the morning of the 25th. The

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 67. National Archives, New Delhi.

enemy taken by surprise were dislodged from the village by the Goorkhas and charged by the Cavalry on their retreat, 30 or 40 of them were killed and among these Sheo Golam Singh their active chief.

BRITISH RETREAT FROM BASTI

Later in the day receiving intimation of the enemy's plan of attack and unaware that by their success they had completely disconcerted it, the party fell back not only from Poorwa but from Bustee also.

The same day the enemy made a determined attack on Colonel Rowcroft's position at Amorha; they came on in three Columns about 11 A. M. and Colonel Rowcroft who went out to meet them did not succeed in beating them off finally till dark, and consequently they carried off their guns in safety; they lost considerably and our casualties were trifling.

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL TO CAPTAINGANJ

Aware, however, of the advance of the rebels towards Bustee and of an intention on the part of the rebels from Tandah to cross the Gogra, Colonel Rowcroft considered it wise to fall back towards Captaingunge; his decision was in accordance with the wishes of the Commissioner, and with the instructions, which it is now known Sir E. Lugard had despatched to him, subsequent events proved its wisdom.

REVOLUTIONARIES OCCUPY FORT AT NAGAR

On the morning of the 26th when on the march, Mr. Wingfield received intelligence of the success at Poorwa and of the subsequent retreat from Bustee. Better informed however as to the effects of the blow which had been delivered there, he at once directed with Colonel Rowcroft's concurrence the detachment to reoccupy Bustee that night, promising to support it on the following day if necessary. This was accordingly done, and that important place saved from plunder and commissariat stores of considerable value rescued. On the evening of the 26th, however, information was received that a large party under the *Karindah* of the Rajah of Nugger had crossed the Gogra from Tandeh (Tanda) and had besieged the house of a friendly *zemindar* at Guneshpore. Tired as his troops

were, Colonel Rowcroft nevertheless detached a party in that direction, a movement which immediately caused the dispersion of the enemy. On the 27th the same party, about 800 to 1000 strong of whom one half were sepoys, occupied the strong but ruinous fort of Nugger. This place is surrounded with a bamboo hedge of great thickness, and situated on the edge of a large and dense jungle.

ESCAPE ACROSS THE GHAGRA

This spot had been fixed upon as a rallying point for the discontented; and as it was important at once to crush the movement, Mr. Wingfield obtained from Colonel Rowcroft a strong detachment to drive out the insurgents. This was done by heavy fire of Artillery and rockets, but the enemy under cover of the jungle escaped across the Gogra without any heavy loss. Much Government ammunition was taken from them and some plunder recaptured.

The 6th Madras L. C. (Light Cavalry) have been ordered from Allahabad to reinforce Colonel Rowcroft, as well as the remainder of H. M.'s 13th L. I. (Light Infantry) and 2 guns; these additions to his strength will be required as the three Goorkha regiments now with his force will be at once withdrawn.

GORKHAS DETERRED BY GONDA RAJA TO CROSS THE RIVER

By the last accounts the main body of the Goorkha army about 9,000 strong under General Bukht Singh[1] which is returning to Nepal were engaged in preparing to cross the Gogra a few miles below Ajoodhia, having been deterred for several days owing to the bold front presented by the Rajah of Gonda from attempting to cross in his presence at Ajoodhia itself. It is probable however his force even in numbers were far inferior to their own. The revenue collected has only been 63,000 Rs. which is less than ought to be the case at this season.[2]

[1] Correct name may be 'Bakht Singh' or 'Bhakt Singh'.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 2nd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

BABUS OF DUMRI AS REVOLUTIONARIES

On the 29th of April the rebel *Baboos* of Doomree, headed by Niddhoo Singh, and with some 300 followers suddenly attacked the Government establishment in charge of their confiscated estates at the place of that name about eight miles west of Goruckpore, eleven Police and others were killed and many more wounded.

DUMRI THANA ATTACKED

The *thannah* of Doomree was attacked and one of the *Baboos* who had been apprehended was rescued on the 4th instant.

Mr. Bird led a party of Goorkhas against them on the 5th but they escaped a few hours before his approach.

NARHARPUR RAJA CROSSES THE GHAGRA

The Rajah of Nurhurpore too crossed the Gogra, with a body of 600 to 700 insurgents partly sepoys, at Chandeepore Ghat 20 miles west of Gopalpore, but retired at the rumour of a British force approaching, having only plundered one bazar.

On the 6th, Colonel Rowcroft marched from Captaingunge to Bustee, on which day a division of the Goorkha army crossed the Gogra at Musra[1] Ghat. This division was halted to destroy the fort of Nugger, which was now discovered to be far more formidable than had been supposed, as, though the exterior works were ruinous, the Rajah's house had been made very strong.

MENHDI HASAN AT TANDA

All along the Gogra, batches of rebel sepoys are scattered and at Tandah, Mehndee Hussun has some 1500 men.

To the north, the Bansee Rajah can barely hold his own, against Mohomed Hussun's party, and the return of the Goorkhas earlier than was expected, has prevented a military demonstration, which had been projected, in his support.

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

A small detachment however would still go for some distance in that direction.

The Head Quarters H. M.'s 13th were expected at Goruckpore on the 12th....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE IN GORAKHPUR DIVISION

This Division has been much disturbed during the week under review (ending 16th May 1858). On the 10th a party of about 150 rebels crossed at Salona Ghat, west of Tanda; and carried off a loyal *zumindar* captive.

GAI GHAT BAZAR ATTACKED

On the 11th, a much larger body made a descent on the Bazar of Gai Ghat, where a *Tehseeldar* with a considerable body of Police and levies had been stationed. His men fled after little resistance; and the *Tehseeldar*, whose energy and courage had gained him much influence and respect in the neighbourhood, was killed bravely fighting.

On the same day, a band of 200 to 300 men, led by the rebel *zumindars* of Ojie, near Tanda, crossed and plundered a village within five miles of the *tehseel* of Captaingunge.

BABUS OF DUMRI ATTACK GRAIN CARTS

On the 14th the *Baboos* of Doomree, who with their gang it appears still are concealed in a dense jungle near that place, attacked a train of grain carts coming into the station, capturing 40, and killing 7 of the *zumindary* levies who formed their escort. Mr. Bird is going to attack them again.

Another dacoity occurred in the same day at a village on the banks of the river south of Tanda, also committed by dacoits from Oudh.

Strong parties are congregated at almost every *Ghat* on the Gogra, and many large bodies are threatening all sides at

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 9th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Tanda, Belwah, Amorha, and on the north. The strength of these parties and their objects are at present very difficult to ascertain. Raja Abhas (Abbas) Ali is said to be in the neighbourhood of Tanda. The Raja of Gonda has the remaining guns of the Nuseerabad Light Field Battery with him, and had an outpost at Amorha. From thence in every direction sepoys are scattered in small parties, collecting revenue and plundering. Much of this disorder is no doubt due to the impression produced by the rapid withdrawal of the Goorkha force, which gives color to the reports industriously spread by the leaders of the enemy, that they have withdrawn in disgust, if not at enmity with the British Government; and that our successes have hitherto been owing mainly to their assistance, this last assertion being supported by the absurd vaunts of their prowess, made by the Goorkhas themselves.

The 6th M. L. C. (Madras Light Cavalry), and the remaining Wing of H. M.'s 13th L. I. (Light Infantry) were expected at Goruckpore immediately; and the greater part of these reinforcements would join Colonel Rowcroft's force, who would then be in a position to guard some portion of the river bank...[1]

GORAKHPUR—A DISORGANISED DISTRICT

A frightful catalogue of offences constitutes the history of this week and gives painful proof of the disorganization of the upper part of the district which can scarcely be called in our possession.

No less than thirteen violent outrages have been committed one of which only bears the features of an ordinary offence while it at the same time affords evidence of the deterioration of discipline among our own supporters. In this case after the defeat and death of the Khuleelabad *Tehsildar* some of the *Burkundazes* of the *tehsil* broke into and plundered the treasurer's house. Several of them, however, are in custody.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

ENTERPRISES OF DUMRI BABUS

The others are all dacoities which have been perpetrated chiefly by the followers of the Nurhurpore and Nugger Rajahs and by the Doomree *Baboos*, the latter being distinguished by the boldness of their enterprises and the ferocity of their conduct. They followed the Gorkha army, plundered some of their baggage, and the day after the rear-most division passed through Pipraich (a town 15 miles west of Goruckpore on the Segowlee road) they attacked the *thannah* at that place killing the *Thannahdar* and many of the Police. On another occasion they cruelly mutilated an unfortunate *Dak* runner whom they captured. Mr. Bird with 100 men of H. M.'s 13th L. I. (Light Infantry) and some Madras Cavalry went out on the 21st in the hope of surprising them, but they eluded pursuit while the Europeans were greatly harrassed (*sic*,-harassed) by the expedition at this season of the year.

ATTACK ON MR. PEPPE

On the 21st Mr. Peppe the Deputy Magistrate (Honorary) was attacked in his factory at Birdpore 13 miles N. E. (North-East) of Bansee by a band of about 1,000 armed men headed by the Nichloul Rajah and the Mahomedan *talooqdar* of the Ootrowla in Oudh. His men after a brief resistance deserted him, and he was compelled to fly with two other Europeans into Goruckpore.

On two occasions only have the attack been successfully resisted; on the first a body of Mahomed Hussun's troops who had committed a dacoity near his camp in the Bansee *pergunnah* were defeated by the Police and Bansee Rajah's men and 15 of them captured; in the other case the villagers turned out and rescued one of their number who had been carried off prisoner. This happened in the Nugger *pergunnah*. Mr. Wingfield intends to propose them for handsome rewards.

These incursions are not to be prevented except by detaching bodies of Cavalry to a distance from their supports, and this measure is rendered unadvisable by the near presence of various large bodies of the enemy across the Gogra.

ADVANCE TO AMORHA; BILWA OCCUPIED

The Bilwa sepoys have advanced (some 600 or 700 strong with 4 guns) to Amorha and are there entrenched in the

Rance's house. The Rajah of Gonda with the two 9-lb. guns of the Nusseerabad Battery and the remnants of the Nusseerabad Regiments (said to be 700 or 800 strong) have occupied Bilwa.

CONCERTED MOVE ON BASTI

They give out they are shortly to advance on Captaingunge and Bustee. The Commissioner considers it almost certain that sooner or later they will do so as the Rajah of Gonda is avowedly acting under the guidance of the Begum[1] to whose standard the fugitives from Rohilcund (Rohilkhand) and Oudh are flocking, and who will eventually be in a position to support him. In such case Mahomed Hussun from the north and Mehdee Hussun from Tandah would also probably advance in concert and their united force would be most formidable.

The Commissioner is therefore anxious at once for political reasons to assume the offensive. The Brigadier, however, has preferred to push on the Yeomanry Cavalry and two guns to Captaingunge in the hope of checking for the present the further advance of the enemy. The *pergunnah* of Amorha and the *thannahs* of Eloea and Doomreagunge are entirely in the hands of the rebels. The collections have fallen to 45,000 Rs. The 'Horungotta' steamer has arrived at Burhul and will if possible proceed higher up.[2]

CONCERTED ACTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 27th May 1858.

. . . It is reported that the Nuseerabad sepoys from Bilwa with the horse battery guns crossed the Gogra and were joined by Mahomed Hossun and fifteen hundred men from Tanda and that they intend to attack Man Sing. Six regiments sent by the Begum are also said to have crossed the Gogra twenty miles west of Ajudia (Ayodhya). The Bansee

[1] Referring to 'Begam Hazrat Mahal'.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

theseel, thanna and town in the district of Gooruckpore (Gorakhpur) have been sacked by insurgents from Oude. Some sepoys with four guns remain at Amorha of the same district.[1]

ATTACK ON BANSI

No official report has been received from Goruckpoor, and Mr. Wingfield's demi-official letters explain that he has been employed at a distance from his office. This was necessitated by the advance of Mohomed Hussun with 4,000 men on Bansee, before whom the Raja and the Government officials were compelled to fly to a stronghold belonging to the Raja in the neighbouring jungles.

REVOLUTIONARIES OCCUPY BANSI TOWN

The enemy occupied the town and Raja's palace, and proceeded to attack him first. Mr. Wingfield therefore considered it imperative to proceed at once to his assistance and with 250 Europeans and guns arrived in time to save him, the enemy retreating precipitately on the approach of the small relieving force. It had been arranged subsequently that Mr. Wingfield in concert with the Raja should make a demonstration in the neighbourhood of Bansee while Colonel Rowcroft advanced again towards Amorha. The result of these operations is not yet known, but it was hoped that they might check the incursions of the rebels till the Gogra rose and rendered these at once more difficult and more dangerous. Meanwhile the country had been much disturbed. The raids of the enemy still continued with very mischievous effect. In one of these about 10 miles west of Gopalpoor, 50 of the Gopalpoor levies were killed. Mr. Bird's expedition against the Doomrea (Doomree) *Baboos* was a failure, they fled before his arrival, and the detachment returned bringing in 9 men suffering from sunstroke, of whom one died before they reached the station.[2]

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room. Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES EVACUATE BANSI

The Narrative sent last week described the relief, by the Column which accompanied Mr. Wingfield, of the Bansee Rajah and the Government officials who had taken shelter in his fort. On the Ist this detachment, together with the Rajah's troops, marched to Bansee which they found had been evacuated by the enemy, who it was ascertained had fled in a north-west direction. The force then marched, the Rajah by the left, and the British troops by the right, bank of the Rapti to Doomurreagunge; here it was found that the enemy had shortly before recrossed the Rapti Ghat on the frontier of Oudh and gone to the south about a mile; they then took up a strong position on the banks of the Swamee-Nullah[1] which here forms the boundary between Oudh and Goruckpore. This occurred on the 3rd of June, and at 11 A. M. a party of Cavalry was sent on to reconnoitre; they cut up about 20 stragglers, but found the position occupied by the enemy such as to give no prospect of any important success, if attacked. The position itself was strong, the steep banks of the *nullah* being covered with trees and brushwood, while half a mile in their rear lay a dense *sal* jungle, containing in its centre a strong fort.

The Column therefore after halting on the 5th passed down towards Amorha, carrying with it the treasure saved from Bansee about Rs. 10,000. Mahomed Hossein's force was estimated at about 3,000 or 4,000 men about 1,000 of whom were sepoys with six small guns.

CAPTAINGANJ ATTACKED

Meanwhile the march of the Column having necessitated the withdrawal of the detachment from Captaingunge, that place was attacked on the 31st by the sepoys from Amorha. The establishments effected their retreat after a little skirmishing, in which two of their number and one of the enemy, were killed. The records and treasure had been previously removed.

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

The enemy immediately retired after burning a few outhouses and plundering the town. Colonel Rowcroft had prepared to attack them, but on their flight, delayed the reoccupation of the place till the 5th of June, when 50 Europeans and a troop of Madras Light Cavalry were sent there.

A foray was made, on the same date and in the same neighbourhood, by a party of Berar Rajpoots from Oudh, who did some damage and carried off some prisoners.

MAN SINGH ATTACKED

Man Sing, though urgently pressing for assistance, is said to be ostensibly temporizing with his opponents. An outpost of his, six miles from Fyzabad, was attacked by Mehdee Hussun and the Nusseerabad sepoys, but the garrison, 300 *Raj Koomars*, sallied out sword in hand, and signally discomfited the assailants, who left above 100 of their number dead on the field.

Since this, either to avoid further open hostilities or for military reasons, Man Sing has concentrated all his men at Shahgunge.

The conduct of the Rajah of Bansee has not satisfied Mr. Wingfield for, though his loyalty is not impeached, his energy and foresight seem to have been of very dubious kind. His men, though in our pay, cannot be depended upon to fight.

The Begum has issued orders to her subordinates if possible not to come to extremities with the chiefs on our side, and it would seem that relying on this policy the Bansee Rajah never expected to be attacked, and had made no adequate preparations for resistance.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES DISLODGED FROM AMORHA

On the 9th instant the Column under Major Cox, returning from Doomurriagunge, attacked and drove out the sepoys from their position at Amorha. The Cavalry were ordered in pursuit but without much success, as the rebels

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 7th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

effected their retreat carrying off their guns (except one which had burst) and with comparatively little loss.

Mahomed Hussain has since moved down to the neighbourhood of Amorha from Doomurriagunge.

One raid from the Oude side only is reported, a village plundered and few of the inhabitants wounded but this was the extent of the mischief done. 300 Sikhs have arrived; they have been divided into three equal parties and posted at Bansee, Captaingunge and Scikrigunge[1].

The heat is said to be unusually great and to be greatly felt by the Europeans, who, however, had comparatively little fatigue and exposure.

The Police Levy numbers already 400 men, of whom 120 are Goorkhas; an officer has been appointed to them and there is good reason to anticipate some will shortly be fit for duty.[2]

INROADS BY REVOLUTIONARIES FROM AVADH

The Doomree rebels fixed in a dense jungle in the heart of the district are giving much trouble, they have destroyed the *thannah* of Hutwa half way between Goruckpoor and the Gunduck, killing two of the Police; the previous day they caught and mutilated a revenue peon.

On the northern frontier too, bands of rebels pouring in from the Oude and Nepalese Terais, have compelled the abandonment of the *thannahs* of Doomurreagunge, Eutwa, and Thuroulee. Two well known dacoit leaders, Bullee Sing and Bulkaran Sing, have likewise made an incursion from Oude, and plundered a village nearly opposite Captaingunge.

MUHAMMAD HASAN ENGAGED

On the other hand Mahomed Hossan whose advance to the neighbourhood of Amorha was mentioned in the Narrative

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow,

for last week, was on the 18th attacked by Column under Colonel Byng 6th Madras L. C. (Light Cavalry).

VILLAGE PAINA ATTACKED BY SIKH DETACHMENT

The enemy was driven from his position in the village of Hurreah, but for some reason our Cavalry, in which arm our force was very strong, was not brought into play. The rebels therefore made good their retreat with trifling loss and with all their guns save one small one.

On the same day, however, the detachment of Sikhs under Lieutenant Pullan accompanied by Mr. Bird, the officiating Magistrate, attacked the notorious village of Painah, which has been in open rebellion for the last two months, and which contained 600 fighting men. As it is situated on the banks of the Gogra, the "Horungotta" steamer co-operated with the attacking force.

Most of the rebels fled, but some had the temerity to attack the Sikhs at a moment when they were completely dispersed. The rebels however paid dearly for their rashness, and the village was burnt to the ground.

The steamer swept with her fire, the jungle on the river bank to which the rebels fled for shelter, and so afforded material assistance. She has since at the urgent request of the Commissioner of Patna been called back to Darowlee.

Raja Maun Sing continues beleaguered in Shahgunge, desultory fighting and negotiation are kept up, but the rebels are evidently unable to do anything, and Maun Sing (the Commissioner of Goruckpore thinks) professes to be hard-pressed, apparently only to enhance the merits of his resistance.[1]

BANSI COUNTRY STILL OVERRUN BY REVOLUTIONARIES

The accounts from this district are more favourable. There has been no incursion from across the Gogra, though a

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative(Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 20th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

considerable body of exiles from Goruckpore and of Pulwars is, at the Fort of Chandeepore, only kept in check by the detachment of Seikhs (Sikhs) at Sikreegunge (Sikriganj).

MUHAMMAD HASAN AT BAIR

The action at Hurreah, though not itself very disastrous to the enemy has had the considerable effect of disgusting Mahomed Hussain with his sepoy allies; after a lengthened quarrel these latter marched off to Shahgunge taking with them two guns. Mahomed Hussain has however since borrowed 200 other sepoys from the Rajah of Gonda and is now at Bair, in the Bulwa (Bilwa) jungles. Amorha has been evacuated by the rebels.

The Bansee country is still overrun with rebels chiefly refugees who have, apparently with the connivance of the Nepalese local authorities, emerged from the Nepalsee (Nepalese) Terai. They are not above 1500 strong and are divided into many bands, so that a small force able to act rapidly against them would suffice to drive them away. The Bansee Rajah does his best to make head against them, but half his people are cowed and the rest lukewarm in our quarrel.

DUMRI REVOLUTIONARIES ENTRENCHED NEAR GORAKHPUR

The Doomree rebels are entrenching themselves in the fort near Goruckpore; they will be attacked as soon as native troops are available which will be soon as a Wing of the 27th. Madras N. I. is marching on Goruckpore. Man Sing continues alternately fighting and negotiating at Shahgunge.....[1]

BANSI INFESTED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

The accounts from this Division are more favourable. The line of the Gogra was unmolested, but the Doomree *Baboos* remained in their jungle fastness near Goruckpore, and

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur, for the week ending 27th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

had murdered a *zemindar* who lodged a complaint against them; another expedition has started to expel them.

To the north the rebel bands still infest the neighbourhood of Bansee, but the Raja took out 100 Sikhs against a band who had seized a village 7 miles from Bansee, and routed them.

The rebels in this direction are also quarrelling among themselves and two somewhat sanguinary encounters had taken place between the men of the Raja of Nichloul and the followers of a kinsman who lays claim to his title.

This tranquillity is partly owing to the heavy rain which has drawn off many of the rebels to cultivate their fields, and has rendered locomotion more difficult for the rest.

SIEGE OF SHAHGANJ

The siege of Shahgunge has however been the main cause of the respite which the district is enjoying, for it has attracted nearly all the rebels who used to harass the frontier.

Latterly the siege has been prosecuted with greater vigour, and two determined attacks have been made by the sepoys, in both of which they were repulsed with considerable loss. Negotiations still continue, but the demands of the rebels however have dropped to Rs. 25,000, a little powder and some guns.

Man Sing still refuses, but, is said to be somewhat alarmed by the unexpected pertinacity with which the rebels persist in the siege in spite of their reverses and the inclemency of the weather, to which they are completely exposed.....[1]

HAZRAT MAHAL ASSISTS REVOLUTIONARIES BESIEGING SHAHGANJ

The most important event of the week has been the retirement across the Gogra of Mahomed Hussun with the remnant of his force about 1500 strong. Only a few bands of matchlockmen now remain in the Amorha *pergunnah.*

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 3rd July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

The expedition against the Doomree *Baboos* failed, but it had the effect of pushing across the Gogra the rebels returning from Chupra, who hearing of the neighbourhood of the party fled in alarm. A bazar opposite Chundeepoor was plundered by a party of considerable strength who have been for some time collected there, but they immediately recrossed the Gogra.

THE CHAKLEDAR OF BANSI

In Bansee there has been less turmoil, partly owing to the absence of Dummun Khan, the chief local leader, who has gone to the Begum to receive investiture as "*Chukladar* of Bansee".

The Begum has sent assistance to the forces besieging Shahgunge, whom Mahomed Hussun has also joined. The siege has been actively pushed but all the enemy's attacks repulsed; Man Sing is short of money, the enemy of ammunition.

NANA SAHEB AT BAHRAICH

The Nana is said to be at Baraitch and to have appointed the Rajah of Churda his Lieutenant and he is himself reported as engaged with the Rajah of Akuouna in busily preparing for the advent of our troops. The Rajah of Gonda is at Zuistee[1] about 2 miles from the extreme border of Goruckpore. The Head Quarters of the 27th M. N. I. (Madras Native Infantry) have arrived and will immediately be employed.....[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Gorakhpur.

The state of this Division is more satisfactory. The whole of the Amorha *pergunnah* has been re-occupied, and the *thannah* at that place itself re-established. 100 Infantry and

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 11th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

50 Cavalry have been pushed forward to support it. The Officer in command of this detachment moved forward on the day of his arrival (the 14th) against a band of insurgents in the neighbourhood, who retired with such precipitation that 9 men including the son of their leader Mirza Kudir (one of the Lucknow Royal family) were drowned in crossing the river Teree near Belwah. Except one band who hang on the skirts of the Bubnee Jungles where Cavalry cannot reach them, this *pergunnah* is now free from rebels.

RETREAT TOWARDS BANSI

Two revenue peons have been caught by the rebels, one murdered, and the other cruelly mutilated, but these are the only outrages to be reported. The Chandeepoor rebels sent a party across the Gogra but their boat was swamped and eight of them were drowned. After the failure of the attack on the Doomree *Baboos* mentioned in the last Narrative, it was determined to post a party of Seikhs, so as to cut off the communication between their haunts, and the part of the country reported to afford them supplies. This measure proved at once effectual; they have retired northward towards Bansee, and are said to have joined themselves to the Nichloul Raja. A re-inforcement under Lieutenant Pullan (150 strong) has been sent in that direction accompanied by Mr. Peppe, Honorary Deputy Magistrate, and the Commissioner hopes that part of the country will soon be cleared.

RAJA OF BALRAMPUR BESIEGED BY RAJA OF CHARDA AND IKAUNA

Outside the district, the Raja of Bulrampoor has been closely invested in a fort to which he had retired with his family on the plunder by the rebels of his house and town. He has written to Mr. Wingfield for succour, but this is not of course at present available. Mr. Wingfield has therefore urged him to purchase a temporary respite by heavy bribes, and then to escape to Goruckpoor. Of all the *talookdars* in Oude none have (*sic*,) been more thoroughly loyal or done more good service than this man. The Raja of Churda and Ikowna are the chiefs of the besieging party. His own men too are notoriously untrustworthy. Raja Man Sing is begin-

ning to be hard-pressed at Shahgunge, the sepoys prosecuting the siege with determination. A strong force is, however, ordered from Lucknow to relieve him, and to occupy Fyzabad.

SARFARAZ ALI AND DAMMAN KHAN IN NEPAL TARAI

Surafraz Ally (Sarfaraz Ali), a *Moulvie* who some time before the outbreak left his home at Goruckpoor to preach a religious war, and Dumman Khan, the chief insurgent on the Bansee frontier who has proclaimed himself the Moulvie's "*Murid*" or disciple, are said to be in the Nepaul Terai. It is further reported in the Goruckpoor district that the former has been admitted to interviews with the Nepalese authority in the capacity of Agent to the Begum. The collections were 76,000 Rs. making a total of Rs. 1,55,805 realized since the reoccupation of the district in spite of the disturbed condition of a portion of it.[1]

RAJA OF BALRAMPUR STILL BESIEGED

Two small parties of rebels, one which was hanging on the frontier of the Amorha *pergunnah* and another which was plundering near Bansee, have both been routed and driven away. In the former affair which took place on the 23rd and which will be duly reported by the Military Authorities, a good many of the enemy were killed, in the latter only 12, as Lieutenant Pullan's detachment of Sikhs, by whom they were routed, had made a long march and was too fatigued to follow them. Mr. Peppe, the Honorary Deputy Magistrate continuing the pursuit almost alone, was slightly wounded in the hand. The most noticeable feature of the affair however was the aid received by the troops from the village population, who pursued and captured several of the rebels. This encounter took place on the 24th and on the following day the detachment marched against a strong position in which the Raja of Nichloul (with the Doomrie *Baboos*) had entrenched himself, but the place was found empty.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 18th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Maharaja Jung Bahadoor has sent stringent orders to the Nepalese Authorities on the frontier to prevent any rebels from crossing the Nepalese border. It remains to be seen, how far these orders will be obeyed by the local authorities.

TERMS DICTATED TO BALRAMPUR RAJA

The Raja of Balrampoor is still beset though he paid 26,000 Rupees to the rebels to withdraw. They have however broken faith with him and now demand the surrender of his guns, the services of his retainers, and his personal attendance on the Begum. Mr. Wingfield has desired him to comply with all the demands except the last, and will endeavour to move with a small detachment to the frontier to facilitate his escape and that of his family.

REVOLUTIONARIES HOLD DUMARIAGANJ

In this direction the Oude rebels Ashraf Bux Khan, Jowahur Khan with several notorious dacoit leaders hold Doomurriagunge and various posts commanding the frontier. Lieutenant Pullan has too much work of other kind on his hands to advance against them, nor would it be advisable to push a small detachment in the face of the strong hostile force at Balrampoor which is said (though this is undoubtedly an exaggeration) to be 20,000 strong.

ATTEMPT TO ESCALADE SHAHGANJ

The sepoys recently attempted to escalade Shahgunge, but were driven back with very heavy loss by the *Rajkoomars*, who met them sword in hand, Man Sing himself serving the guns with great skill. When Mr. Wingfield's informant wrote, the tidings of the advance of Sir J. Hope Grant's force had already reached the rebel camp, and they had begun to disperse.

The weekly collections were Rs. 80,000. Since the re-occupation of Captaingunge *tehseel* 35,000 Rupees have been collected there.[1]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 25th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

MUHAMMAD HASAN CROSSES GHAGRA

Telegraphic Message from R. Simson, Under Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 31st July 1858.

.....Mahomed Hussein is reported to have crossed the Gogra.....[1]

REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES DISPERSE INTO DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS

Only demi-official communications have been received from this Division. They relate chiefly to the movements of the rebel force which dispersed from before Shahgunge on the approach of Sir J. Hope Grant's division. Of these it is known that a portion went first to Fyzabad, but crossed, and went northwards as our troops drew near. This party were chiefly sepoys under three Hindoo leaders. Mohomed Hussun with a diminished following, went in the same direction having quarrelled with the Raja of Gonda, which latter Chief has broken up his camp on the frontier of Goruckpore, and retired to one of his own jungle forts. Another division, chiefly the Nusseerabad sepoys, has gone southward towards Sultanpoor. A third also, chiefly sepoys, has gone to Tondah (Tanda) under one Sooka Sing. Mehndee Hussun has taken his party in the Sultanpoor direction, and is said to be endeavouring to collect the two last named bodies to attack our loyal friend Roostum Sahai at Dera. A great number however of those collected at Shahgunge were mere *zemindars'* levies, and most of these have now returned to their homes, and will not for the present at least take any active part in the field. The Shahgunge besieging force finally broke up on the 27th and Man Sing has since come into camp.[2]

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 1st August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES NEAR AMORHA AGAIN

GONDA RAJA RETURNS TO HIS ENCAMPMENT

There has been no occurrence of any very great importance in this Division. The latest news represents the Raja of Gonda as having returned to his encampment on the Gogra about a mile west of Belwa (Bilwa).

The Bulrampore Raja has got rid of his besiegers by giving 25,000 Rs., 2 guns and lending the services of some of his men.

The gangs in the north of the district still remain and that recently defeated by Captain Gorrard has returned and reoccupied the same fortified house near Amorha.

The rebel emissary Dhumun Khan and the 2 Gosains disciples of the leading rebel Jaikeshen Pooree who entered the Nepal Terai have been placed in confinement by the Nepalese Authorities.

Near Tanda in Oude the population are reported to have risen and defeated Bullee Sing and his brother and their notorious dacoit gang in an attempt to plunder them.

The collections for the week ending 31st July were 80,000 (Rs.), that for the week under review were only 54,000 Rs.—a decrease attributed by the Commissioner to the diminution of the outstanding balances.

Heavy and general rain has fallen of which the district was much in want. The earlier crops which had been endangered are now safe.[1]

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Narrative of Events for Gorakhpur.

From the official reports, and from the demi-official letters of the Commissioner, it is to be gathered that nothing of importance has occurred, and that the state of the Division remains much as last reported.

AMORHA RAJA'S OFFENSIVE MOVEMENTS

The Rajah of Amorha has been threatening offensive movements, but Mr. Wingfield thinks without any intention

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 8th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

of carrying them out. On the contrary his followers and those of Mahomed Hussain are represented as being greatly dispirited, and daily deserting. Five newly enlisted sepoys, i.e. sepoys who joined the rebel regiments, as recruits subsequent to the mutiny surrendered themselves at Bustee. They were directed to return to their homes in accordance with orders of Government previously received. Their example Mr. Wingfield expects will be largely followed. The sepoys on the right bank of the Gogra near Chandeepoor are reported to have retired in land.

FALL OF FAIZABAD

The country about Fyzabad is said to be "fast settling down". The occupation of that place is said also to have had an annoying effect on the population of Goruckpoor. The rebels are dismayed, and the loyal reassured. *The hopes entertained by the former of assistance from Nepal, have also died away since the arrest of Dumun Khan.* The news-writer sent by Mr. Wingfield to Shahgunge, who was present there during the siege, has returned to Goruckpoor. He assures his employer, that Rajah Man Sing could not have held out another fortnight, chiefly in consequence of the disaffection in the garrison, headed by his own brother Rugber Dyal, who endeavoured continually to shake his belief in the good faith of our Government, and to deny that the British would move to his relief. Heavy rain has fallen and agricultural prospects are consequently improved.. [1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ESTABLISH POSTS OPPOSITE SULTANPUR

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, to E. A. Reade, dated Allahabad, 17th of August 1858.

The following has been received from Lucknow. The Civil Officer with the Sultanpore Column writes on the

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 14th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

twelfth instant:—Three miles north of Sultanpore the rebels have established posts at the ferries opposite Sultanpore and to four miles up the river Goomtee. Their main body under Mehendee Hoosein at Hussunpore four miles west by south from Sultanpore across the river with guns. Since receipt of the above a letter has arrived direct from Sultanpore dated the 13th instant which states that on that date the town of Sultanpore was in our hands and the rebels had been defeated. The only body of rebels which showed fight was the Nusseerabad Brigade. Our loss very trifling, that of the enemy believed to have been severe.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES REOCCUPY DUMARIAGANJ

On the 18th a detachment of Seiks (Sikhs) assisted by a few of the Bansee Rajah's men attacked and cut up a rebel post near Domarria Gunge; the latter, who were 200 strong lost 19 men, two casualties only occurred on our side, and these among the Rajah's men. Immediately after our force had retired, the rebels reoccupied the post, with a reinforcement of 500[2] men; their force in this neighbourhood has increased and is expected to receive further accession from Mohamed Hosein's force.

The latter is fortifying his present post at Bungowun[3] near the Bubnee Jungles.

GAIGHAT BAZAR PLUNDERED

No other change has occurred in the position of the rebel forces, but Bullee Sing the notorious dacoit has plundered for the sixth or seventh time the bazar at Gaighat. The steamer at Burhul has been sent to cruise opposite Doerhee Ghat so as to cut off the rebels escaping from Rissrah (Rasra)

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Can be read as 300 also.

[3] Apparently *Bansgawan*, Pargana *Sidhua Jobna*, Tahsil *Padrauna*, District *Gorakhpur*—This large but otherwise unimportant village belongs to tappa Rampur Rogha and stands in 26° 48′ N. and 84° 11′ E., about a mile east of the road from Padrauna to Tiwaripatti, some 14 miles from the tahsil headquarters and 64 miles from Gorakhpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 207).

and Mr. Wingfield has heard that this measure has been successful.....[1]

DUMARIAGANJ REVOLUTIONARIES THREATEN BANSI

The Doomurriagunge rebels, strongly reinforced, threatened Bansee, though the Commissioner believed they would not actually attack it. They have 2 guns and are said to be 2,000 strong. The outposts at Amorha and Hurryah were sharply attacked on the 29th, but repulsed the enemy and have since been reinforced.

GHAZIPUR REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS INTO GORAKHPUR

It is reported at the close of the week 100 sepoys from Ghazeepore managed to cross the Gogra into Goruckpore by seizing a salt boat and more were expected to follow.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES DRIVEN TO TARAI JUNGLES OF BABNI

The attacks on Brigadier Rowcroft's outposts at Amorha and Hurrya induced that Officer to move out with a strong party in that direction. At Dehuirah[3] on the frontier of Oudh they were met by a force under the personal command of Mahomed Hussun which was speedily discomfited and driven to shelter itself in the thick jungles of Bubnee. The large numbers of the enemy however generally sheltering themselves in this quarter made the Brigadier take measures for strengthening his outposts and to effect this, he has been

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 22nd August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 29th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Not clearly decipherable.

compelled to recall the detachment from Sikreegunge. The Domurriagunge and some other detached bands of rebels moved on the 29th August against Bansee, their united strength reaching nearly to 2500 men but without guns. They were repulsed in an attack upon the fort which they made on the 3rd instant, by the garrison partly consisting of 250 Seikh Military Police, partly of 300 of the Raja's men. Our party however having run short of ammunition and the rebels threatening to renew the attack, a reinforcement of Cavalry, Infantry and guns was at once sent out to their relief. From Azimghur the sepoys about 200 in number managed to cross the Gogra at Doomree Ghat and thence proceeded by Roodurpoor (the *thannah* at which place they burned) to a place called Choorce Chource[1] whence a broad belt of jungle reaches to the Nepaul Terai. Here a detachment sent to intercept them by Mr. Wingfield just sighted them but they gained the shelter of the jungle before the Infantry could come up and the Cavalry were too weak to charge them; the party pursued but could not overtake these rebels who then pressed up the Nepalese Terai to the northward. They were too hotly pursued to have leisure for much mischief but they murdered three *Burkundazes* and wounded two others whom they met on their road.

The only other incident worthy of note from this quarter has been the defeat by the *zemindars* of Rajpoor in *pergunnah* Nuggur of the robber-gang, of Bullee and Bulkarsee Sing[2]. Three of the dacoits were killed and the plunder and captives they were carrying off from a neighbouring village were rescued. The collections have only reached in consequence of the numerous disorders to the sum of 24,000 Rupees.[3]

[1] *Chauri Chaura*, Pargana *Haveli*, Tahsil *Gorakhpur*, District *Gorakhpur* —Chauri Chaura stands in 26° 38′ N. and 83° 35′ E., on the road from Gorakhpur to Deoria and on the main line of railway, the station being some 15 miles south-west from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 219).

[2] Spelt as 'Bulkaran Singh' in other documents, (pp. 341, 358).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 5th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

GORAKHPUR IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

The Narrative transmitted by the mail despatched on the 10th instant containing the news received upto that date.—(Signed by R. I. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, dated Fort William, the 24th of September 1857).

.....*Goruckpore*—Appears to be still occupied by the rebel forces under Mahomed Hussein.[1]

MAN SINGH THREATENED WITH AN ATTACK

Telegraphic Message from the Commissioner of Banaras, to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated 27th May 1858.

The Commissioner of Goruckpore asks me to telegraph as follows :—The Nusseerabad sepoys from Belwa, with the horse-battery guns, crossed the Gogra by 12 O' clock this day, when they were joined by Mahommed Hossein and 1,500 men from Tanda. The united force proceed to attack Maun Sing, who wants aid from us and says that six regiments sent by the Begum have crossed twenty miles west of Udioodya (Ayodhya) to attack him from that quarter; we cannot help him. Mahommed Hossein has moved eastward. The Bansee *tehseel*, *thannah*, and town were sacked yesterday by insurgents from Oude. Maun Sing should be helped from Lucknow. Some sepoys and four guns remain at Amorah.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES PUSH UP FOR AVADH

BANSI CAPTURED

The rebels, who were besieging Bansee, retired on the advance of our troops on the 7th, some 30 or 40 stragglers only were cut up by our Cavalry. The detachment would pursue and drive them out of the district. The Rajah of

[1] Original Military Consultations, A, No. 410 of 25th September 1857. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 4 in No. 17, p. 162.

Bansee did not behave well during the siege, his personal cowardice was avowed, and he entreated permission to leave the fort; but the European officer refused this, and threatened to put him under restraint if he attempted to quit it, aware that if he did so his followers would do likewise, and that without their aid the fort was untenable.

ATTEMPT TO REACH BEGAM'S HEADQUARTERS

The Azimghur sepoys, hearing of our force at Bansee, have pushed up for Oude along the Nepal frontier, which they have carefully avoided crossing. The Nusseerabad Brigade and others of the fugitives from Sultanpoor, who have joined them, are said by Mr. Wingfield to have endeavoured to cross the Gogra at or near Amorha, to get to the Begum's Head-quarters, but gave up the project on hearing of our force. The steamer 'Koladyne' has reached Burhul, but it is doubtful if she can come higher as she draws 5½ feet and the river is falling fast.

The collections for the week were 19,000 Rupees. The total collections, since reoccupation, now reach to about 21 lakhs. The balance on the current year is only 2,86,598 Rs. and for 1857—2,63,204 Rupees. Of these balances, moreover, the bulk are due from the disturbed *pergunnahs* of Captaingunge and Bansee.

The Commissioner notices this success as a proof of the striking lightness of the assessment, and urges that it was not any discontent, but the temptation of the lawless scenes in the neighbouring country of Oude, which lead (*sic*,-led) the landholders in Goruckpoor to rebel.[1]

BASTI AND BANSI STILL INFESTED

The Goruckpoor Division continues quiet except in its northern *pergunnahs* of Bustee (Basti) and Bunsee (Bansi). The latter of these especially is much infested by bands of marauders and when the European portion of the reinforcement

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 12th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

was withdrawn, the whole force of the rebels collected for an attack on the Raja's palace. This took place on the 22nd, but was feebly conducted, and easily and quickly repulsed. Our only loss consisted of two *Chuprassies* seized by the rebels in the advance who had their noses cut off.....[1]

BALI SINGH AND BALKARAN SINGH ACTIVE

In Goruckpore several small actions have taken place on the 27th. The gang of Bullee Sing and Balkaran Sing crossed the Gogra and surprised a party of loyal *zemindars* who were watching the banks, killed several and carried off as prisoner one who has done very eminent service. They have since made another incursion. Other rebels have been also plundering but have been generally met and dispersed by the Police and Military detachments who have chastised them on several occasions. Mr. Bird, the Magistrate has directed the operation in the north of Bansee where he has met with great success and has been well supported by the *zemindars*. Indeed on one occasion roused to desperation by the ravages of one of the dacoit gangs (about 200 strong) the villagers collected, attacked and defeated it, killing the leader and his deputy and fifteen or twenty of his followers, several of whom also were drowned in attempting to escape.

An attempt was also made upon our post at Amorha on the 1st; the enemy were repulsed with a loss of 70 or 80 men.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Gorakhpur.

RENEWED ACTIVITY OF REVOLUTIONARIES

From Goruckpore the only news of importance is the threatened advance of Bala Rao with a large force from

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 25th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 2nd October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Baraitch towards Bansee. Mr. Wingfield considers from their natural advantages, the jungles in that neighbourhood are likely to be the last stronghold of the rebels. The gang of Bullee and Bulkurun Sing has made another and daring raid with impunity, and the Doomurreagunge rebels who withdrew before Mr. Bird's force returned on his retirement, with the rebels at Kullianpoor and have taken their guns, but no particulars are given.

From Goruckpore the only other event worth recording is an attempt on the part of some rebels in a fort on the Gogra to decoy a boat's crew of the "Hoorungotta" steamer into their power by pretending a wish to surrender. Although the Commander fell into the trap which was skilfully prepared, the rebels themselves by firing too soon marred the effect of their treachery, and all the crew escaped. In the action which ensued, no loss was sustained by the steamer but the opposition was so strong, and so determined, that the Captain of the teamer deemed it inexpedient to force his way past the fort up the river, as he had been desired to do, and so dropped down the stream after shelling the place for some time.

REVOLUTIONARIES ENTRENCHED AT DUMARIAGANJ

Mr. Bird assisted by Lieutenant Pullan, Captain Howlett and other officers commanding detachments in that direction have driven all the rebels from Bansee except at Doomurreagunge, where the post is too strong to be attacked and too extensive to be held by the force available, without exposing all the rest of the frontier.

A party of leading rebels came down through the jungles from the Oude frontier towards Bansee. They were not traced further, but six of their elephants were seized and one is recognized as having belonged to the Raja of Sutaoree[1]. The Commissioner therefore believes them to have been a party endeavouring to reach their homes to realize their revenues from off[2] their confiscated estates.[3]

[1] Probably *'Suttassee'* is meant here.

[2] 'off' appears superfluous here.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 16th October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

BALA RAO MARCHES TO REINFORCE GONDA RAJA

The only event to be reported from Goruckpore is the defeat of a strong party of rebels near Biseohur on the Bansee frontier by a detachment of troops and Military Police under the command of Captain Howlett. The chief of the rebels named Mendhoo Khan, who has been long plundering that frontier, was killed and near 100 of his followers shared his fate. The Raja of Bulrampoor is doing good service, and sends information with great regularity and accuracy. The sepoys who enlisted after the mutiny are said mostly to have gone to their homes. *Bala Rao, the Nana's brother is said to be marching towards the Raja of Gonda's force to reinforce him with* 5,000 *men.*[1]

BRITISH ATTACK ON JAGDISHPUR FAILS

In the Goruckpoor Narrative the main event to be noticed is the failure of an attack made on a strong outpost of the enemy at the village of Jugdespoor (Jagdishpur) by the garrison of our post at Hurryah. The rebels held a fortified post in the village with unexpected tenacity, and the fire of our guns failing to dislodge them after three hours' cannonade, our detachment was compelled to withdraw in the presence of a strong force of about 2,500 men brought down to the aid of the rebels by the Rajah of Gonda and Mahomed Hussan, who were encamped near at hand.

The insurgents do not however appear to be at all elated at this trifling success, or to have followed it up in any way. Beyond this the somewhat increased numbers of the plundering bands along the northern frontier is the only fact which demands attention.[2]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 23rd October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 30th October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REPORTED DEATH OF NANA SAHEB

News dated November 17, 1858.

A correspondent of the same journal (*The Englishman*) writes from Goruckpore that 5 men, 8 women and 3 children, Christian drummers and their families, were sent into Major Rennie's camp at Jorwah on the 4th instant by the Goorkha authorities. They belonged to the 1st, 17th, 74th · N. I. Regiments and had been with the rebels ever since their respec-. tive regiments mutinied at Cawnpore, Azimghur and Delhi. The men saved their lives by becoming Mussulmans. They performed *cooly* work, were kept under a guard in the Dhang Valley, and some 3 months ago were taken under the protection of a Goorkha *Sirdar. . . on their way to frontier they saw an elephant and horses which were being sent by the Nana's family to the Brahmins on the occasion of his death. . .*[1]

BALA RAO ACTIVE

BALRAMPUR RAJA SHUT UP IN HIS FORT

From Goruckpoor the news is temporarily less assuring. No actual outrages are reported but the strength of the rebels has increased on all points along the northern frontier. Our steadfast friend and ally, the Rajah of Balrampoor, has been compelled to shut himself up in his fort, while a body of some 1,500 Foot and 400 Horse, have been sent to extort money and guns from him.

These are supported within 15 miles by the army of the Bala Rao, about 4,000 strong.

Her Majesty's Proclamation has been actively and widely disseminated, but with less effect than in other quarters, as the rebels here still delude themselves with hopes of ultimate success.[2]

[1] *The Friend of India*, November 24, 1859, p. 1111. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 6th November 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

GORAKHPUR FRONTIER THREATENED AGAIN

MENHDI HASAN IN GORAKHPUR

The Goruckpoor frontier is once more imminently threatened by a large organized rebel force. It appears that on the 4th Mehndee Hussun, the Ex-Nazim of Sultanpoor, numbering among his forces the remnant of the Nusseerabad Brigade, and who had been beaten a few days previously by Brigadier Harford at Daoodpoor, crossed the Gogra at Bhyram Ghat[1]. His army was there in a miserable condition and was only barely 3,000 in number.

BALA RAO JOINS MENHDI HASAN

Since then he has rested his men and received small accessions of strength here; on the 12th had about 3,500 men. On that date he was joined by Bala Rao with 4,000 men of superior stamp, mostly sepoys and well formed, whom the Balrampoor Rajah had in vain attempted by temporizing to detain at Balrampoor.

On the 13th their force moved on to within 6 miles of Hurryah where Lord Mark Kerr's detachment is posted. As the Rajah of Gondah with a force which would swell the total numbers of the enemy to 11,000 was also within as[2] few miles it was deemed advisable to concentrate the outlying detachments upon Hurryah. The consequence is that the neighbouring frontier is again exposed to the attacks of the fierce marauders who so recently were expelled from the district.

Some of the worst of these about 200 in number (many of them sepoys) under the notorious Doomree *Baboos*, have

[1] *Bahramghat*, Pargana *Ramnagar*, Tahsil *Fatehpur*, District *Barabanki*—This town stands on the banks of the Chauka, in latitude 27° 7′ north and longitude 81° 28′ east, at a distance of 22 miles from Nawabganj and four miles from Rauzagaon, with both of which it is connected by a metalled road. Beyond Bahramghat, the remainder of this road, which leads to Bahraich, is unmetalled. The river is crossed by a temporary bridge of boats, which is replaced by a ferry during the rains. This ferry crosses the Chauka and Ghagra rivers, which unite a short distance below the town. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki, 1904, p. 186).

[2] It should have been 'a'.

penetrated close Goruckpoor, and there are no troops available to expel them. However, McMullin's Sikh Police corps and H. M.'s 73rd are daily expected to reach the district.

ENCOUNTERS WITH BRITISH FORCES

Previous to the 12th three small actions had been fought, in one of which the rebels were worsted. The first was an attack on our *thannah* of Roodowlee by Ashruf Bux and some other rebel leaders, with a considerable body of men and 2 guns, but the Police aided by some loyal *zemindars* repulsed them. The Bansee detachment on the 11th moved to Bhanpoor and thence dislodged the rebels after a brief action. On the 10th also Mr. Lumsden, the Joint Magistrate, organized a night attack on a band of some 200 plunderers, who, after ravaging the surrounding country, had located themselves near the Toolseepoor frontier. The attacking party consisted of 100 Sikhs and 50 new Military Police under Lieutenant Pullan and Mr. Lumsden, and were completely successful in killing above 50 of the robbers.[1]

ALLEGED DISSENSION BETWEEN BALA RAO AND MUHAMMAD HASAN

The news from Goruckpore is also of comparatively little interest. The threatened attack on our outpost at Hurriah was prevented by the advance of Brigadier Rowcroft's main force to Captaingunge; which caused combined forces of Mahomed Hussun and Bala Rao to fall back. These leaders quarrelled after the retrograde movement regarding the payment of their troops, and the quarrel ended in their separation, Bala Rao moving off in a N. W. direction to the Raptee, Mahomed Hussun with about 4500 still holding Bungaon and Jugdespore.

An expedition guided by Mr. Bird against the Doomree and Pandeepoor[2] *Baboos* in the jungle near Goruckpore, succeeded in driving them from a stronghold they were

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 13th November 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Spelt as '*Pandepar*' in *Mutiny Narrative, Gorakhpur.*

fortifying and in capturing all their baggage and booty including 60 cart-loads captured from the Goorkhas on their return to Nepal. Mr. Bird was still in pursuit.[1]

BALA RAO IN GORAKHPUR DISTRICT

Letter from C. J. Wingfield, Commissioner of Gorakhpur, to William Muir, Secretary to Government of the N. W. P., dated Camp Basti, the 25th November 1858.

I have the honor to forward my Narrative for the week ending 20th Nov. 1858.

JOINT VENTURE BY BALA RAO AND MUHAMMAD HASAN

2*nd*—On the 16th Brigadier Rowcroft moved out on Bustee (Basti) with his whole disposable force after providing for the safety of the cantonment and stores, and encamped at Captaingunge to support the Column at Hurryah in the event of an attack on it from Bungaon by the united forces of Bala Rao and Mahomud Hussun, which our intelligence led us to believe would certainly be made and it was undoubtedly intended, for Mahomud Hussun in person came to examine some grounds half way between Jugdeespoor and Hurryah, and judge whether it would be favourable for an encampment, when information reached him of our force arriving at Captaingunge, and he precipitately retired.

BALA RAO'S FLIGHT TOWARDS BHANPUR

3*rd*—On the 20th he came to a rupture with Bala Rao on the subject of payment of the latter's troops and an attack on our position, in which neither wished to be foremost, and the consequence was Bala Rao left him on that day moving first in a westerly direction, then turning due east and afterwards north to the residence of Ushruf Bux Khan (Ashraf Bakhsh Khan) the notorious Oudh rebel about 12 miles west of

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 20th November 1858, Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Bhanpoor[1], where he remained a day and from thence sent the greater part of his troops across the Kooaree to a spot near the Raptee whither he purposes following them, and from which he can move either to Otrowla[2] and on to Toolseepoor, or to Doomuriagunge or across the Raptee into Bansee.

4th—Captain Howlett in command of the detachment at Eutwa[3] holds his ground there and has been perfectly unmolested for the last week. In Toolseepoor, there are supposed to be some 4,000 rebels in the pay of the Rani of Toolseepoor, but very few of them sepoys.

DUMRI AND PANDEPUR REVOLUTIONARIES ESCAPE

5th—The expedition against the Doomree[4] and Pandepur *Baboos* came off on the 20th. The party consisted of 350 men of the 13th Light Infantry, and Goruckpoor Police Levy under the command of Colonel Kin, and the guidance of Mr. Bird. As but one road led through the forest to the rebels' fastness, on which they had placed strict watch, surprise was impossible, still they were so nearly taken by surprise that they had only just time to escape, leaving all their booty, clothes and cooking

[1] *Bhanpur*, Pargana *Rasulpur*, Tahsil *Domariaganj*, District *Basti*—This village belongs to tappa Chhapia in the south of the pargana, and must not be confused with the capital of tappa Bhanpur to the north-west. It is situated in 27° 2′ N. and 82° 40′ E., on the west side of the road from Basti to Domariaganj at the distance of 19 miles from the former and 13 miles from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Basti, 1907, pp. 195-196).

[2] *Utraula*, Pargana and Tahsil *Utraula*, District *Gonda*—The town which gives its name to the pargana and tahsil is a considerable place lying in latitude 27° 19′ north and longitude 82° 25′ east, between the Rapti and Suwawan rivers, about a mile and a half north of the latter, some 20 miles south-east of Balrampur and 32 miles north-east of the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Gonda, 1905, pp. 263-264).

[3] *Intwa*, Pargana *Bansi West*, Tahsil *Domariaganj*, District *Basti*—This small village lies in the extreme west of tappa Kot in 27° 20′ N. and 82° 42′ E., at a distance of ten miles north form Domariaganj and 42 miles from Basti. (*District Gazetteers*, Basti, 1907, p. 217).

[4] *Dumri*, Pargana *Haveli*, Tahsil *Gorakhpur*, District *Gorakhpur*—A large village of tappa Keotali, standing in 26° 43′ N. and 83° 36′ E., on the east side of the road from Chaura station to Pipraich and two miles south of the road from Gorakhpur to Kasia, at a distance of 15 miles east from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 231).

vessels behind them. Among the former were found the mess stores of the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry and many miscellaneous European articles. 60 hackeries were also found which they had taken from the Gorkha Army on its march back to Nepaul last May.

6*th*—The position they had taken up was of exceeding strength, open only on one side where they had begun to entrench; so it was well (that) more time was not allowed them to strengthen its natural defences. They have broken up into three separate bands, and Mr. Bird with 40 Europeans mounted on elephants and 150 of the Goruckpoor Police Levy has gone in pursuit. He complains that such is the terror they have instilled into the population that no one dare give any intelligence of their movements. The very night preceding the attack upon them they had murdered a neighbouring *zemindar.*

7*th*—Mahomud Hussun remains at Bungaon with about 4,000 men, and Jugdeespoor is still held by 700 men. Now that he is left alone of course he will not dream of making any aggressive movement.

RAJA OF GONDA OPPOSES THE BRITISHERS

8*th*—No ill consequences to the peace of the district have followed the withdrawal of the Amorha detachment to Hurryah The Rajah of Gonda has been too fully occupied in opposing as he fancies the passage of the Gogra at Fyzabad, to turn his attention to that quarter; the occupation of Amorha has not been attempted.

RAJIWAN SINGH IN ACTION AT BHANPUR

9*th*—Bullee and Bullkurrun Sing have also been singularly inactive this week, lying at Bonham, three miles within the Oudh frontier. Some 5 (500) or 600 other dacoits under a leader of some note Rajeewan Singh have been plundering and burning near Bhanpoor, but their incursions have not been carried far into the district. The rebels at Doomurriagunge have been doing nothing either.

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

10*th*—The collections during the week amount to Rs. 99,556/- the *k urreef* revenue beginning to come in.[1]

PURSUIT OF BALA RAO

In Goruckpoor there has been a smart skirmish. Brigadier Rowcroft after some hesitation decided in[2] moving in pursuit of Bala Rao, and arrived at the banks of the Raptee on the 26th. On that day and the previous one, however Bala Rao had already crossed the river but a rear guard of 600 to 700 men was left and stood to be attacked under a nephew of Mohomed Hussun's, many of them were killed and others driven into the Raptee and drowned, but we unfortunately lost Captain Gifford of the 16th Bombay N. I., second in command of the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry, and the *Thanadar* of Rudhowlie, a Police Officer who had thrice repulsed from his *thannah* very superior forces of the rebels and on every occasion maintained the character of the bravest, and most active Police Officer in the Division.

After this skirmish Bala Rao advanced his guns to the opposite bank and opened fire but Captain Cadell's battery speedily silenced them. The Doomree and Pandeepoor *Baboos*' gangs have dispersed and the defeat by Sir J. H. Grant of the Raja of Gonda will probably have the effect of rendering the position of the rebels on the northern borders of Goruckpoor very insecure and it is to be hoped that they also will soon be compelled to surrender or disperse.[3]

MUHAMMAD HASAN ATTACKED BY ROWCROFT

From Goruckpoor the chief point to be narrated is that on Sir J. H. Grant's advance towards Bungaon and the Bubnee Jungle, the rebels under Mahomed Hussun endeavoured to cross the Raptee going towards the east; but were attacked on

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 31st December 1858, No. 15. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Should have been 'on'.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 27th November 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

the 3rd December by Brigadier Rowcroft. They fled however so speedily that but little punishment was inflicted on them. Bala Rao is meanwhile across the Raptee plundering the country to a large extent, and inflicting great misery on the people.

A bridge of boats has been erected by the Civil Authorities which will enable the force to cross the Raptee, and dislodge him. Its earlier construction was delayed by the enemy who contrived, through a stratagem to prevent the native agent entrusted with the collection of the boats, from bringing them to the appointed spot.[1]

BALA RAO IN GORAKHPUR DISTRICT

Copy of letter No. 350 of 1858 from the Commissioner of Gorakhpur to W. Muir, Secretary to Government, N. W. P., dated Camp Bhanpur, the 9th December 1858.

I have the honor to forward my narrative for the week ending 4th December 1858.

BALA RAO IN BANSI PARGANA

2*nd*—In my last narrative, I left Bala Rao at Kumsor in the Bansee *pergunah*, distant 8 miles from the Toolseepore boundary, and there he remained with advanced posts at Poourbetwa and Eutwa and parties scouring the country in all directions, seizing, imprisoning and extorting sums of money from the *zemindars* and plundering the villages—anxious to put a stop to these ravages; and as the immense train of baggage and animals with the army could not conveniently be transported on platform boats, I urged on the construction of a bridge and such exertions were made that despite of the want of boats fitted for such a purpose, yet by canoes and puting (*sic*) to a considerable way into the stream the bridge (which has since proved itself equal to any weight) was completed by midday of the 1st Dec.[2]

BALA RAO AT KUMSOR

3*rd*—I then urged Brigadier Rowcroft to cross and attack

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 4th December 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Sentence is confusing.

Bala Rao who would have probably sustained a signal defeat with the loss of all his guns, for his position was in an open plain many miles from any jungle and I offered to bring up 2 (200) or 300 of Captain McMullin's Sikhs from Bhanpore to assist in holding the bridge on this side, the Brigadier having already upward of 1500 under his command and the rebel force at Kumsor being less than 3,000: but I could not induce him to adopt this course. He pleaded his instructions did not allow him to cross the Raptee though as I understood them they only interdicted an advance into Toolseepore. I was compelled therefore to look on at the ravage of our territory by an insignificant force of rebels while a large British army lay inactive at a distance of 13 miles. In the meantime I addressed General Grant that orders might be given to the Brigadier to cross and drive Bala Rao into Toolseepore.

MUHAMMAD HASAN AT DUMARIAGANJ

4th—On the evening of the 2nd, information reached me that Mahomed Hussun with 12 (1200) or 1500 men flying from Bungaon had arrived at a village 9 miles west of Doomurriagunge on the very edge of the jungle that forms the boundary of Oudh. Though it was not likely he would attempt to annoy us yet as I saw no hopes of an advance against the more important enemy Bala Rao and it would save appearances in the eyes of the country I prevailed on the Brigadier to march next morning against Mahomed Hussun who was driven into the jungle after a very faint resistance though I fear with very little loss and retired on Ootrowlee (Utraula).

BALA RAO JOINED BY CHARDA RAJA

5th—Bala Rao no sooner heard our guns than he made preparations for departure and on the night of the 3rd retired to Pessurea (?) on the Toolseepore bank of the river Raptee, which here forms the boundary of the two districts. On the next day orders came from General Grant for Brigadier Rowcroft to cross the Raptee and after driving Bala Rao into Toolseepore to take post at Eutwa (vide here in map). I may add with a request that the fact may be communicated to the Government of India and the Oudh administration, *that Jodh Sing Raja of Churda with his retainers throughout accompanied Bala Rao and participated in all the outrages on our territory and subjects.*

6*th*—The marauding bands of Bullee, Bulkarrun, Rajeewan etc., who for so many months have infested the jungles west of Bhanpore and made such incessant incursions on our territory, have all fled north-ward. I know of none but one small gang of Rundoolla[1] that remains.

7*th*—Captain McMullin's Sikh Police Regiment has been temporarily distributed at intervals along the line of road from Doomuriagunge to Amorha; 150 have however been left at Goruckpore.

8*th*—The treasure alluded to in the 9th para of my last narrative reached General Grant's camp on the 2nd.

9*th*—Part of Lord M. Kerr's detachment that was at Hurryah has joined Brigadier Rowcroft's Head Quarters and the 73rd Foot has gone to Bustee. The *thanna* has been re-established at Amorha and 100 Military Police are posted at Hurryah.

REVOLUTIONARY ZAMINDARS RETREAT

10*th*—Sheikh Khyrooddeen Deputy Magistrate remains there and he reports that General Grant's victory and subsequent advance on Bunjaori is bearing fruit in the surrender of numerous sepoys and native officers; several rebel *zemindars* of this district have also come in to him and claimed the benefits of the amnesty. Such as come under the excepted classes have been directed to give bail, or find recognizances and proceed to Goruckpore where their cases will be disposed of.

11*th*—As it is impossible Mr. Bird can properly attend to this duty while moving about the district and at a distance from his office and as delay in completing the proceedings and coming to a decision in such cases would spread doubts of our good faith and deter others from coming in, I have directed him to proceed at once to the *Sudder* Station and apply himself energetically to this duty which he is to consider paramount to all others.

12*th*—The collections during the week are close on 70000 Rupees.

[1] Name not clearly decipherable.

13*th*—I left Brigadier Rowcroft's camp on the 5th and have since remained here.[1]

BALA RAO RETIRES ACROSS AVADH

The news from Goruckpoor does not come down to a later date than the 7th December. Bala Rao had been retired (in anticipation of a forward movement made on the 5th by Brigadier Rowcroft) across the Oude frontier and Toolseepoor.

Sheikh Khyrooddeen (Shaikh Khairuddin) a native Dy. Collector at Hurryah, himself a sepoy, has been very successful in persuading sepoys and rebels to claim the amnesty, his success being in a good measure owing to some of the former being his own early comrades.[2]

RETREAT FROM GORAKHPUR

From Goruckpoor itself there is little to communicate. Brigadier Rowcroft has crossed the Raptee. *Bala Rao and the Rajah of Churdah have retired to Toolsipoor, Mohomed Hussun to Akounda*[3] *half way between Balrampoor and Bahraitch, the Rajah of Gonda to Bhinga.*

These movements have left the north of Goruckpoor clear of rebels. The negotiations with the sepoys therefore opened by Sheikh Khyrooddeen have terminated before more than 40 surrendered; some 60 rebel *zemrs.* (*zemindars*) however have come in, amongst whom are some of consequence. The Ist Punjab Cavalry and 7th Punjab Infantry have entered the district.

A gang of rebels about 300 or 400 are devastating the country about the northern corner of the Nepal frontier; a party of troops will be sent amongst them.[4]

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 31st December 1858, No. 16. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 11th December 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Appears to have been mis-spelt for '*Akouna*'.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Gorakhpur for the week ending 18th December 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

MUHAMMAD HASAN

MUHAMMAD HASAN SURRENDERS

Letter No. 269 *of* 1859 *from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Avadh), to Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated Lucknow,* 17*th May* 1859.

I am directed to forward to you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council the accompanying copy of a statement of Mohomed Hussein Khan, the rebel *Nazim* of Goruckpore who has recently surrendered himself.

Statement of Mohomed Hussein Khan (Muhammad Hasan Khan) sometimes called "Nazim".

I had been at my villages near Tondah (Tanda) about 10 days when the outbreak took place at Lucknow.

A fortnight after I reached home I heard of the Lucknow disturbances; perhaps 10 days after this the news of the mutiny at Fyzabad reached me.

COUNTRY PEOPLE IN REVOLT

I had moved to Digdowur[1] near Dulputpore ghat on the Gagra (Ghagra) to make some village arrangements; that very day I heard that a boat was dropping down the river near the above *ghat* with some *Sahibs* and Ladies. I immediately sent 10 of my sepoys to protect the boat from the country people who were all in rebellion. These men went up to say they were too weak to do anything. I then mounted myself and repaired to the spot with 150 men and found the boat had been stopped and the people around rebellious. I learned that the boat contained Colonel Lennox and family. Whilst I was getting the *Sahib logue* out of the boat, a party of the 17th N. I. put off in a boat from the opposite bank; when in midstream my people and the sepoys exchanged shots, the sepoys, then retired to the other side and I brought the *Sahibs* to my house at Digdowur where they remained for 15 days.

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

I reported the circumstances to Mr. Paterson and Mr. Bird, Judge and Collector of Gorruckpore and asked for some sowars as the country was all up and I feared my own followers were not strong enough to form the escort.

A party was sent under Resaldar Ahmed Khan and adding 50 of my own retainers to it, the Colonel and family were safely delivered at Gorruckpore.

MUHAMMAD HASAN INVITED BY HAZRAT MAHAL

About 15 days after this I received a *perwannah* from the Begum ordering me to Lucknow. I hesitated to obey because I had saved English life and I feared mine would therefore be in danger.

I sent an excuse in reply. I received orders and a *Sunnud* appointing me *Chukladar* of Gorruckpore and a letter urging prompt obedience under penalty if I demurred of the imprisonment of all my family (including Mendhi Hossein and others) who were at Lucknow. I was also threatened with the despatch of the Nurput Regiment to seize and convey me to Lucknow.

As soon as the Regiment arrived, which it did in 10 days, afterwards I was helpless. Whilst all this was going on *Naib Ressaldar* and others of the 12th Irregular Cavalry at Segowlee, Mussurif Khan (Musharraf Khan), *Karindah* of the Rajah of Nurhurpore, the Rajah of Burriahpore, the Ranee of Amerah[1] etc. etc., were addressing the Begum to the effect that Gorruckpore was almost free of troops; that they were old servants of Oudh and would make all arrangements for that part of the country. In consequence of this other regiments viz., the 1st Mirza Oomrao Jan, 2ndly Jehanger Khan's were sent off from Lucknow and reached me. I was obliged to join them and we march (*sic*,) towards Gorruckpore. On reaching Bustee (Basti) I despatched a letter to Mr. Bird telling him what we were doing and informing him I was helpless in the hands of the troops. I advised him under these circumstances to get out of the way otherwise I was afraid the soldiery would proceed to extremities. The messenger, I afterwards learnt, had been seized by the *talookdar* of Buchea[2] (by name Ram Pershad) and never reached.

[1] May have been spelt for *Amorha*.
[2] Can be read as *Buehea* also.

MUHAMMAD HASAN'S AUTHORITY IN GORAKHPUR

As we advanced on Gorruckpore the *Sahibs* withdrew to Azimghur; we then occupied Gorruckpore.

For three months I remained at Gorruckpore conducting the duties of *Chuckladar*. The Goorka force then approached; when within a march my soldiers moved out to attack. After fighting 2 hours our sepoys fled back to Gorruckpore that day, we fought again (I was present in this fight) at Gorruckpore, were again beaten and abandoned Gorruckpore. We crossed to Sandah[1].

As soon as the news of our defeat reached Lucknow 5 more regiments, Kaster, Gibbs, Lumbroon, Wulful and Zuffur Moobarick were despatched to Bungaon. Mendhi Hussein fell back to Sooltanpore.

Three or four months afterwards a British force marched from Hurrea, in Gorruckpore towards Bungaon. A fight ensued and we fell back into the Bungaon, Chittona and neighbouring jungles. The British force returned to Hurrea.

Some time afterwards a British division crossed from Fyzabad, drove Dabee Bux (Devi Bakhsh) from the opposite bank and sent him flying to Mutchleegaon[2]. Upon hearing of this defeat the Begum wrote to Dabee Bux and myself that she was going to the hills and therefore we were to move towards Toolseepore (Tulsipur).

BALA RAO ENCAMPED AT TULSIPUR

We reached Toolseepore and found Bala Rao and his forces encamped there; they were demanding 50,000 (Rs.) from the Rance of Toolseepore and she being unable to pay, fled to the hills. Two days after we were all collected (at)

[1] Can be read as '*Landah*' also.

[2] Apparently *Machhligaon*, Pargana *Mankapur*, Tahsil *Utraula*, District *Gonda*—A village in the north of the pargana, lying in latitude 28° 5′ north and longitude 82° 15′ east, on the unmetalled road from Mankapur to Sadullahanagar and two miles east of the Andhirai police station. It is known as Machhligaon Nankari, to distinguish it from another Machhligaon some five miles to the west. (*District Gazetteers*, Gonda, 1905, p. 221).

Toolseepore. A British force from Bistohur[1] attacked us; we fled to the hills losing 400 men and 2 guns.

The British pursued and we all went into the hills by the Arrah Nullah. A few days afterwards the *Fouj* agreed to move via Kumdah Kote down upon Toolseepore again. I disapproved of this operation and would not leave the hills myself.

The forces went down to the plains with 15 guns and altogether there could not have been less than 1,000 men. On the 3rd day they were attacked and the British took all their guns. The sepoys would not fight at all and few men were killed, they retreated into Dewkur.

The Begum joined a few days afterwards from Sonwar. I then wrote to Mendhi Hussein and my son who had both previously surrendered and were near the Commander-in-Chief to try and arrange for my coming in.

We halted 8 days in Dewkur to enable those who were scattered to collect and during this time a letter came from Jung Bahadoor by the hands of Captain Beer Bunjun Sing (Bir Bhanjan Singh) inviting the Begum and all her forces to move to Chittowra; the Captain stated as soon as we all reached that place Jung Bahadoor would come down himself and impart what he had to say.

We all expected he would aid us in descending into the British plains to the eastward as that was comparatively denuded of troops. We all moved accordingly, the Nepalese made excellent arrangements for our supplies and in 8 months we reach (*sic*,) the Gunduck (Gandak) river and encamped.

On the 2nd day after our arrival the Nusseerabad Camp crossed the river. We were 4 days expecting Jung Bahadoor but he never came himself.

At last Colonel Bulbudhr Sing (Bal Bhadra Singh) from Bootwul arrived and we all turned out and saluted him. On the 3rd day the above Colonel assembled all the officers of the rebels including Mummoo Khan, the Nana and every *Sirdar*.

[1] Apparently *Biskohar*, Pargana *Bansi West*, Tahsil *Domariaganj*, District *Basti*—This small town lies on the western borders of the pargana and district, in 27° 22′ N. and 82° 24′ E., at a distance of eleven miles north-west from Domariaganj and fifty miles from Basti. (*District Gazetteers*, Basti, 1907, p. 200).

Colonel Bulbudhr Sing made known to us that he had been ordered to convey to us from Jung Bahadoor with his *salams* to all that the Maharajah wished to inform us, that he had already published several proclamations to us settling[1] forth his great friendship with the British Government.

That his treaty with them laid down that on the part of either Government all criminals should be seized and handed over. That in accordance with this treaty it was necessary that he should seize all murderers and hand them over to the British but that as the Goorkas (Gorkhas) as well as the majority of the rebels were Hindoos he would so far relax as not to seize them. That it was nevertheless necessary that within 8 days all who were guilty of murder should leave Nepaul and the rest he advised to surrender to the British Government who would pardon them.

REVOLUTIONARIES REFUSE TO SURRENDER

We replied that there was no hope of life from the British and would never surrender; the only course seemed to fight and fight[2] and die.

The Colonel pointed out that our previous efforts in fighting did not give much hopes for the future. His advise (*sic*,-advice) he said was for our own good that we must now please ourselves.

Colonel Bulbudhr Sing was the bearer of a letter from Jung Bahadoor to the Begum, he wrote that if she desired to surrender she must depart.

The Colonel then added that Jung Bahadoor had no objection to the women remaining but that the males must quit.

The Colonel now finished his business and left us; that same day the Nusseerabad Camp recrossed the Gunduck and the next day this Camp marched to Surawur, 2 *coss* south of Bootwul.

During 10 days negotiations went on; the Begum wished to remain with 5,000 men but Colonel Bulbudhr Sing persisted that only women and children under 12 years of age could be permitted to stop.

[1] It should be 'setting'.
[2] 'And fight' appears superfluous here.

Bala Rao afterwards told me that he had tried to talk over Bulbubdhr Sing (Balbhadra Singh) but that the latter stated his Maharajah would listen to nothing unless 4 crores of Rupees were paid down. After much discussions it was agreed that Bala Rao should arrange for half the money and the Begum for the other half.

Finally 1 crore and 42 lacs of Government papers and 2 crores worth of jewellery and precious stones were tendered.

The Goorkas refused both notes and jewellery saying they would receive nothing but Rupees or Gold *Mohurs*.

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES MOVE TO RATANPUR

Finding that there was nothing to hope for from the Nepalese, the Begum and all her forces moved to Ruthunpore (Ratanpur), 2 *coss* west of Surrowur[1].

Here we halted one day and the next day were attacked by the British; in one hour we lost from 100 to 125 men and 4 or 5 guns.

The Begum, Bala Rao and myself fled up the hills, the other half of the *Fouj* remained in the jungles at the base.

On the 3rd day another assault was made on the party below the hills; in 2 hours they lost 200 men and fled up to us.

In this fight, 1,300 horses were lost to us, 1,000 were left when the men fled up the hills and 300 were lost in the hills. Before this fight we had 1,000 horses and 25,000 *Telungahs*, certainly not less.

From that day we all separated. The Nusseerabad Camp, 3 Cawnpore regiments and a miscellaneous lot, altogether 8,000[2] headed by Dabee Bux (Devi Bakhsh) of Gondah marched west. Three days after the march of this force I came down the hills and surrendered.

As soon as the British division left the Nepaul territory Bala Rao and all the rest came down the hills. They have with the exception of the Begum, all moved to the west. The Begum is in Nyakot.

Bala Rao had 2 small guns and Mummoo Khan had also 2 small guns when I left.

[1] Spelt as '*Surawur*' also in this very document (p. 375).
[2] Figure not legibly written.

I shall be much obliged by your inserting (*sic*,) that from the time of Mendhi Hussein's surrender I was never allowed to mount my horse, I was always watched and could not get an opportunity of availing myself of Major Barrow's *perwannah* promising me life and freedom if I was not directly concerned in murder.

I also received a *perwannah* from Brigadier Rowcroft informing me that in consequence of my having saved the life of Colonel Lennox and family the Governor General in a letter dated 10th December was pleased to announce that all my past offences were pardoned.

I escaped from the rebels almost alone, my property followed, but the rebels wanted to seize it; Goorkas interposed; however, as soon as it left the hills Bala Rao sent 4,000 men after it and plundered or confiscated nearly all.[1]

LETTERS FOUND IN THE PALKI OF MUHAMMAD HASAN

Letter from the Commissioner of Banaras to the Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, dated Banaras, September 2, 1857.

In continuation of the correspondence relative to the abandonment of Goruckpore, I have the honor to submit a list of letters found in the *palkee* of Mahomed Hussun, the so-called *Chuckledar* of Goruckpore, transmitted by Mr. Wynyard, with the view of giving some idea of the state of rebellion in which the Goruckpore district was when the officers left it.

2*nd*—It seems clear that a small portion of the Goorkhas, though taken by surprise, easily defeated the *Chuckledar's* force; and that had they properly followed up their advantage, the whole rebel force must have been destroyed, and the rebellion quashed at once. The Goorkhas appear to have been mismanaged. Ten times their number, if kept like mere stocks in the station, would have been useless to keep the district in order; whilst one half of their number, if actively moved about, to beat down sharp every insurgent who dared

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859, No. 80. National Archives, New Delhi.

to raise his head, would have annihilated the pseudo *Chuckledar*, and have deterred the Mussulman and other traitors from showing their teeth. It has only been by moving out to put down insurgents and mutineers, that the small parties of Europeans in Ghazeepore, Benares and Mirzapore, have not merely held the ground they stood on, which is all the Goorkhas have been allowed to do, but have held the whole districts within a long radius in subjection. The largest army if motionless, would not prevent confusion in a district.

3rd—It was a mistake leaving the cannon for the insurgents.

4th—If the letter from Mahomed Summee, *Tehseeldar* of Bansee, be proved, he should be hanged, as an example.[1]

* * *

Letter from the Officiating Judge of Gorakhpur to the Commissioner of Banaras, dated Azamgarh, August 29, 1857.

To give you some idea of the state of rebellion in which the Goruckpore district was when we left it, I have the honor to send you some abstracts of letters which were found in the palanquin of Mahomed Hussun, the so-called *Chuckledar* of Goruckpore :—

No. 1 —From Sewgoolam Sing (Shiv Ghulam Singh) to Mahomed Hussun, to say that he had fired on the sowars, and that he, the Pandeypore *Baboos*, and the Cheeloopar[2] Rajah, had combined for an attack upon the treasure.

No. 2—*dated* 14*th August*—From Bullee Sing to Mahomed Hussun, advising him to come without delay, as the treasure would be taken away, and informing him that he had enlisted a great many men.

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 38 in 9, p. 211.

[2] *Chillupar*, Pargana, Tahsil *Bansgaon*, District *Gorakhpur*—This is the smallest pargana in the district, and consists of wedgeshaped block of country in the south-east corner of the Bansgaon tahsil, extending eastwards between the Rapti and Ghagra from the Dhuriapar boundary to the junction of the two rivers. It just touches pargana Bhauapar in the north-west corner, while the Ghagra separates it from the Azamgarh district, and beyond the Rapti lie Silhat and Salempur. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 220).

No. 3—*dated* 12*th August*—From Bullee Sing to Mahomed Hussun, informing him that Gangadutt and others, of Degropore, had released the *fattadar*, whom Bullee Sing had laid hold of.

No. 5—From Gobind Bullee Sing (Govind Bali Singh), the chief *Baboo* of Pauleypore (Pandepur), to Bullee Sing, mentioning that he did not fire on us, as he did not hear from Bullee Sing, and advising that the enemy be engaged between Gugha and Burhulgunge (Barhalganj).

No. 6—From Mahomed Hussun to the *zemindar* of Bhawapar, ordering him to stop the treasure.

No. 7—From Abass Ali to Mahomed Hussun, mentioning that he and the Rajah of Nuggur's *Karinda* would provide *russud.*

No. 8—*dated* 17th *August*—From Rajah Ooditnarain Sing (Raja Udit Narain Singh), of Suttasee, to Mahomed Hussun, styling him *Nazim*, and stating that he was willing to obey his orders, and his *Mookhteear* would wait on Mahomed Hussun.

No. 9—From Gleessun Sahee or Keeson Sahai[1] dated 12th August—The *Wasil Bakee Nuvees* of *pergunnah* Andra, requesting to be continued in his appointment.

EUROPEANS LEAVE GORAKHPUR

No. 10—From Mahomed Neewaz to Mahomed Hussun, informing him that the Europeans, with 2,000 Nepalese, had left Goruckpore, and that they had taken the treasure with them, leaving two lacs with the Rajah of Gopalpore.

No. 13—From Mahomed Hossein Bux to his brother, Mahomed Summee, (Muhammad Sami), *Tehseeldar* of Bansee, directing him to make over the treasure to Mahomed Hussun, who had been appointed *Nazim.*

No. 14—From Mahomed Summee, *Tehseeldar* of Bansee, to Mahomed Hussun, informing him that he had answered the letters sent by a *Hurkara.*

No. 16—From the Commander of the insurgents to Mirza Futteh Ali and Ali Hussun, informing them that, on his arrival at Raj Ghaut, he having been informed that the

[1] Apparently 'Kishan Sahai'.

Nepalese force, with the treasure, were at Bhawapar, he followed them with the purpose of attacking them; but on his arrival there, he found that the infidels had marched to Baleepar, at which place he did not make an attack, as his men were tired, but that on the next day he intended attacking them.

No. 17—From Soowth Sing, *zemindar* of Sewpoora[1], *pergunnah* Amorah, to Mahomed Hussun, styling him *Nazim* and informing him that he had turned out the *Thannahdar* of Amorah.

No. 18—From Dabeedeen[2] to Mahomed Hussun, stating that the writer's ancestors were *Canongoes* of *pergunnah* Hussunpore, Mughur[3], but the district having, unfortunately, come into the possession of the English, the petitioner lost his property, as that nation protects the mean at the expense of the respectable. The petitioner wishes to get back his property as a well-wisher of the new Government.

No. 19—From Rajah Keesshon Keeshore Chund (Kishan Kishore Chand) to Mahomed Hussun, stating that he would obey Mahomed Hussun's orders.

GORAKHPUR UNDER REVOLUTIONARIES' GOVERNMENT

No. 20—To Mr. Bird, informing him that the Goruckpore district had become a portion of the king's territory, and requesting him to leave it. This letter is neither signed nor sealed.

No. 21—From the Rajah of Nuggur, mentioning that he would attend when ordered to do so.

[1] *Sheopura*, Pargana *Balrampur*, Tahsil *Utraula*, District *Gonda*—A village in the north of the pargana, in latitude 27° 38′ north and longitude 82° 10′ east, some five miles north-east of Lalia police station. (*District Gazetteers*, Gonda, 1905, p. 253).

[2] Apparently spelt for 'Devi Din'.

[3] *Maghar*, Pargana *Maghar East*, Tahsil *Khalilabad*, District *Basti*—This capital of the pargana is a small town of considerable antiquity, but of little present importance, save perhaps as a place of pilgrimage. It lies in the tappa of the same name, sometimes also called Qasba, in 26° 45′ N. and 83° 8′ E. by the side of the provincial main road from Gorakhpur to Fyzabad, at a distance of 27 miles east from Basti and four miles from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Basti, 1907, p. 225).

No. 22—From Hossein Ali to Mahomed Hussun informing him that he had enlisted twenty men at Bukra[1].

No. 23—From Mahomed Hussun's brother to Mahomed Hussun, mentioning that he would punish Maun Sing and that Rajah Jylall Sing had given in a *durkhast* in his brother's name for *zillah* Azimghur.

No. 24—From Ranee Deegumber Cooer (Rani Digambar Kunwar) to Mahomed Hussun stating that her son was a minor under the Court of Wards, but she was willing to obey his orders.

No. 28—From Rajah Rughoober Sing to Mahomed Hussun, desiring Mahomed Hussun to assist him with his troops.

No. 29—From Bakur Hossein (Baqar Husain) to Mahomed Hussun, advising him to postpone coming to Goruckpore, as he had not only to deal with the English, but with 5,000 Nepal troops, who had taken away the treasure from the sepoys and sowars. Bakur Hossein advises Mahomed Hussun to enter Goruckpore after the defeat of the English army marching on Lucknow and for the present to occupy Jaunpore and Azimghur, which have been emaciated[2] by the infidels.

No. 30—From Fyz Ali alias Shaikh Bheekha to Mahomed Hussun, stating that he had spoken to the officers of the sowars and sepoys, and they had promised to join on his crossing the river, but that they would not give away ever their agreement, and that 3,000 Goorkhas had arrived, and out of these 600 had died, and every day some of them were going to hell, and there were four guns in the fort, and the houses of the Europeans were guarded by the Goorkhas.

No. 31—From Fyz Ali to Mahomed Hussun, informing him of the disarming of the sepoys and sowars, but that eleven *nizamut* sowars had promised to join Mahomed Hussun, that the Goorkhas had possession of the treasure, and had

[1] Apparently *Bakhra*, in the District of *Gorakhpur* in the west of *Shahjahanpur* Pargana on the unmetalled road from Dhara to Rudarpur.

[2] 'evacuated' would be more suitable here.

refused to cross the river, or to be detached, and that the Goorkha force was famous for night attacks.

No. 32—From Mahomed Neewaz to Mahomed Hussun, mentioning that he was anxious for his arrival, and could provide boats at the *ghaut*, and that the Bansee Rajah was at Bukra, and would be on the next day at Goruckpore.

No. 34—From Dowlut Ali to Mahomed Hussun informing him that he would get the *Nizamut* of Sooltanpore, in which Azimghur and Goruckpore would be included.

No. 35—From Shere Ali (Sher Ali) to Mahomed Hussun, stating that there was some hitch about his getting Azimghur, as Rajah Jylall Sing considered himself entitled to it, as he had turned out the English.

ACTION AT UNNAO

No. 36—From Mehdee Hossein to Mahomed Hussun, informing him that half the besiegers of Balleeguard (Bailley Guard) were wounded and killed, and the others were disheartened, and that he should postpone doing anything till Lucknow had fallen, and that there had been an action at Oonow.

No. 37—*dated the 6th August*—From Abass Ali to Mahomed Hussun, stating that the Nuggur Rajah had promised to assist, with 2,000 men, and that he would get the Bustee and Gopalpore Rajah on his side, but that the Rajah of Nuggur, expected to have a written instrument confirming him in his *raj*. On a separate paper it is written that Mr. Cook has left a lac of rupees with his *Karindah*, and there is one lac in the Khuleelabad *tehseel*; the Rajah wishes to know how much he will get as his share.

No. 38—*dated the 16th August*—From Reeasut Ali (Riasat Ali) to Mahomed Hussun, stating that Balleeguard had not fallen, and that the commanders of the besiegers had become favourable to the besieged, and that he advised Mahomed Hussun not to go to Goruckpore, but, on the contrary, he should address a letter to the Commissioner of Gonda, inquiring of his welfare; and that he ought also to write a letter to Hossein, who is with the Commissioner, and Mahomed Neewaz will attend on Mahomed Hussun, who may, if he likes, send him to Captaingunge, and that numbers of sepoys are running away from Lucknow, Delhi, and Gwalior.

BRIJIS QADAR ASKS MUHAMMAD HASAN TO BRING THE TREASURE

No. 41—From Bakur Hossein to Mahomed Hussun informing him that the English had beaten the rebels between Cawnpore and Lucknow, and that he had heard that the Segowlee sowars had killed the Europeans at Goruckpore.

No. 43—From Birgis Kudr, the self styled king of Oude to Mahomed Hussun, authorizing him to bring the treasure away from Goruckpore.

No. 45—From Preetheepal Sing to Mahomed Hussun, mentioning that he had a fight with the *Sahibs* who had left Azimghur, and that now he was opposed by Meer Moozaffer (Mir Muzaffar).

No. 46—From Bullee Sing, stating that Lol Preetheepal Sing (Lal Prithipal Singh) would attend, and that Mr. Cook's boat had been plundered by the Pepra *Baboos*, and the *Baboos* would join.

No. 49—From Jaffer Ali to Mahomed Hussun, stating that he had raised 1,000 men, and inquiring whether he was to accompany Mahomed Hussun to Azimghur, or if he was to wait for Meer Dost Ali's arrival at Durreeabad (Daryabad) and accompany him.

Several of the writers, and the parties mentioned in this correspondence, are known to me; I am making inquiries who are the other people.

I hear that Bullee Sing has died of a wound he received on the 19th, and that during his absence all his family, including his wife and children, have been murdered by some Sowjbunsee (Surajvanshi) Rajpoots on account of some old feud.

A person, said to be Mahomed Hussun, is in possession of Goruckpore, with 400 men, and one gun, the one we left there; I hear that Mr. Bird went to Pundrowna (Padrauna)[1],

[1] *Padrauna*, Pargana *Sidhua Jobna*, Tahsil *Padrauna*, District *Gorakhpur*—The place which gives its name to the eastern tahsil of the district is a town formed by the aggregation of five separate villages. It stands in 26° 54′ N. and 83° 59′ E., on the road from Captainganj to Bansighat and Bettiah, at a distance of twelve miles north-north-east by road from Kasia and 49 miles from Gorakhpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, pp. 278-279).

and from there on to Moteeharee (Motihari), to get Goorkha troops; of which the insurgents are in a great fright.

Moosruff Khan (Musharraf Khan), a released prisoner, the Agent of the Rajah of Suttasee, is one of the chief of the rebels.[1]

ACTIVITIES OF MUHAMMAD HASAN

Abstract Translation of a Petition from Khodabuksh Khan (Khuda Bakhsh Khan), dated September 29, 1857.

States that in June last he, in consequence of his illness, took leave of absence from the Magistrate, and proceeded home (in Goruckpore); that in August one Syud Mahomed Hussun Khan, styling himself a *Nazim* of the King of Lucknow, came over to Goruckpore, having availed himself of the opportunity which the absence abroad of the local officers afforded him. This individual, since he arrived there, has subjected the British subjects to great troubles, and forcibly exacted large sums of money from the merchants of city as well as from other people. The said Syud Mahomed Hussun Khan plundered all the money which he found in the Collectorate and in the *Tehseeldar's cutcherries*, as well as destroyed the records of the Persian and English offices. He has dismantled all the buildings of the British officers, and been collecting revenues from the *zemindars* by subjecting them to beating. The functionaries of the locality, at the time they quitted the place, left their effects in charge of the residents. Syud Mahomed Hussun caused a search to be made for these effects by Mussuruf Khan (Musharraf Khan), in the employ of the Rajah of Secasee, Mirza Futteh Ali Beg, and others, sons of the late Hussun Ali Beg, of the city of Goruckpore, and having traced the same, sent them to Lucknow, but it is not known whether those effects have been sent to his own house, or to that of the Nawab. One Ahmud Sah, Superintendent of the *Emambarah*, was accused of having kept in his house the effects of the British officers, and was in consequence put to such oppression that he, for the sake of his honor, deprived himself of

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 39 in No. 9, pp. 211-213.

his life. The said Mahomed Hussun issued a proclamation, by the beating of drums, that any person holding employment under the British Government should immediately leave the city and join his appointment, otherwise he would be expelled from the city, his house confiscated, or he would be beheaded. Upon issue of the above proclamation, petitioner Lutchmun Pershad, and others who were all at home, left it to join their respective posts. The *Nazim* above alluded to has not had a great army under him, but about 5,000 or 6,000 men only, who do not appear to have any experience in war. If a few experienced British troops be sent, all the men of the *Nazim* will positively take to flight, and the country be taken in the possession of Government. The convicts of the jail having been let loose, their chains have been converted into balls, and shots of lead have also been prepared, as well as about twenty or twenty-five maunds of gunpowder have been made. A *ressalah* is being raised, and the *Nazim* has here got hold of two guns; but he brought more with him from Lucknow.

As petitioner is greatly attached to the interests of Government, all this he begs to communicate for information.[1]

MERCIFUL TREATMENT FOR MUHAMMAD HASAN PROPOSED

Letter from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government of India with the Governor General, to Major General W. R. Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, dated Allahabad, the 30th December 1858.

I am desired by the Right Honorable the Governor General to transmit to you, for submission to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the accompanying translation of a correspondence between Shaikh Khyrooddeen, Deputy Magistrate of Goruckpore, and Mahomed Hussein, the rebel Ex-Nazim of Goruckpore; and to state that much may be excused to Mahomed Hussein in consideration of his sheltering and treating kindly Colonel Lennox and his family, and that in the event of Mahomed Hussein falling into His Excellency's hands, as seeking terms, he may receive assurance, not only of life

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 59 in No. 9, pp. 233-234.

and liberty, but of liberal maintenance, although his removal from the scene of his recent hostility to the Government will be necessary.

2nd—I am to add, that so far as His Lordship is aware Mahomed Hussein was not a landholder or the owner of any possessions in Oudh, and that his hostility has shown itself in constant and pertinacious attacks upon our old Provinces, but that, nevertheless, his conduct towards Colonel Lennox has been such, as to entitle him to be mercifully dealt with.[1]

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN KHYROODDEEN (KHAIRUDDIN) DEPUTY MAGISTRATE GORAKHPUR AND MAHOMED HASSUN KHAN (MUHAMMAD HASAN KHAN)[2]

Letter from Khairuddin to Muhammad Hasan, dated 13th November 1858.

AMNESTY OFFER TO MUHAMMAD HASAN AND OTHER REVOLUTIONARIES

After compliments :—The English Government is very powerful and has annihilated numbers of rebels; however, with a view to putting a stop to the effusion of more blood, it now inclines to mercy. The Government of Hindostan is desirous that the rebels should abandon their (present) short sighted line of conduct which can only end in their ruin, and cease to fear that the impression, a false one entirely, now prevalent that hanging awaits those who surrender, will turn out correct. I herewith forward to you a copy of Her Majesty's Proclamation, issued this month, which contains a declaration of pardon to all. From it you will perceive that those only who have been guilty of the murder of British authorities or subjects shall be liable to punishment, that life will be granted to all leaders among the rebels who may have been innocent of such a crime, and that any good deeds they may have performed in the way of saving English officials

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 18th March 1859, No. 10. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] The correspondence was forwarded by G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh (Letter No. 5476) dated Allahabad 30th December 1858.

will be taken into consideration. Under these circumstances, you ought to reflect how hopeless of advantage your continuance in the rebel ranks is. If you hold out, you will undoubtedly be either captured, or slain. You had much better come and give yourself up to me, or to any European officer you may prefer. I know that you have not murdered any official or subject; you are free from suspicion of any such crime. If then you really wish to participate in the advantages of this mercy, advise likewise the other chiefs such as the Raja of Gonda to do so also, and tell the sepoys that every one will be allowed to go to his own house, no body will obstruct them, provided always that they have not been guilty of shedding the blood of any European or British subject. To kill in fight is not considered a crime.[1]

* * *

Letter from Mahomed Husain Khan (Muhammad Hasan Khan) to Khyrooddeen (Khairuddin), dated 16th Rabeeool Sanee (Rabi-us-sani), corresponding with 24th October 1858.

I have received your friendly communication, the tenor of which has caused me much gratification, with its enclosed copy of the Queen's Proclamation, the merciful provisions of which shall, as you direct, be made known to and impressed upon all. In future every one will be answerable for his own actions. I shall, after being thus assured of Her Majesty's justice, always consider myself as absolved from offences. From the expressions in your letter also my innocence is established. I am much delighted, because I have never killed any official or subject, although the European officers and their soldiers have slaughtered thousands of innocent and insignificant men, including women, blind men, and mendicants, and have burned down their dwellings looting their property. By the just provisions of Her Majesty's Proclamation all who have been guilty of such murders are liable to punishment. I am one of those men who have saved the lives of European officers, when the mutiny of the troops broke out, and the sepoys ruthlessly murdered their officers, and when those who ventured to aid Europeans

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 18th March 1859, No. 8. National Archives, New Delhi.

in any way were slain along with them and their property looted or destroyed, I then fearlessly sent some of my retainers and saved the lives of two Colonels, with the wife and two daughters of one of them, entertained them for some time with every care at my own residence, and had them conveyed in safety to the Goruckpore authorities. Subsequently, when at the peremptory command of my Chief, I, *with God s help, restored Goruckpore to the Kingdom of Oude, to which it had been in former times attached*, I preserved all the native officials from being looted or killed, and also shielded from injury several Christians and sent them away safe and sound. I consider myself therefore entitled to praise and commendation from the just British authorities. I fully admit the truth of what you write, to frighten me, regarding the power of the British Government, the annihilation of so many rebels, my own hopelessness of advantage, if I remain with the insurgents etc. The might and resources, the power and the awe inspiring force which Her Majesty, the Sovereign of Sovereigns, may her prosperity be everlasting, commands, preclude the possibility of successful opposition. The Almighty, however, whose name is "strong" and the "Protector" is omnipotent, if an enemy is mighty, He is more mighty, He if He chooses makes the strong weak, and the weak strong; whom He wills, He exalts, and whom He wills He debases. This has become apparent to all in this time of confusion. Save with God's permission no one can slay or burn. Had the British Government the power of God, they would in their retaliation on the sepoys, have destroyed every native of Hindostan, and the thousands of Christians who have fallen by the bloodthirsty sepoys, would have been saved. If you have studied in history the Narratives of *bouleversement* (French, meaning ruin or an over- urning) such as this in the world, you will have found them all like the story of Sohak and Blacksmith's cow. One sees that the man who treads in the way of slaughter as of his creed, first imagines himself as slain, so I neither fear capture or (*sic*,-nor) death in the least. Should I, as God forbid that I should be taken prisoner, I have committed no crime to render me, under the Proclamation, liable to punishment. Through Her Majesty's mercy I am assured that no one can do me harm, on the contrary that I shall be released. If, on the other hand, I am killed while fighting for my religion and my earthly sovereign, I then attain the prosperity of the

two worlds. Just as you and all the other employees of Government hope to attain worldly advantage and also prosperity in the world to come, by fighting determinedly as in a *Jehad*, on the side of the English Government, so I also consider it ennobling and sure to benefit me now and hereafter to fight and die in the tenets of my creed, and in the cause of my illustrious sovereign. As the European officers are both considerate in listening to the excuses of inferiors and capable of accurately judging actual worth, they must be favourably impressed with my constancy and fidelity. The phraseology of the Proclamation, where it promises pardon of offences, is somewhat obscure and indefinite; there is nothing to seize upon as an indubitable assurance of such a pardon. For instance, it is stated that the generality of men who have committed crimes involving injury to the state, during this disquieting revolt shall be pardoned on certain specific conditions. Now reflect—all the offences committed are offences "involving injury to the state". They are therefore all to be classed as equal in this respect; moreover the use of the expression "generality of" and the non-specification of the "conditions" in a definite manner, produce doubt and want of confidence in men's minds. The English rulers of Hindostan have retracted from the binding engagements entered into with the Native Princes, and acted contrary to the provisions which ought to have been irrefrangible. Who then can look upon obscurely phrased contracts, such as those they are in the habit of entering into, and which are capable of totally different construction as actually binding on them. The British have exceeded all bounds in their breaking of promises—this is notorious; (witness the treaties) between them and Raja of Lahore, the Peshwa and other Princes, too numerous to mention. My business is with the King of Oude. All the world knows of the binding engagements and treaties which existed between those two exalted Powers, the King of Oude and the English Government. According to them, the English had no right to establish themselves in Oude. The Rulers of this Kingdom always used to aid the English with their resources and their soldiers, and to act in a friendly and conciliatory manner. They never were guilty of any act implying breach of faith, and were submissive even to allowing the English to forcibly annex Oude. The latter appropriated their residences and their property of all kinds. Even then, there was no resistance. The King of

Oude never went so far as to fight against them as an enemy, but appealed first to the Resident and then to the Governor General, and finally when they disregarded him, he sent his brother and mother to plead (his cause) before the Queen. The Company have as yet paid no attention; seeing this breaking of covenants and faithlessness, the chiefs remain with their fingers on their teeth (i.e. are suspicious and perplexed). Their kingdom has been wrested perfidiously from a dynasty which never opposed, and which always conciliated the English Government, and all kinds of tyranny have been perpetrated; no one now puts any trust in the British. I may sum up with the proverb "who has not received the reward of his deeds ?" The Princes and peoples of Hindostan, witnessing the perfidious oppression, took the opportunity of the revolt of the army (the result also of the English Government's own conduct) and the outbreak took place, involving the slaughter and plunder of thousands of innocent servants of God. The English have now opened the doors of bloodshed more determinedly than their Government had used formerly to provide for keeping them closed. *This rebellion arose solely out of the annexation of Oude.* Had that not taken place, there would have been no bloodshed, because no defection of the chiefs, who would have on the contrary inflicted chastisement on the mutinous sepoys. If Her Majesty even now acts justly and gives back his Kingdom, to the King of Oude, all this disturbance will be brought to an end, the justice and mercy of the Queen will be blazoned forth and extolled in the seven regions of the world, and all the Chiefs of Hindostan will return to their allegiance and put a stop to this war and anarchy. From the tenor of Her Majesty's Proclamation it (lit.) trickles out that she intends to do this eventually, for it is intended that she will recognize and fulfil all engagements contracted by the Hon'ble East India Company, or with their sanction, that she expects the native rulers on their part also to execute what they have agreed to, and that she does not wish to extend her territories beyond their present limits. Her Majesty ought, therefore, in accordance with these promises, to fulfil, as in justice bound, the contract entered into between Sooja-ood-dowlah and the Company's Government, and restore the Kingdom of Oude to its hereditary rulers, paying no attention to the new treaties extorted subsequently from reigning Kings, by Residents, for the original compact embraced the descen-

dants of the contracting parties in perpetuity, and consequently all those new compacts which have, in contravention of it, been forced on later Kings, by the Residents, are iniquitous and worthless. The Kingdom of Oude is now in the possession of the King, and those portions of it, which the British have from time to time taken forcibly, have been freed from their rule, such forcible annexations are unworthy of being paid attention to. If the expression "now in possession" is applied to those territories actually in the possession of the English at the moment of writing the Proclamation, then many portions, which at that time were not occupied by them, ought to remain in the hands of those in whose actual possession they were. The meaning of all I have written is this; we servants and dependants of the King of Oude consider it essential to our prosperity in both worlds, to display devotion in protecting the Kingdom and opposing the efforts of invaders who seek to gain a footing in it. If we fail in doing so, we are traitors, and will have our faces blackened in both worlds. "I will not withdraw my hand until it has grasped what it attains to. I will attain my desired one or perish." If the Queen, in merciful consideration of the condition of the inhabitants of Hindostan, and to close the doors of slaughter, or in mere justice, restore Oude to the King, we will all cease fighting and slaying, and revert to our allegiance to Her Majesty and her officers; disturbances will then cease in India, and all will be peace. I therefore beg that you will forward this letter for the consideration of the Governor General and if he should think proper to fulfil the terms of the Proclamation, abstain from molestation of Oude and enter into a compact in accordance with the provisions of that contracted with Sooja-ood-dowlah, then I will act as *Vakeel*, and see all the points in it faithfully executed. I await a speedy answer etc.[1]

Letter from Khyrooddeen (Khairuddin) to Mahomed Hussun (Muhammad Hasan), dated 28th November.

After compliments—I have received your reply to my letter, from it I perceive that you are still slumbering in folly,

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 18th March 1859, No. 9. National Archives, New Delhi.

for I merely wished to impress upon you, explaining the meaning of the Proclamation, that if you at once surrender, it would be much the better for you. You, however, disregarding this, have written a long useless rigmarole in reply, in which you make many foolish and unjust assertions regarding the European soldiery and authorities. For instance, you say that the British armies have slain thousands of helpless men, blind, maimed and beggars, besides women and children; such an accusation is entirely false and without foundation. You and your retainers have in truth committed, and still commit, acts such as these, and generally whenever your men begin looting the defenceless, the British sally out and protect them from you. You write that you have never put to death any British officer or subject; how is it then that you have summoned and associated with yourself as an ally and supported Bala Rao, who, in conjunction with his brother, the Nana, caused to be taken captive and butchered several hundred innocent European women and children? Similar massacres of innocent people have been perpetrated in many places, massacres such as are not justifiable by any religion, yet you say that you are fighting for your faith. Point out to me any religion which permits such deeds. Your eyes are evidently closed, for you accuse the European soldiers and officers of having committed the crimes, which in reality the rebel armies and the *budmashes* have perpetrated, and continue to perpetrate. You call the war you maintain a "*Jehad*". Tell me how such slaughters of women and children can be justified, and by what creed looting is allowable? What you propose concerning the restoration of the Kingdom of Oude, and your submission being only consequent on that, is nonsense. Government will never give up one *beegah* of land which it has once appropriated; what have you to do with such discussions ? You may write whatever you choose about yourself, but not of what concerns the state. In short, I give you to understand that if you wish to save your life, you must at once surrender; otherwise be assured that the British forces will very soon attack you from all sides, occupy Gonda and Baraitch and surround and blow you out of, with their guns, the jungle which you look upon as your asylum. The rebels will become so many heads of game to the soldiers and officers. You will then see of what avail your alleged acts of fidelity to Government will be. It cares not whether you are induced to surren-

der. My object in writing was to explain the terms of the Proclamation to you, and thus preclude the possibility of your saying when captured that you had never seen it, or you would have surrendered at once. You call the language of the Proclamation obscure; in my opinion it is very clear; if you read it carefully, you will understand it entirely. If you reckon upon being set at liberty, when captured, because you saved the life of Colonel Lennox and his wife and children, you must bear in mind that the period of grace is only for 1 month and 10 days from this time; after its expiration that will not be taken into consideration, and you, as well as other rebels will when caught be treated as you would have been before the issue of the Proclamation. You had better come in within the limited time, otherwise you will die, after fleeing about from place to place, in the jungles. Reflect on this well before you answer, and place no confidence in the rebel army with you and Bala Rao, which has always fled before the European soldiers, when they met in battle. How can you expect them to fight in obedience to your orders, when they have been so unfaithful to their former masters whose salt they had eaten for 20 or 30 years; perhaps they may make an end of you, by making you a target for their musket balls. If you have any sense, and if any more years of life remain to you, pay attention to what I say.[1]

* * *

Letter from Syud Mahomed Hussun Khan (Saiyid Muhammad Hasan Khan), to Maulvee Sheikh Khyrooddeen (Maulvi Shaikh Khairuddin).

Your letter, in answer to mine, has arrived. That letter is full of boasting and pride, and except to alarm and terrify, has no other object. I, in my first letter, sent an answer to such words as these. Their repetition is altogether useless and unnecessary. My place of concealment is not the jungle, nor have I any reliance on the rebel forces; my reliance is on the powerful and omnipotent God; if He protects me, no enemy can do me harm, and otherwise no strength is of avail. You have not returned a clear answer to the

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 18th March 1859, No. 11. National Archives, New Delhi.

enquiries of my letter, that is, in the case of the King of Oude, you have written that no territory or land will be restored to him. It is evident that treaties with him were not kept by the Government, and if they had been observed, your answer is opposed to the Queen's Proclamation. You must reflect that when treaties with the King of Oude are not observed by the Company, or in breaking them, such disturbances and injury have arisen, how have I any hope, if in reliance on the promise, I release to present myself and I have not the slightest hope that my good conduct will be rewarded, as, great services that are known to all the world have not been noticed in the case of those who performed them, the Government having committed every description of oppression; it is foolish in me, to have any hope, for my having saved Colonel Lennox and his two ladies, and what you also wrote about having had nothing to do with the oppression of the Europeans; and murder and plunder, may be answered in the proverb, "what care is there for what is evident in denying its existence"; and if I valued my life and worldly wealth more than my religion, I would certainly come to you, but I am here a companion of my King (*Wallee Niamat*) and my faith, and what you have written about Bala Rao's coming, the following is the case that I am not a servant of Bala Rao's or Nana Rao's nor did I come into his camp at Cawnpore, so his crimes committed on the English women and children cannot return upon me; he is responsible for his own acts, in short, I am an hereditary servant of the King's. So long as the English Government does not come to proper decision about him, I do not consider my submission would be lawful, but criminal. As for the rest to answer to what you have written, would only be a useless and further description, therefore let this be sufficient.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 15 *of* 1858 *from C. Wingfield, Commissioner of Gorakhpur, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government of India, dated Camp Basti, the* 20*th December* 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter No. 5154

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 18th March 1859, Nos. 8-9. National Archives, New Delhi.

dated 10th December, and to state in reply that, in obedience to the instructions therein given, I have conveyed to Mahomed Hussun, through a *zemindar* of this district, one of his chief supporters and confidants, who has lately surrendered, assurances of the reliance he may place on the merciful intentions of His Excellency the Governor General towards himself and his nephew, if they make immediate submission, in consideration of their having saved the lives of Colonel Lennox and his family.

2*nd*—Last accounts however represent Mahomed Hussun as in full flight to Nanpara and the jungles still further west; so it is by no means certain the message will reach him.

3*rd*—With regard to the 2nd para of your letter, His Excellency will have seen from a correspondence that has lately passed between Mahomed Hussun and myself through the medium of the Deputy Magistrate, Sheikh Khyrooddeen Ahmed, that I have already labored unsuccessfully to convince him of the hopelessness of adhering to the cause of the Royal family of Oudh. It would be useless, therefore, nor would it become me to say more on that head. His Lordship will also have seen that I made the service rendered to Colonel Lennox the basis of opening communication with Mahomed Hussun.

4*th*—Though it is a matter with which our Government has no concern, yet in order that an unduly favorably (*sic*,) estimate may not be formed of his character from this single act of humanity, I would draw attention to the foul murder by him of the banker, Ram Dut, in open court, the circumstances of which are detailed in the official papers on the annexation of Oudh. Could he have been apprehended at the time, the Oudh Government would, at the instance of Colonel Sleeman, most assuredly have put him to death.

5*th*—I may also mention that his landed property is very trifling, under 1,000 Rupees, per annum, I should say.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 18th March 1859, No. 12. National Archives, New Delhi.

MUHAMMAD HASAN AND BALA RAO AT TULSIPUR

Letter No. 1 *of* 1859 *from C. J. Wingfield, Commissioner of Gorakhpur, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India, dated Gorakhpur Camp Office, the* 2*nd January* 1859.

In continuation of my letter No. 15 dated 20th December, I have the honor to inform you that the messenger to whom the letter to Mahomed Hussun was entrusted for delivery, has been placed in confinement in the rebel camp, Mahomed Hussun observing that it was a trick of the *zemindar*, who had made his peace with the authorities to entrap him.

2*nd*—This is the report brought in by a man, who says he has been sent by messenger to inform his wife of what has befallen him, and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy. The *zemindar* believes it. Mahomed Hussun was found near Toolseepore with Bala Row, he had turned back after having proceeded westward as far as Bhinga[1] nearly, no doubt, on hearing of the Commander-in-Chief being in that quarter. He is quite obdurate and already has avowed he has no faith in our promises.[2]

* * *

Letter No. 403 *of* 1859 *from the Under Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh (Avadh), dated Allahabad, the* 19*th of January* 1859.

In continuation of my letter No. 5476, dated the 30th ultimo, I have the honor to forward for your information, the accompanying copy of a communication from the Commissioner of Goruckpore, reporting that the messenger, who was sent with a letter to Mahomed Hussun, has been placed in confinement in the rebel camp.[3]

[1] *Bhinga*, Pargana *Bhinga*, Tahsil *Bahraich*, District *Bahraich*—The capital of the pargana is a small town near the left bank of the Rapti in latitude 27° 42′ north and longitude 81° 56′ east, at a distance of 24 miles north-east of Bahraich, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road that crosses the river by a ferry at Pipraghat. (*District Gazetteers*, Bahraich, 1903, p. 160).

[2] Foreign Political Consultations, 18th March 1859, No. 13. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Foreign Political Consultations, 18th March 1859, No. 14. National Archives, New Delhi.

MENHDU KHAN'S DEATH

Letter No. 5 of 1859 from C. J. Wingfield, Commissioner of Gorakhpur, to R. Simson, Under Secretary to the Government of India, dated Commissioner's Office, the 1st February 1859.

With advertence to the correspondence noted in the margin (given in the footnote)*, I beg to bring to the notice of the Government of India that two papers, bearing the undoubted seal of Mahomed Hussun, have been found among the effects of the noted rebel Mehndoo Khan, who committed such ravages in the Bansee *pergunnah*, during the months of August and September last, and was subsequently killed in an engagement with the Government troops.

2*nd*—One is a *sunnud* appointing him *Tuhseeldar* of the country east of Bansee, and ordering him to kill the '*Kaffer Feringhees*' dated 30th August. The other bearing date 5th September, is the letter transmitting the *sunnud*, and enjoins Mehndoo Khan to clear Bansee, and inflict punishment (*Tudarook*) on Mr. Peppee[1], a grantee and Deputy Magistrate.[2]

MUHAMMAD HASAN'S CONDUCT

Telegraphic Message, No. 368, from Mohamed Hossain Khan (Muhammad Hasan Khan) with General Hope Grant's Column, Gonda, to the Secy. to Govt. of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta.

At the commencement of the Outbreak I was instrumental in saving the lives of Colonel Lennox and his family. I never murdered British subjects, but being helpless remained with the rebels only and presented myself at the receipt of the orders from the British authorities promising to be pardoned on all except the charge of murder of the British, but I am very sorry that some officers for the pleasure of my enemies—Rajah of Balrampore and Kissan Raye Pandy (Kishan Rai Pande)—are about to molest me. Presume that Government is just and

Marginal note in Original—

* From Secretary to Govt. of India to the Comr. of Goruckpore, No. 5154, dated 10th December 1858.

Comr. in reply No. 15 dated 20th December 1858. . . . in continuation No. 1 dated 2nd Jany. 1859.

[1] Spelt as 'Peppe' in other documents (pp. 147, 313, 346, 347).

[2] Foreign Political Consultations, 18th March 1859, No. 15. National Archives, New Delhi.

will never go against its kind promises. I annex the Colonel's Certificate and a translation of Major Barrow's order dated 8th Jany. 1859 and hope that Your Honor may look over your orders dated 10th December 1858 and Brigadier Rowcroft and be good enough to pass an order for my preservation. I hope for answer.

From Major Barrow, Special Commissioner, Oudh, to Mahomed Hossain dated 8th January 1859.

Compliments etc.— Her Majesty the Queen pardons all except those who murdered the Europeans. I wrote you before about coming in but thinking it has not reached you I wrote again that you present yourself, all your faults with the exceptions (*sic*,) of one—the murder of the British—and also your honor and life pardoned. Copy to Nazim Meer Mahomed Hossain Khan, to Depy. Damoh, Almorah Jobulpore, dated Balrampure Moorshedabad dated 21st April 1859.[1] "I am very glad to receive a letter from you, and to hear you are safe and well. I hope Meer Mahomed Hossain Khan is well also. I remember the great care and attention shown by both of you to myself and wife and daughter during the mutiny of December 1857 and I hope the Government of India will acknowledge it with salvation—J. Lennox, late Colonel of the 22nd Regt. N. I. Calcutta E. T. office, 6th May 1859."[2]

NEGOTIATIONS WITH REVOLUTIONARIES AT GORAKHPUR

Letter No. 523 *of* 1859 *from G. E. W. Couper, Secretary to the Government of N. W. P., to C. Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William, dated Allahabad, the 4th May* 1859.

I am directed to submit the following remarks for the consideration and orders of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council.

2*nd*—The Lieutenant-Governor was recently informed by Mr. Wingfield the offg. Chief Commissioner of Oude that General Sir Hope Grant had applied to him for permission to allow Mohomed Hussun, the well known rebel *Nazim* of

[1] This sentence is confusing.

[2] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859, No. 75. National Archives, New Delhi.

Goruckpoor, to attend his camp, and that he had referred the General to this Government because Mohomed Hussun's offences had been committed in Goruckpoor.

3*rd*—His Honor has however received no communication on this subject from Sir Hope Grant; he learns from a further letter from Mr. Wingfield that Mohomed Hussun is living in honor, in the General's Camp—receiving and paying visits with half a dozen elephants, and a proportionate retinue.

4*th*. The Offg. Chief Commissioner it appears has informed the General that an adventurer like Mohomed Hussun, without an acre of land, and destitute of all property, but what he has plundered, can exercise no influence over either the sepoys, or the *talookadars*.

5*th*—The Lieutenant-Governor, I am desired to observe, on the receipt of Mr. Wingfield's first communication caused the Commissioner of Goruckpoor to be demi-officially addressed on the subject, and he also, in the same form solicited the sentiments of His Excellency the Governor General. But the last representation of the Offg. Chief Commissioner of Oude, in the opinion of His Honor, alters the complexion of the case, and he conceives it to be his duty to remonstrate against the favor shown, and the honor bestowed on a conspicuous rebel leader, who made aggressions on our territory, and harassed our troops for months, who also as it appears from Mr. Wingfield's present communication has encompassed the murder of a European gentleman, and who after he had contemptuously rejected the gracious invitations of the Governor General to surrender, and His Lordship's assurance of indulgence, resisted British troops more than once.

6*th*—If His Excellency the Governor General in Council should not consider Mohomed Hussun's offences to have been condoned by the honorable treatment he appears to very undeservedly have received at the hands of Military Commanders, His Honor would beg that orders may be issued through the proper channel to Sir Hope Grant desiring him to send Mohomed Hussun, in proper custody to Goruckpoor, there to take his trial for his numerous acts of treason, rebellion, and crimes, before the Special Commissioner.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859, No 74. National Archives, New Delhi.

CHAPTER FOUR

KUNWAR SINGH & AMAR SINGH

KUNWAR SINGH

KUNWAR SINGH AND THE BRITISH

In the early part of the year 1857 the usual kind of European officials, to be found at any civil station in India, were to be found in Arrah. There were inspectors and railway engineers also, and, of course, there were the wives and families of the officials living there (as they thought) in security. For, though warnings had been issued from time to time by those who might have been trusted to know what they were talking about, in large measure their word was not taken; so, when in May the sudden open flare of the mutiny at Meerut struck terror into people's hearts, the panic of those who knew themselves to be unprepared, was great and universal.

At Arrah there was grave reason for fear. For there was a little band of English in the midst of a 'warlike native population'. There could not have been less than two or three hundred prisoners in the jail, and no one trusted the Jail-guard, which numbered 150 men. It was daily expected the three Sepoy regiments at Dinapore would mutiny. And besides all this, Koer Singh, the greatest landholder (or *zemindar*) of the district, who was the most influential man in the neighbourhood among the native soldiers, was strongly suspected to be plotting against the English.

Koer Singh had some reason for his growing animosity. He had been originally very deeply in debt, and his estates were heavily mortgaged. In 1853 or 1854 the Bengal Government stepped in with the intention of saving him from ruin. They took over the management of his land, and saw to it that his creditors were being gradually paid out of the proceeds. He promised to borrow some rupees to assist in the paying off of his debts, but was unable to fulfil his promise in the short time allowed him. Just before the mutiny, the Government, had settled to give up their unsatisfactory task of management, and later, a law suit went against him in the *Sudder* Courts, and he was left resourceless. But by this time the breath of the approaching mutiny was in the air, and Koer Singh,

rendered desperate by his ill-fortune and his loss of influence, incited the Dinapore regiments to insurrection.

Apart from his debts and his insubordination to British rule, Koer Singh, so Mr. Halls tells us, was 'a fine, noble-looking old man.....His manners were at once dignified and courteous, and bore the stamp of real nobility.....He had been a great sportsman, and was much liked by the Europeans generally'.

As Sir George Trevelyan very tersely puts it, had Koer Singh been forty years younger—forty years old instead of eighty—the defence of Arrah would have ended very differently to what it did, and we may think ourselves very fortunate that old age had begun to slacken his martial powers and vigour of resource. Placed as they were in such very evident peril from the causes just mentioned, the Europeans at Arrah were daily on the *qui vive* for any news from Delhi, Dinapore, or Calcutta. All through May no one knew where to expect the next outbreak. Then on June 8th the Commissioner of Patna* sent a letter which said that an insurrection of natives was expected to occur at Dinapore. Mr. W. Tayler also despatched to Arrah fifty of Major Rattray's Sikhs. In the diary† of Mr. Bax-Ironside, Magistrate of Ghazipur, I find these entries: "*June* 3—Mutinies at Benares, Janupoor (*sic*,) (Jaunpur) and Allahabad.

"*June* 7—Panic in station of Ghazipur—groundless—however all the ladies and most of the gentlemen went on board a steamer lying off the shore....."[1]

KUNWAR SINGH PROCLAIMS HIMSELF KING

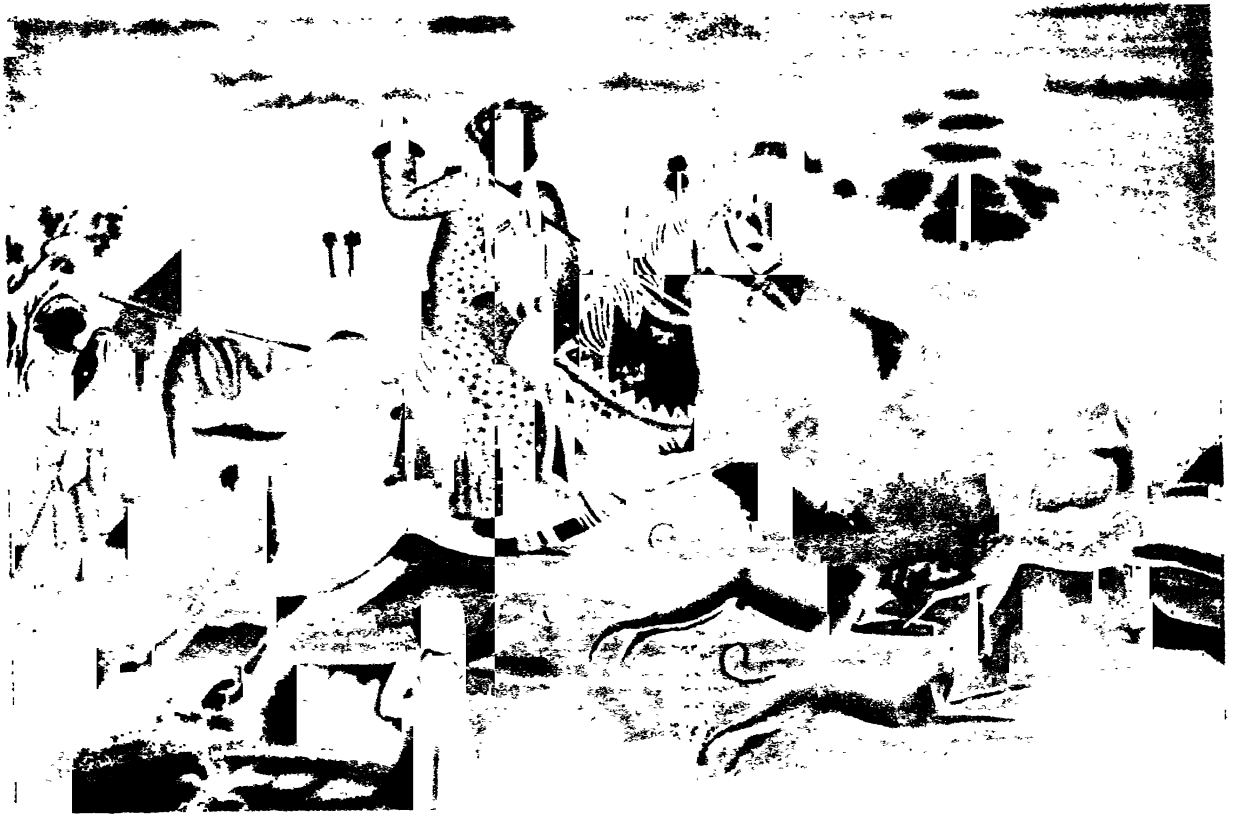
News dated Wednesday, the 5th August 1857.

Baboo Koour Sing of Jugdispore in Behar has joined the mutineers. He has collected 20,000 men and proclaimed himself king of Shahabad. The man's estates are extensive, but his debts amount to between thirty and forty lacs of rupees.

* "Mr. Tayler was then Commissioner of Patna, with Mr. Ross Mangles (afterwards V. C.) as his assistant magistrate"—Note in Original.

† "Kindly lent me by his daughter"—Note in Original.

[1] I. Giberne Sieveking : *A Turning Point In The Indian Mutiny*, London, 1910, pp. 18-21. For the early life and activities of Kunwar Singh; *cf.* K. K. Datta : *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh*, pp. 1-136.



Kunwar Singh on horse back

(Original painting in Khuda Bakhsh Library, Bankipur, Patna

His affairs were irretrievable. He possesses considerable influence with the Bhojeporeans of whom there are large numbers in the army. He was the reputed defender of Hindooism in Behar and a malcontent of the first water who defied all endeavours to conciliate him.[1]

REWARD ANNOUNCED FOR THE APPREHENSION OF KUNWAR SINGH

Letter from the Officiating Commissioner of Patna to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Patna, August 13, 1857.

I have the honor to report that on receipt, yesterday, of a letter from Mr. Yule, Commissioner of Bhaugulpore (Bhagalpur), a copy of which is entered in the margin (given in footnote*), I communicated the same to Mr. Tayler, and received charge from him, on the same day, of the Commissionership of this Division. Notice of the reward of 10,000 rupees, for the apprehension of Baboo Koer Sing, was immediately sent to the Judge of Arrah for promulgation in that district; and proclamation to the same effect has been this day made through the Magistrates in the other districts of this Division.[2]

TREASURE INTERCEPTED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from Major Nation to the Commissioner of Patna, dated Patna, August 13, 1857.

I have the honour to report to you, that a guard of 1 *Duffadar* and 17 *Nujeebs*, escorting carts and bullocks† from

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, August 6, 1857, p. 250. National Library, Calcutta.

*Marginal Note in the Original—

"Sir, August 9, 1857.

"I presume you are aware by this time that Mr. Commissioner Tayler has been ordered to make over his office to you. I this morning received a telegraphic message from the Secretary to the Bengal Government desiring me to tell you to keep the civilians at Arrah if possible; to offer a reward of 10,000 rupees for the apprehension of Koer Sing; and to ask if Mr. Barton of Shahpore is a fit and proper person to be made a magistrate. I send this message by letter, as the telegraph is constantly interrupted between Monghyr and Patna. "I have, &c.

"G U Yule"

[2] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 7 in No. 3, p. 317.

†"126 empty carts; 121 bullocks"—Note in Original.

Gya (Gaya) to Benares, were stopped at the Poon Poon river at Siris, on the Trunk Road, east of the Soane, by a large body of people armed with weapons of sorts*, and some mounted and calling themselves "*Baboo Koer Sing Ka log*". The *Nujeebs* drew themselves together, and the cart people ran away with all the carts and bullocks. The *Naib Nazir* of the Gya Collectory(*sic*, Collectorate) also ran away. He left behind him the box containing the cash for the road expenses. The *Nujeebs* were offered by Koer Sing's people, 12 rupees each per mensem, if they would join the Baboo, but that they would not be allowed to go in any other direction. The *Nujeebs* pretended to agree, and were allowed to get into a boat to cross, but they dropped down the river, and after some time took to land, and followed the banks of the river, pretending they were on their way to the Baboo. They managed also to bring away the *Nazir's* box, and all their arms and accoutrements. These men deserve credit for their conduct. They were told by the Urwal people, that the Gya *Nujeebs* were gone over, and advised to cross the Soane from that place.

The box, with money, is locked as left by the treasurer, and I beg it may be received into your office; I beg to attach a copy of the *Duffadar's urzee*, and to forward these papers by his hands, that you may speak to him if you so please.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH AT SASARAM

Telegraphic Message from the Deputy Superintendent, Dehree, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Dehree, August 14, 1857.

News arrived here last night. The mutineers that were beaten at Arrah were near Sasseram. I sent off immediately to Shah Kubeerood-deen Ahmed (Shah Kabir-uddin Ahmad) for full information. He has written to me to say that Koer Sing, with a party of sepoys, is flying across country, and is now near Sasseram, where he has given out that he will fight Shah Sahobas (*sic*,) as he passes. Some of the neighbouring *budmashes* are preparing to assist Koer Sing.

*"About 300, the duffadar says, swords and latees, no guns or matchlocks."—Note in Original.

[1] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 15 in No. 3, pp. 324-25.

The Shah Sahib begs me to go to him immediately. I am about to do so.[1]

ROBERTSGANJ BURNT AND PLUNDERED

Letter No. 286 *from the Collector, Mirzapur, to the Commissioner, 5th Division, Banaras, dated* 20*th August* 1859.

In reply to your letter No. 152 dated 15th instant I beg to say that my land revenue balance returns for 1857-58 were duly forwarded to your office in June of last year and were returned to me with your letter No. 120 dated 3rd July 1858.

2*nd*—You required me to submit a special report for the information of the Board and Government regarding the plunder of the Robertsganj *tahsil* on the 14th August 1857 by the rebels under Kuar Singh, with a view to the payments of all the booked items from the accounts.

3*rd*—The fact of the *tahsil* having been plundered were officially reported by Mr. Tucker in his diaries of August 57, and the authenticity of the items plundered rests upon the report of the then *Tahsildar*, who is now *Tahsildar* of Chunar.

4*th*—It was impossible for me to make any fresh investigation of events which occurred a year previously and which were officially reported by my predecessor.

5*th*—The main facts of the rebels having encamped at Robertsganj, plundered all they could lay hands on, burnt the records besides carrying off the *Tahsildar*, are all matters of notoriety in the district.

6*th*—It was quite impossible to prove what money was actually plundered or what saved. So long as no one came forward with information to infringe the veracity of the *Tahsildari* report, it must, in the nature of things, be accepted.

7*th*—It was in this view that I framed the VIII para of my Review of Revenue Administration for 57/58 dated 7th December last copies of which were simultaneously submitted, to the Board and your office.

8*th*—I now append a schedule of the plundered items as submitted by the *Tahsildar* under date 12th September 57.

[1] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 39 in No. 3, pp. 337-38.

9*th*—The *Abkari* item has just been expunged by Government order and it only remains to obtain sanction for the land Revenue items amounting to Rs. 141-6-4.

10*th*—I take blame to myself in not having previously disposed of this reference, but I was in ignorance of its being still (so unnecessarily) pending.

11*th*—The Head Clerk of my office went away to Oudh in autumn of last year and hence the oversight.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 1024 *from the Collector, Mirzapur, to the Commissioner, Banaras Division, dated* 29*th April* 1859.

I have the honour to forward for future reference in your office a plan of the new settlement of the Robertsganj (*tahsil*).

The shops are all in a miserable state. The *thanah* was partially burnt by the rebel Kuar Singh and much has fallen down since, owing to the destruction of the rafters and beams.

The *tahsil* house, being *pukka*, was but little injured but all the outhouses, within the *tahsil* enclosure were destroyed.

I am about to submit estimates of the cost of renewal of all Government buildings at the settlement.

There is no village within ½ mile of the cross roads.[2]

EFFECT OF THE DISTURBANCES

Extract from the Revenue Administration Report for the year 1857/58 *recorded by C. B. Denison, Collector, Mirzapur, dated* 7*th Dec.* 1858.

Para III—The actual amount of cash plundered from treasuries Sudder and Mofussil.

TREASURY PLUNDERED BY DINAPUR REVOLUTIONARIES

The only treasury plundered was that of Robertsganj from which Rs. 4635/- were taken by the Dinapore mutineers on the 14th August 1857. The above sum was composed of various items comprising Road Ferry fund collection, *Abkarry* and stamps, fines and building deposits.

[1] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Ibid.*

Of bonafide land revenue there was (were) but Rs. 105/- Besides the above Rs. 704/- were embezzled by the *Suzawal* of Doodhee under pretence of plunder by mutineers but the money will be recovered from securities.

(*Para* IX)—The effect of the disturbances on the agricultural resources of the Mirzapur district was on the whole scarcely appreciable. No land of any extent was thrown out of cultivation and the Government revenue was collected without difficulty and without balance. Market price rose enormously, as soon as order had ceased, thereby enhancing the value of local produce, and the resources of the district in plough cattle owing to its vast jungles and grazing grounds are so extensive as to deprive the large purchase of cattle by Government and compulsory hire of carriage for state purposes of any permanently injurious effect.

The main exceptions to the general immunity from injury were the indigo farms of European settlers and rebel villages of *pergh.* (*pergunnah*) Bhudoee which were abandoned or burnt.

The effect of the disturbance on the trade was far different. It ceased in toto, both by rivers and by land, from the month of June 1857; the only exception being the corn trade of the Narbuddah provinces through Rewah (Rewa) which was never totally extinct.

There were signs of revival in the export of raw produce trade until June in the present year and then only to a very limited extent owing to the stoppage of the Jamuna and Ganges routes and the absurd insuperable difficulty of procuring land carriage through the Dooab.

The stagnation, however, of the year 57-58 has been already more than redeemed by the enormously high prices of cotton and indigo seed in exports and the fabulous prices obtaining for Manchester and Irish imported piece goods. In these last articles, particularly, large fortunes have been made.

Whole steamers and boats have been chartered for conveyances by native merchants and thousands of Bengal carts have found their way to Mirzapur since May last freighted with nothing but cotton and linen piece goods.

The hire of a Bengal two bullock hackery from Calcutta to Mirzapur has risen from 35 and 40 rupees to 75 and 80—so great is the demand.

The effect, therefore, on trade, however injurious for the time, to small dealers and men without capital, has not been permanently disastrous.

The chief sufferers were the insurance brokers through the plundering of river cargoes. The high price of goods has, of course, told seriously on all classes.

(*Para* X)—The conduct of the agricultural classes was, on the whole, negatively loyal and, as compared with those of other districts, commendable.

There were however some gross and glaring exceptions, and it is probably more owing to the want of an opportunity than to the want of will that authority was not openly and generally defied.

Amongst the violators of private property, the inhabitants of river villages were pre-eminent and showed unmistakably the bent of their inclination.

Apart from these, the Monus and Pulwar Rajputs of Bhudoee and the Chandels of Bidjheyghur (which were connected by marriage with the Jagdishpur family) were the only people or classes who openly strove to take advantage of the crucial anarchy.

Both clans had, as they conceived, a long standing grievance and lost superiority to recover and were not slow to disclose their rankling animosity.

From what I know of the past history and present temper of the Bhudoee *pergunnah* I should consider its Rajput, Brahman inhabitants as decidedly ill-affected to the British rule and, at all times, difficult to manage. The Bidjheyghur (Bijaigarh) Chandels, surrounded as they are by the malcontents of Shahabad, Singrauli, Doodhee and Rewah are scarcely in more loyal mood; though their ill feeling has not displayed itself in the murder or maltreatment of any Government functionary.

The conduct of the population at large has not been overtly defiant or hostile.

CONDITIONS PREVAILING AT MIRZAPUR

Mirzapur as heart of the district and owing to its prosperity and commercial importance to the security of British rule is, I should say decidedly loyal and well affected; but it would be idle to suppose that had authority been swept away

in Benares, the well affected and wealthy inhabitants of Mirzapur would have resisted the assault of city "*Canailles*". They would as a matter of course, have succumbed to the passing wave, and probably the Gahrwar chief—the debator and defendant of the British Government and proprietor of the surrounding *pergunnah*—would have stepped in upon the ruins of British authority.

Twice did the authority narrowly tremble in the balance and was preserved only by the stout heart, the large charity and the personal popularity and perseverance of my predecessor Mr. H. G. Tucker.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH JOINED BY HAZARIBAGH REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from Shah Kubeer-ood-deen Ahmed (Shah Kabiruddin Ahmad) to the Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated Sasaram, August 15, 1857.

I have the honor to report you, that Baboo Koer Sing, with his family, and 2,000 mutinous sepoys, were arrived at Sasseram yesterday; but as I had not ammunition and forces with me, I was unable to thrash them, and they marched towards the hills, when 150 sepoys from Hazareebaugh joined them, and burnt Captain Dickens' bungalow and property, and plundered the *thannah*; but I regret for the bungalow and property of Captain Dickens, because I send it so long, and the muskets I took from the sepoys on the 7th instant, and delivered to *darogah*, been plundered by the sepoys.*[2]

KUNWAR SINGH AT AKHERPUR

Telegraphic Message from the Deputy Superintendent, Electric Telegraph, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Shergotty (Sherghati) August 20, 1857.

I left Mr. Costley's camp at Mohena, yesterday morning; from Benares up to this place, all was perfectly quiet; the

[1] Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 51 in No. 4, p. 425.

* The sentence is confusing.

Police were on the road, and the *dak* horses in the *chowkees*; but from a little below Janabad to the Soane things are not quite so well, no Police present, and some of the *chowkees* are without horses; the *dak* from Calcutta passed me yesterday, drawn by bullocks. Yesterday Koer Sing was at Akherpore, close to Rotasgurh; Umer Sing (Amar Singh), however, was living in the hills flanking the Grand Trunk Road to Sasserram, and it is his presence there that creates all the insecurity that now exists. He sends out emissaries to places on the road daily for information, and his people threaten and cajole all that are in the Government service, or that are peaceably disposed. Mr. Costley has with him in his camp an indigo planter of the district, Mr. Catani, with a very irregular Company of about 180 men, badly armed, and little better than a village mob. Mr. Costley, therefore, does not feel safe in advancing further until some better protection is obtained from the eastward. Colonel Gordon positively refuses to strengthen the party from Benares.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH'S MARCH THROUGH MIRZAPUR

Letter from the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated October 3, 1857.

Narrative of Events in the Central Provinces.

14*th*—*Mirzapore*—In the Mirzapore district all remained quiet south of the Ganges till the Dinapore mutineers passed through the southern *pergunnahs*, plundering as they went. An expedition was made against them from Mirzapore on the 19th and 20th August, but it was recalled without having effected any sensible result. This portion of the district has been plundered and harassed by the march through it of Koour Singh, and the insurgents and mutineers with him.

REINFORCEMENT OF THE BRITISH FORCE

15*th*—North of the Ganges, the country near Gopeegunge is still unsettled. A small body of Seikhs (Sikhs) and remnants of the 37th Native Infantry is stationed there, and

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 114 in No. 2, p. 106.

an expedition was made by them to endeavour to seize the murderer of Mr. Moore, who still hangs about the vicinity, but it was ineffectual. Mr. Mayne, lately Magistrate of Banda, has been deputed to Gopeegunge, to take special charge of these disturbed *pergunnahs* of Mirzapore and Allahabad. The Lieutenant-Governor purposes, if he can obtain two guns, without which it would be difficult to ask a small body of Goorkhas to maintain a position open to the incursions of Oude insurgents provided with artillery, to ask Colonel Pahlwan Singh to place a detachment of the Jounpore force at Phoolpore, a place about half way between Jounpore and Allahabad. If this can be effected, these *pergunnahs* will be recovered and restored to order, and the communication by the Grand Trunk Road, now threatened, will be secured.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT ROHTASGARH

Telegraphic Message from Lieutenant Stanton to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Sherghotty (Sherghati), August 22, 1857.

Messenger just returned reports Kooer Sing at Rhotas (Rohtasgarh) on 20th, with upwards of 1,000 men, four elephants, fourteen camels, a lot of horses, but no ammunition. Ummer Sing in hills, fourteen miles from Dehree with a good many men, Bhojpore pensioners[2] and his adherents constitute Kooer Sing's force. Nishan Sing and several other *zemindars* are with him; they propose moving towards Rewah.[3]

SHEORAJPUR PLUNDERED

Telegraphic Message No. 343 *from Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien Commanding at Allahabad, to the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta, 28th August* 1857.

The Dinapore mutineers having crossed the Tonse have proceeded westward. They yesterday plundered a town called Seurajpore about 30 miles southwest of this.

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

[2] '*Sic*' in Original.

[3] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 131 in No. 2, p. 111.

These are the men whose progress I have before reported. They now give out that they are going to Delhi.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH'S ACTIVITIES AS REPORTED BY WALKER

Diary of events from 28th August to 28th September 1857.

MARCH OF KUNWAR SINGH TOWARDS RAMGARH

August 28—The *Jamadar* of Pannugunge in Bijeigurh in his petition dated 24th instant wrote me to say that Babu Koour Singh's advance guard arrived at Ramgurh on the 24th and that the main body would follow up next morning. The *Tehseeldar* of Robertsgunge reported that Koour Singh made a most diligent search for all Government servants.

August 29—Koour Singh arrived at Ramgurh but this was not reported as the Police establishment had fled into the jungles for their lives.

August 30—The *Jamadar* of Khairwa in his petition dated 15th August reported that since the rebels had left that place everything was quiet as before.

BARHAR CHANDELS ASSIST KUNWAR SINGH

August 31—The *Tehseeldar* of Robertsgunge in his petition dated 25th August wrote in to say that all the Chundales of Burhur had done their best to assist Babu Koour Singh and that some of them had availed themselves of the opportunity to begin plundering, that the rebels stayed one day at Robertsgunge and then went on to Shagunge where the Ranees of Burhur had been also compelled to assist them and the *Thanadar* of Ahrora in his petition dated 30th August reported that he was informed that some sepoys had made their appearance at a village called Baradeha, *pergunah* Ahrora[2], that he imme-

[1] (Original) Military Consultations, A, No. 394, 4th Sept. 1877. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ahraura*. Pargana, Tahsil *Chunar*, District *Mirzapur*—The pargana of Ahraura is the south-eastern pargana of the Chunar tahsil, and is bounded on the north by pargana Bhuili, on the west by pargana Bhagwat, on the east by pargana Kera-Mangraur in the Family Domains, and on the south and south-west by pargana Barhar. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 260).

diately went out there and found them all cooking, but that before he could get quite up to them they decamped.

September 1st—The *Thanadar* of Bindhachal in his petition dated 31st August reported that some sepoys with one commissioned officer mounted on horseback passed through Koshee .....(Mss. torn) proceeding due south.

GHORAWAL PLUNDERED

The *Jamadar* of the matchlockmen reported that the mutineers under Koour Singh arrived at Ghorawul on the 29th and plundered the place; but that after they had left they succeeded in capturing 2 sepoys and 2 horses laden with spoil after an engagement with 5 sepoys, that when they returned to the *choukee* they found that the noise of the firing had brought 50 more sepoys to the rescue of those they had seized and that they then retreated in the jungle with their party, but were followed up by them; on being hard pressed by the enemy they fired at them and were fired at in return and that after the firing had been maintained for a length of time both sides discontinued firing.

RECORDS AT ROBERTSGANJ DESTROYED

September 2nd—Banwarilal *Mohurrir* of Robertsgunge *tehseeldari* reported that the enemy encamped at Robertsgunge on the 26th and burnt all the records, out-offices, doors etc. and that his 2 sepoys were lying sick in the bazar. They were ordered to send them immediately and received 30 rupees as rewards. The *Jamadar* of Ghorawul in his petition dated 1st September wrote in to say that Babu Koour Singh evacuated Ghorawul on the August 30th.

September 3rd—And encamped at Sirsaen.

ENCAMPMENT NEAR HALIA

September 4th—Nothing important. The *Thanadar* of Lalgunge reported that Koour Singh was encamped at a village 4 miles west of Hullia and was on the look-out for all Government servants and the *Thanadar* and *Tehseeldar* of Robertsgunge wrote that they could not return to Robertsgunge as Koour Singh had issued strict orders to his friends in the regiment that

no representative of the Government should be allowed to take up his abode or exercise his authority in those parts again and that search was to be made for the *Kanungo* who was to arrange about the payment of Revenue to them, and the *Thanadar* of Agoree reported that the mutineers that went via Khairwa had burnt Mr. Burke, the coal superintendent's house and some coal.

September 5th—Nothing important.

KUNWAR SINGH'S NEPHEW EXPECTED FROM EAST

September 6th –A report received today from the *Thanadar* of Lalgunge that the rebels under Koour Singh had recrossed the Beylun (Belan) river and encamped at Barondha 5 miles southwest of Lalgunge and were plundering in every direction. The *Thanadar* of Robertsgunge has sent in two sepoys belonging to the 8th N. I. who as they were sick had been left behind; they have been made over to the Military Authorities. The *Thanadar* of Robertsgunge communicates the rumour that Koour Singh's nephew with another band of rebels is expected from eastward.

The *Jamadar* of Khairwa near the Singraulee coal mines reports in his petition of the 20th August that on hearing of the advance of a party of mutineers from Dudhi, he had done his best to destroy the boats on the Rihund river but that the passage had been effected by the sepoys during the 18th, 19th and 20th day of August. On the 21st August the mutineers encamped at Khairwa and on the 22nd destroyed a large quantity of coal and burnt and destroyed the property found at the mines.

September 7th—Mr. P. Walker with his usual zeal for the public service volunteered to ride over to Lalgunge and ascertained exactly the position of the enemy and if possible their intentions. On reaching Bhagwan Talau he found that the Police and sowars had retreated from Lalgunge on that place, but were returning to Lalgunge. He proceeded with them within two miles of the *thana* and after ascertaining from the *Choukeedars* whom they met that the rebels had before dawn departed from Barondha and proceeded in a north-westerly direction, returned to Mirzapur with the news.

PLUNDER AT DUDHI

The *Mohurrir* of the Agoree *thana* in his petition of the

23rd August reports that a body of mutineers amounting to about 400 men had reached Doodhee on the 14th instant, had plundered the Police and *Sezawal's* office and the bazar and had proceeded in the direction of Khairwa. The *Duffadar* of sowars at Lalgunge was directed this day to assist in bringing in the Jubulpore mails as some of the post horses had been plundered. Orders were issued to the *Cotwals*, and *Thanadars* requiring from them information regarding the quantities of sulphur and saltpetre within the limits of the district and probabilities of the export of either to the northward, westward or southward without licence.

KUNWAR SINGH AT RUDARI-MAUDA

September 8th—The *Thanadar* of Lalgunge in his report of yesterday's date states that.....(Mss. torn) Koour Singh had encamped at Roodai[1] about six miles south of Mauda[2]. He has sent in three camp followers with plunder of various kinds in their possession.

The *Jamadar* of Ghorawul reports on the 6th that all is quiet in the bazar, that the shopkeepers are returning to their houses and that confidence is gradually being restored.

September 9th—The *Thanadar* of Agoree in his petition of the 2nd September reports that all the 25 dacoits sent to the Agoree fort for secure confinement were safe. He reports that plunderers had been robbing on the district frontier near Doodhee.

The road to Rewah has been reopened and letters received from Nagpur, Jubulpore, Nagode and Rewah.

September 10th—Rumours of another body of mutineers coming from the east (Rohtasgurh).

ORAN AND BAGHI LAID WASTE

September 11th—Mr. Collis[3] news-writer from Nagode reports that the 1st body of mutineers had plundered Orun[4]

[1] Can be read as *Koodar* also.

[2] Can be read as *Manda* also.

[3] Not clearly decipherable.

[4] *Oran*, Tahsil *Badausa*, District *Banda*—A village lying in 25° 22′ N. and 80° 47′ E., distant 26 miles from Banda by an unmetalled road. The village lies almost in the centre of the district, and is connected by unmetalled roads with Banda and Atarra to the south, Kamasin to the north-east, Pahari to the east and Baberu to the north. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, 1909, p. 276).

and Baghi[1] on the 27th August and were expected in Bandah. The proclamation of the Special Commissioner of Benares regarding the enlistment of a body of low caste men has been ordered to be circulated. Mr. Chester telegraphs to me from Allahabad warning me that there is danger on the Jubulpore road. I have directed the District Post Master to detain the mails for those places till further orders.

September 12th—Mukhan Lal Superintendent of Police at Gopeegunge reports that quantity of grain belonging to Surnam Singh, one of Mr. Moore's murderers has recently been sold to their parties. He is directed to consider all transfers of the outlaws' property subsequent to the 5th July as null and void. Orders issued with the object of making me acquainted with all sales of sulphur and saltpetre. No mails from Rewah, Nagode, Jubulpore etc. have been received this day.

PLUNDERING IN BIJAIGARH

September 13th—No mails from the south. The Ranee of Bijeigurh informs me that a great deal of plundering is being committed in that *pergunah*. The Rajah of Manda informs me that Koour Singh and his followers have been plundering on their march.

A telegram from Calcutta for the Commissioner of Nagpur forwarded by express to the Commissioner of Jubulpore.

September 14th—The mails of the 9th to 12th from Rewah and of the 9th to 11th from Nagode were received early this morning but none from Jubulpore. The Police in the Lalgunge and Robertsgunge *thanas* report that Koour Singh's nephew with a body of rebels is said to be approaching from Rohtasgarh.

The *Thanadar* informs me in answer to my *perwanah* that Koour Singh after fording the Beylun at Roosehra encamped at Newary[2] with the rebel divisions on the 1st September.

[1] Apparently *Bagrehi*, Tahsil *Karwi*, District *Banda*—A small village lying in 25° 14′ N. and 81° 8′ E., close to the Ohan river where the unmetalled road from Karwi to Mau crosses it, at a distance of eleven miles from Karwi. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, 1909, p. 207).

[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).

On the 2nd September he re-entered Tappah Uprodh[1] in the district and encamped at Phoollaree and Tota. On the 3rd he is said to have encamped at Naon, 7 miles south of the Kuttra Pass; on the 4th at Bhaisound, on the 5th at Drummondgunge and on the 6th at Barondha as noticed in my diary of that date. The mails from Mirzapur for Jubulpore for the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th are detained in Mirzapur .....(illegible) pending the orders of Government.

September 15*th*—Phalad Singh *Duffadar* of sowars writing from Drummondgunge reports that a body of rebels are said to be at Peepra 25 miles S. E. of Drummondgunge and that many of the post horses on the road towards Mowgunge have been removed to the latter's place. The *Duffadar* is at..... (Mss. torn).

FLIGHT OF KUNWAR SINGH'S NEPHEW FROM ROHTASGARH

Koour Singh's nephew had left Rohtas on the 12th and encamped at a distance of 4 miles from that fort. The mails of Jubulpore etc. forwarded this evening.

September 16th—The Special Commissioner of Benares requests me to recall the proclamation for a body of low caste men. Barat Ram[2] Chowdree.....(Mss. torn) but requested to go to Nagode as they had but little communication. A Vernacular proceeding received from the Magistrate of Benares requests me to proclaim that no strangers would be allowed to enter that city during the 17th and 18th.

September 17*th*—All the Police reports.....(Mss. torn) the country north and south of the Soane is becoming tranquillized. Phalad Singh *Duffadar* of sowars reports that the Rewah road is safe.

September 18*th*—An eclipse of the sun. Quietness is maintained throughout the district.

September 19*th*—.....(Mss. torn) Nagode and of the arrival of the ladies from that place at Rewah. Preparations

[1] *Upraudh Tappa*, Pargana *Kantit*, Tahsil *Mirzapur*, District *Mirzapur*—Tappa Upraudh is the south-western tappa of the Mirzapur tahsil, and is bounded on the north by tappas Chhiyanve and Chaurasi; on the east by the last named tappa and pargana Barhar; on the south by the Rewah state; and on the west by the district of Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Mirzapur, 1911, p. 386).

[2] Not clearly decipherable.

were immediately made for escorting the ladies to Mirzapur. The peace of the district remains undisturbed.

FLIGHT OF KUNWAR SINGH

Tuesday September 22nd—The Collector and his subordinates returned from the Kutra Pass with the ladies and children—refugees from Nagode. A report of the 17th received from the *Mohurrir* of Ehrora that a body of sowars and others were crossing the Soane at Dehree Ghat and that Koour Singh was in communication with them, but that a force has been collected to oppose them.

Wednesday September 23rd—Mr. Elliott returned to Gopeegunge.

September 24th— A report of the 22nd was received from the *Mohurrir* of Ehrora that the sowars and other rebels had reached Sasseram, and another of the 23rd that they had reached Jehanabad. A wing of the 17th N. I. under the command of Major Barington and 2 guns arrived at Mirzapur and encamped in the cantonment.

September 25th—A report of the 23rd received from the *Tehseeldar* of Robertsgunge that 15000 men with guns had reached the *chowkee* of Sawun in Shahabad and again that they were encamped 8 *coss* east from Ehrora. Colonel Hinde from Rewah passed through on this road to Benares.

September 26th—A report of the 23rd received from the *Mohurrir* of Ehrora that on the previous day there was a report of firing of Artillery at Dehree and that the sowars and others with Umar Singh had fled to the hills. A letter of the *Mooqtyar* (*Mukhtiar*) of the Ranee of Bijeigurh sent in by the Police on the 23rd stating that fifteen thousand men with fourteen guns were in the neighbourhood of Sawun.

September 27th—No report except of all's well.

September 28th—250 men of the 50 N. I. arrived from Nagode under the command of Major Hampton and encamped on the north side of the river.[1]

[1] *Diary of P. Walker*, Deputy Collector, Mirzapur. Mirzapur Collectorate Mutiny Records.

KUNWAR SINGH AT KUDAR

Telegraphic Message from Lieutenant-Colonel Strachey to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Banaras, September 8, 1857.

The Magistrate of Mirzapore reports that Koor Sing and his followers were yesterday at Koodar, about six miles south of Munda and twenty-five west of Mirzapore.[1]

MARCHING TOWARDS MARA

Telegraphic Message from Lieutenant-Colonel Strachey to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Banaras, September 7, 1857.

The Magistrate of Mirzapore reported this morning the road to Rewah has been closed by Koer Sing and his adherents. At 11 A. M. he says, Koer Sing had left the road at Borwanda, six miles on the other side of Allygunge; it is believed that he is marching towards Mara.[2]

REWA RAJA UNFRIENDLY TO KUNWAR SINGH

Telegraphic Message from the Assistant, Telegraph Office, Shergotty (Sherghati) to the Deputy Superintendent, Calcutta, dated Shergotty (Sherghati), September 7, 1857.

The following is the substance of a message from Shah Kubeer Oodeen Ahmed (Kabir Uddin Ahmad), to the Secretary to Government of Bengal, and Mr. Beadon.

A bearer, who was with Koer Sing, arrived here today, and told me that when Koer Sing was eight miles from Rewah, the Rajah of Rewah wrote to him to leave his territory; if not, he would punish him. After hearing this, all the sepoys left him, and ran away towards the west. Koer Sing has with him now about 500 men.[3]

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 138 in No. 3, p. 197.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 36 in No. 4, p. 225.

[3] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 35 in No. 4, p. 225. And Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th October 1857, No. 182. National Archives, New Delhi.

REWA RAJA HELPLESS BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Extract of the letter from Lieutenant Clerk, 4th Madras Cavalry, to the Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur, dated Jubbulpore (Jabalpur), September 9, 1857.

I write to let you know that Koer Sing, with the Ramghur, and 600 of the Dinapore mutineers, his force consisting of 5,000 men, has come up the Kuttra Pass. The Rewah Rajah has requested Osborne to leave his country, as he considers himself unable to cope with the rebels. Koer Sing is a near relation of Rewah and though the latter has been hitherto our friend, no black face is to be trusted; we know nothing about their plans. Koer Sing may have come up the *ghauts* to avoid the European troops moving towards Cawnpore; he may have come to persuade the 31st, 50th, and 52nd to mutiny, and join him in plundering this part of the country; should the latter be (the) plan, we shall be all the better for the three Companies of the 33rd and 4th Light Cavalry. I am in hopes of hearing daily they have started. Erskine is at present near Saugor; the rebels have fled from the Dumoh district, and expect, when he hears the news from Rewah, he will move in this direction. I hope he may, and we shall be able to hold Jubbulpore. In Sohagpore, the *thakoors*, relations of the Rewah man, are up, and have turned our people out of the country. Here we have our own small troubles. A conspiracy has been formed by about thirteen *zemindars* in this neighbourhood, in concert with some (how many I know not) of the 52nd sepoys, they were to have attacked, murdered, and plundered us first, afterwards the city. The plot failed, as two of the most influential *thakoors* of the lot broke with the rest. They continue to meet and plan, but have not the pluck to come on. I have spies in their meeting-places, know the leaders and some of the sepoys who have joined them; but, unfortunately, and it is a humiliating confession for a British subject to make, am unable to arrest them : however, in a few days, when I hope to see some mandrajees[1], shall be down upon them.

The Column has been distinguishing itself by capturing empty villages; the Bundelahs bolt when they hear of their approach.

[1] Perhaps 'Madrasis' is intended here.

BRITISHERS APPREHENSIVE OF AN ATTACK

I think Erskine would have written to Mr. Plowden had he been here : as he is not, I write to you about the Cavalry and three Companies of Infantry coming up. I know there is mischief brewing; but how near or far off the danger may be, it is impossible to say. I hear the attack is planned for the Dusserah about the end of the month, by which time I hope the 4th, and remainder of 33rd, will be here, if possible.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH TOWARDS REWA

Extract from a letter from Major Gordon, Executive Engineer, Jubbulpore (Jabalpur) Division, dated September 9, 1857.

The Mirzapore road is for the present effectually barred, and likely to remain so for some time. I mentioned yesterday a report that Koer Sing was coming towards Rewah; last evening Sleeman received a letter from Osborne saying that Koer Sing, with 5000 men, the Ramghur battalion, and some 600 Dinapore mutineers had ascended the *ghaut*, and were in the Rewah territory, and that the Rajah's people were fraternizing with the rebels. The Rajah had intimated to Osborne that he had better leave the country, as he could not protect him; but Osborne says he did not intend to leave until he saw more clearly what was likely to occur; if obliged to leave, he said he would make the best of his way to the Kamptee Column camp. Osborne's letter was forwarded by express, to Erskine last night; what he will do is doubtful. I have no doubt the 50th, at Nagode, and 52nd, here, will now go. The Kamptee Column is scattered at present; a portion hunting up some petty villages, some at Dumoh, and large party escorting 70,000 rupees towards Saugor; but they were only to accompany it for thirty or forty miles clear of the jungle. If Erskine moves upon Saugor, and abandons this place to its fate, the troops here should be ordered to join the Column, for it will be impossible to hold this place with its present garrison, if Koer Sing should come against it. If the

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 12 in No. 5, p. 259.

Kamptee Column returns sharp, and it is reinforced immediately by the Company of the 33rd from Seonee, and the Cavalry from Kamptee, I think it might hold this place against any force Koer Sing is likely to bring against it; but if he brings heavy guns (18-pounders) from Rewah I think it would go hard with the Column : our men alone can be counted upon. If the enemy are active and intend coming down the Great Deccan Road, it would be loss of time for the Madras Column to attempt to intercept them by crossing of Jockei; the rebels would be on this side of it before the Column could possibly get there. A few days ago Koer Sing, with guns, in one day crossed two rivers, aud marched thirty miles, and that over a country where there was no road; having now the Great Deccan to march along, they might be here in seven or eight days; so unless the Seonee Company marches up sharp it would never be able to cross the Nerbuddah (Narmada). You may imagine we are looking out anxiously for further news from Osborne, and also to know what Erskine will do : very few of the Rajah's troops are at Rewah. I told you the greater portion, under Colonel Hinde, had gone after the Dinapore mutineers. Hinde and the other officers are in a bad way, I should say. The Sohajpore (Sohagpur) Division of the Mundlah district is in open revolt, and all our native officials fled. The Sohajpore family are intimately connected with the Rewah one. Ramghur (Ramgarh), a second division of Mundlah, will, without doubt, follow Sohajpore, and then Mundlah will go, and, I dare say, will be followed by Seonee.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH ENTERS REWA

Telegraphic Message from Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Allahabad, September 10, 1857.

Intelligence has arrived that Koer Sing has got into Rewah by the Heulta Pass, through the treachery of one Hushmut Alli (Hashmat Ali), and other servants of the Rewah Rajah. The Rajah himself is supposed to be faithful to our interests. Lieutenant Osborne, the Political Agent at Rewah,

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 13 in No. 5, pp. 259-260.

has gone off towards Domoh (Damoh), to try and bring up the Kamptee force in time to save Nagode and Jubbulpore. This misfortune in Rewah will seriously complicate matters. The country north of the Ganges, near Allahabad, still continues disturbed; and the Oude Chieftains, as has been frequently reported, continue their opposition against the Civil Authorities. I have not a man to spare against these people. Captain Guise, with 84 men of Her Majesty's 90th, will leave Benares for this to-day.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, Banaras, dated September 10, 1857.

The following telegram has just been received from Mr. Chester, Allahabad :-

"Koer Singh, with a large force of mutineers, has gone into the Rewah country, and the Hattes Ghaut : Hushmut Allie (Hashmat Ali), Hurchund Raj, and other traitors, managed this. The Rajah cannot longer protect Obsorne, and he retired to Dumoh. The Rajah and his *zenana* go to Bundogur[2]. Nagode and Jubbulpore must be considered in danger; treasure sent from this towards Rewah was recalled some days after, and is safe here."

With reference to this bad news, it seems to me to be for consideration, whether the earliest effort should not be taken to recover the Rajah's authority in Rewah, and to meet the results of a possible untoward event at Jubbulpore and Nagode. The Nagpore Column is in that country. The Grand Trunk Road Column might march on arrival into Rewah; to this the other Madras regiments might be added, if a part of the Naval Brigade is stopped at Benares, where

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 49 in N0. 4, pp. 228-229.

[2] Apparently spelt for *Bandhogarh. Bandhogarh*, Tahsil *Ramnagar*, Old *Rewah State* —The old capital situated 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 a part of the fort. (*Rewah State Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, 1907, p. 90).

Raj Ghaut is now impregnable. Major Cotter's Madras Field Battery might be added to the Rewah force, and if the reinforcements now arriving by bullock-train are intended to stop at Allahabad, perhaps in time 100 men might be added from that force. Of the four regiments of Goorkhas at Jaunpore two might be moved to some place near Allahabad. Goruckpore, I think, must not be thought of now from this side. *Shall I write to the Rajah of Rewah encouraging him to stand firm, and promise early assistance* ?[1]

* * *

Extract of letter from Lieutenant Clerk, 4th Madras Cavalry, to the Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur, dated Jubbulpore (Jabalpur), September 11, 1857.

Koer Sing's party met with a cold reception from the people of the country and have gone down the *ghauts* again. It is not likely that they will come back this way.

When are the 4th Light Cavalry to leave Kamptee ? All well here.[2]

* * *

Extract from Narrative of Events, dated September 12, 1857.

8th Koer Sing and his brother Ummer Sing (Amar Singh) were said to be still in the vicinity of Rhotas (Rohtasgarh) and Sasseram. The former, however, was believed to have proceeded towards Rewah, and *to have opened communications with the Goruckpore rebels.* He was also said to have quarrelled with his brother, accusing the latter of being the cause of the disastrous defeat at Jugdispore. The force of Koer Sing was conjectured to consist of the greater part of the mutineers of the 40th Native Infantry, who were natives of Shahabad, and of a rabble of retainers 2,000 or 3,000 in number.

9th—The sepoys were laden with plunder, and mounted on ponies stolen in their predatory march.

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies,* Inclosure 50 in No. 4, p. 229.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies,* 1857, Inclosure 14 in No. 5, p. 260.

10*th*—Ummer Sing's (Amar Singh) force was believed to be small, and to have under its charge the females of the family.[1]

* * *

Letter from the Commissioner of Nagpur to the Deputy Commissioner, Jubbulpore (Jabalpur), dated Seetabuldee (Sitabaldi), September 20, 1857.

I received yours of the 18th by express last night, and another letter from Major Sleeman on the same subject, dated the 16th, also by express, at 3 A. M. (*sic*,) this morning. This latter letter, at the rate yours travelled, should have reached me early on the night of the 17th. A detachment of the 26th Madras Native Infantry left Kamptee on Wednesday morning, the 16th, for Seonee, to relieve the Company of the 33rd Regiment now there, in order that the latter, with details of the same regiment, which accompanied the 26th, might proceed at once to Jubbulpore, *en route* to join the moveable Column. The number of Infantry thus on its way to Jubbulpore amounts, with the details consisting of furlough-expired men, etc., to about 100 men. The remaining two squadrons of the 4th Cavalry leave for Jubbulpore to-morrow morning, the 21st. They might, by great exertion, have started on Friday morning, the 18th, as I had settled with the Brigadier on the 12th, on receipt, on that day, of letters announcing the discovery of a conspiracy there, and that Koer Sing, with a force consisting of about 5,000 men, had crossed the Kuttra Pass into the Rewah territory; but as, on the 14th, counter-news was received to the effect that half the moveable Column had arrived at Jubbulpore, so providing for its safety from the conspirators, and that Koer Sing, having met with a cold reception in Rewah, has descended the *ghauts* again, I complied with the Colonel's request to postpone the march of the Cavalry until the 21st, so as to give him the chance of getting off in less inclement weather than prevailed then, and of fording the river in place of having to cross it while it was deep and rapid. I fear, however, that nothing will be gained by the delay in these respects, as the weather is still very unfavourable. Colonel

[1] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 1 in No. 6, p. 59.

Cumberlege will, I have no doubt, push on with all practicable expedition. On the 1st instant, the day after the termination of the Mohurrum, I arranged with the Brigadier to relieve the two Companies of the 33rd at Baitool by a similar detachment of the 26th, in order to enable the former to join the moveable Column; but intelligence, received from Raeepore[1] on the evening of the 6th, compelled me to delay the departure of both detachments of the 26th, which were about to march the next morning for the relief of the detachments of the 33rd at Baitool and Sconee respectively until I could hear further from Raeepore.

The news since received does not admit of my relieving the Baitool detachment from Kamptee at present, but I shall do so as soon as I can.

I am wholly unable to spare more troops at present for service in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. We are very weak in Madras Infantry and in Europeans, and I could not have spared the remaining two squadrons of the 4th Cavalry if the 6th Cavalry had not been pushed up from Jaulna, in compliance with my suggestion.

It appears to me that Major Orr's whole force of the Hyderabad Contingent at Edlabad should at once move forward for service in Central India, in cooperation with the Bombay Column at Mhow, and the Madras Column in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. A splendid force of three Columns, would thus be united for service in Central India, above the line of the Nerbudda; Major Orr's Field Force consists of 400 Cavalry, 1,300 Infantry, 12 guns, and 2 mortars. I am about to write to him and the Resident at Hyderabad, suggesting this service, today.

I have been doing all I can to get troops moved up from wherever, in the south, they can possibly be spared, and Major Erskine may depend upon my reinforcing the Kamptee Column as fast as any arrive, and upon my not keeping a man more here than is absolutely necessary.

If the mutineers who threaten Nagode should march on Jubbulpore, I conclude Major Erskine will immediately fall back from Dumoh and concentrate the Kamptee Column there. I have no expectation whatever that the 50th, at

[1] Probably spelt for *Raipur*.

Nagode, will fight the mutineers. They will certainly coalesce with them, and so will the 52nd and the other Bengal regiments in your territories, if they should march on Jubbulpore. The Madras Column is the only force on which you can rely, and as the enemy have no guns it might, with judicious handling, enable Major Erskine to hold Jubbulpore against the mutineers. If not, he will have to fall back on Nagpore, I suppose. I trust, however, it may not come to this.

I shall be obliged to you to allow Major Sleeman to peruse this, as it answers his communication as well as yours.

I am anxious to hear how the executions of the Jubbulpore conspirators go off. The hanging of two or three of your rebellious chiefs, sharp, will have an excellent effect. The *zemindars* of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories seem to be a most rebellious lot, and I hope when we are stronger that the opportunity will be taken of confiscating the estate and incarcerating the person of every man of them who has taken advantage of our troubles to show his teeth.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events to September 24, 1857.

Rewah—Koer Sing, with his followers, attempted to get into the Rewah country; but the Rajah and people were opposed to him, and the preparation made by Lieutenant Osborne, in political employ with the Rajah, so alarmed the rebels that they dispersed and descended the *ghauts*, making for the west, and Koer Sing was said to have only about 500 men left. The Rajah had left his capital, it was supposed from fear; but Lieutenant Osborne was restoring order without him....[2]

KUNWAR SINGH WINS OVER REWA PEOPLE

The province of Behar has again been thrown into disquiet by the entrance into it of the mutineers of the 5th Irregular Cavalry and the defection of the Rewah people. The district

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 43 in No. 5, pp. 269-270.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 1 in No 4, p. 201; And, Original Military Consultations A, No. 410 of 25th September 1857. National Archives, New Delhi.

of Sarun is infested by the mutineers. Shahabad is kept agitated by Ummur (Amar) Singh, the brother of Cooar (Kunwar) Singh. The authorities are said to have again left Arrah. Cooar Singh has succeeded in gaining over the people of Rewah to his side, and they have defied the authority of their legitimate chief. Should all these rebels join in an attack upon either Dinapore or Patna, neither place could be maintained without much more aid than is immediately available. It is a fortunate circumstance that the mutineers of the 5th Irregular Cavalry are actuated, as it seems, by other purposes than to seat Cooar Singh on the throne of Behar. They are already crossing the Soane, and will most probably endeavour to join the forces of the Nanah above Allahabad. The Commander-in-Chief, it is stated, has resolved to send a regular force of five thousand men to clear the province of the rebels.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH LEAVES MIRZAPUR

Narrative of Events in the Central Provinces, dated September 26, 1857.

Mirzapore —On the report of the passage of the Soane by the 5th Irregular Cavalry, and the mutiny of the 50th and 52nd Regiments of Native Infantry, it was considered prudent to send the portion of the Madras Regiment that had lately arrived at Benares with two guns to Mirzapore to protect that city from possible attack. The detachment marched from Benares on the 21st. Since Koer Sing left this district, as mentioned in last week's Narrative, it has been perfectly quiet....[2]

KUNWAR SINGH AT BANDA

Extracts from letter No. 496, *of* 1858, *from F. O. Mayne, Magistrate of Banda, to E. C. Bayley, Offg. Commissioner for the* 4*th Division, dated* 10*th Nov.* 1858.

ARRIVAL OF KOER (KUNWAR) SINGH AT BANDA

23*rd*—On the 29th September Koer Singh with 2000 men, including the 40th Native Infantry, reached Banda,

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 24th Sept. 1857, p. 307. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure in No. 9, p. 87.

and were received with great honor and hospitality by the Nawab. The people of the town were again called upon to supply the Nawab's wants; and if any one refused to pay, his house was levelled to the ground and himself tortured and imprisoned. A great many people left Banda. One *Soubadar* of the 50th Native Infantry, a well educated man, who could read and write English, by name Sheololl Tewaree (Shiv Lal Tewari) was most bitter in his animosity to any thing English. Other detachments of mutinous corps continued to arrive at Banda, and also armed men called from Oude.

BATTLE OF NIMNEEPAR, AND CAPTURE AND SUBSEQUENT BRUTAL MURDER OF THE ADJYGURH (AJAIGARH) CHIEFTAIN

24*th*—The mutineers endeavoured to effect a compromise between the Nawab and the Adjygurh (Ajaigarh) Chief, on the ground that there should be no internal strife until their common enemy the English had been entirely destroyed, but Dhowa of Adjygurh would not be persuaded; and on the 8th of October the forces of the Nawab and the mutineers made a joint attack on the Adjygurh fortress at Nimneepar. The Adjygurh matchlockmen bravely defended themselves against the superior and trained forces of their adversaries; but on the third day, owing to a lack of provisions and ammunition and want of water, they were compelled to surrender, and the three Chiefs were imprisoned in the Nawab's palace, until the day of his defeat by the British on the 9th April 1858, when they were cruelly murdered in their prison, and their mutilated corpse left for our edification. The fortress and buildings in Nimneepar belonging to the Adjygurh and Gowriar Chiefs have since been completely destroyed by the Nawab.

ARRIVAL OF THE 5TH IRREGULAR CAVALRY AT BANDA, THEIR BAD CONDUCT

25*th*—On the 15th October the 5th Irregular Cavalry, upwards of 500 strong, reached Banda from Bhauglepoor (Bhagalpur) and proved to be far worse than any of the regiments which preceded them. It was they who caused all the subsequent mischief and destruction at Banda.

DEPARTURE OF KOER (KUNWAR) SINGH

26*th*—On the 18th October Koer Singh and his men went away towards Calpee, and on the 25th the 7th and 8th Native Infantry and other mutineers with three guns marched for Chilla Tara. The latter were afterwards met by our troops, and defeated at Kudjooa in the Futtypoor (Fatehpur) district.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH'S FOLLOWERS AT BANDA

Narrative of Events in the Central Provinces, dated October 3, 1857.

Rewah - The affairs of Rewah, although the Lieutenant-Governor is not in official relations with this state, may be alluded to, as the Rewah country lies between the Central Gangetic Provinces and the Saugor and Nerbudda territory. This State has become very unsettled since the march of the last body of the Dinapore mutineers through the Mirzapore district. Koer Sing, at the head of a party of rebels, *actually entered the Rewah territory, with the connivance of a party in the Rewah State hostile to British interests.* Not meeting with the encouragement they expected from the people of the country, these invaders retired almost as soon as they had crossed the frontier, and the whole body of Koer Sing's followers is now at Banda. The mutineers at Nagode and Jubbulpore have tended to keep up the excitement in the Rewah State, and Captain Osborne is in a precarious position at that Court.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events in the Central Provinces, dated October 3, 1857.

Banda and Hummeerpore—These districts are as last reported. A large body of mutineers and insurgents is collected at Banda. These comprise the remnant of the Dinapore

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Banda*, 1857-58; paras 23 to 26, p. 7.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 2 in No. 10, p. 260.

regiments, and the 50th Native Infantry from Nagode, with Koer Sing and his adherents. The accounts of them are very uncertain. The Dinapore men are estimated at 1,800....[1]

KUNWAR SINGH OFFERS HIS SERVICES TO NANA

Extract from the Narrative of Events in the Central Provinces.

3rd Para—Information has just been received that Koer Sing and his party, who had been for some time threatening Mirzapore, after entering Rewah, and being obliged immediately to leave it, and after having crossed the Tonse, were taking the same route, and were on the march through *pergunnah* Bara towards Banda. There is a report, which is worthy of credit, that he has announced his intention to be, to offer his services to the Nena (Nana), and if they are not accepted by him, to proceed to Delhi....[2]

KUNWAR SINGH INVITED BY NANA TO JOIN IN THE ATTACK ON KANPUR

8th OCT. 1857

Telegraphic Message No. 285 from Major R. R. W. Ellis, Political Assistant for Bundelkhand and Rewah to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, Calcutta, dated fort Kalinjar, 8th October 1857, *via Mirzapur.*

The Maharajah of Punna[3] accompanied by Major Ellis and Lieutenant Remington arrived here from Punna yesterday with about one thousand Punna troops and 500 from Chitterpore[4]. The mutineers about 4000 with Koer Sing of Jugdespore are still at Banda. The Nana Sahib it

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure in No. 10, p. 258.

[2] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure in No. 8, p. 84.

[3] *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′. (*Eastern States*—Bundelkhand—*Gazetteer*, Vol. VI A, 1907, p. 163).

[4] Apparently spelt for 'Chhatarpur'.
Chhatarpur was one of the principal sanad States in the *Bundelkhand*

is said has written to them asking them to join him in an attack on Cawnpore; they are said to be most anxious to effect their escape.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH HEADING TOWARDS KALPI

Letter from the Commissioner of Allahabad to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Allahabad, October 27, 1857.

At Sherer's request, I forward the inclosed letters for the Governor General. Colonel Hope Grant's Column should be at Cawnpore to-day, it was urgently required. The Gwalior Contingent has moved and will probably come to Cawnpore, or would have done so, at all events, if Colonel Grant had not made his appearance. The Contingent is a formidable body, unbroken as yet, well equipped, and numerous, with field guns, and a second class siege train. Koer Sing with his body guard, the 40th Native Infantry, have left Banda, and are pointing towards Calpee (Kalpi). The rest of the Banda mutineers, viz. 7th, 8th, 50th, and part of the 52nd Regiments Native Infantry, and 5th India Cavalry have their advanced guard at Chilla Tara Ghaut, half way between Banda and Futtehpore. None have yet crossed the Jumna, and the main body is still at Banda, I believe. This body and the Gwalior Contingent might make a formidable combination, if they had an intelligent head.

However, please God, we shall soon be in strength to meet these villains on something like equal terms.[2]

KUNWAR SINGH AT KALPI

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

7*th*—The mutineers of the Gwalior Contingent, accom-

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. (*Eastern States*—Bundelkhand—*Gazetteer*, Vol. VI A, 1907, p. 309).

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th Oct. 1857, No. 204. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 2 in No. 8, pp. 121-22.

panied by Tanteea (Tatya) Topee, the active emissary of the Bithoor Nana, arrived at Jaloun on or about the 29th October last. Both Kesho Rao, and Taee Baee, grand-daughter of a former Chief of Jaloun, 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 up 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.

8*th*—Previous to the arrival of the Gwalior mutineers at Jaloun, Kooer Singh of Jugdeespore, and the 40th Native Infantry came to Calpee(Kalpi)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.[1]

FLIGHT TOWARDS GWALIOR

News dated Saturday, the 7th November 1857.

The mutineers under Cooar Sing (Kunwar Singh) are said to have been defeated by some of the *zemindars* in the Banda district, and the rebel chief himself is stated to have fled to Gwalior.[2]

SARAN INFESTED WITH KUNWAR SINGH'S MEN

News dated Thursday, the 3rd December 1857.

...The districts beyond Jaunpore are still in anarchy,

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Jaloun*, 1857-58; paras 7-8, p. 6.
[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, Nov. 12, 1857, p. 362. National Library, Calcutta.

Sarun[1] is supposed to be infested with rebels attached to Cooar Singh's (Kunwar Singh) interest.[2]

KUNWAR SINGH AT AYODHYA

Extract Paras 10 *to* 12 *of a letter No.* 53 *dated* 13*th February* 1858 *from the Commissioner of Gorakhpur to the Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, Allahabad.*

Para 10—Since the above was written the letter of our Gonda news-writer dated 12th or yesterday, has been received. He reports the arrival at Ajoodhya of Koer Sing with 2,000 men of whom 800 only are sepoys. He declares he saw him seated with Rajah Maun Singh in the latter's *shewala;* the Rajah of Nurhurpore, an absconded rebel of this district, was also with them. Rajah Maun Singh afterwards went down to the river and inspected the works that had been thrown up at the *Ghaut* to cover the passage; quantities of wood for planking the boats had been brought over. Much ammunition had also been stored.

Para 11—The news-writer's report is confirmed by the statements of several spies who have been to Ajoodhya and into the camp of the Rajah of Gonda, and the 14th and 15th are warningly given out as the days on which the crossing will take place, the strength of the insurgent forces is estimated at above 10,000 men.

Para 12—I shall not be surprised to hear of their crossing within the next three days. The conclusion of a religious

[1] *Saran District*—District in the *Patna* Division of *Bengal*, lying between 25° 39′ and 26° 39′ N. and 83° 54′ and 85° 54′ and 85° 12′ E., with an area of 2,674 square miles. The District is a wedge of alluvial soil, between the Ganges and the Gandak rivers, with its apex pointing south-eastwards towards Patna city. The Gandak separates it on the east from Muzaffarpur and Champaran, and on the south the Ganges forms the boundary dividing Saran from Patna and Shahabad. The western boundary marches with the Gandak, meets the Ganges opposite the head-quarters station of Chapra and forms the south-west boundary between Saran and Ballia District, while an irregular base-line drawn north-east from the Gogra to the Gandak constitutes the western boundary with Gorakhpur. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, 1908, pp. 84-85).

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, December 24, 1857, p. 411. National Library, Calcutta.

festival, and especially at a holy spot, is always held a propitious time for any great enterprise.[1]

ATRAULIA PLUNDERED BY KUNWAR SINGH

Narrative of Events for Azamgarh.

The advanced guard of the rebels under Kooer Sing plundered Atrowlia on the 20th. They were supported by Kooer Sing's main body, and by Gholam Husain with several guns. Colonel Milman with a weak Wing of H. M.'s 37th Regiment proposed marching on the 21st to meet them, and detained a portion of the 4th M. (Madras) Light Cavalry at Koelsa to assist him.[2]

KUNWAR SINGH'S REPORTED RETREAT FROM AZAMGARH

Telegraphic Message from the Commissioner of Banaras to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Banaras, April 12, 1858.

To-morrow being an auspicious day, Koer Sing is reported to retire from Azimghur. His proposed route is not known.

The steamer "Jumna" has reached Burhul.[3]

KUNWAR SINGH HOPES FOR HELP FROM BENI MADHO'S BROTHER

Message No. 233 *from Commissioner, Banaras, to Secretary to Government, Allahabad, dated* 14*th April* 1858.

The Fyzabad sepoys have all left Azimghur with 22 elephants and 2 Horse Artillery guns; they talk of going to Ghazeepore. Koer Sing still remains with his Bhojeepore

[1] Foreign Political Consultations (Supplement), 30th December 1859, Nos. 1673/74. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative(Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Azamgarh for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 9 in No. 13, p. 143.

(Bhojpur) men and is said to be very despondent. He hopes that Benemadahaw's (Beni Madho) brother Dylall name incomprehensible) will come to his support.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES' EXPECTED HALT AT JAUNPUR

Telegraphic Message from the Commissioner of Banaras to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General dated 15th April 1858.

Koer Sing has left Azimghur, and was expected to halt yesterday at Jugutpore, near Sugree Azimghur, on the road to Goruckpore. The 13th Regiment, with Walsh's guns and Cavalry were starting for Mhow, where they were to be joined by Major Carr's detachment from Birno[2]. Both Mhow and Birno are on the same road from Ghazeepore to Goruckpore. General Lugard was within seven miles of Azimgurh.[3]

MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE COMMISSIONER OF PATNA AGAINST THE APPREHENDED RETURN OF KUNWAR SINGH

Letter from the Commissioner of Patna to the Govt. in Calcutta on the 15th April 1858.

The information of Colonel Milman having abandoned his tents and baggage at Atrowlee (Atraulia) and retreated to Azimgarh and of his having shut himself up in an entrenchment at that place which was invested by the rebels under Kooer Singh was communicated by Mr. Davies, the Magistrate of Azimgurh (Azamgarh) to the Magistrate of Chuprah (Chhapra) and by Mr. Hamilton, the Opium Agent at Ghazeepore (Ghazipur), to the Brigadier and myself at much about the same time. The Ghazeepore (Ghazipur) authorities also conveyed intimation to those at Arrah for it was generally

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, No. 310. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Apparently *Birhon*, Pargana *Pachotar*, Tahsil *Ghazipur*, District *Ghazipur*—A village in the south-west of the pargana, situated in 25° 43′ N. and 83° 3′ E., on the metalled road to Azamgarh, two miles from the junction with the Gorakhpur road. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, p. 185).

[3] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 2 in No. 13, p. 141.

thought that Kooer Singh's object in advancing to Azimgurh was to make a march across the Doab and cross the Ganges into Shahabad district at or about Bullea (Ballia). Mr. Bird, the Magistrate of Goruckpore (Gorakhpur), also sent notice to the Joint Magistrate, Champaran, to look out and to have the *Ghauts* (*Ghats*) on the Gandak well guarded.

The force at our command in this Division at this time consists of some 600 (545 at Dinapore and 53[1] at Patna) men of H. M.'s 35th Foot with 2 guns stationed at Patna and Dinapore; of Captain Rattray's battalion which was distributed as follows viz., Headquarter with 300 men at Dehree and Sasaram, 250 men,[2] at Rohtas with 4 mountain guns, 75 men at Arrah, 25 at Chuprah and a few in hospital at Patna. 50 men of this corps are with Colonel Rowcroft at Goruckpore who expresses his inability to return them until he is reinforced; of 100 sailors under Lieutenant..... and 25 mounted European Police under Mr..... at Gaya. Of the 40 seamen under Lieutenant Batt with 5 guns in garrison at Buxar..... one under Mr. Lynd at Sewan making 250 men well advanced in their drill and one at Sasaram under Sergeant Nolan, just raised numbering 200. There had been 2 Companies of .... at Sasaram but these had been removed to Benares by order of the G. G. when Colonel Milman's retreat to Azimghur[3] was made known. 53 men of the R. C. Artillery are now I understand expected at Sasaram on the 7th and some units of H. M.'s regiments up country have also been detained there though I am not aware of their numbers. In addition to these we have the Bihar Station Guards under Captain Nation distributed in the stations of Gaya, Patna, Chuprah and Tirhoot--but they are universally distrusted and were a source rather of mischief than strength.

SHAHABAD MENACED BY KUNWAR SINGH'S ADVANCE

Considerable alarm prevailed both at Goruckpore and Chuprah and though little was said by the people at Arrah

[1] It should be '55' to make up the total of 600.

[2] "Blank spaces could not be deciphered in old records"—Note in K. K. Datta's book, p. 145.

[3] Spelt as '*Azimgurh*' '*Azimgarh*' and '*Azamgarh*' also in this document.

and the railway officers continued their work on the lines, there was much uneasiness among them also. It appeared to me that Shahabad was the district of the Division most seriously menaced by Kooer Singh's advance. For months his return was threatened by the evil doers and dreaded by the friends of order in that district, and it was well known that if he reappeared many Rajpoots and dismissed sepoys would join him and that great confusion would for a time be the inevitable result. The station of Arrah too is at some distance inland from the river. It is not easy to get away from it if the inhabitants arise, and for the same reason it is a difficult matter to relieve any small body which may be beleaguered there. The security of Arrah was therefore the first object to which I turned my attention.

To remove the officers to Buxar would have had a very bad effect and I wrote to Colonel Christie to know what assistance he could give in order to enable me to hold it. His answer was that he could spare 2 Companies and that they might be accompanied by the mountain train guns if I could find ponies for them but that he could not allow such a small detachment to go to Arrah unless they were supported by Captain Rattray's police battalion. I had previously written to Brigadier Michell, commanding in the south of Shahabad, requesting him to favour me with his views on the defence of the district and had stated my own opinion to be that the sepoys should be moved to the north to co-operate with the Europeans from Dinapore. Brigadier Michell's reply however was that he considered it of great importance that the Seikhs (Sikhs) should remain where they were, and that he could not presume to make any suggestions on the defence of the north of the district as it was not under him. I sent the letter to Brigadier Christie and the consequence was that 2 Companies which were in order to march on Wednesday were countermanded. I immediately made known this difficulty to Government by Telegraph and wrote to the Magistrate authorising him to fortify the Collector's *cutcherry* in case he might find it necessary at any time to take refuge in it; but desiring him on no account to do it if it could be avoided, but rather to retreat on Dinapore or Dehrie (Dehri) if he should be menaced by a superior force of the enemy. I received information from the Government that 100 sailors are on their way by bullock train to Shahabad and consulted the Brigadier at Sassaram as

I had been desired to do, as to the best mode of employing them. I suggested that unsupported as they were by guns they would be useless at Sassaram and that a portion of them might be employed in strengthening the garrison at Buxar while the remainder might man the mountain guns at Dinapore and to render these available for service with any detachment which Brigadier Christie might be able to send out. The reply of Brigadier Corfield which I received last night was that they would not be unsupported by guns as he expected 2 guns of the Royal Artillery on the 7th (?) and I conclude although he does not directly state how he proposes to employ the sailors, that he means to keep them at Sassaram.

A Telegraph received from Government yesterday however tells that the sailors will be at Dehrie on the 12th and are to march from that place to Arrah. I have informed Brigadier Christie of this and suggested that as his detachment will have the fortified *cutcherry* to hold on, if necessary, will be joined by the sailors in a few days and may reasonably hope to be supported ere long. Should Arrah be invaded by troops from Ghazeepore and Azamgarh he should send it over at once. Ponies, I informed at the same time, had been withdrawn from Lieutenant Dobbins (?). Guns are at Rohtas where the guns lay on pontoons and were not required and were at his disposal. I shall consider the answer to this proposal before I close this letter.

In addition to the endeavours which I have made to procure troops for the defence of the Shahabad district, I have desired the Magistrate to warn all the *zemindars*, *maliks*, that fugitive rebels from Oude might possibly endeavour to enter the district and that they should be held strictly responsible for watching the *Ghats* and roads opposing the rebels by any means in their power and giving correct intelligence to the Magistrate of anything that occurred thence. Those whose estates lay on parts of the district where the rebels were likely to enter were advised to send a return to the Magistrate of the number of man (men) they employed for the purpose; and those in whose estates Europeans resided or European property was established were warned that it was their duty to take care of the safety of both, and that they would be held answerable if they did not.

The Jamuna gunboat, which had returned from the Gogra *on account of the refusal of the European crew to serve any*

longer on that river, was ordered up to Buxar and the Commander was directed after communication with Lieutenant Batt and the authorities at Ghazeepore to come off Bhojpore (Bhojpur) and do his best to prevent the rebels from crossing the Ganges. The 5 Europeans on board the 'Patna' were also put on board the 'Jamuna' in order to render her more efficient. The boat had not even gone four and twenty hours when she returned, and Captain Williamson reported to me that the gunner of the 'Patna' had threatened him with personal violence, that the crew had become mutinous and had helped themselves to ... (?) until they became drunk and disorderly and that they had forced him to return to Dinapore. The Magistrate was sent to enquire into the affair and was of the opinion that the affair had been much exaggerated; but Captain Williamson and his chief officer declared they had been afraid of their lives. The European crew, whose term of service had expired, refused to serve any longer. There was no help for it but to send the crew to Calcutta in the 'Megna' and wait the arrival of the new crew, which it was understood was on its way to join the vessel.

At Chuprah considerable apprehension was expressed lest the rebels be tempted by the Hatwa Rajah's wealth and the 11 lacs of the Collector's treasury to make a rush in the district. I never felt any anxiety about Chuprah. No rebel of any rank (?) belongs to the district. I am certain the rebels will remain at Azimgurh while the beleaguered garrison hold out until they themselves are attacked and dispersed; and they were most likely in the latter case to fly in a corner between the Dinapore forces on the one hand and Colonel Rowcroft's on the other. They are obviously most likely either to make for Shahabad, the country of their leader Kooer Singh or for the north-west where for the time they would be safe in the crowd of the rebels. I authorised the Collector however to remove as much of the treasure as was necessary; furnishing him with a fair excuse for doing so, and have assured the residents that in the event of danger approaching them 'Patna' would be off the *Ghats* for their security. Troops I could not promise them for I had none, but on receiving an offer from the Lieutenant-Governor to send up the sailors and the guns from Purneah, I informed the Magistrate that they should be sent there; and authorised him to prepare a house for their reception and to fortify it roughly. The same orders were issued to the

zemindars as at Arrah. I propose if the Commander is ... without the European crew to send the 'Jamuna' down the river to bring the sailors from Purneah as quickly as possible. If Koour Singh lands in Arrah there cannot be a doubt that not only serious disturbances will occur in that district but that the hopes of all the disaffected in all the surrounding districts will be raised. I have, therefore, been unwilling to weaken Gaya by withdrawing any of the Europeans from that station although authorised to do so by telegram and indeed I think, if Arrah is invaded, that Gaya might be strengthened as soon as possible. The force there however is sufficient to hold its own.

I need hardly dwell on the importance of attacking and dispersing Koour Singh's force without loss of time. If it should gain a footing in Arrah every day's delay in doing this will add to the mischief which his presence creates, for it must be recollected that his *name is a watchword throughout Bihar, that he is looked up by the Rajpoots of Behar as the chief par excellence.* Yet as matters at present stand if he is to be at all attacked it must be by the troops which pursue him from Azimgurh or by others from North-West Provinces. Even if Brigadier Christie consents to send over 2 Companies of the 35th they will barely suffice for the defence of Arrah and so will be unable to take the field. While in the same way the Sikhs in the south are too weak to move without the support of the Europeans.

I have already stated my opinion in two different telegrams that Shahabad and the troops in the north and south of the district should be placed under one Brigadier and that where the field is so small and the number of available troops is so small, great evils are likely to result from a divided command. It has in fact already paralysed our action. No measures can be taken for preventing the enemy from occupying the north of the Shahabad district because the Brigadiers of the north and south districts have different views and neither have sufficient force to act with effect, without support from the other. It appears to me that under present circumstances the command in Shahabad north and south district should be vested in General Commanding at Dinapore. He is in close contact with the Civil Authorities not only of this Division but of Goruckpore and Azamghur; the danger is nearest to him and the chief European force in this quarter is under him. He is also in communication by Telegraph with the Govern-

ments both of Calcutta and N.W. P. The Brigadier at Sasaram on the other hand is quite out of way. I cannot get an answer from him under four days, he has little, except police corps under him and he would not hear of the invasion of Arrah in all probability until the enemy had got between Arrah and Sasaram. He is 60 miles from a Telegraph station. The north of the district is the portion that is threatened and it is there or in its vicinity that the officer to whom the defence of the district is entrusted should be stationed. I trust that the Lieutenant-Governor may agree with me in the view I have taken of the expediency of having one directing head at Arrah in the present moment and that he will press it upon the Governor General. I look upon this as of the greatest importance and I cannot regard without serious anxiety the prospect of invasion in a small district one half of which is under one commander and the other under another both with insufficient force.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH'S FLIGHT ACROSS GANGES

Letter from R. Davies, Officiating Magistrate of Azamgarh, to F. B. Gubbins, Commissioner of the 5th Division, Banaras, dated, Camp Sheopur, the 23rd April 1858.

I have the honor to report the progress of events from the arrival of Sir E. Lugard's force at Azimgurh to Koer Singh's (Kunwar Singh) flight across the Ganges.

RETREAT ON THE BARHAL ROAD

2*nd*—On the 16th instant Sir E. Lugard attacked the rebels' post at the bridge on the west side of the town. A slight resistance was made but in a very short time the whole rebel force was in full retreat on the Bhurul Road[2]. They were overtaken at Bhaughi Daur[3] by the Royal Horse Artillery

[1] K. K. Datta: *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh*, pp. 144-150.
Note:—Names of persons and places as quoted in this document have not been made uniform, but have been reproduced as given in this book by the author.

[2] Apparently spelt for *Barhal Road.*

[3] This has been spelt as "*Baghi Dour*" in another document.

and Cavalry of the force, and their 2 guns and one *Goordub* together with 120 carts taken from them. In this affair Mr. Venables was severely wounded, and the force being without a civil officer, I joined it at Sir E. Lugard's request. Koor Singh's fell back on Azimgurh—were (*sic*,), Nishan Singh with 2,000 men and 2 Horse Artillery guns had been for two days, having left Azimgurh on the night of 13th and 14th. During the 16th and 17th they were engaged in digging for treasure in Babuee[1] Pershad *Mahajan's* house and are said to have found 72,000 Rupees. They also burnt the *tuhseel* and the *thannah* records. On the night of the 17th they retired from a strong position they had occupied to the groves about Meghai[2] near the lower Ghosee road. On the morning of the 18th the rebels were found to have stayed at Meghai. They were attacked by the Brigadier and breaking into bodies retreated partly by the lower road and partly across country to Ghosee where after setting fire to the *tuhseel*, they went on to Bhurowlee 13 miles beyond. The Brigadier halted for the night at Ghosee having marched about 14 miles, besides fighting. It was ascertained that Indurjeet Singh of Nyneejoo taking 100 men with him had gone off towards Oudh. It does not appear that Purgun Singh even came beyond Azimgurh. On the 19th the Brigadier marched to Nugger 24 miles. The Horse Artillery and Cavalry were pushed on ahead; but nothing took place except some combats between the sowars of the picket on both sides. About the time of the arrival of the Infantry the rebels decamped after burning the *tuhseel*, and *thannahs*, and went to Molanpoor. On the 20th, the Brigadier marched to Quazeepoor[3] nearly 4 miles beyond Secunderpoor about 15 miles. In the night the rebels had gone to Muneeahur in the Ghazeepoor district having burned the *thannah* and an indigo factory at Secunderpoor. It is probable that the cause of their turning off to

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

[2] Can be read as *Nughai* also.

[3] *Qazipur*, Pargana *Sidhua Jobna*, Tahsil *Padrauna*, District *Gorakhpur*—An insignificant village of tappa Jhankaul in the south of the pargana, situated in 26° 41′ N. and 84° 4′ E., at a distance of 47 miles east from Gorakhpur and 16 miles south-east from Padrauna, at the crossing of the roads from Rampur to Tamkuhi and from Kasia to chapra. (*District Gazetteers*, Gorakhpur, 1909, p. 292).

Secunderpoor was the movement made by Colonel Cumberlege which threatened to cut them off Bulliah (Ballia); at and about Secunderpoor they made every possible search for boats, but they had either been sunk or burnt or taken down the river.

VILLAGERS HELP KUNWAR SINGH

At Muneeahur Koer Singh found himself amongst friends and the wants of his troops were voluntarily supplied by the villagers who are almost universally in his favour. Through their collusion, our spies were seized and detained and our information suspended. On the morning of the 21st the Brigadier found the rebels still at Muneeahur and took them by surprise. They abandoned one of their Horse Artillery guns with ammunition waggons etc. together with some elephants. They were dispersed in every direction, but during the afternoon and night appear to have reassembled to a great extent near Saintwar a place surrounded by very thick wood. Koer Singh must have been there by the evening and gone off early, and in this way a stream of fugitives in several small bodies all going by different routes advanced during the night to the river at Sheopoor Ghat as had been anticipated. On their way they burned the Reyotee *thannah* and the Byriah *thannah* and murdered the Reyotee *Thannahdar*. The Brigadier had the troops ready to march by 2 O'clock in the morning; but unfortunately an exaggerated report of the number of men made by the Cavalry picket at Saintwar, joined to the thick wood and the darkness, obliged him to postpone the march until day light. By that time all had left, but it is probable that up to 2 or 3 O'clock a body of about 500 men did remain in the wood and subsequently went off in parties leaving Bulliah on their left. Such a body has been reported by Colonel Cumberlege to have been on the 21st at Burragaon or "Cheet". The 2nd Horse Artillery gun was abandoned by the rebels at Saintwar, and some more elephants. The Brigadier pushed on the Horse Artillery and Cavalry to the Sheopoor Ghat, but on our arrival we had the mortification of seeing almost the whole of the rebels well across the Ganges and the boats which were supposed to have been withdrawn or scuttled and sunk lying on the opposite bank. I am enquiring into the circumstances and there seems every

probability that the Arrah Police, the *mullahs*[1], and *zemindar* (s) friendly to Koer Singh were all instrumental in deceiving the officers responsible for the withdrawal of the boats and in furnishing them to the rebels. The river is deep at this point and though some might have got off on elephants and by swimming without boats, the Brigadier must have come upon a very large body.

3*rd*—It is consolatory to think however that the sustained exertions of the force under Brigadier Douglas have not been without effect. To the energy with which he pushed on the pursuit in spite of the fatigue and exposure suffered particularly by the European Infantry, the Government owe the capture of the 2 Horse Artillery guns, the repeated defeat and discomfiture of the rebels, and the exhibition of Koer Singh and his troops flying for their lives, through a part of the country only too friendly to his rebellion.

HOSTILE ATTITUDE PERSISTS

4*th*—I have as yet no information of the rebels across the Ganges. It is highly probable however that they will for a short interval disperse to their homes to visit their relatives and dispose of their plunder. But afterwards it is to be expected that at least a portion of them will reappear in arms. The burning of the *tuhseels* and *thannahs* on the road together with the murder of one or two Government officials, and the search made for all, evince that there is a determination to persist in hostility to Government. These are not the acts of men anxious only to save their lives and quietly disperse. A rumour has reached me *that Ummur Singh* (*Amar Singh*) *is negotiating with the Santhals who have agreed to rise.* I have no means of testing the truth of this story, but that disturbances of some sort will arise is to be expected.

LOWER CLASSES FAVOUR KUNWAR SINGH

5*th*—It is therefore important that the victorious appearance of our troops such as has been presented in this district should be maintained. It is evident from the difference

[1] Spelt for 'Mallahs'—boatmen.

between the people here and in the Azimgurh district, from the difficulty in procuring supplies and information, from the aid gladly given to the rebels, and a sort of enthusiasm extending to the lower classes in Koer Singh's favor that had he not been sharply pursued he would have been joined in larger numbers. But beaten, hungry, dispirited, and dispersed, the appearance of his force shewed that his cause was a dangerous one.

6th—I most strongly recommend that a British force be at once sent into the Arrah districts and that the Police be strengthened as far as possible.[1]

BRITISHERS' PURSUIT OF KUNWAR SINGH

Letter from Brigadier-General E. Lugard, Commanding Azamgarh Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Mhow, 25th April 1858.

KUNWAR SINGH'S STRONG POSITION AT AZMATGARH

In my report of the 16th instant, I had the honor to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that in consequence of the rebels under Koer Sing having taken up a strong position at "Azimutgurh"[2] I had reinforced the pursuing Column, and placed the whole under the command of Brigadier Douglas, C. B.

2nd—This force then consisted of the details as per margin (given in foot note)* which, equipped as lightly as my

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 59. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Apparently *Azmatgarh*, Pargana and Tahsil *Sagri*, District *Azamgarh*—The large village of Azmatgarh lies in latitude 26° 9′ N. and 83° 19′ E., one and a half miles from the tahsil headquarters at Jianpur and the metalled provincial road from Azamgarh to Dohrighat. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 198).

*"3 guns E. troop Royal Horse Artillery.
4 guns Major Cotter's battery.
2 5½ inch mortars.
1 squadron Military train.
2 squadrons Seikh Cavalry.
1 Wing 37th Foot.
84th Regiment.
Detachment Punjaub Sappers." Marginal note in Original.

means permitted, I deemed quite sufficient to accomplish the object in view.

3*rd*—The remainder of the Field Force, including the heavy guns, park, etc. I retained under my immediate command in camp at Azimgurh, which place I considered it was necessary to hold strongly for the present, and to remain there myself, as a strong body of rebels under the Rajahs of Nuhurpoor and Naneejor[1] (who formed a portion of Koer Sing's force before Azimgurh) had gone in a northerly direction towards Oude; scattered portions also of Gholam Hossein's force, which I had dispersed at Tigra, were known to be near Sandah (perhaps Tanda); and other parties of rebels were reported to be collecting in the vicinity of Mundoree and Koelser (Koelsa , whilst Benares had been denuded of troops to assist in the operations against Koer Sing. Thus the central situation of Azimgurh enabled me to watch the proceedings of the rebels north of it, to cover Benares and Ghazeepore, and to direct and control the combined movements in pursuit of Koer Sing.

REVOLUTIONARIES ATTACKED AT AZMATGARH

4*th*—At daybreak on the 17th instant, Brigadier Douglas, in obedience to my instructions, attacked the rebels near Azimutgurh Azmatgarh , drove them from their position with much slaughter, and followed them to Ghosee whence they fled to Nugra, and thence to Secunderpore[2], closely pursued by the Brigadier.

5*th*—On reaching Secunderpore on the 19th, it was found that the rebels had proceeded but a few hours, with the intention of crossing the Gogra; as soon as he possibly could, the Brigadier followed, and at daybreak of the 20th instant came up with them at "Muneer Khass", and taking them by

[1] Spelt as *Nyneejoo* at page 445.

[2] *Sikandarpur*, Pargana *Sikandarpur East*, Tahsil *Bansdih*, District *Ballia*—The old town of Sikandarpur stands in the north-east corner of the pargana, in 26° 3′ N. and 84° 4′ E., at a distance of three miles south from the right bank of the Ghagra, fourteen miles from Bansdih, and 21 miles from the district headquarters. When the district of Ballia was formed in 1879, the old pargana of Sikandarpur, for many years a part of the Azamgarh district, was divided into two portions, of which the eastern and smaller was included in the new tahsil of Bansdih. (*District Gazetteers*, Ballia, 1907, pp. 252, 254).

surprise, killed and wounded a great many, captured a brass 9-pounder gun, complete with limber, horses, etc., two ammunition waggons, several elephants, horses and bullocks, with 20 carts laden with stores, harness, etc., and dispersed the main body, the bulk of which fled towards Bulliah (Ballia) and Beyreah.

6*th*—Nineteen elephants were separated from the rebel force during this attack, and making their way to Ghazeepore, were handed over to the Magistrate there by the native in charge.

7*th*—Colonel Cumberlege, who had been posted at Mhow to cover Ghazeepore and co-operate with the pursuing force (given in footnote)* was duly warned and directed to move towards Bulliah, and endeavour to intercept the fugitives.

KUNWAR SINGH HELPED ACROSS THE RIVER BY ADHERENTS

8*th*—No time was lost by Brigadier Douglas in renewing the pursuit, but on reaching Sheopore on the 21st, it was found that Koer Sing had effected the passage of the river in boats, which had been prepared by his adherents, and were in readiness for him. The 9-pounder brass gun which Koer Sing was known to have here fell into our hands, together with several elephants, and much ammunition.

9*th*—A party of rebels is reported to have crossed near Bulliah, but I have not yet learnt what steps were taken to intercept them by Colonel Cumberlege, who was placed there for that purpose.

10*th*—Having left a sufficient force in Azimgurh, I am now *en route* with provisions, to effect a junction with my scattered troops, who have been directed to meet me when I shall be in a position to operate as may be necessary against

*"2 guns 6-pounder.
2 battery guns.
50 men 2nd dragoon guards.
180 ,, 4th Madras Cavalry.
300 ,, Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry.
100 ,, 10th and 97th Foot.
100 ,, Madras Rifles."—Note in Original.

any bands of rebels, either of Koer Sing's force, who unable to cross, may still remain in the district, or against those to the northward of Azimgurh, who may again venture to collect in strength.

KUNWAR SINGH EVADES CAPTURE BY BRITISHERS

11*th*—I regret extremely that, after the very great exertions which have been made to capture Koer Sing, he should have evaded our pursuit; he returns however to his own district a fugitive, hunted and nearly worn out with fatigue, and dispirited by the loss of nearly all his warlike munition.

12*th*—Since the rebels quitted Azimgurh, we have deprived them of five guns (two of which belonged to the Government), about 30 elephants, all their ammunition and most of their stores and plunder; a large number of the rebel sepoys have been killed, and every report agrees that the remainder are much dispirited.

13*th*—I beg you will do me the favor to bring to the especial notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief the very extraordinary exertions made by Brigadier Douglas, and the troops under his command, and the judgment and untiring energy with which this officer has conducted the pursuit. I consider that all has been done that it was possible for a Military force to do under the circumstances; and that but for the unforeseen event of boats being in readiness on the river, the whole of the rebels must have been captured or annihilated. Brigadier Douglas was just in time to fire a few rounds from his guns at the rearmost boats, and to sink one of them.

14*th*—Much credit is also due to Mr. Davies, Civil Service, Magistrate of Azimgurh, who accompanied the Brigadier, and aided him with his local knowledge, and the correct intelligence of the movements of the rebels.

P. S.—Since writing this, I have received from Brigadier Douglas a more full and connected despatch than his daily reports, a copy of which I beg to enclose.[1]

[1] *Government Gazette*, North-Western Provinces, January to December 1858, Allahabad, Tuesday June 8, 1858; pp. 184-87.

ENCOUNTER AT BILWA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 22nd April 1858, (10 P. M.)

Rowcroft's Column had an encounter with the rebels on the seventeenth near Belwa. The enemy numbered about two thousand sepoys and one thousand other rebels with four guns. They were defeated and driven back with the loss of one gun and about one hundred killed. The Yeomanry Cavalry behaved very gallantly. A squadron under Major Richardson charged a body of five hundred sepoys and killed sixty of them. Our loss was one officer, Cornet Troup and one trooper killed and four officers and seventeen men wounded. Kooer Sing with about two thousand sepoys was said to be making for the Ganges; he has with him a number of small boats laden on hackeries.[1]

ENCOUNTER AT VILLAGE NAGHAI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 19th April 1858.

The Magistrate of Azimghur reports from Ghoosie that on the 17th our troops attacked the rebels at the village of Megha[2] and severely handled them. The enemy had however escaped with their elephants, baggage and two guns. We were to have attacked them again on the 18th on the road to Nuggra. Kooer Sing, it is said intends escaping via Nugger and to cross the Ganges at Bulliah Ghat where he hopes that friends are to have boats in readiness for him. Colonel Cumberlege has been written to move up from Mhow to Nuggra. The Commissioner of Patna and the Magistrate (s) of Gazepur (Ghazipur), Buxar and Chunar have been warned...[3]

[1] and [3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Appears to have been spelt for *Maghai* or *Naghai*.

REVOLUTIONARIES PITCHED AT NAGHAI

Letter from Brigadier John Douglas, Commanding Brigade of the Azamgarh Field Force, to Brigadier-General E. Lugard, Commanding Azamgarh Field Force, dated Camp Shoepoor Ghaut (Sheopur Ghat), 22nd April 1858.

I have the honor to forward for the information of Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard, K. C. B., a detailed account of the operations of the force under my command, from the 17th to the 21st April inclusive, the object being to press the rebels as possible, and to force them to give up their guns.

On the 17th according to instructions, I marched at 3 A. M. from Nuthoopoor[1] with a force as per margin (footnote)* and found the enemy strongly posted at Nughai near Azimutgurh; I sent the Cavalry and Horse Artillery of the advanced guard through the village by the road, the Infantry cutting across the fields; the guns became immediately engaged, but the enemy stood well behind their breast works. At the edges of topes of trees it was now certain that a large force was opposed to us with Artillery, as they came round on almost every side, and made several attempts to charge the guns. I threw part of the 37th, 84th, and the Company of Madras Rifles into skirmishing order, with supports, who rapidly advanced under a very heavy fire, carried the enemy's positions and drove them off: they retired in good order from tope to tope, followed by the 37th. Whilst the Infantry were clearing our front, the enemy appeared in great force on our left, and were kept in check by the Horse Artillery and Major Cotter's Battery, supported by the Cavalry, who made several charges. I followed the enemy for some distance and a number were

[1] *Natthupur*, Pargana, Tahsil *Ghosi*, District *Azamgarh*—The pargana of Natthupur lies on the right bank of the Ghagra river in the north-east corner of the district. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh, 1911, p. 269).

*"Three guns European Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.
Four guns Major Cotter's.
2, 5½-inch Mortars.
Detachment Punjaub Sappers.
One Squadron Military train.
Two Squadrons 3rd Seikh Cavalry.
One Wing Her Majesty's 37th Regiment.
Her Majesty's 84th Regiment.
One Company Madras Rifles."—Note in the Original.

cut up; they were very determined and evidently trained soldiers: in their retreat they divided into two bodies and I halted for some time, till I could ascertain which was the main body; I then started in pursuit along the lower Ghoosee road, passing through Chuprah and Etawrah, at which latter place the enemy seemed to have united : our force bivouacked at Ghoosee, within four miles of the enemy, after a march of twenty miles; from information afterwards received, the enemy on our arrival moved six miles further on.

REVOLUTIONARIES INTEND TO CROSS GHAGRA

On the 18th we marched to within three miles of Mygra, a distance of about twenty-four miles, the Cavalry and Horse Artillery going on in advance, and following the enemy till they took up their position in the town of Nugra. During the evening, information was received, that the enemy, hearing of our approach, had rapidly left the town, but the spies could not inform us which road they had taken : about midnight we heard that the enemy had retired towards Secunderpoor, and intended to cross the Gogra there[1] : at 2 A. M. on the 19th, we followed in pursuit, and bivouacked four miles beyond Secunderpoor, and within four miles of the enemy at Munuhur in the Ghazeepoor district; during this long march we picked up several of the enemy's stragglers. We here heard that the enemy were in much distress by the rapid pursuit, not having had time during the last two days either to cook or sleep. On the 20th we started so as to arrive at Munuhur at daylight, and found the enemy posted in some very thick woods to the right of the village. I ordered a few rounds of grape to be fired, and then advanced part of the 37th and 84th and Madras Rifles, in skirmishing order through the wood, the Cavalry and Horse and Madras Artillery moving round by the right. The enemy were quickly driven from their position, broken and pursued for six miles, by the Cavalry and Artillery; the Horse Artillery and two of Major Cotter's guns, supported by the greater portion of the Military Train, proceeding along

[1] *cf.* "Letter from Brigadier-General E. Lugard to the Chief of Staff dated Camp Mhow, 25th April 1858, Para 5."—N. W. P. *Govt. Gazette*, June 8, 1858.

the bank of the Gogra, where a few of the enemy crossed in boats, but under a heavy fire. Two of Major Cotter's guns, with a small portion of the Military Train, and the 3rd Seikh Cavalry, followed to the right in pursuit of a large body of about 1500; unfortunately one of the guns broke down in consequence of the rough nature of the ground, and they were obliged to be withdrawn, the Seikhs having continued the pursuit for several miles, cutting up a great number, and dispersing the remainder.

TAINTWAR—RENDEZVOUS OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Captain Pearse, commanding the Seikh Cavalry, desires particularly to mention the gallant conduct of sepoy No. 1772, Furrandun (Faraidun), Madras Rifles, who kept up with the Cavalry, killing several of the enemy. In the hasty retreat of the enemy they abandoned a brass 9-pounder gun belonging to the Honorable East India Company's service, complete in horses and ammunition, several limbers, and waggons and immense quantity of ammunition, and a large quantity of treasure, a number of bullocks and hackeries, and four elephants, and the Regimental colors of the 28th Bengal Native Infantry were found wrapped round the body of a *Subadar* who was shot. The enemy on this occasion were completely dispersed. Having collected my force, I proceeded to Bansdeh (Bansdih), where the roads diverge to Bulliah and Beyreah, and then halted till I could ascertain which road the rebels had taken. Koer Sing was reported first to have gone to a village named Rajagaon and afterwards to Taintwar[1], where the dispersed rebels had their rendezvous. I proceeded in that direction, and found several bodies of the enemy on my left, and I also understood that they were holding the village. It being nearly dark and the country thickly wooded, I did not consider it advisable to advance further, and bivouacked within two miles of Taintwar. During this night no spies came in, we were under arms at 2 A. M. on the 21st; but at this time a spy came in, saying, that the enemy had collected all their forces in a dry tank close to the village, and our reconnoitring party made the same statement, which prevented my moving off till daylight. On advancing, I found that the enemy had moved off, and I am led to believe that they went

[1] Spelt as *Saintwar* (p. 446), and *Santiwar* (p. 468).

at a very early hour. I immediately pushed the Cavalry, Horse Artillery on as quickly as possible to the *ghat* here, where it was reported the enemy intended to cross the Ganges, but from all information I was led to believe that they had no boats, and must ford on elephants, in which case I should have been up in time to have prevented their crossing; the information however on this head proved false, as they were provided with boats, and the Cavalry and Horse Artillery arrived only in time to cut up about 200 and sink one of the last boats that crossed. On this march we took another Horse Artillery brass 9-pounder gun, belonging to the Honorable East India Company's service, complete in every respect and several elephants. I enclose a Return of the killed and wounded in the two actions, which must be considered very small, in comparison with that of the enemy, which I believe would not have been less than one thousand men. I believe the original number of the enemy to have been between four or five thousand men, nearly all sepoys; a good many of them are still on this side of the river. I beg to bring to your notice, the admirable manner in which the troops performed this rapid and arduous march of nearly 120 miles in five days, many hours in each day under a burning sun, and never under canvas. I beg to thank Colonel Riddell, Royal Artillery, for the assistance he rendered me during the action of the 17th, and whose orders were to return to Azimgurh. I have also to thank Major Cotter, Madras Artillery; Captain Lightfoot commanding the 84th Regiment; Captain Harrison, commanding 37th Regiment; Captain Wyatt, commanding Military Train; Captain Pearse, commanding 3rd Seikh Cavalry; Captain Broome, commanding Detachment Madras Rifles; Lieutenant Fulford, commanding Punjab Sappers, for their able cooperation during the two actions; also Major Mitchell, Royal Horse Artillery; who was several times detached in command of Cavalry and Artillery; also Lieutenants Jennings and Beadon, 3rd Seikh Cavalry, for the assistance they gave in reconnoitring and collecting information. I also beg most particularly to mention Captain Stevenson, 79th Highlanders, Major of Brigade, and Major Turner, Royal Artillery, who acted as Artillery Staff Officer, and who both rendered me valuable assistance. In conclusion, I beg to return my best acknowledgements to Mr. R. A. Davies, the Collector of Azimgurh, who accompanied me throughout

the operations, and gave me the greatest assistance by his valuable information. He also carried orders for me during the actions, and behaved in the most gallant manner.

KUNWAR SINGH REPORTED WOUNDED

P.S.—It has just been reported by the Magistrate at Chuprah, that Koer Sing is wounded in the thigh and arm.

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH GOES TOWARDS BAIRIA

Narrative of Events dated May 1, 1858.

Ghazeepore—On the 20th April the rebels from Azimghur were attacked near Bunsdeah (Bansdih) in this district by Brigadier Douglas; many of them were killed, and we captured one 9-pounder gun complete with horses, one limber, two ammunition waggons, twenty horses, fifteen bullocks, five elephants, and twenty baggage carts; nineteen more elephants were taken by their *mahouts* into Ghazeepore, and delivered over to the Magistrate. Brigadier Douglas continued the pursuit towards Beyreah, where Kooer Sing is reported to have gone. At Bulleah a body of the rebels had crossed his line of march at Chit Burragaon (Chit Baragaon). The steamer "Agra" with two Companies of the 54th had likewise been sent down the Ganges to intercept the rebels, and the steamer "Jumna" was moving down the Gogra for a like purpose. On the 21st April Kooer Sing crossed the Ganges at Sheopore Ghaut with a large party of sepoys. The villagers on the right bank assisted him by raising several boats which had been sunk. Sir E. Lugard has been ordered to press the rebels. The 37th Regiment have been ordered to concentrate at Ghazeepore. Sir E. Lugard arrived at Ghazeepore on the 27th April with two 8-inch howitzers, two 5½ inch mortars, and two 9-pounders, with ammunition and provisions for Brigadier Douglas's force, escorted by Her

[1] *Government Gazette,* North-Western Provinces, January to December, 1858, Vol. I, No. XVI, Allahabad, Tuesday, June 8, 1858; pp. 187-90.

Majesty's 84th Regiment, a Wing of Her Majesty's 13th Regiment, four guns, and 100 Madras Artillery to Arrah.....[1]

KUNWAR SINGH AT MAHUTHWA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, 23rd April 1858.

.....Brigadier Douglas attacked the enemy at Bansadee (Bansdih) on the 20th and dispersed them capturing one Horse Artillery gun complete and 4 elephants. Kooer Sing is reported to be at Mahuthwa, his elephants had gone on to Bergreah to which place Brigadier Douglas was to have marched on the 21st.[2]

AWARD FOR THE ARREST OF KUNWAR SINGH

Proclamation—It is hereby notified, that a reward of Rs. 25,000 will be paid to any person who shall deliver alive, at any British military post or camp, the rebel Baboo Kooer Singh of Jugdispore.

It is further notified, that in addition to this reward, a free pardon will be given to any mutineer or deserter, or to any rebel, other than those named in the Government Proclamation No. 476 of the 1st instant, who may so deliver up the said Kooer Singh.[3]

KUNWAR SINGH ENGAGED IN GHAZIPUR

The Narrative of last week also described the flight of Kooer Sing up to the borders of this district. Brigadier Douglas pursued him with great vigour and on the 20th overtook, and defeated his rear guard at the village of Munniar

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 14, p. 147.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Government Gazette*, North-Western Provinces, January to December, 1858, Vol. I, No. IX, Allahabad, April 20, 1858; Notification No. 581, p. 72.

or Munniar Khas near Bansdeh[1]. One H. A. (Horse Artillery) gun, many elephants and carts were taken on this occasion, and the last remaining gun which the enemy possessed was likewise abandoned in their retreat and taken the following day, where more elephants etc. were also captured.

VILLAGERS HELP THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Unfortunately in spite of the activity of Brigadier Douglas and of the Civil Authorities, the bulk of the enemy succeeded in crossing the Ganges; many waded, but there can be no doubt that these rebels were aided with boats etc. by the villagers, and even by the Police, on the Arrah side. Unfortunately also deep disaffection manifested itself throughout the eastern portion of Ghazeepore. The rebels were sheltered and assisted readily in every way especially at the village of Cheet Burragaon (Chit Baragaon), which is to be punished on that account. Indeed there is no doubt that Kooer Sing had counted upon active assistance from the population, among whom he and his retainers possess many kindred, and had he not passed through as a fugitive, defeated and vigorously followed, there can be little doubt he would have been joined by very considerable numbers from this district, and from Arrah.

KUNWAR SINGH REPORTED WOUNDED

In crossing some few of the sepoys were destroyed by a detachment of H. M.'s 35th on board the steamer 'Megna'; and it is reported that Kooer Sing himself was badly wounded in some one of the engagements with the pursuing force. *His palanquin was captured on the bank.*

The spirit of the sepoys is stated by Mr. Davies, the Magistrate of Azimgurh, to have been one of bitter hostility.

[1] *Bansdih Tahsil*—North Central Tahsil of *Ballia* District, *United Provinces*, comprising the parganas of Kharid and Sikandarpur (East), and lying south of the Gogra between 25° 47′ and 26° 7′ N. and 83° 54 and 84° 31′ E., with an area of 371 square miles. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* Vol. VI, 1908, p. 405).

Bansdih Town—Head-quarters of the tahsilof the same name in *Ballia*, District, *United Provinces*, situated in 25° 53′ N. and 84° 14′ E., 10 miles north of Ballia town. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI, 1908, p. 405).

Our officials (including two *Thanahdars*) were murdered, wherever they were caught, and the public buildings destroyed everywhere on the line of retreat.

RETREAT TO JAGDISHPUR

It is known that the bulk of Kooer Sing's force reached Jugdeshpore; but of that, and of subsequent disastrous events in the quarter, it is not within the province of this Narrative to speak.[1]

VILLAGERS OF SHEOPUR ASSIST KUNWAR SINGH

Letter from Commissioner, Banaras, to Secretary to Government, N. W. Provinces, Allahabad, dated 23rd April 1858, 3 *P. M.*

Kooer Sing with a great party of his sepoys crossed the Ganges at Sheopoor Ghat on the 21st instant. This information has reached from the Magistrate of Azimghur who writes from Sheopoor. The villagers on the right bank assisted the rebels, many boats were raised from the place, where they have been sunk and some boatmen and Police murdered. Brigadier Douglas remaining at Sheopoor till orders reach him from Sir E. Lugard.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E A. Reade, Agra, dated 24th April 1858, (11-30 *P. M.*)

Koer Sing with a large body of sepoys crossed the Ganges at Sherepore Ghat[3] on the 21st. The villagers on the right bank assisted the rebels, many boats were raised from the places where they had been sunk and some boatmen and Police were murdered. Brigadier Douglas is at Sherepore. The 'Megna' steamer with a party of the 35th on board met some 200 rebels crossing Shahabad at Hulsoonee on the 22nd.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 25th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, Nos. 505-508. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] This place is given as *Sheopoor Ghat* in the foregoing document.

The party landed and drove the rebels back killing seven at a little below Cominpore[1]. They came upon another very large body who all ran away. One boat with sepoys on board was sunk. Koer Sing was reported to be at Engdespore[2] on the 22nd with 2000 men. He has lost his arm and is wounded in the thigh. The European force is said to have come up with the rebels at the river yesterday, they killed a considerable number and captured their guns and treasure.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES MOVE TOWARDS CHIT BARAGAON

Letter No. 394 *from Commissioner, Banaras, to Secretary to Government, Allahabad, dated* 22*nd April* 1858.

Information dated the 22nd instant 8 O'clock A. M. from Ghazeepore (Ghazipur) stating that the party of rebels had crossed Colonel Cumberlege's line of march and gone to Chit Baragaon Colonel. Cumberlege was at Balleh (Ballia) and was coming on to Stulpee and Beyreah. Information received from Brigadier Douglas's camp at Bansdeeh (Bansdih), dated 20th stating that the enemy had been attacked that day and dispersed, one Horse Artillery gun complete and four elephants captured.

Kooer Sing was reported as being at Mahuthwa. His elephants had gone on to Beyreah to which place Brigadier Douglas was to march next day.[4]

KUNWAR SINGH ESCAPES

Ghazipur—Many fugitive sepoys are still hiding in the villages which sympathized with them. The public reports still chiefly relate to the escape of Kooer Sing, regarding whose

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

[2] May have been wrongly received for *Jagdishpur*.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. Also Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 521. National Archives, New Delhi.

[4] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 504. National Archives, New Delhi.

movements the Civil Authorities appear to have given good information. The fire of steamer "Megna" is said to have killed the *Mahout* on Kooer Sing's elephant, and to have inflicted a wound on that chief of which he is reported to have since died.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH AT JAGDISHPUR

Telegraphic Message from the Secretary to Government of Bengal, Calcutta, to Commissioner, Banaras, dated Friday, the 23rd April 1858.

The following message[2] from the Commissioner of Patna are forwarded for your information. Please have them sent on to Mr. Edmonstone.

First message—Letter just received, Magistrate of Arrah dated 22nd April. Expedition did not go out last night, fearful lest rebels might come another road and attack Arrah. Koor Sing (Kunwar Singh) is at Jugdispore with 2000 men. Lost his arm and wounded in thigh. Report that the European force come (*sic*,-came) up with the rebels at the river yesterday, killed a considerable number and took their guns and treasure. Proposed plan to march to Jugdispore on the evening of the 22nd and attack the enemy the following morning. No further news from Chuprah. 'Patna' steamer after landing ladies and treasure has returned.

Second message—I have information received from Buxar. Douglas appears to have attacked the rebels at Baree on the 20th and killed a number of them. He was pursuing them most energetically. One hundred fifty of the 54th were to be sent from Ghazeepore to Bulliah (Ballia) on 20th on board the 'Agra' but the steamer seems to have been delayed. Cumberlege's force at Gemene[3] on the 20th. I am sorry Lugard has not waited for Douglas before attacking Jugdispore but he is a prudent officer and has good men under him.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 2nd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] It should be 'messages'.

[3] Not clearly decipherable.

Boyle tells me that *kutchery* is quite safe, if nothing heavier than field pieces are brought against it.[1]

KUNWAR SINGH FEASTED BY SHEOPUR BABUS

Telegraphic Message from Commissioner, Patna, to Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Calcutta, dated 23rd April 1858, 3-30 *P. M.*

Letter just received from Chupprah (Chhapra); all quiet there. Magistrate was starting in "Patna" steamer to assist General Douglas to cross the Ganges. A number of sepoys still wandering about the Doab. *Koer Singh was not wounded. He was feasted it is said by the Scheopore Baboos in Ghazeepore who provided him with* 20 *boats.* They appeared to have been attacked in the act of crossing and even Koer Sing's *palkee* was left behind on the bank. Nothing new at Arrah.[2]

LUGARD TO PRESS KUNWAR SINGH

Telegraphic Message from G.F. Edmonstone to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 26th April 1858.

We have heard today from Major Ellis that in the engagement which took place between General Whitlock's force and the rebels before the occupation of Banda four guns and some elephants were taken, Lieutenant Colbec 3rd Madras Europeans mortally, Brigadier Miller of the Madras Artillery severely and Lieutenant Jones 12th Lancers slightly wounded. According to Major Ellis's account the Nawab after the engagement made for Tirohan. Sir E. Lugard has been ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to press Koer Singh and concentrate the 37th Foot at Ghazeepore. The 13th Foot has been ordered to Goruckpore but there may be delay in carrying out the movement.[3]

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th June 1858, No. 205 K. W. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] (Original) Home Public Consultations, 30th April 1858, Nos. 34-70, A. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

KUNWAR SINGH REPORTED ACTIVE AGAINST HESITANT VILLAGERS

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 26th April 1858.

.....Vaughan has been told to hold Guya (Gaya) relieving the Indian Naval Brigade which will then move to Patna; an express has also been sent to Denapore (Dinapur) to Brigadier Douglas to cross the river at once. Koor Sing (Kunwar Singh) is said to be entrenching himself in the jungles and is burning all villages the inhabitants of which do not join him. He has fifteen hundred sepoys and rabble up to four or five thousand. The Judge of Cawnpore reports that the rebels have returned in force to Rouree, the fort where Walpole's affair happened; Nurput Singh is burning villages and ravaging that district.[1]

BRITISH LOSSES IN THE AFFAIR OF THE 23RD APRIL

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 30th April 1858.

The Commissioner of Patna reports that Brigadier Douglas began to cross the Ganges the day before yesterday and that all was quiet through the country. Koer Sing entrenching himself at Jugdespore. Casualties in the affair of the twenty third one hundred and two men (of) Her Majesty's thirty fifth died and missing. Nineteen Bengal Naval Brigade wounded, one Sergeant and three men dead and missing. One *Havaldar* and nine Sikhs killed and five wounded, two mountain train howitzers spiked and abandoned. Ten elephants with enfield ammunition, tents and baggage looted. Captain Le Grand, Lieutenant Massy and Doctor Clarke, Her Majesty's thirty fifth killed and Lieutenant Willer of the sixth battalion slightly wounded. The Shannon Naval Brigade are at Sersaram (Sasaram), Shergotty and Gya.

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

The Indian Naval Brigade under Carew at Gya moves on to Patna.....[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, to E. A. Reade, dated Allahabad, 28th April 1858.

From subsequent accounts of the affair with Koer Singh it appears that the number of officers killed was only two and not ten. The Government *dawk* has been reestablished between Futtypore (Fatehpur) and Banda. A Police-Guard has been stationed at Chilla Tara Ghat and another at Beprenda.[2]

KUNWAR SINGH'S DEATH REPORTED

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 5th May 1858, (2 *A. M.*)

Two Companies of the 84th and two Horse Artillery guns reached Arrah on the 29th ultimo and the remainder of the 84th and 100 Seikh Cavalry marched in on the first instant. Sir E. Lugard was to commence crossing the Ganges on the 3rd instant. *There is now no doubt that "Koer Sing is dead, his brother Ammur Sing (Amar Singh) with seven to nine thousand men, chiefly villagers is entrenching himself and collecting supplies;* he has one small gun besides the two howitzers which we lost the other day. All quiet in other parts of the Patna Division.[3]

LIFE AND DEATH STRUGGLE OF KUNWAR SINGH

Activities of Kunwar Singh summed up.

Leaving Lucknow on the 29th March, 1858, with a brigade of Infantry, seven hundred Sikh sabres and eighteen pieces

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

of Artillery, Sir E. Lugard reached the neighbourhood of Azamgarh on the 15th April. While trying to cross the bridge of boats on the river Tons, he was opposed by a party of Kunwar Singh's troops on the 16th April. Kunwar Singh had returned to Azamgarh by this time. On the 16th April, Sir E. Lugard attacked the party of Kunwar Singh at the bridge on the west of the town. Mr. Venables, a local indigo-planter, was wounded and received severe injuries in this engagement, from the effect of which he died soon. Kunwar Singh's men "fought well, and with more determination than usual, and it was not without a severe struggle that they were defeated and expelled from the city. They retired in good order and were pursued for about a dozen miles".[1] Apprehending that they might cause embarrassment in the direction of Gorakhpur, where they were proceeding, Sir Edward Lugard sent Brigadier Douglas in pursuit of them, and himself remained at Azamgarh with the greater part of his force. With the authority of his Government he issued a proclamation offering 25,000 rupees and a free pardon to anyone who would deliver over to the British the person of Kunwar Singh.[2]

In the meantime the main Column under Brigadier Douglas had advanced direct upon the city of Azamgarh. This body of troops was at once ordered by Sir E. Lugard to "pursue and use their utmost endeavours to capture"[3] Kunwar Singh. But in this, as Sir E. Lugard himself noted, "they failed owing to the regularity and devoted courage with which the retreat was covered"[4] by Kunwar Singh and his men. Kunwar Singh, "a born strategist", could not be caught. At 3 A. M. on the 17th April, 1858, Brigadier Douglas marched with a body of troops from Nathupur and found Kunwar Singh's party strongly posted at Naghai near the lower Ghosee Road. As Brigadier Douglas reported to Sir E. Lugard[5], he "sent the Cavalry and Horse Artillery of the advanced guard through the village by the road, the Infantry cutting across the fields, the guns became immediately engaged but

Footnotes given in Datta's book—

[1] C. Ball, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 285-287.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] A letter of E. Lugard, from camp at Azamgarh, 16th April 1858.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] His letter to E. Lugard of the 22nd April 1858, from camp at Sheopur.

the enemy stood well behind the breast works." Breaking into bodies the latter retreated partly by the lower road and partly across the country to Ghosee baffling all the efforts of the Brigadier to capture them and again from there to Nagra and from Nagra to Sikandarpur. Brigadier Douglas halted at Ghosee for the night of the 18th April, and on the 19th April marched to Nagra. On the 20th April he proceeded to Qazipur, nearly four miles beyond Sikandarpur.

But Kunwar Singh and his followers after crossing the river Gogra at that place pushed on to Maniar in the Ghazipur district in the night of the 20th April 1858. Robert Davies, the officiating Magistrate of Azamgarh, who accompanied Brigadier Douglas and aided him with his local knowledge wrote from his camp at Sheopur on the 23rd April, 1858, to F. B. Gubbins, Commissioner of the 5th Division, Banaras, that, at Maniar, Kunwar Singh "found himself amongst friends, and the wants of his troops were voluntarily supplied by the villagers who were almost universally in his favour.[1] Through their collusion, our spies were seized and detained and our information delayed." In fact, as Mr. Robert Davies, further noted, there was an enthusiasm in Kunwar Singh's favour amongst the common people in the Azamgarh district. The Magistrate of Saran noted in his letter to the Commissioner of Patna, dated the 18th July, 1858, that Kunwar Singh had "numerous friends on either side willing to render him assistance." The Sheopur *Baboos* (*zamindars*) in Ghazipur entertained Kunwar Singh in a feast and provided him with 20 boats.[2] Brigadier Douglas had his camp there at Bansdeh. In the morning of the 21st April, Brigadier Douglas made a surprise attack on the troops of Kunwar Singh at Maniar. The latter dispersed themselves in different directions, but reassembled by evening at Santiwar[3], a place surrounded by a very thick wood and proceeded during the night to the river at Sheopur Ghat.

Footnotes 1 and 2 given in Datta's book—

[1] Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 59.

[2] Home Public Consultations, 30th April 1858, No. 50.

[3] Spelt as *Saintwar* in other document (p. 446) and *Taintwar* on p. 455.

In spite of sustaining personal physical injuries, Kunwar Singh with a large body of sepoys crossed the Ganga at Sheopur Ghat, ten miles below Balia, in that night, by baffling Douglas, outwitting Colonel Cumberlege, who with two regiments of Madras Cavalry had been despatched to intercept his movement, and notwithstanding the various precautionary steps taken by the Company's officers. Thus the Commissioner of Patna observed in his letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 22nd April, 1858 : "Orders were given to the Magistrates of Arrah and Chupra to be most careful in removing all boats from the left bank of the Ganges and the right bank of the Gogra. *Purwannahs* (*Parwanas*) on the same subject were to be issued to the *zamindars* and bodies of the Police and *zamindars'* men were placed at each *Ghat* particularly at the Sheopur and other *Ghats* where the rebels afterwards actually crossed. The Magistrate of Ghazipore gave the most stringent orders on his side to have the boats removed but his orders appear to have been very indifferently obeyed as Mr. Lynch found a large collection of boats at Mumer (Manahar) on the Gogra and Kunwar Singh had no difficulty in procuring boats when he arrived on the banks of the Ganges. In anticipation of Kunwar Singh forcing a passage in spite of these precautions, the villagers in Shahabad and especially those most suspected were warned that in the event of any of the inhabitants committing acts of plunder or giving assistance to Kunwar Singh the entire village will be severely punished under the provisions of Act X of 1858 and the Magistrate was directed to take the most stringent measures against persons who evinced disloyalty." Referring to this incident, Hall, a contemporary English writer, observes : "Even his opponents speak of his masterly retreat across the Ganges, when closely pursued by the force under Sir E. Lugard, with respect." It is mentioned in a contemporary English record : "The villagers on the right bank assisted the rebels, many boats were raised from the places where they had been sunk." Another English document of the time refers to the "very favorable disposition of the population towards him on both sides of the river". By the 22nd April, 1858, Kunwar Singh came back to Jagdishpur, with about 1,000 followers on foot and a few horsemen, strongly determined to continue fighting against the English though he had lost one arm and was wounded in his thigh.

A force of the Government proceeded from Arrah under Captain Le Grand against Kunwar Singh towards Jagdishpur. But it suffered a severe repulse on the 23rd April, 1858, with heavy losses being chased up to Benu Nala, about three miles from Arrah. Some of their guns were captured by the victors and, as it was reported to the English by their spies, "of the detachment of 250 or 300 men sent against Kunwar Singh" only 25 or 35 Sikhs and 7 officers were seen by them returning to Arrah.

The Commissioner of Patna wrote to Brigadier Douglas, Commanding Field Force at Arrah, on the 26th April, 1858 : "I need hardly urge the necessity of expelling Kunwar Singh from his position at the earliest possible period. He is now in his native country and day's delay adds to his strength and increases the prestige he has gained by his recent successes". But Kunwar Singh was not destined to live long. Worn out by fatigue and incessant fighting he died probably three days after his victory over Le Grand.[1]

CHARACTER OF KUNWAR SINGH

...For long past Coer Singh (Kunwar Singh) had been watching the course of events with keen interest and a definite purpose. This remarkable man came in for an abundant share of the abuse so indiscriminately dealt out to all those who took part against us at the crisis. Coer Singh was described in the contemporary journals as a devil whose villainy could be accounted for only on the theory that he was not of human flesh and blood. The time for shrieking and scolding has gone by and we can afford to own that he was not a devil at all but the high-souled chief of a warlike tribe who had been reduced to a non-entity by the yoke of a foreign invader. 'What am I good for under your dynasty' ? was his constant complaint to European visitors. He had already reached an age which in England is supposed to incapacitate for any employment save for premiership. He well remembered the time when Scindiah and Holkar were not mere puppets of the Government of Fort William, when the Marhathas still

[1] K. K. Datta: *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh*, pp. 151-155.

ruled at Poonah and Nagpore; when, what with Pindaree raids, and the long contest for the Helen of Odaipore and extremely bellicose attitude of non-interference, adopted by the Company, a dashing partizan leader with a few thousand stout Rajpoots at his back, was good for great deal in the estimation of Central India. He fretted like the proud Highland chiefs, when reduced to insignificance by the severe and orderly sway of the Southern. Surely, a people whose favourite heroes are Lochiel and Rob Roy Macgregor may spare a little sympathy for the chieftain, who at eighty years old bade fill up his brass *lotah*, saddle his elephants and call out his men inasmuch as it was up with *pugrees* of Coer Singh; who inflicted on us a disaster complete and tragical; who exacted from the unruly mutineers an obedience which they paid to none other : who led his force in person to Lucknow and took a leading part in the struggle which decided the destinies of India; who after no hope was left for the cause north of Ganges did not lose heart but kept up his men together during a long and arduous retreat in the face of a victorious enemy; and as the closing act of his life by a masterly manoeuvre, baffled his pursuers and placed his troops in safety on their own side of the great river, when friend and foe alike believed their destruction to be inevitable. On that occasion a round shot from an English gun smashed his arm as he was directing the passage of the last boat full of his followers contrary to the habit of the Eastern Generals who ordinarily shun the post of danger. The old warrior seeing that his last hour was come is said to have died of the loss of blood which ensued. But his army had not lost the impression of his skill and energy. During several months they maintained themselves at Jugdishpore, harassing with daily incursions the English garrison at Arrah, whose headquarters were in a fortification laid out by the recently developed genius of Mr. Boyle; they repulsed with heavy loss a detachment sent to dislodge them; and finally laid down their arms under the general amnesty, after having defied our government during more than an year of continuous fighting. Two facts may be deduced from the story of these operations, first that the besiegers of the house at Arrah were neither cowards nor bunglers; and the next that it was uncommonly lucky for us that Coer Singh was not forty years younger.

Such then was the man who claimed to take command

of the levies of Shahabad by hereditary rights. He brought with him a mighty following and recruits poured in by hundreds and thousands daily. The sepoy veterans who were living on pension in their villages came forward to share the fortunes of their ancient regiment in greater numbers than in other districts.[1]

AMAR SINGH

AMAR SINGH ON GRAND TRUNK ROAD

Telegraphic Message from Lieutenant Stanton to the Government of India, dated Shergotty (Sherghati), August 20, 1857.

Some of Koer Singh's men, headed, I hear, by his brother, Ooomar Sing (Amar Singh), are again on the Grand Trunk Road; they yesterday burnt a bungalow between Sasseram and Dehree, and threatened to burn Dehree; Deputy Magistrate of Sasseram was on 18th at Mohuniah with a small force; should be at Sasseram today. It is of great importance to push on the troops from Ranegunge, and Soane Ghaut should be protected.[2]

AMAR SINGH IN ROHTASGARH

Telegraphic Message from Colonel Fischer to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta, dated Baroon, September 24, 1857.

I have halted here to collect information. On the positive information of Lieutenant Stanton, I have hurried up and needlessly harassed my troops.

On the day I left Shergotty (Sherghati), Ummer Sing (Amar Singh) and the 5th Irregulars left Sasseram in great confusion. The former, with his rabble, has taken shelter in Rhotasghur (Rohtasgarh); the latter has passed between Rhotas and the Soane, and gone south to join Koer Sing, who is collecting men in that direction, where exactly, unknown.

[1] George O. Trevelyan : *The Competition Wallah*; Also K. K. Datta: *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh*, pp. 156-158.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 115 in No. 2, p. 107.

It is incredible, but a fact, that the Ramghur mutineers, with their guns, are moving about in a small province, and not an official, Civil or Military, can tell where they are to be found. They have not crossed the Soane. From all the contradictory information I have received, I conclude they are between Palamoo perhaps Palamau and the Soane.

To-morrow I march to Doondhar; the next day on Julpa. I have telegraphed to Major English, if he receives any message at Hazareebaugh, to march on Chuttra; if at Burhee, to march to Chumparun, and thence to Chuttra, to collect information, and march to attack them, wherever to be found. It will be extraordinary if these guns are not captured by one of us. This will give time for my reinforcements to join me at Dehree. The only mischief that has been done by the 5th Irregulars is destroying the telegraph wire for a few miles, and driving off the *dak* cattle. The *dak* carts are untouched; the road to Benares open.

Captain Rattray is entrenched at Dehree, with 200 Sikhs, and perfectly secure from any attack unaccompanied by guns.

My remount and heavy baggage joined me this morning; will cross the Soane to-morrow, and will remain under Captain Rattray's protection.

Captain Walton's Companies will proceed to and remain at Sasseram, to enable magistrate to collect provision.[1]

AMAR SINGH AT AKBARPUR

Telegraphic Message from Colonel Fischer to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta, dated Baroon, October 4, 1857.

I am crossing Soane to Dehree, a more tedious operation than I had anticipated, river only half full; it will take me today and tomorrow. No fresh cases of cholera. With Captain Walton's reinforcements, I am equal to any force Ummer Sing, Koer Sing, Maun Sing, 5th Irregulars, colescing, can bring against me; but there is little hope of having anything to do between Soane and Benares. The road is safe, even

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 56 in No. 5, p. 277.

if Captain Walton were not left at Sasseram; Ummer Sing, with a few hundred rebels, is at Ackberpore; Captain Rattray, with Sikhs, is more than equal to disperse them and render country safe half way to Benares; my being on the road with my present strength will effectually secure the other half. The Ramghur guns being captured, I hope the Wing of the regiment, and the two guns under Captain Cadell, will regain their head-quarters. Captain Cadell has thirty-six remount horses with him; his guns were horsed. Major English asks assistance of me to drag his captured guns; he can bring them on in the same manner the mutineers brought them. He has captured all their camp. Tea, coffee, and rum for us are on the road from Benares.[1]

AMAR SINGH REPORTED KILLED

Letter from the Magistrate of Jounpore (Jaunpur), to Commissioner of Banaras, dated Jounpore (Jaunpur), October 9, 1857.

...In the evening I arranged with Colonel Wroughton to send a regiment of Goorkhas, and two guns, to the village of Adumpore. My object was to secure the grain there, and to burn the village, it being the refuge of Ummer Sing, a noted rebel; my spies informed me that Ummer Sing had fled and that the village was deserted; I therefore anticipated no resistance.

On Tuesday morning, Captain Steel with the Goorkhas and guns, Mr. Jenkinson with the sowars and the planters, started for Adumpore. I was busy taking out the grain from Moobaruckpore (Mubarakpur), and, besides had to visit the village of Nuguhtee, where Mukhdoom Buksh (Makhdum Bakhsh), the *Karinda* of Iradut Jehan, lived. On nearing Adumpore, the sowars were directed to encircle the village; in doing this, they were fired upon : the Goorkhas immediately filed off to the right and left, and the guns were brought to the front. At the first discharge (grape) Ummer Sing was wounded. After a short time the Goorkhas rushed in, firing at, and cutting down, the enemy. The rebels fled, and endeavoured to cross the river; many were shot in this attempt.

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 132 in No. 5, p. 299.

Some sowars dismounted and crossed the river in a small boat and killed some few runaways. Ummer Sing was subsequently shot by a musketball in the body, and was killed. His body was sent into camp, and was identified by hundreds of people.[1] The rebels mustered from 120 to 150 strong, and it is computed that 50 of them were killed.

In a former communication I requested sanction to rewards for certain rebels named by me. I have received no reply to that letter. Ummer Sing was among those enumerated by me : I beg, therefore, that a reply may be given regarding the proposed reward. This man's death has had a wonderful effect in the district as soon as it became known; without a single exception, all the leaders of gangs fled from this part of the country...[2]

LUGARD MOVES AGAINST REVOLUTIONARIES

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 11th May 1858, (10 *P. M.*)

Sir E. Lugard moved with his force on the 8th to a place on the Buxar road the name of which is not intelligibly given. The rebels made a demonstration in the direction of Arrah but were dispersed by Cavalry and Horse Artillery. Jugdespore was to have been attacked yesterday. Colonel Corfield was at Nakha, one march from Sasseram on the ninth.[3]

JAGDISHPUR ATTACKED

News extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated 20th May 1858.

The Rebellion—The work of pacification proceeds through all the impediments of a summary campaign. In Behar,

[1] The claim is unfounded for, Amar Singh continued to struggle for freedom even after Kunwar Singh's death at the end of April 1858. Amar Singh died on 5th February 1860. A similar claim has been made about the alleged capture and subsequent trial and hanging of Tatya Tope. But to this day it has not been proved beyond all doubt that this man hanged was really Tatya Tope.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 17 in No. 10, p. 275.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

after the capture of several strongholds of Baboo Cooer Singh, General Lugard attacked Jugdispore on the 9th instant. The place was taken, and the rebels fled to the jungles. Another Column operating under Brigadier Corfield from towards the east is quieting that part of the country. Cooer Singh's death is almost certain; the fate which has overtaken his brother, Ummur Singh, is less known. Had he been captured, as was reported a few days ago, the intelligence would have been confirmed by this time.[1]

JAGDISHPUR OCCUPIED BY BRITISHERS

Narrative of Events dated May 25, 1858. *Reported from Allahabad May* 26, 1858.

Shahabad—General Lugard's force attacked (the late) Koer Sing's force, at Dilowa, on the 9th May, and took Jugdespore on the 10th instant. Umur Sing (Koer Singh's brother) was reported to be dying. On the 11th May, Colonel Carfield's[2] force attacked the rebels under Umur Sing, on the skirts of the Jugdespore jungle near Peroo, defeated them with loss, and burnt several villages. The enemy retired into the jungle.[3]

* * *

News extract from The Hindoo Patriot dated 13th May 1858.

In Behar matters have taken a decidedly favourable turn. The following are messages received from the Commissioner of Patna, dated respectively the 9th and 10th instant.

Magistrate of Arrah writes that musket firing began in Lugard's direction yesterday morning at ½ past 7 : at ½ past 2 the firing of cannons commenced and continued about an hour. A letter from Colonel Corfield had reached the General. 200 of the 84th, a Company Madras Rifles, two Horse Artillery guns and fifty Seikh Horse have been sent back to Arrah to

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 20th May 1858, p. 155. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Spelt as 'Corfield' elsewhere (p. 474).

[3] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 16, p. 157.

protect the place. A man just in from Jugdeespore on whom I think reliance can be placed says, Koer Sing is certainly dead, that there is a great confusion in the rebels' camp, they are very badly off for ammunition and occupied in discussing plans to escape. I have sent the 'Patna" up to watch the *Ghauts*. All quiet here.

Sir Edward Lugard halted yesterday at Beehia to give Colonel Corfield time to advance from Sasseram. In the afternoon a large body of the enemy formed outside the jungle and moved in the direction of Arrah, but were followed by the Cavalry and Horse Artillery which scattered them and drove them into the jungle. Another body which attempted to annoy the camp was dispersed by the fire of some nine-pounders and the General proposed to attack Jugdeespore this morning.

No news direct from camp but spies, who came into Arrah this morning, report that our troops attacked the rebels yesterday at Hettempoor, drove them before them to Jugdeespore which they had entered killing a great number, said to be flying to the south. Our two guns stated to be left behind at Delawara and Ummur Sing either killed or captured. Corfield was at Bickerumgunge (Bikramganj) today and would reach Peeroo tomorrow.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone to E. A. Reade, dated Allahabad, 13th May 1858, (1–10 *A. M.*).

We hear from Patna that Sir E. Lugard attacked the rebels on the ninth May at Hutteempore and drove them before him to Jugdeespore which he entered killing a great number. The rebels are said to be flying to the south. Our two guns are said to have been left behind by the rebels at Delwara and Ummer Sing is reported to have been either killed or captured.[2] Colonel Corfield was at Bickrungunge yesterday

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 13th May 1858, p. 147. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *cf.* "Letter from the Magistrate of Jaunpur to Commissioner of Banaras dated Oct. 9, 1857" (p. 473). Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, inclosure 17 in No. 10 p. 275.

and would be at Peroo today. Some rebel sowars have been seen by the Police near the Trunk road to the south of Jehanabad. A message from Sir Robert Hamilton despatched by Telegraph from Agra today 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, all together eight guns of sizes have been taken. The rebels are said to be sick 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 (Orai) towards Calpee. It is clear that the report mentioned in a former message of an action having taken place at Koonch was unfounded.[1]

GUERILLA FIGHT BY THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from Brigadier-General E. Lugard, Commanding Azamgarh Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Jagdishpur, 14th May 1858.

At Duleepore the rebels first attempted to oppose our progress, and after being routed by the line of skirmishers, which extended well into the jungle, and a few discharges of grape, they spread round, right and left, through the thickest part of the jungle where our soldiers could scarcely penetrate, and attacked the rear flanks of the Column, but the steadiness, and quick fire of the Companies of the 10th Foot in support speedily drove them back, and we pushed on to the "Bungalow", where another and more determined stand was made, with however the same result, except that the loss of the enemy was more severe. About this time firing was heard to the south, which we subsequently ascertained was caused by an attack made by the troops under Colonel Corfield, upon a party of the rebels who had established themselves in the villages at southern limit of the jungle. Colonel Corfield after driving the enemy from the villages and setting them on fire, returned to his camp at "Peeroo", and it was not until the following

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

day that I learnt of his co-operation, when I moved my party to the vicinity of his camp, as the heat in the jungle was unbearable.

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER AMAR SINGH ATTACK BRITISH CAVALRY AND HORSE ARTILLERY

A strong body of the rebels, said to be under Ummur Sing, broke from the jungle after our forcing their position at Dulecpore, and attacked the Cavalry and Horse Artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, but were driven back with severe loss; another body of about 300 showed themselves at the edge of the jungle to the south-west, but retired on Lieutenant-Colonel Longden moving up his guns.

REVOLUTIONARIES APPEAR AGAIN AT JAGDISHPUR

On the 13th I halted at "Peeroo", having previously sent back to Jugdespore for provisions, but learning on that evening that the rebels had again shown themselves in force at Jugdespore, attacked our position, and threatened our camp, I marched back on the morning of the 14th, since when I learnt that the main bodies of the rebels lie concealed in the thickest parts of the extensive jungle, whence, in consequence of the extreme heat of the weather, and the exhaustion experienced by the troops as soon as they enter the thick jungle, I fear it will be most difficult for me to expel them with the means at my disposal...[1]

LUGARD'S MARCH TO CHECK THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter No. 372 *from the Commissioner of the Patna Division to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Calcutta, dated 7th June* 1858.

In my last letter I reported the successful attack made by Sir E. Lugard on the rebels in the neighbourhood of Akurwah on the 2nd instant. On the 3rd Sir E. Lugard took measures

[1] *Government Gazette*, North-Western Provinces, January to December 1858, Vol. I, No. XIX, Allahabad, June 29, 1858; pp. 274 to 275.

to prevent the rebels from doubling back as he advanced by cutting a broad lane through the jungle from Kishwa to Duleepore and on the 4th having received intelligence that they were encamped at Chitowra and Jumwan he attacked them there with great success. They left upwards of 100 bodies on the ground and it has since been ascertained that their loss was very severe. 4 elephants also fell into our hands, and that night the rebels evacuated the jungle *en masse* and marched to Soorajpoora where they plundered the house of the Doomraon (Dumraon) Rajah's *Dewan.*

AMAR SINGH LEADS AN ATTACK

Umur Singh in armour and mounted on a white horse led the rebel army which was computed by the villagers at 3000 *Foot and* 500 *Horse.*[1] As they are not accustomed to see troops on the march, however, it is certain that these numbers must be very much above the mark. Our best information has always been that there are not about 800 sepoys armed with muskets and 100 sowars in the rebel ranks, and these must of late have been much diminished. They have evidently in a great measure exhausted their ammunition. Many of the muskets found at Jetawara had been used as matchlocks and very few caps and cartridges were found in any of the pouches of the men who were killed.

REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS GHAZIPUR

2*nd*—The rebels turned west from Soorajpoora and gave out that they were going to Gumnur a village in the Ghazeepore district near the mouth of the Kurmnassa in the vicinity of which a small band of 1 (100) or 200 rebels has, during the last week, been doing great damage to the railway works and to the factories of Mr. Coombs. As however a force of 300 Infantry, 150 Cavalry and 2 guns has been sent over from Ghazeepore to chastise these men, it is not likely that Umur Sing will find any rebels in that quarter when he

[1] *cf.* "Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone to E. A. Reade, dated Allahabad, 13th May 1858, (p. 476) wherein Amar Singh is reported as killed or captured." Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

reaches the Kurmnassa, and he will therefore probably turn either towards the southern hills or to the Ganges.

3*rd*—Sir E. Lugard is very much hampered by the number of sick in his camp and the state of his guns, harness etc. which all require repair. He is fearful also of losing the advantage he has gained if he leaves the neighbourhood of the jungle without ascertaining exactly the route which the enemy have taken. He is therefore still at Kishwa on the east side of the jungle. Captain Rattray with his Siekhs (Sikhs) is to the west, and the Madras Cavalry have been sent to Chowgoin to gain information of the enemy's movements.

REINFORCEMENT OF THE BRITISH FORCE

4*th*—I have urged upon the General the expediency of moving at once with a considerable portion of his force to the west and taking up a position such (as, Chowgoin, which will enable him at once to prevent the return of the rebels to the jungle and to threaten any body of the enemy to the west or north-west of the districts. By the last accounts there were parties of 30 or 40 in various villages in the neighbourhood of Doomraon, all of whom would be driven off by this movement. The General would at Chowgoin be within one forced march both of the Ganges and Kurmnassa and would get better information of the enemy's movements than he can at his present ground.

5*th*—By a message from the Governor General Sir E. Lugard has been informed that Colonel Corfield proceeds to Calcutta, and that he himself is to have charge of the Trunk Road; but at the same time he has received instructions from the Commander-in-Chief to send the 6th Regiment into Benares in consequence of the deplorable sickness which has lately prevailed in the corps. He requests me to point out very urgently to the Lieutenant-Governor the necessity of reinforcements of European troops for the service on the Trunk Road and the expediency of placing them under an officer who has had some experience in India.

LUGARD'S MARCH TOWARDS SASARAM

I have strong doubts whether Sasseram is a healthy place for Europeans. I should think Dehri would be infinitely

preferable and better sites might be selected towards Jehanabad. There is a good deal of low swampy ground abut Sasseram and the hills which rise close behind the town shut out the breeze and render the place very hot. The 6th must I conclude remain on the Trunk Road until they are relieved, but I have strongly recommended Sir E. Lugard to move them at once to a more airy and open situation than that they now occupy.

6*th*—A *Burkundoze* of the Dhungaon *thanah* while conveying a letter from Captain Rattray to General Lugard was caught by the rebels, mutilated and killed.

7*th*—Chuprah district is quite quiet again, the rebels who murdered the Tajpoor *Darogah* having fled across the Gogra into Ghazeepore.

8*th*—The rest of the Division is also quite quiet....[1]

AMAR SINGH'S ACTIVITIES IN GHAZIPUR

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India, with the Governor General, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated June 7, 1858.

A body of 500 rebel sepoys are reported by the Commissioner of Benares to have burnt all the bungalows and Indigo factories in the Ghazeepore district between the Kurrumnassa (Karamnasa) and the border of the Benares district. Colonel Cumberlege sent out a detachment yesterday against them.....

AMAR SINGH LEAVES JAGDISHPUR JUNGLES

The Commissioner of Benares reports the receipt of intelligence from Buxar that after the 4th instant Ummur Sing (Amar Singh) had quitted the Jugdeespore jungles and with 2,000 Infantry and 500 Cavalry was near Ghurmur (Gahmar) on the right bank of the Ganges.

Captain Baker with 70 Sikh sowars pursued them from Bikrumgunge to Buxar.

[1] Military Consultations, 25th June 1858, No. 437. National Archives, New Delhi.

It was the intention of the rebels to cross the Ganges and return into Oude.[1]

AMAR SINGH ENTERS KHAJRA

Letter dated 8th June 1858.

Usual salutations—Mendi, Ganga, Mohan, Paryag and Rohan (Illegible) stated that Amar Singh with a body of 5000 men has entered Khajra. He has come with great pomp and show.

Submitted for necessary information.... (usual endings).[2]

AMAR SINGH AT GAHMAR

Letter dated June 9, 1858, 8 *O'clock.*

Usual Salutations.

Before this, one man in disguise was deputed to find out the reality about Amar Singh and his comrades. Today, he has stated that Amar Singh with a large army is at Gahmar. There are two field pieces at Chausa, District Shahabad opposite Bara *pargana* on the Karamnasa river, sent by the British for punishing the rebels. To all outward appearance they cannot go to that side. In case they attack this side, they cannot remain here for long, as they do not have sufficient war material. Amar Singh has fled from Jagdishpur and is reaching here. He has none to support him here. A day before Amar Singh's arrival, the rebels of *mauza* Gahmar made up their mind to flee towards the east when they heard of the coming of the British army from Ghazipur to Rah (*sic*,) Amar Singh was in Austar (*sic*,) *pargana* Hinnaor and he also came up when he found that there was no opposition. Thus the strength of the rebel army increased. It has also been confirmed that Maghar Rai, *zamindar* of Gahmar, the rebel leader assisted

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Ghazipur Collectorate Mutiny Basta: File regarding '*Government vs. Zamindars of Gahmar*'.

by other rebels attacked the *Tahsildar* of Muhammadabad. Before this he went about from one village to the other to incite people to rebel. Now he intends coming to Ghazipur and Zamania. The people of Naoli, Bara, the *zamindars* of Gahmar, Karepa, Bhorai, send supplies and other assistance. (Usual endings).

P. S.—After the writing of the above petition it was learnt that 4 Govt. oxen were taken away by the rebels at Loni and Jagat Rai, resident of Loni invited the rebels to the place.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 9th *June* 1858, (10 *P. M.*).

NISHAN SINGH BLOWN FROM A GUN

It is reported from Patna that General Lugard marched for Buxar on the 7th June with the eighty four (84th) Regiment and some Cavalry and guns. Nishun Sing has been caught and blown from a gun at Sasseram. The Magistrate of Ghazeepore reports to-day that Umur Singh is still at Gheimur (Gahmar) with a large force for which he is collecting boats. All the spies state that rebels intend to attack Ghazeepore. From the Punjab it is reported that on the second instant a party of mutineer sepoys crossed the Ravee and being joined by *Purbia* labourers on the Canal plundered the Madhopore bazar, burnt an European clerk, killed his wife and child and murdered two other children. They were beaten off and while recrossing the river one or two were killed and many drowned.

NARAIN RAO AND MADHO RAO SURRENDER

It had been subsequently ascertained that the Maharajah of Cashmeer (Kashmir) had arrested two hundred fifty mutineers and *Purbias*. Narain Rao and Madho Rao of Terohan (Tirohan) have surrendered themselves for trial. At Terohan were found

[1] Ghazipur Collectorate Mutiny Basta: File regarding '*Government vs. Zamindars of Gahmar*'.

thirty eight hundred stand (s) of muskets, one crore of Rs. and other valuable property.[1]

* * *

News dated Allahabad, 9th June 1858.

...The Magistrate of Ghazeepore reports to-day that Ummer Sing is still at Ghamur with a large force, for which he is collecting boats. All the spies state that the rebels intend to attack Ghazeepore ..... Narayan Rao and Madho Rao of Tirohan have surrendered themselves for trial....[2]

AMAR SINGH TOWARDS RASRA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad. to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 10th June 1858, (11-50 *P. M.*).

It is reported from Ghazeepore that some three or four hundred rebels have gone off north-wards to Rusrah[3] and that Ummer Sing was supposed to be crossing the river to follow them with two guns that had been dug up at Ghulur[4]. Brigadier Douglas was to be at Buxar to-day.[5]

AMAR SINGH DISLODGED FROM GAHMAR

The irruption of a band of rebels from Guhmur, where Umur Sing had fixed his quarters, into the *pergunnahs* of this

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Dacca News*, June 26, 1858, p. 313. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *Rasra Town*—Head-quarters of the Tahsil of the same name in *Ballia* District, *United Provinces*, situated in 25° 51′ N. and 83° 52′ E., on the Bengal and North-Western Railway. Population (1901), 9,896. Rasra is a thriving, well-laid-out town, and is commercially the most important place in the district. It is the head-quarters of the Sengar Rajputs, and contains a large tank surrounded by a grove sacred to Nath Baba, their patron saint. Near the tank are some scores of earthen mounds which are memorials of Satis. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 238).

[4] This appears to have been mis-spelt for *Gahmar*; see p. 487.

[5] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

district which lie to the south of the Ganges, was mentioned in the last week's narrative.

On the 6th after much delay a party of troops crossed the river, a few Madras troopers having been previously sent over. The rumours of their approach on the previous day proved sufficient to save Zumaniah, the rebels having been induced to turn back when within three miles of the place.

MUHAMMADABAD TAHSIL ATTACKED

The following day information was received that a large party of rebels had crossed and had destroyed the *tahsil* of Mahomdabad within 12 miles east of Ghazeepore plundering it of 2500 Rs.

This was effected by a surprise the party having crossed (200 sepoys and 10 sowars) by Sherepoor[1] Ghat the previous night.

On this intelligence the force across the river was recalled to Ghazeepore; measures were taken for the defence of the station, and on the 9th, 30 Madras troopers under Lieutenant Mauris and accompanied by Mr. Quinton, the Asstt. (Assistant) Magistrate, patrolled towards Mahomdabad.

But these measures were ineffectual to check the evil, which was increased after the dislodgment of Umur Sing from Guhmur on the 11th by the force under Brigadier Douglas.

GENERAL UPRISING

The main body of the rebel force indeed doubled back to the south, but large parties breaking off fled northward across the river, plundering and burning in the Ghazeepore district, so that by the close of the week under review, every thing belonging to Government, or to any Europeans east of Zumaniah on the right bank of the Ganges and east of the station of Ghazeepore on the left bank, had been plundered or

[1] *Sherpur*—Pargana and Tahsil *Zamaniah*, District *Ghazipur*—Sherpur is the largest of the overgrown villages of Zamaniah. It lies in 25° 34′ N. and 83° 48′ E. in the small block of country belonging to this tahsil on the north bank of the Ganges, at a distance of ten miles east from the district headquarters and 17 miles from Zamaniah. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, p. 256).

destroyed by the mutineers including the railway works and Govt. buildings of every description. All the civil estabts. (establishments) in the district, except at Ghazeepore itself and at Syudpore on the Benares road were broken up and several Police Officers killed. Previously to these disasters (Rs.) 15,016-8-5 of Government Revenue had been collected. *The mutineers have almost everywhere in this district the sympathy of the population*, with whom most of them are connected by ties of kindred.[1]

ATTACK ON BANARAS BY AMAR SINGH APPREHENDED

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, and John Lawrence, Lahore, dated 11th June 1858, (10-55 *P. M.*).

Early in the day intelligence was received first[2] gave rise to the apprehension that Benares might possibly be attacked by the rebels under Ummer Sing but a telegram of this afternoon from Benares states that Ummer Sing's party after passing Zunnina[3] in the Ghazeepore district diverged to the north and crossed the Ganges into the Sidapore Bittree[4] *pergunnah* of the same district by the Chochukpore Ghat. The direction they will take is not known but probably Oude is their destination.[5]

AMAR SINGH RECROSSES KARAMNASA INTO SHAHABAD

Letter from the Secretary to the Government to the Secretary at the India House, dated 14*th June* 1858.

Ghazeepore—Intelligence, dated 11th June, reports that

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Ghazipur for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] This should have been 'that first.'

[3] Appears to be wrongly received for '*Zamania*'.

[4] Apparently *Bhitri*, Pargana and Tahsil *Saidpur*, District *Ghazipur*—The village of Bhitri at one time gave its name to a pargana, and for a long period after its amalgamation with Saidpur the tract was known as Saidpur Bhitri. It is now, however, an insignificant place, standing in 25° 34′ N. and 83° 18′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Ghazipur, 1909, pp. 183-184).

[5] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

300 or 400 of Ummer Sing's rebels had crossed the Ganges and gone towards Russerah; and that two guns had been dug up at Ghamur (Gahmar). Brigadier Douglas's force arrived at Ghamur (fourteen miles west of Buxar), on the 11th June, and burnt it, the *villagers having openly sided with the rebels.* Some of the enemy were killed and others pursued to Sherepore Ghaut, but Ummer Sing, with the principal part of his force, returned to Buxar on the 12th instant. On the 13th June the district of Ghazeepore was reported to be entirely disorganized; almost every *thanna* and *tehsildaree* burnt. Bulliah was about to be attacked, the Kurruntadhee stud depot was threatened, and all the Government mares and stallions had been seized by the rebels. Ummer Sing's force is said to have recrossed the Kurrumnassa into Shahabad.[1]

* * *

Copy of Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 14th June 1858.

The two barracks used as hospitals at Sasseram were burnt down on the evening of the 12th June.

The sick, 126 men, with all the arms and ammunition in Magazine saved.

One barrack for fifty men left intact.

The Magistrate of Ghazeepore reports that his district is entirely disorganized.

Bulliah about to be attacked and Korunta Dhee threatened.

All the Government mares and stallions taken by the rebels. Ummer Singh's force is said to have crossed the Kurunnassa (Karamnasa) into Shahabad.

The disarming of the city and cantonments of Meerut is in progress.[2]

[1] Further Papers (No 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, Inclosure 1 in No. 18, pp. 165-166.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

DOUGLAS DESTROYS GAHMAR VILLAGE

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone to E. A. Reade, and to J. Lawrence, Lahore, dated Allahabad, 12th June 1858, (11 *P. M.*).

Tej Singh the rebel Rajah of Mynpoorie (Mainpuri) surrendered himself on the afternoon of the eleventh instant and is in custody. The Commissioner of Benares reports to-day that the crossing of the rebels under Ummer Singh at Chokuhpore Ghat[1] turns out to be incorrect. They are now believed to have gone south. Brigadier Douglas yesterday burned the village Ghumer which had openly sided with the rebels.[2]

BALLIA BURNT

Copy of Service Message received by Electric Telegraph from the Commissioner, Patna, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Calcutta, dated 14*th June* 1859.

The rebels under Ummer Sing returned to the Jugdeshpore jungle and are near Ruiy. They marched back nearly by the same road they took in going, and fired a few shots into Rattray's camp as they passed. A considerable body crossed into the Ghazeepore district, and burned down Bulleah without resistance, Colonel Cumberlege remaining at Ghazeepore.. . .[3]

AMAR SINGH TOWARDS SOUTH OF BUXAR (BAKSAR)

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 17th June 1858, (10-21 *P. M.*).

...The Commissioner of Benares reports today the following intelligence: information received from Buxar that the rebels under Ummar Singh (Amar Singh) have again left the jungles and are going towards the south with the intention apparently of going to Gya and Futtamow. The Magistrate of Azimghur reports that large reinforcements have

[1] Given as *Chochukpore Ghat* on p. 486.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Military Consultations, 25th June 1858, No. 437. National Archives, New Delhi.

been sent by the Begum to Mehndee Hossain. The district of Azimghur disorganized by bands of sepoys traversing it from south to north but Ghazepore is recovering itself.[1]

AMAR SINGH IN SHAHABAD

News extract from The Hindoo Patriot dated 26th August 1858.

The Rebellion—The incidents reported during the week are of no great interest. Ummer Sing is occupying the greater portion of the Shahabad district and fortifying Jugdeespore. His people appear to be endeavouring to establish *thannahs* at places hitherto beyond the immediate range of their influence. An attempt to establish one at Nasseergunge was not suppressed without bloodshed. The rebels had even the audacity to besiege a body of one hundred Seikhs and twenty three Madras Cavalry under Lieutenant Freeman at a place called Russorah (Rasra). The besieged have since been relieved by Brigadier Douglas. The rebels immediately after took a north easterly direction towards the Gograh (Ghagra), whitherwards they are being pursued by the Brigadier. It is apprehended that they might enter the Chuprah district by the Darowlee Ghat. The Grand Trunk Road has been kept in tolerable security by Colonel Turner.

In the district of Goruckpore, the public tranquillity is occasionally broken by the raids of marauding parties from Oude as well as from the banks opposite Allahabad. A fresh insurrection was reported last week in the little state of Alwar in the Delhi territory. The affair however, is explained to be very different from an insurrection. There appear to be two parties in the state, the Mahomedan and the Rajpoot. The Mahomedan party was in power, and the Rajpoots, without being "sent for" seized the ministers in power and expelled them from the state. In Oude affairs have not much improved. The Sultanpore Column is sweeping the surrounding country, but the northern portion of the province is kept in anarchy by the Begum, whose forces, indifferently equipped, number, it is said, twenty thousand.[2]

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 26th August 1858, p. 267. National Library, Calcutta.

LATER ACTIVITIES OF AMAR SINGH

...But Amar Singh and his other followers succeeded in still maintaining their control in Shahabad. On the 7th of July, 1858, about 500 of them had an indecisive engagement with Lieutenant-Colonel Walter at the village of Samtha. This village, which belonged to Amar Singh, was destroyed by the British troops. But there was no improvement in the situation for the English officers. The Commissioner of Patna informed the Secretary of the Government of Bengal on the 17th July, 1858 "in what a deplorable state this (Shahabad) district now is and how bold the rebels have become. Notwithstanding that there is now a garrison at Arrah of close on 1,000 men with Cavalry and Artillery the rebels approach with impunity within five or six miles of the station. The Buxar road is still closed, the enemy being in force that is about 500 or 600 in number at Belautee (Belauti) and the post which Brigadier Douglas proposed to locate there not having been yet established." "The spectacle of these rebels in continued possession of Shahabad," he added, "has the worst possible effect on the people throughout these provinces and I do trust that a strong effort be made to put an end to it once and for ever."

The Lieutenant-Governor felt that "it will probably be some time" before they could "expect a return of that confidence" in their prestige which "has been thus rudely shaken." The Commissioner of Patna communicated to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 30th July, 1858 : "The one main body of the rebels still continue in the neighbourhood of Jugdispore, and ape our Government in the appointment of Commissioners, Judges and Magistrates. They even copy our revenue system (which some people tell us has produced this rebellion) to the letter and sell all the estates of our friends for arrears of revenues with as much punctuality as the Collector himself could evince. Umur Singh (Amar Singh) hung a sepoy the other day for the murder of a *Banneah* (*Bania*, a grain merchant or a shopkeeper) which shows that the rebels are compelled to conciliate the people by occasionally giving them justice, even when the offending party is one of themselves."

Hur Kissen (Hare Krishna)[1] Singh was in fact the

[1] "Proceedings of the Trial of Hare Krishna Singh held by R. J.

head of the Government set up at Jagdishpur under the authority of Amar Singh. It was calculated to promote the well-being of the people in general. Its military organisation was efficient. Officers, both in the civil and military establishments, held different ranks. For example, there were Superintendents of Ordnance Factories, Generals, etc. Divisions of the armies were organised according to particular localities, such as Chowgain (Chaugain) Division, Karesath (Karisath) Division, etc. Entrenchments were being dug by them on the west, north and east of Jagdishpur. There were about 2,000 sepoys at Jagdishpur and 600 recruits; of the 2,000 sepoys, 1,500 had fire-arms and the rest only swords. In the morning and evening the recruits were drilled by "native officers" and old sepoys.[1]

Different parties of the insurgents were still active in various directions. A large number (about 1,000) of the followers of Amar Singh moved down on the 29th July, 1858, to village Karisath (about six miles to the west of Arrah). In the morning of the 30th July, they confronted the troops under Colonel Walter at Mahowle with some losses on their sides, about 750 of them being killed. Joodhur Singh with about 300 men was then hovering between Nasregung (Nasirganj, a large village in the N. E. of Sasaram Sub-division on the Koelwar-Dehri road, and Baroon(Barwan) and Meghur Singh (? Roy) was to the west of Joodhur Singh in the Ramgarh *thana*.[2] The Commissioner of Patna considered the Trunk Road and Sasaram to be "by no means safe" then, though several columns were acting in Shahabad under the command of Brigadier Douglas.

Those, who had risen in revolt at Chapra, had passed into Gorakhpur towards the end of July, and after a few days joined about 200 of their compatriots in the Koilra *tahasildari* of *zillah* Azamgarh, probably with the desire of crossing the Ganges and attacking Tirhut where there was 'insufficient force' of the English to resist them.[3] Towards the last week of

Richardson, officiating Judge and Special Commissioner under Act XIV, 1857 on the 29th and 30th November, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 16th December, 1859. Vide Appendix 1."—Footnote in K. K. Datta's book.

Footnotes in Datta's book—

[1] Deposition of Ramtahal Goala, 20th July, 1858.

[2] Home Public Consultations, 13th August, 1858, No. 35.

[3] Home Public Consultations, 20th August, 1858, No. 3.

August, about one hundred sepoys crossed the Ganges to Goomar (Gahmar) and joined Meghur Singh (? Roy), who was moving between Ghazipur and the area near Buxar.[1]

On the 9th October, 1858, Brigadier Douglas started from Dinapur for strong offensive operations against the insurgents. The latter then numbered, according to Douglas, at 4,000 sepoys of the old Bengal Army and about 500 Cavalry, and they were distributed in five large divisions—one at Jagdishpur, another near Chaugain, a third at Peroo (Piru), a fourth at Karisath and the fifth at Balawar (14 miles due east of Jagdishpur). On the 13th October 1858, seven columns of British troops marched from several directions against them to converge near Jagdishpur with the object of overpowering "the insurgents" completely. Douglas hoped, as is noted in one of his letters,[2] "to have the rebels into their stronghold by noon on the 18th instant, and then by simultaneous assault on all sides to end the campaign in Shahabad at one blow." But he arrived with his columns at Jagdishpur "to find it evacuated by the enemy whose rearguard left their entrenchments" as Douglas and his men "entered them on the other".[3] This was followed by several operations day to day from the 19th to the 24th October by Brigadier Douglas and also Major Sir Henry Havelock in the course of which the latter used long range Enfield rifles. All the columns of the British troops pursued the insurgents from place to place but they succeeded in eluding the former. A skirmish between them and a pursuing British Cavalry took place near village Gourie, 13 miles north of Grand Trunk Road, "only with partial success (for the British troops) and without having turned them off their line of march for the hills".[4] The pursuing columns could not overtake them. Brigadier Douglas then directed Colonel Turner to take his column along the left bank of the Son to watch the passes in the Kaimur Hills and to prevent the insurgents from crossing into Palamau.

Footnotes in Datta's book—

[1] Home Public Consultations, 3rd September, 1858, No. 2,

[2] Letter from Brigadier Douglas to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Allahabad, 31st October, 1858.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

He also detached three posts from his own column to watch the passes on the Shahabad side of the hills. Douglas observed that the pursuit by the different columns "would have been still more destructive to the enemy, had they not been artfully screened by the inhabitants....."[1]

On the 25th November, there was a conference of a few Bihar leaders of the movement at Bhudour with some civil and military officers of the British Government (Mr. Money, Colonel Walter, Mr. Mackenzie, Lieutenant Beadon and others), but it broke off without any compromise.[2] Fighting continued even after Douglas had defeated on the 24th November a party of the Bihar fighters at Salia Dahar in the Kaimur Hills.[3] The different batches of the British troops were able after considerable exertion to disperse the followers of Hurkissen Singh (Hare Krishna Singh) and Meghur Singh (? Roy) in the Shahabad area by the beginning of December, 1858. These leaders went underground, and the Commissioner of Patna apprehended that they would join Seedha Singh (who was a Ghazipur man) and Ram Bahadur Singh both of whom were in Palamau, with a body of sepoys.[4] The sepoys in Shahabad did not surrender themselves still expecting to be "joined by considerable bodies from Oude and Goruckpore".[5] Douglas wrongly boasted that he had "stamped out the flicker of rebellion in the district under his command."[6]

Seedha Singh moved from place to place in Palamau, Shahabad, Ghazipur and the Nepal Hills,[7] and many others who had organised or joined the movement, remained active till May, 1859, not only in Shahabad but also in different parts of Bihar, such as Hajipur, Chapra, Siwan, Champaran, and Bhagalpur. Mr. Fergusson, Commissioner of the Patna

Footnotes in Datta's book—

[1] Letter from Brigadier Douglas to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Allahabad, 31st October, 1858.

[2] Home Public Consultations, 3rd December 1858, No. 32.

[3] Letter from Douglas to the Adjutant-General, from Arrah, 20th December, 1858.

[4] Home Public Consultations, 17th December, 1858, No. 23.

[5] Home Public Consultations, 26th January, 1859, No. 19.

[6] Forrest: *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. III, p. 480.

[7] Letter from W. J. Herschel, officiating Magistrate of Shahabad, to the Commissioner of the Patna Division, 4th May, 1859. As is noted in this letter, "the villagers (in Shahabad) generally gave him passive assistance."

Division, communicated to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 13th April, 1859: "It is difficult to describe the moral effect on these districts of large number of rebels having been allowed to remain so long on the Nepal frontier, as it was daily threatening an armed invasion. The Natives talk of it constantly and evidently think that an attack is about to be made on us. It is moreover commonly reported throughout the country that the rebels are paid and fed by the Nepalese, who intend assisting them against us."

Amar Singh was moving from place to place with unflinching determination to keep up the struggle. On the 24th November, 1858, he was at Kharaundha (Palamau district) with a large force.[1] After the retreat of Nana Saheb into Nepal, he proceeded to the Tarai region at the beginning of October, 1859 to assume the leadership of Nana's troops. But he was ultimately captured by the middle of December, 1859, by a force under Maharaja Jung Bahadur. He was kept in custody temporarily in the Gorakhpur Jail. The Government of the North-Western Provinces enquired of the Bengal Government as to whether he was to stand his trial at Gorakhpur or in his own district of Shahabad.[2] The Bengal Government's view was that "in some respects the trial of Ummer (Amar) Singh in his own District would.... be most exemplary".[3] But this did not happen. On an attack of dysentery he was admitted into the Gorakhpur Jail Hospital on the 3rd January, 1860, and died there on the 5th February, 1860, before his trial could take place[4].†

Footnotes in Datta's book—

[1] Letter of Graham to E. T. Dalton, from Camp Dhawa, 26th November 1858.

[2] Letter from G. Coupe,r Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 21st December, 1859. (Judicial Department Proceedings, 15th March, 1860).

[3] Letter to the Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, 31st December, 1859.

[4] Letter from Fergusson, Officiating Commissioner of Patna, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 15th February, 1860.

† K. K. Dutta : *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh*, pp. 175-179.

PART B

ALLAHABAD DIVISION

CHAPTER FIVE

OUTBREAK IN ALLAHABAD DIVISION

KANPUR

OUTBREAK AT KANPUR

Translation of Examination of Belas Roy (Bilas Rai), late Revenue Serishtedar, Collector's Office, Kanpur, and at present Serishtedar, Deputy Commissioner's Office, Partabgarh (Pratapgarh).

My name is Belas Roy. My father's name is Bhowany Pershaud (Bhawani Prasad). By caste I am a Kaith Kayastha). I am a resident of *qusbah* Bhogown *zh.* (*zilla*) Mynpoorie (Mainpuri). By profession I am a writer. My age is about 35 years.

KANPUR MAGISTRATE SEEKS NANA'S HELP

The affairs of Cawnpore are as follows:—When the news of the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi reached Cawnpore, the Magt. (Magistrate) of Cawnpore sent for the Nana Rao with his forces from Bithoor to make arrangements for the safety of Cawnpore. For some days the Nana occupied a place close to the *cutchery*. On one or two occasions he sent out his men to apprehend runaway sepoys from Delhi and Etawah who had plundered Government money but to my knowledge there were none brought in. From the moment the news from Delhi and Meerut reached Cawnpore, the authorities made an entrenchment on the "Jooee Ka Mydan", and slept there every night. One day some elephants were sent to the treasury for the purpose of removing the treasure to the entrenchment, but they were returned unladen; why I do not know.

REVOLT BY THE CAVALRY

On the 4th of June 1857 a Cavalry Regiment No. unknown mutinied and they commenced burning their lines and all those bungalows that came in their way as far up as the *cutchery*. They then proceeded to the jail and broke it

open. The Nana then joined them in open rebellion and assisted to plunder the treasury and release the prisoners.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NANA'S RULE

The Nana even plundered Nawabgunj which was near the *cutchery* and where we, i.e., the *Umlah* lived and it was with the utmost difficulty we could leave our houses after remaining hid (*sic*,-hidden) for 6 or 7 days. The sowars then took to searching out the *Umlah*. I do not believe any of the *Foujdary* (Judicial) Collectory (Revenue) *Umlah* went near the Nana of their own free will. Ramlall, who was the Deputy Collector, one day sent for the whole of the *Umlah*, and directed (that) *purwanahs* should be issued to the different *Tehsildars*. The *Umlah* objected to this and I pointed out to him the impropriety of doing so since the place was unsettled and there was no authority under whose signature these *purwanahs* could be issued. Ramlall D. C. (Deputy Collector) in reply to this said to me, "I am the presiding authority and will settle matters with the British Government on their again becoming masters of Cawnpore". For 3 or 4 days the D. C. (Deputy Collector) held regular *cutchery* during which time the *Umlah* were forced to attend; some of them however bolted immediately the opportunity for escape offered. Ramlall D. C. (Deputy Collector) may have been in collusion and joined cause with the Nana but I know nothing about this for certain. Meanwhile reports reached me of the capture of some boats containing Europeans from the westward and of the execution of these Europeans after being taken to the rebel batteries where they were put to death. I lived 8 or 10 miles away from this and cannot exactly tell whether they were killed or not. After some days I heard that Nana had agreed by treaty to send the Garrison by boat to Allahabad, and how they were taken to the boats to embark and massacred at the river side. Two or three days after this the Nana sent out his forces to meet those of the British (who were) then reported to be coming up from Allahabad.....[1]

* * *

[1] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta,

Statement of Jahangir Khan.

My name is Jehangeer Khan and my father's Azimutoolla Khan; I am a Pathan inhabitant of Mooradabad, *mohullah* Fuezgunge (Faizganj) *zillah* Mooradabad and am 30 years of age. My profession is to take service. I was formerly a sowar of the 3rd troops 2nd Regt. (Regiment) L. Cavly. (Light Cavalry). I (got) enlisted in the corps 7 years before the outbreak. My Regt. (Regiment) mutinied at Cawnpore. I was with my Regt. (Regiment) so long as it was stationed at Cawnpore. I had taken leave of absence for 15 days to go home at Futtehpore and when my leave expired I returned to Cawnpore and reached it the day my Regt. (Regiment) mutinied. On the very same day I was on picquet duty, near the entrenchment when the muskets were fired. The picquet guard, I was in, returned to the lines. Soon after I went to field officer whose name I do not know and whose tent was pitched near the picquet. The field officer asked me where the picquet was gone to. I told him in reply that it was gone to the lines. The officer asked me the reason of my standing there. I said I would stop there. The officer told me to go off, lest I should be killed by men of the other Regts. (Regiments). I then returned to the lines of my Regiment. The officer who spoke to me intended to enter the entrenchment. This occurred at midnight but I forget the English month. When I reached the lines of my Regiment all of my comrades had gone off to the treasury which they wanted to enter and loot, but the guard on duty, consisting of 2 Companies of a Regiment whose No. I do not know, would not allow us to enter and said that unless their Regiment came they would not suffer admission to any one. Their Regiment arrived there next morning at 9 A. M. and helped by the other regiments whose names I knew not plundered the treasury. But I neither plundered treasury nor could I get a part of the plunder they took. In short none but those who plundered in person could get a share. We then marched. With the Nana Rao's return to Cawnpore, he began his attack on the entrenchment. Firing from both sides continued for 19 days. I was during that period under the Nana Rao who had then supreme authority. He distributed us pay for two months. Teekaram *Subadar* had the command of my Regiment. He was created Genl. (General)

on the outbreak of the rebellion. He was a native of a village somewhere near Cawnpore, but I do not know its name. After the firing had ceased and the Europeans were being massacred on board the boats, a part of the rebel force went to Futtehpore and Allahabad intending to take the latter place. Our designs however were frustrated for the Europeans had marched out from Allahabad to check us.....[1]

* * *

Letter No. 17 from M. H. Court, Magistrate and Collector of Allahabad, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William, dated Allahabad, the 21st July 1857.

DIARY OF EVENTS AT KANPUR UP TO 12TH JUNE 1857

I have the honor to forward a full and literal translation of a diary of events which occurred at Cawnpore down to 12th June obtained from the person of an opium *Gomashtah* who was there on leave.

Formerly this report was prevalent in Cawnpore that Government will distribute bits away[2] cartridges which have arrived or are on their way out from England and which have been made up with the skins of pigs and bullocks. For this reason the feelings of the Hindoo and Mahommadan soldiery having become estranged from Government they determined on mutinying and murder. When the European officers saw the state of affairs, and that the sepoys would not obey orders, the Collector of the district having procured a few elephants from Nana Dhoondoo Punt, the adopted son of Badjee Rao (Baji Rao), Peishwah, (deceased) took them with him to the treasury for the purpose of conveying the treasure from that place. Then the sepoys who were in the charge of the treasury said, "We will not allow its removal." Although the Collector endeavoured to place it in[3] the elephants the sepoys would not permit me to do so. On this the Collector said, "If you are all determined upon this, on Monday

[1] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.
[2] The correct word appears to be 'bitten away'.
[3] It should be 'on' and not 'in'.

next a guard of Europeans will be sent down to the magazine and treasury." The native officers and sepoys said in reply, "As long as we live we will not allow this to be done because, as European guards have never been placed at the treasury or magazine before, there is no reason why they should be put in charge now." At last after a good deal of conversation, the Collector left. When the officer commanding the station perceived that the whole of the troops were mutinously inclined, he sent to the Nana Dhoondoo Punt of Bithoor for 3 (300) or 400 sowars and placed them near the magazine, and the Nana himself went to the chief Civil and Military Authorities and said, "Whatever assistance I can give, I will," but when the Peishwah died three or four years ago, his pension which had been one lakh and 25[1] Rupees, and which had been subsequently reduced to 62000 Rupees, was entirely stopped. Although on the death of the Peishwah the Nana Dhoondoo Punt, his adopted son-in-law *sic*, urged his claim and stated the grounds of it, the Government told him that as he was not a real but only an adopted son of the Peishwah's he was not entitled to it. Strange to say the authorities who refused him a pension applied to him for assistance, and that they should expect aid from a person who was not well inclined towards the Government.

FORMATION OF THE ENTRENCHMENT

At last the Civil and Military Authorities, seeing that the mutinous spirit was daily spreading, dug a trench round the new hospital, paying the men employed double wages and completing the work in four days, and undermined the whole of it. Afterwards all the Civil and Military officers, 200 European soldiers, ladies, women and children with provisions and ammunition took possession of it. They also took a lakh of Rupees inside. On that day (Tuesday the 2nd June) some European officers went into the magazine and spiked what guns they did not require. Some spy gave information of these proceedings to the troopers of the 2nd Cavalry, and told them that mines had been laid for blowing them up in their lines and that if they did not evacuate their

[1] The word 'Thousand' appears to be an omission here.

lines at once they would be blown up. Accordingly the whole regiment, exasperated at this report, mounted their horses and proceeded to the parade ground.

CAVALRY REVOLTS, TREASURY PLUNDERED

On Thursday the 4th of June at midnight the 2nd Cavalry and 1st N. I. (Native Infantry) turned out armed and went to the cantonments to fire the bungalows and took possession of the magazine and treasury and having plundered the treasury which contained about 13 lakhs they placed the money on elephants and carts and conveyed it away. There not being conveyance enough for the whole of the treasure, 90,000 Rupees were left which the native officers directed the people to plunder. They then took plenty of ammunition, and went to the magazine where they found the Nana with two guns and some horsemen. They took the guns from the Nana and threatened him. On this the Nana said he would give them, and, although he was apparently the friend of English and offered them assistance, at least he was at enmity with them.

NANA PROCLAIMED LEADER—5TH JUNE 1857

He then accompanied the sepoys and they at once proclaimed him their leader. On that day (Friday June 5th) he took possession of the magazine and opened the jail. The prisoners were all released and opening the doors of the arsenal, he offered arms to those of the prisoners who would join him and told those who wished to go home, to go. On this they all joined in plundering the arsenal and after sending a good deal of property to their houses the 2nd Cavalry and 1st N. I. propped their intentions of marching to Delhi, and of presenting the treasure and ammunition to the King of Delhi and offering their services to him and that day proceeded with the Nana five miles in the Delhi direction and encamped at Kullianpoor.[1]

[1] *Kalyanpur*, Tahsil *Cawnpore*, District *Cawnpore*—There are two villages of Kalyanpur, distinguished as Kalan and Khurd, lying in 26° 29′ N. and 80° 15′ E., on the Grand Trunk Road some five miles north-west from the city. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 303).

REVOLT BY THE INFANTRY

At first the 53rd and 56th N. I., although mutinously inclined in consequence of the report about the cartridges, did not break out into open mutiny. The other two native corps went to their parade and having called for the native officers and sepoys of those corps had a long consultation with them on the subject of their religion, and told them if they did not join them, they would be considered as infidels, and excommunicated from caste privileges etc. They also said that they would kill themselves and give the others above name.[1] At last after much talk they joined the others and agreed to go to the encamping ground at Kullianpoor where the Nana and the other regiments were. At this juncture several of the bad characters of the regiments proposed murdering their officers, on which they with uncovered heads fell at the feet of the sepoys and asked for their lives to be spared. They let them go and the officers then went to the entrenchment. The sepoys of the 53rd and 56th Regiments then joined the camp of the other mutineers at Kullianpore.

ENTRENCHMENT ATTACKED—6TH JUNE 1857

When the Nana saw that the three Native Infantry regiments had openly mutinied, and intended to go to Delhi, he told them that they ought not to go till they had massacred every European in Cawnpore because the *Sahibs* would take every opportunity of punishing them, and that he would be left alone. They all approved of this and determined to murder the Christians and returned on the 6th to an encamping ground near the Soubahdar's Tank and placed one 24-pounder to the westward of the entrenchment at a distance of 500 yards, and a second 24-pounder to the north, and a third to the south, and opened fire on the entrenchment; they began to fire about 12 O'clock. At that time the whole of Cawnpore was in a state of great alarm and uproar. The sepoys plundering (plundered) the shops and on that same day the sowars surrounded the house of the adopted sons of Nawab Agha Meer, namely Nizam-ood-Dowlah and Bakur Ali, who receive 25,000 Rupees

[1] The sentence does not appear to bear out a clear sense.

as interest in Government paper, and plundered them of property and cash to a large amount and took them and their attendants into their service and made over to them the 24-pounder on the north side. About one troop of the Cavalry then went about the lines and civil station setting fire to the houses and public officers[1], the cannonade continued to be very heavy on the part of the rebels; and the English replied but by a well directed fire of grape and round shot by which two troopers, four (4) or five sepoys and 10 or 12 hangers on were killed. When the sun was very hot the English did not fire. The rebels fired the whole day and night incessantly but most of their balls hit and lodged in the mound which was thrown up round the entrenchment. At first the rebels intended to keep up a constant fire from the 24-pounders and then to make an attack on the entrenchment, but knowing that the English had proposed to blow them up, they did not make an attempt on the entrenchment. The rebels fired daily about 400 rounds but did not dare to make an attack.

7TH JUNE 1857—BUNGALOWS BURNT

On Sunday the 7th of June the firing commenced as usual in the morning and was kept up during the day; Asjun Ali Khan[2], a *Daroga* of Lucknow and who lived near the residence of Agha Meer was captured on this day by the troopers who were committing great acts of tyranny and oppression on the inhabitants of Cawnpore. They asked him for a lakh of Rupees, as, they said, he had obtained large sums of money by fraudulent means from the King of Oudh and on some one telling them that there were some Europeans concealed in his house they opened fire upon it. They then took him prisoner, and were going to tie him on the top of a hot gun. On his giving 1000 Rupees he was let go; they then sent ammunition for their own guns, which were bombarding the entrenchment. All the bungalows were burnt.

DISPOSSESSED ZAMINDARS JOIN THE REVOLUTION

On Monday the 18th (*sic*,—8th) of June bombardment as usual and 1 woman, a child and a Christian were brought

[1] It should be 'offices' and not 'officers'.
[2] May have been spelt for 'Asghar Ali Khan' or 'Azim Ali Khan'.

before the Nana. He ordered them to be killed. Although they offered to be Musselmen, he did not cancel the order, the disturbance outside the city was so great that travellers had some difficulty in going along the roads. And all the old *zemindars* who had been dispossessed of their estates by sale or otherwise, during the rule of the Government, embraced this opportunity of turning out those who had been appointed in their room. The land-holders oppressed and plundered each other, and hundreds of Rajpoots were employed in robbing the travellers on the roads. Those sepoys who were returning to their homes, taking with them what plunder they had collected, were in their turn despoiled of their ill-gotten wealth by the *zemindars*. If they refused to deliver up their plunder, when called upon to do so, they were killed. Most of them had from a thousand to five hundred rupees in their girdles.....Many merchants expected that the sepoys would spare their property and that they would consequently be able to carry on business under the new Government. The sepoys however murdered every Christian they found, and also fired at every person they saw wearing English garments.

BRITISHERS ACCUSE NANA OF DECEPTION

On the 9th of June the cannonade commenced on the entrenchment, and there was a report that the General was slightly wounded; it was also said, that some man had conveyed a letter from the General to the Nana, and that the contents of the letter were as follows :—"Why do you, having taken our magazine, treasury and guns, fire at us, and hew us in; let us go, we shall proceed to Calcutta. You are acting foully in killing women and children of our nation. Such conduct has never before been heard of under Government[1]." The Nana sent no answer but commenced firing in the entrenchment.

EUROPEANS MURDERED

On the 10th of June the firing was commenced as usual from the guns which the Nana had placed round the entrench-

[1] The phrase would be 'under any Government'.

ment. A lady, a girl and three young children who were coming from the western direction in a *Dak-Gharry* (*Dak Gari*)[1] were seized by the troopers of the 2nd Cavalry, on their entering Cawnpore, and carried before the Nana (the husband of the lady had been previously murdered on the road but his murderer spared the lady and children and allowed them to proceed on their journey). The Nana ordered that they should all be killed. The lady asked him to spare their lives but the coward refused to do so. They were then taken to the middle of the *maidan*, the sun was hot, and the lady asked them to take her and her children into the shade. The wretch paid no attention to her request. The children clung to their mother, and asked her to take them to a bungalow; they said that they were suffering from the heat of the sun. Eventually their hands were tied, they were taken to the middle of the *maidan* and fired on, all were killed at the first volley, except an infant. It was rolling about on the dead bodies and taking the hands of the corpses, was lifting them up and was saying "why have you fallen down in the sun ?" At last a trooper killed it with his sword.

FIRING AT THE ENTRENCHMENT CONTINUES

On the 11th of June cannonade began as usual, some of the balls fired by the insurgents lodged in the mound, others struck the barrack and others went over it. The people at first remained inside the building, but when they saw, that the insurgents were cannonading more than usual, they fired one or two rounds of grape which ten or twelve of them.[2] After that the people inside the entrenchment continued firing at intervals and at midnight about 20 Europeans came out, killed 10 or 12 sepoys and spiked the gun which was to the west of the entrenchment. 2 Europeans were killed in this sortie. The Nana had placed this gun in charge of Nizam-Ood-Dowlah, the adopted son of Agha Meer, and he was very angry with him, abused him and said "you are not wanted". Nizam-Ood-Dowlah, however, from fear still continued to attend the Nana. On that day the sepoys

[1] Dak Gari—Mail Van.
[2] The construction of the sentence is faulty.

plundered the shops of the cloth merchants and those of the manufactures[1] of brass and copper vessels. The property they plundered was worth about a lakh of rupees. On that day too the wife of Mr. Mackintosh, a merchant, was caught, she had been lying concealed under some grass in her house, and when she came out in the evening she was seen. She then put on Hindoostani apparel, and went before the Nana. He ordered her to be killed. I myself saw her head severed from her body, and placed under her arm. The dead bodies were exposed by them and the natives went to look at them as if they were going to see some sight. All the sowars and troopers joined the Nana and were employed by him. Whenever he ordered the death of any innocent person these sowars carried out his orders.

VILLAGERS JOIN IN THE PLUNDER

On the 12th of June cannonade was carried on as usual. There was a report that some Europeans were coming to oppose the insurgents and put down the insurrection. A troop of Cavalry and two Companies of Infantry were forthwith sent to inquire into the truth of the report. It appeared that 126 Europeans, men, women and children, who had gone to Nynee Tal (Naini Tal) for the recovery of their health, having heard that in every regiment, the sepoys, both Hindoo and Mussulmen were mutinying, had embarked on three boats with the intention of going to Calcutta. They were all seized by the Cavalry and Infantry and taken before the Nana. He ordered them all to be killed. Accordingly some Mussulman sowars, inhabitants of Rampore belonging to the 2nd Cavalry killed them. One young lady, the daughter of some General, conversed much with the Nana and said, "No tyrant has ever been so cruel and blood-thirsty as you are, in no religion is the killing of women and children authorized but I know not what retribution you will meet with. Now consider well that the English however much you may kill and slaughter them in this barbarous manner, will never be diminished in numbers. If any one is left he will avenge our deaths." The Nana however did not spare her but

[1] Appears to be misspelt for 'manufacturers'.

ordered her to be killed. *And the inhabitants of the villages outside the city broke the telegraph posts and cut up the wire, and took the wood and wire to their own houses. They destroyed every thing in the chowkies.* And during the two or three days of this outbreak all boats which had come from both directions were collected. This was owing to an order that no boat was to be unmoored except by permission. The object of the order was to prevent any Christian or European escaping by means of a boat. The supply of gram too was stopped from all directions, and prices consequently rose. Before the outbreak grain was selling at 23 seers for a rupee, and on the third and fourth day of the insurrection only 12 seers were obtainable for that sum.[1]

* * *

Alleged Statement of Tatya Tope.

In the month of May 1857 the Collector of Cawnpoor sent a note of the following purport to the Nana Sahib at Bithoor viz. that he begged him (the Nana) to forward his wife and children to England. The Nana consented to do so and four days afterwards the Collector wrote to him to bring his troops and guns with him from Bithoor to Cawnpoor. I went with the Nana and about 100 sepoys and 300 matchlockmen and 2 guns to the Collector's house at Cawnpoor. The Collector was then in the entrenchment and not in his house. He sent us word to remain and he stopped at his house during the night. The Collector came in the morning and told the Nana to occupy his own house which was in Cawnpoor. We accordingly did so. We remained there four days and the gentleman said it was fortunate we had come to his aid as the sepoys had become disobedient and that he would apply to the General in our behalf. He did so and the General wrote to Agra whence a reply 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

[1] Foreign Secret Proceedings. 31st July 1857, Cons. No. 85. National Archives, New Delhi.



Tatya Tope

From Savarkar : *The Indian War of Independence*

of everything they contained leaving nothing in either. Of the treasure the sepoys made over two lacs 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 which (*sic*,) were with us also 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 along with them and said "Come along to Delhi". Having gone 3 *coss* from Cawnpoor the Nana said that as the day was far spent it was better to halt there then and to march in the following day. They agreed to this and halted. In the morning the whole army told him (the Nana) to go with them towards Delhi. The Nana refused and the army then said, "Come with us to Cawnpoor and fight them." The Nana objected to this, but they would not attend to him and so taking him with them as a prisoner they went towards Cawnpoor and fighting commenced there.....[1]

* * *

Shepherd's Version of the Outbreak at Kanpur, dated 29th August 1857.

REVOLUTIONARIES PLAN TO PROCEED TO DELHI

Previous to the outbreak at Cawnpore, reports of different kinds were afloat in the station, from all of which it was ascertained that the native soldiery, whenever they should break out into open mutiny, would on no account molest or hurt the European community at Cawnpore; and the informers employed by General Sir Hugh Wheeler on all occasions confirmed the same. They reported that the three Infantry regiments (1st, 53rd, and 56th) appeared well disposed towards our Government, with the exception of a few sepoys of really bad character but that the 2nd Regiment Light Cavalry (who were discontented) were endeavouring to persuade them to rebel, when all should join and proceed in a body together to Delhi, after possessing themselves of all the Government money lodged in the Collector's treasury, which they

[1] '*Trial of Tatya Tope*'. Original Consultations, September 1859, No. 144. National Archives, New Delhi.

proposed taking on as a present to the newly-created King there, whom they acknowledged to be their true Sovereign.

EUROPEANS ABANDON THE IDEA OF EVACUATING KANPUR

Under the above supposition, the European merchants and others of the station, though they had at first provided themselves with boats and other means of escape from Cawnpore, abandoned the idea of deserting this place; the only precaution that appeared to be necessary was to avoid the fury of the mutineers at the moment the outbreak might take place.

For this purpose almost the whole of the non-military residents were promised shelter in the entrenched camp then under preparation under the General's directions; this promise appears to have completely satisfied them, and all determined to stay at Cawnpore.

ENTRENCHMENT PROVISIONED

The General at the same time took the precaution to direct the Commissariat to lay in, in the entrenchment, a supply of *otta*, *dall*, *ghee*, salt, rice, tea, sugar, rum and malt liquor, etc., calculated to last for thirty days for about 1,000 persons; this was accordingly done, though not quite in full of indents, in consequence of some mismanagement on the part of the newly-created purchasing agent, Chunna Mull.

The Assistant Commissary (Mr. Reily), in charge of the magazine, was directed to blow up the magazine the moment an outbreak should take place.

The Collector of Cawnpore (Mr. Hillersdon) was also directed to convey away all his treasure from the treasury into the entrenchment, but under certain circumstances (which I have not been able correctly to ascertain) it was not done.

CONFIDENCE REPOSED IN NANA

About this time the Nena (Nana) of Bithoor offered his services, *and pretending to be a most faithful subject of Government*, undertook to protect the treasury, in conjunction with our own sepoy guard, with a couple of his guns and about 2,000

men in his employ; very great confidence appears to have been placed in him, and his services were accepted; and in the meantime about a lac or upwards of rupees were withdrawn and placed in the entrenchment, under the plea of meeting the salaries of the troops, etc., for May, leaving about eight and a half lacs in the treasury.

The Executive Commissariat and pay-officers, with all their records and treasure-chest, were removed from the west side of the canal into bungalows adjacent to the entrenchment.....

TREASURE REMOVED

On the 3rd of June it was thought proper not to keep any public money under the sepoy guard at the office, and accordingly the Commissariat treasure-chest, containing about 34,000 rupees in cash, and the Government paper deposits of *gomashtas* and others, together with the cashbook, security deposit, and other important books, were taken into the entrenchment, and placed in the quarter-guard there.

3RD AVADH HORSE BATTERY JOINS

About sun-set on that date, the 3rd Oude Horse Battery, which had been sent for our assistance some few days ago from Lucknow (and had been ordered to proceed towards Futtehgurh, to quell a disturbance in that quarter, but since recalled), joined the entrenchment.

NANA ASSUMES LEADERSHIP

It is reported that when the mutineers reached Nawabgunge, the Nena (Nana)came out to receive them; and taking them with him, proceeded to the treasury, where he had all the Government elephants well laden with the public money; and while this was being done, word was brought that the other two regiments (53rd and 56th Native Infantry) were also coming to join. This so pleased the Nena (Nana), that he gave up the remaining cash as a general plunder to the rebels; after which they set fire to the records and to the building, and destroyed the Collector's *kutchery.*

MARCH TO KALYANPUR

This done, the whole mob moved on to the magazine (which, unfortunately, had not been permitted, by the sepoy guard placed there, to be blown up), where they halted until carts and other carriage could be procured from the city and neighbouring villages; they then loaded their baggage, and took as much small ammunition as they could, and marched off about 5 O'clock in the afternoon to Kulleeanpore (being one stage on the road to Delhi), leaving a small body of Cavalry to complete the work of destruction, *i. e.*, firing the remaining bungalows that had been missed during the day, and which work they continued to perform nearly the whole night.

PLAN TO ATTACK THE ENGLISH

The above *Golundauzes*, it is reported, then proceeded to the camp of the mutineers and going to the Nena (Nana), who also was there, set before him the advantages likely to be derived by attacking the English in their entrenchment, since there was so large a quantity of powder, and guns of different sizes, with other ammunition, quite at hand, besides the thirty five or forty boat-loads of shot and shell lying in the canal (which, on account of the unsettled state of the country, were unable to proceed to Roorkee, where they had originally been consigned from Cawnpore, and had only just returned). It was, therefore, it appears, agreed upon to return next morning and attack us; for early on the morrow, the 6th of June, information was brought that the mutineers were coming upon us, and every preparation was accordingly made for our defence.

THE FIRST SHOT FIRED

In the meantime the rebels secured all our magazine work-people, *Khalassies* etc., and made them assist in putting up a few heavy guns in serviceable order; and, employing Government bullocks, of which they had also full possession, brought out about half-a-dozen guns (two of which were 18 pounders, and the other smaller); and placing them in a range under-cover of the newly-built lines of the 1st Native Infantry, commenced playing upon us. The first shot was fired at

about half-past 10 A. M. and immediately on hearing the report of the gun a bugle sounded in our camp. "All hands to your arms," and accordingly every individual, from a drummer or writer, to the regimental officers, all spread themselves out under the walls, or rather mounds, of the entrenchment, which had been hastily built up about breast-high. Here we sat nearly all day, exposed to the hot winds and scorching sun of the month of June, every moment expecting an open handed attack from the Infantry and Cavalry. This the enemy, however, never attempted, though at times large bodies of armed men could be seen collected in different places. Our Artillery kept up a brisk fire, and returned nearly every shot of the mutineers. In the meantime the latter commenced setting fire to the bungalows on our, or the east, side of the canal, and bringing round their guns closer up to us, behind the riding-school and the compound walls of buildings most suited to them.....

INCESSANT FIRING AT THE ENTRENCHMENT

We had but one well in the middle of the entrenchment, and the enemy kept up their fire so incessantly, both day and night, that it was as much as giving a man's "life-blood" to go and draw a bucket of water, and while there was any water remaining in the large jars, usually kept in the verandah for the soldiers' use, nobody ventured to the well; but after the second day, the demand became so great that a *bheesti* bag of water was with difficulty got for five rupees, and a bucket for a rupee, as most of the servants of officers and merchants had deserted, and it, therefore, became a matter of necessity for every person to fetch his own water, which was usually done during the night when the enemy could not well direct their shots; in fact, after the first three days' incessant firing the rebels made it a practice, usually at about candle-light, to cease for about two hours, and at that time the crowd round the well was very great.....

The heat was very great, and what with the fright, want of room, want of proper food and care, several ladies and soldiers' wives, as also children, died with great distress; many officers and soldiers also were sun-struck from exposure to the hot winds. The dead bodies of our people had to be thrown into a well outside the entrenchment near the new

unfinished barracks, and this work was generally done at the close of each day, as nobody could venture out during the day on account of the shot and shell flying in all directions like a hailstorm; our entrenchment was strewed with them. The distress was so great that none could offer a word of consolation to his friend or attempt to administer to the wants of each other. I have seen the dead bodies of officers, and tenderly brought up young ladies of rank (Colonels' and Captains' daughters) put outside the verandah amongst the rain, to await the time when the fatigue party usually went round to carry the dead to the well as above; for there was scarcely room to shelter the living, the buildings were so saddly (*sic*,) riddled that every safe corner available was considered a great object.....

TERMS OF SURRENDER

.....But instead of a proposal of this nature coming from our camp, that same afternoon a message was sent by the Nena (Nana) to General Wheeler, offering to let him and all his people go to Allahabad unmolested, if he would consent to vacate the entrenchment and abandon Cawnpore, *at the same time make over to him all the public treasure, the guns and magazine in the camp*.....

AZIMULLAH APPOINTED TO NEGOTIATE

The following day (25th June) was fixed by the General for an interview with any person whom the Nena (Nana) might appoint to arrange matters; and accordingly at about noon a man by the name Azimoollah, with a few of the ringleaders, sowars of the 2nd Light Cavalry came to the camp, and (they were received by the General in one of the unfinished barracks outside the entrenchment (No. 6 as per sketch).

Azimoollah, who could read and write English, attempted to open the conversation in that language, but was prevented from doing so by the sowars. It was agreed, upon the part of our General, that all the Government money, the magazine in the entrenchment, with the guns (two only of which were in serviceable order, the rest having been injured and rendered useless by the enemy's cannon), be made over to the Nena (Nana); and in return the Nena (Nana)

should provide tonnage, and permit every individual in the entrenchment to proceed to Allahabad unmolested. This agreement was drawn up in writing, signed, sealed, and ratified by a solemn oath, by the Nena (Nana).....

EUROPEANS ALLOWED TO LEAVE

On the morning of the 27th a number of carts, *dollies*, and elephants, were sent to the entrenchment by the Nena (Nana), to enable the women and children and sick to proceed to the river side.....

The men and officers were allowed to take their arms and ammunition with them, and were escorted by nearly the whole of the rebel army.....[1]

* *

Copy of a Statement by Lieutenant H. G. De La Fosse, late 53rd B. N. I., one of the few sowars of the Garrison at Cawnpore (Kanpur).

HELP SOUGHT FROM THE RAJA OF BITHOOR

Sometime before any disturbance broke out in Cawnpore, and it was only suspected that there might be an outbreak amongst the troops, General Wheeler ordered over from Oude a regiment of Irregular Cavalry which was quartered in different parts of the cantonment. At the same time officers were ordered to sleep in the lines with their men, and assistance was asked from the Rajah of Bhittoor (Bithoor) who sent some 200 Cavalry, 400 Infantry, and two guns, which force had the guarding of the treasury. A few days afterwards the Oude Irregulars were ordered out of the station, as the General found he could not trust them and were relieved by a Company of the 32nd Regiment from Lucknow.

ARMY AT THE STATION

General Wheeler now gave the order for all the European inhabitants to sleep near the 32nd Barracks, also for the

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 91 in No. 3, pp. 173-182.

Arty. (Artillery) to be ready to come down at any moment. On the 2nd June two Companies of the 84th Regiment arrived from Allahabad. But in the morning of the 3rd General Wheeler gave orders for one Company of the 84th made up to its full strength, together with the Company of the 32nd to march to Lucknow. So that we had left in Cawnpore 60 men 84th Regiment, 15 men 1st Fusiliers, 70 men 32nd Regiment, (Invalids) 59 men Arty. (Artillery) and 6 Guns. On the morning of the 4th June, the officers of the Cavalry, 1st and 56th Regiments were told to discontinue sleeping in the lines, but the 53rd being considered loyal, the officers of that Regiment were still to stay with the men.

REVOLT BY THE CAVALRY

On the afternoon of Sunday Lieutenant Ashe arrived with a battery of Oude Horse Artillery (2-nine pounders and a 24 lb. howitzer) having been obliged to retire on Cawnpore as the troops that were with him on his way to Futtyghur (Fatehgarh) had mutinied on the road. On the 5th June the trenches being finished, the guns were placed in them, and provisions for 25 days were ordered in. At about eleven O'clock that night, the Cavalry rose, taking with them their arms and two horses each. Early next morning the 1st Regiment was reported to have gone. The 53rd and 56th appeared still loyal, remaining in their lines, but as none of the officers were (*sic*,-was) with the men, and there was no one to look after them they also went off without any one missing them between 8 and 9 O'clock taking with them the Regiment (Regimental) treasure, colors, and as much ammunition as they could carry. That afternoon every house was burnt, fires were to be seen in every direction. We could do nothing but stay where we were, being too few in number to meet the rebels, as all the *Golundauzes* belonging to the Artillery had gone away soon after Lieutenant Ashe's arrival, and volunteers for the Arty. (Artillery) were called for from the Infantry.

ATTACK ON THE ENTRENCHMENT

The next morning, the 7th June, a letter was received from the Rajah of Bhittoor, who was supposed to be on our side, saying he meant to attack us. Soon after, 2 guns opened

upon us from the N. W. (North-West) and musketry from all directions.

On the 8th, 3 more guns were brought against us. The number of guns increased daily, and on the 11th the enemy had playing upon us night and day, 3 mortars, two 24-pounders, one or two 12-pounders, three 18-pounders, about the same number of 9-pounders and one 6-pounder. On about the 12th June, the insurgents by firing carcases set the large Barrack, in which all the women of the 32nd and the wounded were placed, on fire. No sooner was the fire perceived than the assembly was sounded, and every man had to stand to his arms and post, as we expected to be attacked. There was no place for the wounded and children to go to but in the trenches, where many of them had to remain night and day, and from this date we lost 5 or 6 men daily by sun stroke. On the[1]—June, after having been on half rations for some days, the Rajah sent a half-caste woman with a note into the trenches to the effect that all soldiers and Europeans, that had had nothing to do with Lord Dalhousie's Government and would lay down their arms, should be sent to Allahabad. General Wheeler gave orders to Captain Moore, H. M.'s 32nd, to act as he should consider best. Captain Moore that evening signed a treaty to the effect, that the Rajah should provide boats and carriage for the wounded and ladies down to the river bank, whilst on our side we were to give up what treasure we had, together with guns and ammunition.....[2]

* * *

Extract from the Petition of Meer Waris Ally (Mir Waris Ali), Tahsildar of Deramungulpur[3] *(Dera Mangalpur) zillah Cawnpore (Kanpur), to the Governor General of India.*

...On 5th of June 1857 however the mutiny also broke out in Cawnpore which threw every *mauzah* connected with

[1] Space left blank in the Original and no date has been given.

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th October 1857, No. 450. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Apparently *Mangalpur*, Tahsil *Derapur*, District *Cawnpore*— Mangalpur stands in 26° 30′ N. and 79° 43′ E., on the unmetalled road from Rasulabad to Sikandra and the Jumna, at a distance of four miles south-west from Jhinjhak station, forty miles from Cawnpore, and nine miles north-west

the *zillah* into confusion, the *zamindars* rose up in arms and taking into their services numbers of armed men began to fight with each other taking revenge of old animosities, dispossessing those who had acquired estates by auctions, by sale, by mortgage or by gift and plundering and burning the corn stored up in principal places....[1]

GENERAL WHEELER KILLED

Telegram from Major-General Lloyd to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, dated Dinapur (via Patna), 25th June 1857.

Jemadar Salamat Allie, 53rd Native Infantry, escaped from Cawnpore on 12th instant, reports that the whole native force there joined with the Bithoor Rajah's troops on 4th instant, seized the treasure and magazine, and besieged General Wheeler's entrenched camp from that date to 12th. When the deponent left, guns were then still firing upon it. Reports that General Wheeler was killed on the 19th. More by post.[2]

* * *

Telegram from Major-General Lloyd to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, dated Dinapur (via Sherghati), 26th June 1857.

Sheik Salamat Allie (Shaikh Salamat Ali , 53rd Native Infantry escaped from Cawnpore, reported that the native troops rose on the 4th and 5th June, and joined the Bithoor Rajah's troops, plundered the treasure, seized the magazine, released the prisoners, and besieged General Wheeler's entrenched camp from 6th to 12th. When deponent left, the General is said to have been killed, and many others. The guns still playing on them at twelve.[3]

from Derapur, whence a road leads through the village to Phaphund in Etawah. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 311).

[1] Dept. XIII, File No. 632, year 1858-59, English Records Room, Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Forrest : *State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 76.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 76-77.

DEPOSITIONS ABOUT THE OUTBREAK AT KANPUR

Deposition of Kunhye Pershad,[1] *Mahajan of Cawnpore (Kanpur).*

I was at Cawnpore when the mutiny broke out at that station, and state what I know of it:

PLOT BETWEEN THE SAWARS OF THE 2ND CAVALRY AND NANA

"When the news of the Meerut mutiny was received there was much excitement amongst the troops at Cawnpore and reports were rife that they would follow the example of the troops at Meerut. I was on bad terms with the sowars of the 2nd Cavalry, as a year previous to the mutiny, four of the troopers had been imprisoned on a complaint made by me. I therefore feared their vengeance. I knew that many of the troopers frequented the house of a prostitute named Asseesun (Azizan), and bought over her servant Emambux (Imam Bakhsh). *She informed me that the sowars of the 2nd Cavalry were plotting with the Nana, and that a mutiny had taken place between the parties.*

MEETING AT SOOKHA MALLAH'S GHAT

"The facts of the case are these: The Nana had in his employ two sowars, one named Raheem Khan, resident of Bishenpore near Bitthoor (Bithoor), and the other Muddud Ali[2] of Banda; the latter was discharged and commenced business as a horse dealer, but still used to visit the Nana in the way of business. When the Nana was called into Cawnpore from Bitthoor, these two sowars were employed to tamper with the 2nd Cavalry; they used frequently to visit Soobadar Sheeba Sing[3] and a trooper named Shumsoodeen Khan. On the 1st or 2nd June, both these men and the Havildar-Major of the 2nd Cavalry, Gopal Sing, with Raheem Khan and Muddud Ali met the Nana, his brother Bala Rao, and Azeemoollah, at Sookah Mullah's Ghat on the banks of the Ganges.

[1] Correct name may be 'Kanhai Prasad' or 'Kanhaiya Prasad'.
[2] Appears to have been spelt for 'Madad Ali'.
[3] Correct name may be 'Shobha Singh' or 'Shiva Singh'.

It was dusk, and they had a long consultation of about two hours, seated in a boat.

NANA'S RULE TO BE ESTABLISHED

This meeting was well known and was brought to the notice of the Magistrate, but the Nana on being questioned said he had met the men of the 2nd Cavalry to pacify them and prevent further disturbances. The day after this meeting, Shumsoodeen Khan was at the house of the prostitute Asseesun (Azizan). Being in liquor, he told the girl that the Peishwa's reign would soon commence, and the Nana in a day or two would be paramount, and that he (Shumsoodeen) would fill her house with gold *mohurs*.

NANA ASKED TO LEAD

Two or three days after this the troops mutinied. I also heard that some of the native officers and troopers waited on the Nana with intimation that a kingdom was prepared for him, if he joined them with all his wealth; or death if he sided with the Europeans. The Nana replied that he was with them and had nothing to do with Europeans; he was then requested to lead the troops to Delhie, to which he assented, and told them to take the treasures, he would follow them. The native officers placed the Nana's hand on his head and required an oath that he would fulfil his promise; the oath was taken, when the native officers and troopers left. A consultation was then held by the Nana, Bala, and Azeemoollah, with some others about going to Delhie. Azeemoollah pointed out to the Nana that by going to Delhie, he would lose all power and influence; that he was well acquainted with the arrangements of the British; that they had not a fourth of Europeans compared to the sepoys, and that the British could not help themselves; it would therefore be advisable first to bring into subjection and order the country around, and then extend his dominions as far as possible to the eastward. Having secured the passages by which Europeans proceeded up country, they could be easily held in check. This was at once agreed to, and the Nana, Bala, and Azeemoollah, went to Kullianpore and got the troops to return to Cawnpore."

INFORMATION GIVEN BY RAMDIN

Question—State truly from whence did you get this information ?

Answer—I was acquainted with a resident of Bitthoor named Ramdeen, who was in the employ of the Nana, and was constantly in attendance on him. I persuaded him to give me all the news of the Nana's doings, *for I feared for my life, and so I willingly paid him* 20 *Rupees; ten each time for the information given.*

JWALA PRASAD'S INFLUENCE

Question—What had you to fear from the Nana ?

Answer—I feared a *Resaldar* in the Nana's sowars, named Jwala Pershad, who, after the mutiny, was made a Brigadier. His relative Gujjadhur, and one Alee *Gumsta*[1], were part owners of *mouza* Kullianpore. I bought the forfeited share of Gujjadhur, hence Jwala Pershad bore me a spite. When the mutiny broke out, my share of the village was made over to Gunsham Aheer (Ghanshyam Ahir). A *moonshee* named Jwala Pershad who resided near my house repeatedly advised me to petition Ramlal, Deputy Collector, who would send a party with me to put me in possession of the village; but this I refused to do.

Question—What office had Munshi Jwala Pershad under the Nana ?

Answer—As I did not leave my house I cannot say, but I heard that he had great influence in the Nana's court; and Ram Lal, the Deputy Collector, did nothing without consulting Munshi Jwala Pershad; this is well known to all.

Question—Where is Ramdeen who gave you the information ?

Answer—He is either with the Nana or at Bitthoor.

PARTICULARS ABOUT AZIZAN

Question—Where is (*sic*,-are) the prostitute Asseesun (Azizan) and her servants ?

Answer—I do not know.

Question—Where did she reside at Cawnpore ?

[1] Probably spelt for 'Gumashta'.

Answer—In the house of Oomrao Begum in the Setringee (Shatranji or Satrangi) Mahal.

Question—Who is Oomrao Begum ?

Answer—She is a prostitute, and is now at Furruckabad; the girl Asseesun (Azizan) rented her house.[1]

Deposition of Kalka Pershad, Moonshee (Munshi), Resident of Cawnpoor (Kanpur).

SEPOYS OBJECT TO THE REMOVAL OF THE TREASURE

I was in the employ of Mr. Thomas Greenway, at the time of the outbreak at Cawnpoor. In May 1857 we heard of the mutiny at Meerut; and about the end of the same month some Government elephants were sent to the treasury, to remove the treasure kept there; but the sepoys on guard would not allow it to be taken away; this created suspicions regarding their intentions, after which the entrenchments were commenced, and the Nana came in from Bithoor.

SIEGE OF THE ENTRENCHMENT

On the 4th June 1857, about 4 P. M., my master took his family to the entrenchments. The troops mutinied during that night. I was in the city at the time. The next day, the jail was broken open, the treasury plundered, and all the bungalows set on fire; after which the mutineers went off towards Kulleanpoor.

But on the 6th of June, they returned to Cawnpoor and laid siege to the entrenchments. The Nana placed himself at the head of the mutineers. A general search for all Christians ensued, who were massacred wherever found. On the 8th of June, a party of troopers and sepoys were sent to Nujjufghur (Najafgarh)[2].

Captain Holland who was there fought with them; but

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 16, pp. 40-41.

[2] *Najafgarh*, Tahsil *Narwal*, District *Cawnpore*—Najafgarh, officially styled Biposi Najafgarh, is a small and decayed town standing 26° 17′ N. and 80° 34′ E. on the high bank of the Ganges, some sixteen miles below Cawnpore and nine miles from Narwal. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 314).

having run short of ammunition, *he desired the sepoys to put an end to his life.....*[1]

Statement of Hulas Singh, son of Ram Singh, age about 70 years; caste Kurmi; inhabitant of mouzah (mauza) Newdega, zillah Furruckabad (Farrukhabad); profession, he was at one time in service, at another a zamindar.

1ST REGIMENT AND 2ND CAVALRY CONSPIRE

"*To benefit myself* I tell the whole truth. When the troops mutinied at Cawnpore I was there. A few days before the disturbance broke out, I was summoned by the Magistrate from the Torsur *thanah*, and put up at a small house in the palace of Agha Mir, father of the Nunney Nawab. Six or seven days before the disturbance, the 1st Regiment and the 2nd Light Cavalry conspired for mischief. The Nana Dhoondoo Punt, Maharatta, was summoned into Cawnpore from Bitthoor, by the Magistrate; he came with two brass guns, and some followers; and took up his quarters in his own house, at Nawab Gunge, near the *cutcherry*. The troopers of the 2nd Cavalry used to court the Nana. One day, the date I don't clearly remember, probably the 4th June, the 1st Regiment broke into mutiny at night, then the 56th and 53rd Regiments mutinied and went to the treasury, which they plundered; broke open the jail, and after plundering the place went off to Kulyanpore.

REVOLUTIONARIES RETURN TO KANPUR

"The next day Nana Dhoondoo Punt, and Baba Bhut went to Kulyanpore and brought the troops back. When their preparations were completed, they commenced an attack on the entrenchment. I did not myself see the Nana Dhoondoo Punt going to Kulyanpore, but I heard from a number of people that the Nana and Bala Bhut[2] had gone there and brought back the troops and commenced to injure the

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 20, p. 47.

[2] Given as 'Baba Bhut' five lines above; see p. 522 also.

Government. Europeans and Christians were murdered whenever they were found.

HULAS SINGH APPOINTED KOTWAL OF THE CITY

"Seven or eight days after this, I was summoned to the Nana's residence and became *Kutwal* of the city. I was appointed because several *Kutwals* had been appointed in the course of the week, but they could not get on. First Kazi Waseeoodeen (Wasi-uddin) was appointed, and held the office for one day, then Haji Khanum's son whose name I forget, remained in office two or three days, then the *Mahajuns* of the city, and Bidi Gunga Pershad, Tent-maker; and Jugul Kishor, Jeweller; and Budri, Pan-seller; and Shew Pershad, *Khazanchi*; and others who had transactions with the Nana, recommended my appointment. On this I was sent for, and when I was at the Nana's house, Ahmed Ali, *Tehseeldar* and officer of Police, gave me full instructions and a *purwana* of appointment. I was helpless; accepted the post and entered on its duties. I could not but carry out the *foujdaree* orders which were issued by the Nana and his officers....."

Continuation of the Deposition of Hulas Singh, June 16th, 1859.

POSITION OF THE BATTERIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Question—Where were the rebel batteries placed and who commanded them ?

Answer—When the entrenchments were attacked, one of the rebel batteries was planted on the north of the entrenchment by the racquet court commanded by Nunney Nawab. One was planted by the Cavalry on parade ground which was held by Nawab Bakur Ali Khan. Another was placed by the Dala Nulla served by the rebel sepoys. Another battery was on the north of the Savada House and south of the entrenchments. This the Nana commanded, and Geda Hossein[1], who had brought his Regiment from Lucknow, served this battery.

Question—How used the Nunney Nawab to visit his batteries ?

[1]Probably spelt for 'Gada Husain'.

Answer—All used to serve their batteries by orders of the Nana.

Question—Did the Nunney Nawab go under compulsion, or of his own accord ?

Answer—Nunney Nawab served of his own accord.

Question—Did you yourself see the Nunney Nawab and Bakur Ali at the batteries ?

Answer—I never stopped at the batteries, but used constantly to see them go armed to the batteries. At Nunney Nawab's house were all kinds of English weapons, pistols, double barrelled guns etc. etc. There was always a supply of English gun-powder which had been purchased from European merchants, at the Nawab's house. I have seen it myself. Gun-powder used to be sent from his house and ammunition laden on *keranchis* and *gharries* (*garis*) to his batteries. Reuz Ali[1], son of a one-eyed pensioner was a skilful artillery-man; he used to work in Nunney Nawab's battery. One day he threw a ball of rosin into the entrenchments which set fire to a barrack and some tents. I heard this from hundreds of men.

Question—What employment did the Nunney Nawab obtain from the Nana ?

Answer—Nunney Nawab was among the noblemen of the court, and had no special employment, beyond that in the battery.[2]

* *

Extract from the Statement of Ram Deen, Khazanchi, Collectorate of Cawnpoor (Kanpur), son of Moonshee Adjoodhia Pershad (Munshi Ayodhya Prasad), resident of town of Baligram, lately resident of Cawnpoor (Kanpur), age 24 years, service.

Question—When the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor, where were you ?

Answer—I was present in the station at the time, but four or five days after, from fear of oppression on the part of the rebels, I fled to the village of Rodhapoor[3], from whence

[1] Appears misspelt for 'Riaz Ali'.

[2] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 23, pp. 54, 55, 58.

[3] Probably spelt for *Radhapur*.

I only returned when the British troops came to Cawnpoor. A great many people know this.

PLUNDER STARTS IN THE WAKE OF THE OUTBREAK

Question—As long as you staid (*sic*,-stayed) in Cawnpoor after the breaking out of the disturbances, state what you saw.

Answer—Previous to, and after the outbreak I was in the service of Government as treasurer. In the month of May, intelligence came to Cawnpoor of the outbreak at Meerut. The troops here were suspected on receipt of this news, and the General commenced making an entrenchment. The Nana Dhoondo Punt Maharatta, was summoned to Cawnpoor by the Magistrate; he came, and brought along with him some Cavalry and Infantry and a couple of guns. The Magistrate intrusted to him the keeping of the treasury. On the night of the 4th June the troops at the station mutinied, robbed the treasury, set fire to the bungalows, and released the prisoners in jail, after which they marched to Kulleanpoor; the Nana became their leader and marched them back to Cawnpoor. My bungalow No. 100, which is situated on the grand parade, was now burnt by them and plundered. I heard a few shots fired in the Nunney Nawab's house, the sowars took the Nawab away, and the whole commenced firing on the entrenchments. The sepoys and sowars were guilty of great oppression in the city, and seeing this I quitted it through fear....[1]

Statement of Lalla Gunga Pershad (Lala Ganga Prasad), senior tent-maker of Thundie Ram, caste Khutrie (Khattri), resident of Cawnpoor (Kanpur), age 66 years, Contractor and Mahajun (Mahajan).

Question—When the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor, where were you ?

Answer—I was present in my house at Cawnpoor.

DISORDER AND CONFUSION PREVAIL

Question—State any particulars you know concerning the outbreak.

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 25. p. 66.

Answer—On the night of the 4th June 1857, the troops mutinied. On the day following, they plundered the treasury set fire to the bungalows and marched off to Kuleanpoor. The Nana Mahratta, brought them back from Kuleanpoor. Disorder and confusion were the order of the day. I concealed myself from fear in my own house.

Question—Were you in the habit of visiting the Nana ?

Answer—A servant of Mr. Palmer reported to the Nana that I had money in my possession belonging to his master, whereupon a guard of the Nana's came to my house and commenced quarrelling with me. I reported the circumstance to *Kutwal*, Hoolas Sing; he sent a *Chuprassi* and persuaded the guard to depart. Hoolas Sing sent me with one of his own men to the Nana, who received me very kindly and inquired what amount of money I had. I told him that I had four hundred and sixty rupees, house rent money. He then ordered me to go to Azim-ollah Khan at the *kutwalli*. I did not go, but returned to my own house.

Question—When you saw the Nana, was there any body else with him ?

Answer—Yes there were present with him all the old Government officials, i.e., *amlah*.

Question—Mention their names.

Answer—There was Bilas Rai, *Sheristehdar Foujdary*. I do not know the names of the others.

Question—Did you ever again visit the Nana ?

Answer—Many days after my first visit, Hoolas Sing *Kutwal* sent for me and ordered me to go to the Nana, stating that I should be employed in making tents. When I arrived at the Nana's and he saw me, he got very angry and told me to make him some tents unless I wished to be disgraced. I would not agree to do so; a guard was accordingly sent to my house which perforce carried away five tents from my premises.

NANA'S CHIEF ADVISERS

Question—Whom did you see among the Nana's chief advisers and officers ?

Answer—I saw the following, Baba Bhut, Bala Rao, Azimoollah Khan, Jowalla Pershad Brahmin, and Tantia Tope, and many others.

Question—Was there any religious flag raised at Cawnpoor ?

Answer—I heard the Mahomedans had raised a flag of this nature.

Question—Who was the person that put up the flag ?

Answer—I heard it was Moulvie Salamut Oollah. Numbers of Mahomedans flocked to it. I likewise heard that a single cannon ball from the entrenchments dispersed them.

Question—Did you receive any money for the tents ?

Answer—Yes, and in this manner: when the Nana fled, Hoolas Sing *Kutwal* sent for me and informed me that he had some money which he requested me to keep. He gave me about four hundred rupees. I did not ask for it.

Question—Was there anybody else present when you received the money ?

Answer—There was an agent of Bhugwan Dass *Mahajun* present, and he received some money likewise.

Question—Mention the names of any other of the chiefs whom you know (as) followers of the Nana.

Answer—I know nothing about them.

Question—Did you hear that Nunney Nawab was in the habit of going to the batteries ?

Answer—I did hear the Nunney Nawab was constantly going about with the sowars, but whither he went I do not know

Question—Who was Bhugwan Dass's agent ?

Answer—I do not know his name. I only know he was a servant of Bhugwan Dass.[1]

Deposition of Azeezun (Azizan), Prostitute, and resident of Cawnpore (Kanpur).

Question—Before the mutiny, what sowars of the 2nd Cavalry were in the habit of paying you visits ?

Answer—I was in the keeping of Kulloo Mull (Kallu Mal),

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P, Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 26, pp. 67, 68.

Mahajun; therefore no sowars of the 2nd Cavalry were allowed to visit me.

Question—About two days before the mutiny, Shumshuddeen Khan, sowar, came to your house and said, that in one or two days more the Peishwa's rule would be established and the Nana would be supreme ?

Answer—Before the mutiny, Shumshuddeen Khan, sowar, never came to my house. I don't know the man. He may have come without my knowing it....[1]

News extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated 25th June 1857.

The Mutinies—The progress of the mutinies is uninterrupted either by the efforts of our statesmen or by a spreading sense of the hopelessness of the rebel cause. Regiments of native soldiers continue to throw off their allegiance in obedience, as it were, to the call of destiny. They now scarcely wait for an inducement or provocation, or even an opportunity, to desert their officers and join their fortunes to those of the band which still hopes to effect the installation of the Great Mogul in the sovereignty of India. The large cantonment of Cawnpore, where the influence of example, a contiguous spirit of revolution and the absence of European troops seemed to offer peculiar incitements to mutiny, was hitherto preserved by the energy and skill of one of the ablest of our living commanders. The station has at last struggled out of his hands and sent forth its garrison to swell the ranks of the insurgent mob. On the morning of the 5th instant—so tardily is intelligence received in these days from the nearest points on the line of road-way which till hitherto was the best organized for the purposes of communication in all India—the 1st and 56th Regiments of Native Infantry and the 2nd Cavalry broke out into open mutiny. They appear to have proceeded in the orthodox way of rifling the treasury, breaking open and emptying the jail, burning the houses and massacring the European residents. The exact measure of opposition they met with

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 28, pp. 68, 69.

from the few European troops recently thrown into the station, and that of their success, are not known. It is believed, however, that the extent of damage done by them to life and property is not inferior to what their brethren at similarly large army stations have achieved. Their destination, and final of course—is probably Fyzabad in Oude.[1]

ACTION AGAINST THE BENGALI BABUS

News extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated 27th August 1857.

The native inhabitants of the city, especially the Bengalee *Baboos*, were subjected to innumerable distress and oppressions, the rebels entered their houses under several pretexts and plundered their property; they were obliged for the safety of their lives to shut themselves up in secured houses. Many of the *Baboos* on several occasions concealed themselves in the houses of their servants, etc. At last an order was given by Nana, on the 16th July, to apprehend all the Bengalee *Baboos* on the evening of that day or the next morning and kill them, but the arrival of the British troops on the above mentioned day frustrated his designs. The *Baboos* were suspected of writing letters to the English gentlemen and giving them information, several spies having been apprehended with letters in their possession. The spies were all beheaded on the 14th[2] July.[3]

OUTBREAK AT BITHOOR

Statement of Appajee Shastree (Appa Ji Shastri).

I was at Bithoor during the mutiny. I know the Rao Saheb. He is the son of Bishnath (Vishwanath) Bhutt of Chittrukote[4]. His real name is Seetaram. The Dada Saheb's

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 25th June 1857, p. 203. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Appears wrong in view of date in the sixth line above.

[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 27th August 1857, p. 279 National Library, Calcutta.

[4] *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



Ruins of Peshwa's residence (Ganga Mahal) Bithoor

wife Rahonee Bai adopted him. The Dada Saheb is the elder brother of the Nana. He then took the name of Pandoo Rung Row (Pandurang Rao). He remained at Bithoor during the rebellion. He was Governor of Bithoor. The day of the rebellion the Rao Saheb by the order of the Nana raised a flag at the *thannah*, imprisoned the Government *Thannadar*, appointed Choonee Sing in his place. I ran away and was caught at Chowbeypoor[1] and brought back and confined in the *Thannah* by the order (of) the Rao Saheb. Choonee Sing *Thannadar* told me that some native officers first came to the Rao and he told them to kill their English officers and they went back and the same evening brought back these heads in a basket and were taken into service. The same day some men were sent out to bring in the toll collector and his wife. They were brought before the Rao and he ordered them both to be killed but the Peshwa's widows now begged for the life of the woman—that she was spared and sent to the Residency; he was killed that day. Mina Bai* said that if he killed the woman, she would herself commit suicide.

Choonee Sing went to capture some English coming from Futtehpoor. Abha took troops with him. They were all taken to Rao and sent to Cawnpoor next day. Choonee Sing told me this. He asked us all to come and look at them.

The first day of rebellion the Rao Saheb sent his troops and 1 gun Romeen and killed 5 persons. I heard this.[2]

* * *

Statement of Lalla Ram, Abkaree Darogah (Abkari Darogha) of Gwalior.

I was engaged in a case against the Nana and ran away.

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, 1909, p. 223).

[1] *Chaubepur*, Tahsil *Sheorajpur*, District *Cawnpore*—A large village standing in 26° 37′ N. and 80° 11′ E., on the Grand Trunk Road and the Cawnpore-Achhnera line of railway, some eight miles south from Sheorajpur and sixteen miles from the district headquarters. There is a railway station here, and from it a road runs westwards to Sheoli continuing in the opposite direction to Bithur. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 281).

*"Widow of the Peshwa"—Marginal note in Original.

[2] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Rao Saheb*". Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Baboo Sing arrested me, Appa Shastree and two others. We were confined in the *thannah* by Choone Sing (Chunni Singh). I was released when the Nana ran away. When I was in confinement I heard that a man and his wife were arrested and the man was killed at Cheda Ghaut and the woman was confined at the Residency. When the rebels fled from Bithoor she was killed by the sepoys either by Bala or the Rao's order. I heard this from the sepoys who were placed over me. I also heard that some sowars came to Bithoor from Chowbepoor and asked for supplies. The Rao said "If you kill your officers I will give supplies." They refused and said that they had promised to take their officers to Allahabad. Afterwards they killed 3 of these officers and brought their heads to the Rao and were taken into service. The wife of the toll collector was saved through the intercession of the Mynde Bai. I know that the Rao sent guns to stop the first party of Futtehgurh fugitives and fired at them but they escaped for the time. The Rao also sent guns to stop the second party at Bunde Mata Ghaut but they passed and were stopped at Bithoor and brought before the Rao and were sent next day to the Nana.....[1]

* * *

Deposition of Nana Ubbhunkeer (Abhyankar), son of Kesho Rao Bhunkeer, (Bhaskar) Brahmin, age 30 years.

Question—Where were you at the time of the outbreak at Cawnpore ?

Answer—I was at Bithoor.

Question—State all you saw at Bithoor during the outbreak.

Answer—A day or two after the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor, and agreed to be on the side of the Nana, he caused a flag to be set up at the *thanah* of Bithoor, and it was reported that the Nana's rule had commenced; in honor of which a salute was fired. Jumna Jee Rao deserted through fear of the Nana, by whom Bulwunt Rao and others, relatives and servants of the Baee, were put in confinement. I remained at home through fear, and very seldom ventured out.

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Rao Sahib*". Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

EUROPEAN PRISONERS FROM FARRUKHABAD

About eight days after this, a boat containing some gentlemen from Furruckabad, was brought in. There were two batteries erected, one at Bundee Mata Ghat, and the other at Shookuldeo Ghat; when the boat arrived opposite the latter *ghat*, shots were fired at it by the Nana's people, and from the other side of the river, the people of Jussa Singh *zemindar* of Futtehpoor Chourassee were firing. I saw all this from a distance, the Europeans in the boat also fired; after this a gentleman put out a flag from the boat, on which firing on both sides ceased and the people of Jussa Singh came in a boat from the other side of the river, and took away the boat containing the gentlemen to the *thanah*, and then taking it to Shookuldeo Ghat, caused the gentlemen, ladies and children to leave it, and putting them on two hackeries covered with *sirkee*, took them to the Rao at the palace. It was about 9 P. M. when they reached the palace; it was raining at the time, and the Rao seeing the Europeans ordered them to be taken to the *Burra Sahib's* house, which was done. In the morning food was sent to them, the gentlemen and ladies were about 45 in number, and one of them was called Colonel. On the same day on receipt of an order from the Nana, the Rao sent them all to Cawnpore.

Question—Did you see the gentlemen sent from Bithoor to Cawnpoor ? How many were there ?

Answer—The Europeans were brought to the palace about 9 P. M. and were sent from it to the *Burra Sahib's* house, and on the next day about 3 P. M. they were all sent away on carts, to Cawnpoor, and were accompanied by sowars and sepoys : through fear I did not approach them so close as to be able to count how many ladies and children were with them.

Question—Which of the Nana's officers accompanied the Europeans from Bithoor to Cawnpoor ?

Answer—Kosaba Ghiranee[1] Gir, Mahratta, Bapoo Kan Kutta[2] and several others, whose names I do not remember.

Question—Were any other Europeans brought in to Bithoor ?

[1] Given as 'Khiranee Gir' in *Mutiny Narrative, Cawnpore*, p. 81.
[2] Spelt for 'Kankata'—one who has a mutilated ear.

Answer—No.

Question—What became of the lady who was pregnant, and was kept in the *Burra Sahib's* house at Bithoor ?

Answer—When the Nana retreated from Cawnpoor, and passed through Bithoor, *he ordered the sepoys and sowars to put her to death, which was done.* I only heard of this occurrence and did not witness it.

Question—When did the Nana reach Bithoor, and when did he leave it ?

Answer—I believe he came on Thursday the 16th July, and left Bithoor on Friday night the 17th July.

Question—Was there a women (*sic*,-woman) called Begum, in the Nana's employ ?

Answer—There was a slave girl named Hosseinee Khanum, of the Maharajah's time, who was called Begum.

Question—Were there any other slave girls besides the one above named ?

Answer—There were two or three others, but I do not remember their names.

Question—Give a description of the women (*sic*,—woman) called Begum ?

Answer—She was tall, fair complexioned and about 25 or 30 years of age.

Question—When the Nana was at Cawnpoor, where was this Begum ?

Answer—She generally was in attendance on Oula[1], a prostitute and was with her at Cawnpoor.

Question—Where did the woman named Oula reside ?

Answer—She lived with the Nana.

Question—Did you ever see her ?

Answer—Yes, I frequently saw her.[2]

* * *

Deposition of Golab Sing (Gulab Singh), son of Shere Sing (Sher Singh) Thakoor, Rajpoot, age 20 years, resident of mouzah Jounraee, Tehseel (Tahsil) Jagmow (Jajamau) zillah Cawnpore (Kanpur).

Question—Where were you when the troops mutinied at Cawnpore ?

[1] This name is not comprehensible.

[2] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 40, pp. 82-83.

Answer—I was at *mouzah* Khursal. Four or five days after the outbreak, I came to Cawnpore having been sent for by Futteh Sing.

Question—Where did you reside whilst at Cawnpore ?

Answer—With Futteh Sing.

Question—Where did Futteh Sing live ?

Answer—Near Utbul[1] Sing's tent, who was a *Havildar* in the Nana's service, and occupied a tent close to the Nana.

Question—State what you observed during the outbreak ?

Answer—A long time has now expired since the outbreak occurred. I will answer all questions that may be put to me.

EUROPEANS FROM FARRUKHABAD MURDERED

Question—Did you ever witness the massacre of any Europeans ?

Answer—I remember having witnessed the massacre of Europeans on three occasions. Two days after I had come to Cawnpore, about 117 *Sahib log* were drawn up in a line opposite the Savada Kotee (Sawada Kothi), close to the Nana's tent. Bala, Azeemoollah, and several other persons were present. I heard the former give orders to massacre the Europeans, which was accordingly done by the sepoys of the 1st N. I., and the sowars (of) 2nd Cavalry, firing at them; and afterwards by *Jullads* (*Jallads*) and other *budmashes*, who used their swords. Their bodies were then carried on carts and thrown into the river.

Question—Where had these Europeans come from ?

Answer—They had come from Furruckabad.

Question—Do you know the names of any of the *Jullads* that were present ?

Answer—I do not know their names, but if I saw them, I think I would recognize them.

Question—Who were the other persons present, when Bala gave orders to massacre the Europeans ?

Answer—There were a number of other persons whose names I do not remember. Eight or nine days after, 45 gentlemen, ladies and children were brought in from Bithoor,

[1] Name not comprehensible.

of whom the latter were confined in the Savada House, and the former, 17 or 18 in number, were put to death on the plain opposite Savada. I do not remember the date, the sepoys and sowars shot them down, and the *Jullads* also cut them down with swords; many of them found gold *mohurs*, deposited in these gentlemen's shoes. On the same day, two or three Europeans were put in confinement.

Question—Who gave the orders for their death, and who were the *Sirdars* present ?

Answer—The Nana gave orders personally to put them to death, and Shah Ali, *Kotwal*, told the sepoys to take them away, and put an end to them. Azeemoollah, Jowala Pershad, (Brigadier), and several others were present on the occasion.....[1]

ALLAHABAD

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT ALLAHABAD

ROLE OF THE 6TH N. I. REGIMENT

.....But we must turn from this incident to notice the events which in the interim had occurred at Allahabad. The important station of Allahabad, its fort and arsenal, were in the month of May 1857 garrisoned entirely by natives, the 6th Regiment Native Infantry, a battery of Native Artillery, and five Companies of the Regiment of Ferozpore (Sikhs). The military value of Allahabad cannot be overestimated. Situated at the juncture of the rivers Ganges and Jumna it commands both, and the troops who possess it can therefore prevent all river navigation. It also commands the road. Indeed it is only approachable on the Benares side by a bridge of boats thrown across the Jumna, and this is completely within range of the guns of the fort. The Ganges separates it from Oudh; there are or were no defences on either bank, and that river also is spanned by a bridge of boats. The fort itself is stored with immense quantities of arms and ammunition: it is of great natural strength, resting

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 44, p. 90.

absolutely on the Jumna on one side, and commanding on the other the entire station of Allahabad, the city, and the road to Cawnpore.

To have left so strong a position and such immense stores under the guardianship of natives, so soon after the acquisition of Oudh, its nearest neighbour, was an inexcusable fault. If we had lost Allahabad, we should have lost all power of communicating with the north-west,—the whole aspect of the campaign would have been changed; and our enemies at Cawnpore and Lucknow, after massacring our garrisons at those places, would probably have marched 50,000 in number to overwhelm our troops at Delhi. Lord Ellenborough, when Governor General of India, was so impressed with the importance of Allahabad, that he would never allow less than three Companies of Europeans to be stationed there. He built for them magnificent barracks inside the fort, and made every possible arrangement for their comfort. Sir Charles Napier also took care that European troops should always garrison the fort. But what were Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier to Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, and Colonel Birch? Why, it had been the practice of the two former not only to give orders direct to the parties concerned, but invariably to see them obeyed,—an unpardonable offence in the eyes of those illustrious red-tapists. Hence all they did was undone by their successors; and, amongst other "reforms," the Europeans were moved away from Allahabad.

6TH REGIMENT TAKES DUTY OVER THE TREASURY

In no scene of the drama was the action of Providence more conspicuous than in the events by which the Allahabad mutiny was characterised. The news from Delhi and Meerut, arriving about the 14th May, had a visible effect on the 6th Regiment: they looked round and saw no one to interfere with their plans: they were, or might become, without even the semblance of a struggle, the masters of all they surveyed. They took duty over the treasury, in which there were 170,000, in silver; they guarded, alternately with the Sikhs, the arsenal, the fort gates, the magazine; they had only to rise and say, "these are ours;" there were none or few to share it with them: the population of Allahabad are bigoted Mahomedans;

their sympathies would ever be with those, of whatever religion, caste, or tribe, who would fight against the British. Why, then, did they not mutiny at once ? A question to which but one reply can be given. They were Asiatics: they could not comprehend the advantages of time, circumstance, position, promptitude: they saw that they could seize these places and this treasure when they chose; therefore they did not seize them at once: they had, in fact, all the wickedness and all the irresolution of Macbeth. In their manner and tone they allowed, even at this time, something to appear which alarmed, not the authorities or their own officers, but the European residents at Allahabad. These latter wrote their fears to the Indian newspapers, and the press, then unfettered, inserted their letters. The consequence was that, having no other Europeans to spare, the Government ordered up a portion of the European invalids from Chunar: sixty-five of these arrived on the 23rd May, and were at once placed in the fort. To their presence, and the presence of the few Europeans who followed them, the subsequent safety of the fort may be attributed. About the same time a detachment of the 3rd Regiment Oudh Irregular Cavalry, under Captain Alexander, was brought over from Oudh. All this time the officers of the 6th had the most perfect confidence in their men. There was not a regiment in the service in which the sepoys were so looked after, so cared for, as in this one.* The officers' feelings seemed to be entirely one with theirs. They encouraged them in their wrestling and in all their sports, and contributed largely towards their maintenance from their own private funds. They had battled on their behalf with the Civil Authorities, and had exposed themselves to contumely by the pertinacity with which they held out for the character of their men. They were proud of them: the Regiment was truly their home: they would have gone anywhere with it, and, had the entire Bengal Army risen before their eyes in revolt, they would still have placed implicit confidence in the 6th. Men like Mr. Mangles, who passed their career in India, in the luxurious ease of a civilian's life, may, if they chose, libel the officers, whose character and interest they are bound to protect; they may endeavour to make those

*"Personal experience"—Note in the Original.

officers the scape-goats for a rebellion, which their own lust of territory and mis-government have caused; but who, that studies these events, will believe them? We have seen how the officers of the 6th had behaved for years past towards their men; it has now to be related how they were requited.

On the 22nd May, Colonel Simpson, who commanded the 6th, wrote a letter to the newspapers, in which he denounced the statement that the 6th had evinced symptoms of discontent and insubordination as "false and malicious". This assertion was apparently borne out on the 1st June by the 6th volunteering *en masse* to march against Delhi,—a demonstration which had the effect of inducing the utmost confidence in their loyalty. About this time, too, they made over to public justice two spies, who had come into their lines for the purpose of tampering with their fidelity : this circumstance combined with their volunteering seemed to stamp them as proof against every temptation.

Yet throughout this period they were bent on mutiny: the man in the Regiment most trusted by them was the very soul of the plot : but he and the others maintained to the last every appearance of respect and loyalty, and not one sepoy out of the thousand who composed the Regiment warned their officers of their impending fate.

SEPOYS OF THE 6TH VOLUNTEER FOR DELHI

On the 27th May the first detachment of Europeans sent up by Government from Calcutta arrived at Allahabad : they were not detained there, but were sent on at once to Cawnpore. Daily batches of them arrived, and were forwarded with all despatch. The danger appeared to have passed : *the very sight of the Europeans would, it was thought, scare the evil-disposed from their designs. Grave error. It had an effect the very opposite : the sepoys of the 6th saw those men arrive, and they felt that the prize was slipping from their grasp :* a few more Europeans, and their chance of the treasure would be nil. *It was resolved to strike at once, and strike boldly.* In order, however, completely to deceive their officers, they, on the 1st, as already stated, volunteered for Delhi.

On the 5th Colonel Simpson received a telegraphic message from the Governor General requesting him to

inform the Regiment that the thanks of the Governor General in Council were due to them, and would appear in the next Gazette. The officers were delighted at this manifestation, and were in raptures with their men for having, by volunteering, caused so great a distinction to be bestowed upon the corps.

BRITISHERS FORTIFY ALLAHABAD FORT

All was quiet till the 5th June : On that day accounts of the mutiny at Benares reached the station, accompanied by reports that the mutineers were in full march upon Allahabad. On the same day a message was received from Sir Hugh Wheeler, commanding at Cawnpore, to "man the fort with every available European and make a good stand". Preparations were consequently made : all the ladies and non-combatants were advised to go into the fort. Many of the latter obeyed, and formed themselves into a volunteer Company about a hundred strong; but a great number, confiding in the loyalty of the 6th, preferred remaining outside. Two guns and two Companies of the 6th were ordered down to the bridge of boats which crosses the Jumna underneath the fort, in order to be ready to play upon the Benares insurgents: the guns of the fort were at the same time pointed on to the Benares road. Captain Alexander, with two squadrons of Cavalry, was posted in the Alopee Bagh, a large encamping ground under the lee of the fort, and commanding all the roads to the station : the main body of the 6th were not taken from their lines,—distant from the fort about three miles,—but were kept in readiness to move anywhere at the shortest notice.

The fort itself was garrisoned by sixty-five invalid artillery-men, four hundred Sikhs, and one Company of the 6th. In addition to these were the civilians and other non-military men, who might have numbered about one hundred.

The removal of the ladies into the fort did not appear to satisfy the men of the 6th, who, it may be inferred, were bent even then on bloodshed; for they remonstrated with one of their officers for sending his wife into the fort, and begged him to allow her to return to cantonments, as they were one and all determined and able to defend her. The officer

hesitated; but his better genius prevailed : he did not bring back his wife. Still he had no distrust of his men, and showed his feeling of confidence by himself remaining in the lines.

On the afternoon of that day (the 6th) Colonel Simpson ordered a parade of the Regiment, in order to communicate the Governor General's message. Great was the real enthusiasm of the officers, as great the apparent heartiness of the men. After the message had been announced, they cheered like Europeans; and when the order to fall out was given, the Europeans shook hands with the native officers and congratulated them on their all being of one mind on their Regiment having thus come forward. Little did they dream at that moment that their death-warrant had been signed by the very men whom they were congratulating.

That night almost all the officers in the station dined at the 6th Mess, Colonel Simpson presiding. Every one was in the highest good humour; the officers, proud of their Regiment, congratulating themselves and one another that, placed in the midst of mutineers, their Regiment—a word comprehending home, honour, glory, reputation, to zealous officers—had remained loyal. The cloth was removed; it was half past nine O'clock; already some were thinking of going home, when suddenly the alarm was sounded. Jumping to the not unnatural conclusion that the Benares insurgents were advancing, or that there was an inroad from Oudh, the officers started up, buckled on their swords, and, those that had them ready, mounting their horses, rode down to their lines to call out their men. They were still in the highest spirits, rejoicing in the prospect of an encounter and proving the loyalty of their men. *As they rode on to the parade, they perceived one of their Companies drawn up. They called out to them : the answer was a volley.* Yes : those men they had mingled with, trusted, encouraged, shown every kindness to, thus deliberately murdered them. Most of the officers were shot dead. Colonel Simpson managed to escape to the fort. Captain Gordon was miraculously saved by some of his men. All the others upon whom they could lay hands were remorselessly butchered. Those even that had remained in the Mess-house, for the most part boys lately arrived from England, were treacherously assaulted by the Mess-guard, and though defending themselves with desperation, were one and all murdered.

RETIRED MILITARY PERSONNEL JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Rebellion was now in full swing. Houses were plundered and burnt, their inmates chopped to pieces, some roasted, almost all cruelly tortured, the children tossed on bayonets. *Foremost in the commission of these atrocities were the pensioners, a body of men retired from military service, entirely dependent on Government, and receiving from it half yearly a handsome sum for their maintenance.* These men, unable from their infirmities to fight, were not thereby precluded from inflicting tortures of the most diabolical nature : they even took the lead in those villainies, and encouraged the sepoys and others to follow their example.* And yet these men still draw, they still receive, their pensions from the merciful Government of India.

To plunder the treasury, let loose the prisoners, raise the town's people, to hunt after Europeans, to destroy all property useless to themselves, was the work of that night and the following day. Meanwhile, on the first sound of musketry, the two Companies of the 6th and the native Artillerymen who had been stationed on the bridge, turned against their officers. These latter, however, preferred trusting the waters of the Jumna to the tender mercies of the 6th; and finally, after a swim for it, succeeded in gaining the fort, quite naked : there they were at once taken in and cared for. Captain Alexander, of the Cavalry, was not so fortunate. Warned, by the firing, of some impending catastrophe, he jumped on his horse and rode towards the lines, followed by several of his men : but the sepoys were waiting for him in ambush, and as he passed they fired at him, at so close a distance that they blew out his heart. He was a fine, noble, dashing soldier, beloved by all.

In the fort, all this time, a scene was going on which almost baffles description. Our countrymen there too heard the "alarm" sounded : they rushed to the ramparts, in expectation of an enemy; then came the sound of a volley, then another, then steady file-firing, constant, without inter-

* "I have these particulars from an undoubted source. My informant received them from the lips of an eyewitness"—Note in the Original text.

mission. Never doubting the loyalty of the 6th, they believed that they were in action with some insurgents. This belief was confirmed as the firing grew fainter and fainter : they congratulated one another that the gallant 6th had been so successful in beating off the foe. But these pleasing impressions did not remain very long : the sight of the flaming cantonment first suggested a doubt, and immediately afterwards an officer who had escaped the massacre brought in the fatal tidings.

Their situation was a very precarious one : not 200 Europeans in the fort, of these 65 invalids, a hundred non-military, the remainder officers, conductors, sergeants, etc., to meet 400 Sikhs and a Company of the 6th, the latter now known to be hostile, the former, since the conduct of their brethren at Benares, scarcely to be trusted. It was necessary to act boldly, and, as the only chance of safety, to take the initiative. Fortunately there was a man on the spot, who comprehended all this at once, and acted accordingly. This was Captain Brazier, who commanded the Sikhs, an officer who had risen from the ranks, having been promoted for daring and cool courage displayed during the Sutlej campaign. He had been originally posted to the Sikh Regiment as quartermaster, and had risen through the grades of Adjutant and second in command to the post of Commandant, which he still holds.

The first thing was to disarm the 6th, who had loaded their muskets. This was difficult on account of the temper of the Sikhs, amongst whom some little hesitation was visible. Thanks to the coolness of their Commandant, who went amongst them and almost forcibly kept them firm in their loyalty, the operation was successfully accomplished. The muskets were then taken from the 6th, and the men of that corps were turned out of the fort. The Sikhs then quietly resumed their posts on the ramparts.

That night passed in painful anxiety. Nor was this feeling sensibly diminished the next day. The conduct of the Sikhs alone was sufficient to give cause for alarm. They were permitted to plunder in every direction; the stores of the European merchants and others, containing wines of every description, private packages from Calcutta, and provisions were sacked, wholesale—the Commandant of the fortress, Colonel Simpson, looking on, and fearing by checking to

exasperate them. But in another point this officer was even more culpable.

The greater portion of the 6th after their successful mutiny, despairing of gaining the fort, and eager probably to secure their plunder, had made off, some for their houses, others for Oudh. There remained then at Allahabad only a few sepoys, the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, untrained to arms, and possessing only the two guns which had been abandoned on the bridge on the night of the mutiny. And yet Colonel Simpson allowed himself and the fort to be invested by this rabble; nay more, to such an extent did his amiability stretch, that on some few sepoys being pointed out to him passing in and out of the *village of Deragunj* (Daraganj), *the inhabitants of which also had rebelled*, he refused to permit the guns of the fort to be turned upon them, for fear of destroying the innocent with the guilty.

Such a state of things could not last very long without producing most disastrous consequences. Fortunately it was not permitted to last. On the 11th June, Colonel Neill arrived, and from that moment affairs took a turn.

How he raised the investment, and dispersed the enemy, how he restored order out of chaos, and, infusing his own energy into all around him, equipped an army out of an exhausted country, will be recounted in another chapter. For the present we must unwillingly leave him to survey the effect which these events produced on the magnates of Calcutta.[1]

* * *

News extract from 'The Friend of India' dated 28th January 1858-- (*Letter to the Editor of The Friend of India*).

THE 6TH NATIVE INFANTRY

In your issue of the 14th instant is a letter signed Fiat Justitia in reference to the mutiny of the 6th Regiment N. I. at Allahabad in which the writer defends the officers of that corps and maintains that they knew "what was passing in the minds of the men," and that they had suspicions of

[1] *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, an Historical Narrative, popularly known as *Red Pamphlet*, pp. 92-98.

them when on the 4th June they "turned out disorderly, from the lines at midnight, and sent all their clothes away to a village two miles distant". Now if it be so that the officers of this bloodthirsty Regiment did suspect their men · may I ask why all throughout the anxious period preceding the mutiny, they strenuously affirmed that their men were loyal and above suspicion ? Every one in the station suspected the men of the 6th long before matters came to a crisis. If the officers were suspicious of their men from their having turned out of their lines in a disorderly manner on the 4th June, why did they affirm to others in the station—that there was nothing in the whole affair, and that they were convinced that the sepoys had removed their clothes from the fear of their being plundered by the numerous thieves who, they affirmed. had lately infested the lines ? How was it that an officer of the 6th on the 5th June asked a gentleman, of the station to dine with him at Mess next day and in his note, had worded to this effect: "I trust that you are now convinced of the loyalty of the 6th notwithstanding the croaking of a few Civilians ?" Lucky was it for the invited that he declined the invitation to dinner on the very day that the slaughter commenced. Had he done so, he might not now be in the land of the living. As it was, the inviting officer had a hard run to the Fort for his life. It is all very well now to talk of the officers suspecting the men of the 6th, but how are we to account for the Commanding Officer's letter to the Calcutta *Englishman* in which he states that they had "evinced the utmost loyalty and good spirit, and were in fact then on the main guard of the Fort, and furnishing picquets for the protection of the Europeans in the station". This letter was written for the purpose of "emphatically denying as a false and malicious statement that the men of the 6th had shown symptoms of discontent and insubordination"—as every one in the station felt convinced they had done. Further if the officers of the 6th suspected their men—how was it that one of the officers declared frequently—"If every corps in the service should mutiny, I am convinced the 6th never would do so even then ?" The said officer proved his faith in his men even after the 4th for he happened to be on the main guard in the Fort, and when he heard the firing in the station he turned out the men of his own Regiment on guard, and ordered them to load with ball—a proceeding which while it showed his confidence in

the ruffians he commanded, made their subsequent disarming a more difficult matter. In conclusion all I would say is, that if the officers of the 6th Regiment N. I. did, as stated in the letter signed Fiat Justitia, suspect their men, they have the more to answer for in having tried to lull the suspicions of others who had not the honor of being in their corps, and who were inclined to show no trust in their sepoys, but to look on them in that light which the winding up of the tragedy proved to have been the correct one. As it appears to me, and as many in Allahabad may have felt to their sorrow, this defence for the officers of the 6th recoils on themselves. It only proves that they were more to blame, seeing that they really did not entertain that trust in their men which they asserted they did.

P. S. The letter of Fiat Justitia makes it appear that the men of the 6th at the Bridge of Boats murdered their "officers". This is not a fact. The only officer who was there and was killed was Lieutenant Alexander of the Oude Cavalry. Lieutenant Hamond of the Artillery galloped into the Fort. Lieutenant Hicks of the 6th and two girls got away, swam across the river twice, and so got to the Fort. I forgot by the way to ask Fiat Justitia why if the officers of the 6th suspected their men, the young officers doing duty with the corps and who could be of no use in restraining the sepoys—were not sent into the Fort for safety ? Eight out of ten of these poor boys were butchered by the Loyal Sixth Volunteers.[1]

Depositions in the Criminal Case against Maulvi Liaqat Ali.

The above depositions do not give even a portion of the accounts, rather they (deponents) have not deposed even those points which they ordinarily talk about. What has been learnt from extraneous sources about the disturbances in this town and of the arrival of Liaqat Ali, the rebel and is well-known to every body is as follows :

MEWATIS INITIATE THE REVOLT, 5TH JUNE 1857

"In Allahabad, the Mewatis were the real contrivers of the rebellion of the sepoys and the *Risala*. It was discovered

[1] *The Friend of India*, 28th January 1858, p. 83. National Library, Calcutta.

at the time of enquiry, in *mauza* Samadabad, that the *Panchayat* of Mewatis was held on June 5,1857 at the house of Saif Khan Mewati and all, excepting Saif Khan, decided to rebel, the same day.

BEGINNING OF THE OUTBREAK, 6TH JUNE 1857

"On Saturday night, June 6, 1857, the soldiers of the Gwyn Paltan together with the *Risala* and the Mewatis rebelled. They killed the officers who were present, set the prisoners free from the gaol, set fire to the Englishmen's bungalows and the treasury.....[1] 1857, Sunday.....Paltan together with the horsemen of the *Risala*, as many as..... and some people started via Katra. The residues of the treasury were carried away by the (*badmashes*) malefactors of the city and the Mewatis of the villages near the court namely—

Samadabad, Rasul Pur, *mauza* Beli, Baghara, Shadiabad, Jonhol, Shevri[2], Fatehpur Bichhua, Katra, Karnal Ganj (Colonelganj), Mahadpuri, Bakhtiara, Bakhtvari, Rasul Pur (village), Minhaj Pur and others and by the people of those distant villages who happened to reach there.

MAULVI LIAQAT ALI AS LEADER

Maulvi Liaqat Ali, the rebel, came here in the evening of Sunday, June 7 and stayed at Bagh Sultan Khusru (Khusru Garden). In short, the Mewatis of Samadabad and Rasul Pur and all the *badmashes* of the city collected round him. The above named Maulvi began to make appointments of *Kotwal*, *Tahsildar*, *Thanadar* and officers of the army every day, and it is therefore known to all that within this period of ten days, *two persons* both of whom were hanged after the re-establishment of the British Government, namely Saifullah and Sukh Rai, were appointed *Tahsildars* of Chail[3],

[1] Manuscript is torn at the places where dots have been put.

[2] Given as *Saloree* on p. 556.

[3] *Chail*, Pargana *Chail*, Tahsil *Allahabad*, District *Allahabad*—The old village of Chail, which gives its name to the pargana and up to 1857 was the headquarters of the present Allahabad tahsil, stands in 25° 25′ N. and 81° 38′ E. at a distance of 15 miles west from Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 230).

(and) two *Kotwals*, namely, Qasim Ali Khan, son of Chhangu Khan, previously a *Jamadar* and Niamat Ashraf, resident of Pawan and Chaudhry Shihabuddin, resident of Bhamraoli (Bamrauli)[1] as *Naib*, and Hadi and Faizullah Khan, *zamindars* of Bhakka, who had been prisoners of the gaol, became officers of the army. And the truth about Maulvi Liaqat Ali is that he was employed by Rasul Bakhsh, prostitute, resident of Mohalla Chak, for teaching her son, on Rs. 2/- per month. When he was dismissed, he took service as a soldier in the army. Then his name was removed from the rolls of the army as a result of mischief and violence. Then he became a Maulvi and began to lead prayers at the Mahagaon Mosque.

VILLAGERS JOIN IN THE REVOLT

Later on, he became the leader of the rebels and the people of the following villages.....[2] Mewatis of Samadabad and Rasulpur, Mahagaon, Koelha, Sarai Salim, Seordha,....?, ...?, Fatehpur?, Burmhar, Chail proper, Bhikpur Mendwan, Pawan, Shaikhpur,.....?, ...?, Kashia .....?, Baragaon, Ingur alias Kath Gaon, Shaha alias Bel Gaon, Muhiuddin Pur Ghaus, Begam Sarai, Oodani, Amraoti, Chak, Rajpur, Lohra, Korai, Amarchha, Najiara, ...?, Baghara, Beli, Chhet Pur, Nimi Bagh, Rasulpur Deh, Minhaj Pur, Rohi, Ghyas Uddin Pur, Kasmanda, Sarai Mojah (Sarai Maijah) Umar Pur Sawan[3], Maoo, became his partisans and helpers.

GENTRY RELUCTANT TO CO-OPERATE

Among the gentry of the town nobody took any part because Liaqat Ali had rebelled on the pretext of *Jihad*[4], and

[1] Railway station and aerodrome near Allahabad.

[2] Names of villages are, generally, not clear in the manuscript.

[3] Apparently *Umarpur Niwan*, Pargana *Chail*, Tahsil *Allahabad*, District *Allahabad*—This large village, generally known as Nimah, stands on the Ganges bank just beyond the western borders of the new cantonment. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 314).

[4] Waging of war specially against the infidels by the Muslims. British soldiers and officers were addressed as *kafirs* and *Jihad* was made legal by all the sections of the Muslims.

therefore the Shias did not take any part for according to their religion, *Jihad* cannot be fought, unless led by Prophet and Imam, whereas the Sunnis were kept back by Hafiz Rahmat Ullah on the ground that it was a political rebellion and not a *Jihad* or a religious war. In short, all these rebels were bent upon plunder and destruction of the Government property and buildings, and the property and buildings of the Englishmen. From June 9 to 14 this state of affairs continued.

CLASH BETWEEN THE REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE ENGLISH, 15TH JUNE 1857

On June 15, the Government army came out of the fort and faced the rebels, Shamsher Khan Mewati resident of Rasulpur Noabad, Dildar Hasan, resident of Kasiya, Tahir Ali, resident of Ochhini and Masnad Ali, resident of Bhik Pur Medora were killed, and Sabit Ali, resident of Jalalpur Udhni was wounded by a gun-shot.

FLIGHT OF MAULVI LIAQAT ALI, 16TH JUNE 1857

Maulvi Liaqat Ali fled away on June 16, 1857, and after his flight all the residents of this *pargana* so combined that none was prepared to disclose the facts at the time of enquiry. Some of the files arranged and submitted contain certain facts, others do not. But there is no doubt that the residents of the villages detailed above were accomplices of Liaqat Ali, the rebel, but they have all conspired to hide facts. The depositions continued to be recorded throughout this long period with a view to collect real facts and the names of the culprits, but.....[1] even disclose those things of which they had a knowledge,.....therefore the arrangement of papers.....villages of *pargana* Chail mentioned above and the people of the city of Allahabad are punishable with fines on account of suppression of facts, subject to your approval. Submission of August 27, 1859."[2]

* * *

[1] Two sentences following the above statement are not clear in the Original, but apparently they mean that nobody divulged anything.

[2] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Liaqat Ali*", Allahabad

Translation of Deposition of Sheodeen Sing (Shiv Din Singh), Pay Havildar, 6th Native Infantry.

My name is Sheodeen Sing, my father's name is Jye Sing by caste a Chuttree (Kshattriya) age 50 years, inhabitant of Baholy, *purgunah* Julotur *tahsil* Nawabgunge[1].

BEGINNING OF THE OUTBREAK, 6TH JUNE 1857

Question - What do you know of the mutiny of your Regiment ?

Answer In 1857 on the night of 6th June the sepoys rose in mutiny and began loading their muskets. Captain Gordon hearing the noise came to my hut and enquired the cause of the firing and told me to assemble my Company at once. I replied that I had no control over the men then, as the whole Regiment were in a state of mutiny. I advised him to hide himself which he did in my hut and remained there till 3 in the morning. About midnight Tallayar Khan, Havildar-Major, having heard that Captain Gordon was in hiding came to me and asked about him. Thinking him loyal I took him to that officer with whom he remained for about an hour and a half speaking in a very friendly manner. When Tallayar Khan was going I told him not to say any thing about his having seen Captain Gordon. The Havildar-Major went away, but about 3 in the morning the sepoys rose *en-masse.* I at the same time heard they were coming to my place to murder Captain Gordon. I then advised that officer to make for the fort as there was no place of safety and got his horse for the purpose from a place where I had the animal tied. I could not accompany Captain Gordon as I was sick.

Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 25. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

NOTE—This file comprises the depositions of 277 persons of different castes and creeds and of different classes of society.

[1] *Nawabganj*, Pargana *Nawabganj*, Tahsil *Soraon*, District *Allahabad*—The capital of the Nawabganj pargana derives its name from the bazar built by Safdar Jang, the Nawab Wazir of Avadh, in the village of Ibrahimpur. Since its foundation it has given its name to the pargana in place of Singraur the old headquarters : but it is of little importance being a mere village standing in 25° 34′ N. and 81° 45′ E., on the road from Phaphamau and Malak Harhar to Kunda in Partabgarh, at a distance of 12½ miles north-west from Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 283).

SEARCH FOR CAPTAIN GORDON

Question—What happened next ?

Answer—The sepoys came and surrounded my hut and began searching it, but could find no trace of Captain Gordon; they then made me a prisoner.

Question—Name the native officers and men who thus acted.

Answer—Sepoy Gobind Sing, Light Company, Lekha Sepoy 8th Company, Dummur Sepoy 8th Company, Dabee Sing Sepoy 7th Company and Kurrumut (Karamat) Khan, these five men rushed into my hut and were hunting for Captain Gordon. Being disappointed they went to the 2nd Guard and plundered all the money I had kept there.

ENGLISH OFFICERS MURDERED

Question—How were the officers murdered at the Quarter Guard ?

Answer—At the same time as Captain Gordon came to me other officers proceeded to their respective Company (Companies and were shot down by their men, but I protected Captain Gordon.

Question—Do you know the sepoys who murdered their Officers ?

Answer—I do not know. I was with Captain Gordon.

Question—When the Regiment mutinied, who were appointed native officers ?

Answer—The sepoys were aware that I would communicate everything I heard to the officers and they would never say anything before me.

Question—Can you state anything more ?

Answer—No. I ran away and know nothing more.

Question—Besides Captain Gordon, is any other officer aware of your conduct ?

Answer—No.

Supplementary Deposition of Sheodeen Sing (Shiv Din Singh), Pay Havildar.

Question—Who were the parties that caused your Regiment to mutiny?

Answer—I was with the officers. I do not know who were the ringleaders, neither did I hear of any one. If I had, I would have communicated the same.

Question—Give a description of sepoys Gobind Sing, Lekhá, Dummur, Dabee Sing and Kurrumut Khan named in your former deposition.

Answer—The above men through their murderous intentions were hunting for Captain Gordon.

Name	Company	Regiment	Residence	Father's Name	Caste	Age	Particular Marks
Gobind Sing Sepoy	1st	6th N. I.	×	×	Chuttree	40	Rather dark, middle sized, a few grey hairs.
Lekha ,,	8th	Do	×	×	Moorao or Lodhi	35	Rather dark, thin, small sized.
Dummur ,,	8th	Do	×	×	Brahmin	40	Brown complexion, middle height, marked with small nose.
Dabee Sing ,,	7th	Do	×	×	Chuttree	35	Fair complexion, thin, small sized, marked with small nose.
Kurrumut Khan,,	4th	Do	×	×	Pathan	38	Brown complexion, thin, small height, marked with small nose.

These men did not belong to my Company. I am therefore not aware of their residence or their father's name.

Question—Should you be required, where will you be found ?

Answer—I am at present going to Captain Templer at Gwalior. Should I leave that place Captain Templer will be able to inform you of my whereabouts.

Question—Besides all you have stated, do you know anything more ?

Answer—No.

Question—Prior to mutiny were you aware that the Regiment would do so ?

Answer—No. I was (aware) when the Regiment actually mutinied and Captain Gordon came to me that I knew of it.

Question—Do you know how the officers were murdered on the night of the mutiny ?

Answer—No I am not aware. I was with Captain Gordon and heard that the Adjutant (Lieutenant Stuwart) and the Captain (Jhinket) of the Light Company had gone to the Parade and were murdered there about 8 or 9 at night. Besides this I know nothing.[1]

* * *

Letter from Captain H. Templer, Commanding Camel Corps, Gwalior Division, 6th Regiment N. I., dated Morar, Gwalior, the 15th September 1859.

STATEMENT OF BHARAT SINGH

Bharut Sing late Pay-Havildar of the late 6th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry presented himself before me on the morning of the 9th instant and stated that he and his brother Shewdeen Sing, late a Pay-Havildar of the above Regiment with Nurput Sing, Bejai Sing and Khooshial Tewarry[2], were instrumental in saving the life of Captain John Gordon of my Regiment, the late 6th Regiment N. I. *on the night of the 6th June* 1857—*when the Regiment mutinied at Allahabad.* Having heard from Captain Gordon himself the manner of his escape on that night, I directed Bharut Sing to relate what occurred on the night of the 6th June 1857, to ascertain if his statement

[1] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] Correct name may be 'Khushi Lal Tewari', or 'Khushal Tewari'.

corroborated what I had heard from Captain Gordon and I have reason to believe what he says is true.

Captain Gordon mentioned the names of five or six men who united to save his life, and I have an idea that Bharut Sing and Shewdeen Sing were two of the men he named. Captain Gordon also told me that he would like to (save) these men if he could find out where they were, as a reward for their fidelity. Under these circumstances I am inclined to write in the behalf of Bharut Sing and Shewdeen Sing, hoping, before they are convicted for mutiny of the Darkest dye, that sufficient time may be allowed for the receipt of a reply to a letter I have addressed to Captain Gordon in England on the above subject.[1]

OUTBREAK IN PARGANA CHAIL (ALLAHABAD)

Letter from M. H. Court, Magistrate and Collector, Allahabad, to C. Chester, Commissioner, Allahabad Division, dated Allahabad, the 21st July 1857.

I have the honour to furnish the following report on *pergunnah* Chail, showing as far as possible the extent of the mutiny there, the conduct of the Police stationed in the *pergunnah*, and of the measures that I consider necessary for its future fiscal and judicial administration.

ZAMINDARS JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARIES

2*nd*—As I informed you in my letter No. 3 dated 11th instant, the extent of rebellion has been greater in this than in any other *pergunnah*. On the night of the mutiny the Pathan *zemindar* of Rusoolpore, Sumdabad, the other Mussulman *zemindars* of Futehpore Bichchooah, Bughare, Saloree, Shadeeabad, Minhajpore, Buksee, and other villages adjoining the station and city joined the mutineers and released prisoners, in firing and plundering the station and afterwards in supporting the authority of the Moulvee in the city. The Mussulmen of the *mofussil* also joined in destroying and plundering every house or factory belonging to Europeans and every building however large or however insignificant,

[1] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

with which we are connected. A *chowkidar's Murhelah*[1], the Alum Chund Factory and the Railway Station building were equally treated and the very asylums built from charitable funds provided by the Christian population for the relief of the people, were burnt down and demolished with as much ill-will as our public offices.

SHIA MUSLIMS ALSO JOIN THE STRUGGLE

3*rd*—In five villages named in the margin (given in the F. N.)* the Mussulmen are of the Sheah (Shia) sect; these joined with the others in the plundering and destruction of property, but otherwise held aloof from the Moulvee.

PURA MUFTI TAHSIL AND THANA PLUNDERED

4*th*—The Poora Muftee[2] *tehseelee* and *thanah* buildings were plundered on the 7th of the month by the *zemindars* and inhabitants of Bhikha, Syed Sarawan[3], Kazeepoor, Futehpoor and other villages round, led on by Hadee, Fyzoolla (Faizullah) two of the *zemindars* in the first named village who were among the prisoners in the jail.

ATTACK UPON RAILWAY OFFICIALS AT BHARWARI

5*th*—The Railway officials in the line at Bhurwari were attacked, two of the number killed by the *zemindars* of

[1] Outpost.

*1 Manaure†, 2. Besonuan, 3. Sydpoor, 4. Asrawan, 5. Mustafabad."—Note in Original.

† *Manauri*—Railway station two miles from *Pura Mufti* between Bamhrauli (Bamrauli) and Manoharganj stations.

[2] *Pura Mufti*, Pargana *Chail*, Tahsil *Allahabad*, District *Allahabad*—Pura Mufti or Mufti-ka Pura is a hamlet of the village of Bhika and stands in 25° 39′ N. and 81° 41′ E., by the side of Grand Trunk Road at a distance of twelve miles from Allahabad and two miles from the Manauri station. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 292).

[3] *Saiyid Sarawan*, Pargana *Chail*, Tahsil *Allahabad*, District *Allahabad*—A very large village standing on both sides of the main line of the East Indian Railway in 25° 29′ N. and 81° 38′ E., about three miles west of Manauri station and 16 miles from Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 293).

Kussia, Goura, Bhurwari[1] and other villages in that neighbourhood.

6th -In short whenever property—public or private was found, that property was destroyed or plundered by the neighbourhood led on by the Mussalman *zemindars*. On our being able to come out of the fort, we found our property in the villages around, and I may say with some degree of confidence that there was not a house of any of the above villages, and hardly one in a hundred of the houses in the Kuttra and Colonelganj bazars which did not hold some remains of the plunder. Portions of the *tehseel* and *thanah* records have been found in the villages of that neighbourhood, and fragments of the property of the railway gentlemen in villages adjoining them.

REVOLUTIONARIES ESCAPE

7th- On the flight of the Moulvee, the mutineers also fled, and of the thousands who were in the city and neighbourhood on the 16th of June, but very few are now to be found. Villages are deserted, houses are left with odds and ends of property (with very few exceptions) containing amongst those odds and ends portions of goods plundered from Europeans.

POPULATION AGAINST THE BRITISH

8th -There is a very general impression *abroad that the zemindars and the agricultural population generally are not against us, but with great reluctance I declare my belief that this is a mistake. The motives by which the agricultural community are influenced most certainly vary but whatever the cause, I have no doubt to the effect, that excepting the mercantile classes, people of the country are one and all against us.* One and very large party (The Mussalmans) are, as all agree, influenced by ambition and the hope of regaining supremacy, reviving their decaying religion, and destroying all professing the Christian faith.

[1] Apparently *Bharwari*, Pargana *Chail*, Tahsil *Allahabad*, District *Allahabad*—The village of Bharwari stands in 25° 33′ N. and 81° 29′ E. on the western borders of the pargana at a distance of 24 miles from Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 230).

BRAHMANS SUPPORTING THE REVOLT

9*th*—The Brahmins amongst the Hindoos are also, as far as I have been able to judge, actuated by religion. They have no hope of obtaining supremacy or authority, but it is a common opinion, that they know, that belief in their *Shastras* is fast declining, that they know that with its fall they fall, and they are consequently interested in exterminating those who have spread amongst their ignorant co-religionists, a spirit of enquiry, and consequent departure from their precepts. *The Brahmins amongst the Hindoos, the Moulvees and others amongst the Mussulmans, have it is well known, proclaimed that it has been decreed that British power is to close this year.* The poorer classes are thoroughly imbibed with this belief, and as a consequence they work against us, for fear of punishment from, or in hopes of obtaining the goodwill of the power which is destined to take reins of government. The poorer classes particularly amongst the Hindoos, are, I believe, indeed, I am certain, at heart favourable to us and would gladly see us confirmed in power *but they believe our power is gone and acting on this belief they join in plundering and rebelling against the Government.*

10*th*—*Whether the above view be correct or not, there is no doubt that the population generally have committed acts of determined hostility, and not in the station only, but in every pergunnah of the district.*

POLICE SUPPORTS THE REVOLUTIONARIES

11*th*—The Police in Chail have almost to a man joined the rebels. When the Bhikha men attacked the *tehseels* the *Najeeb* forces and *Chupprassies* were ordered by the *Tehseeldar* to fire upon the mob. The *Jemadars* of the *Chupprassies*, the *Duffadars* and *Najeebs* turned at once against the *Tehseeldar* and opened the gates to admit the mob.

12*th*—The *Thanadar* has disappeared with the whole force. I caught two or three Pathan *Burkandazes* who in their defence stated they fled from fear. I ascertained that they *fled from fear of the mutiny* to the very villages where the mutineers were in the greatest force, e.g., to the villages near the city, where after a few days they could have, had they been true, reported themselves. These circumstances and the

known fact that the Pathans were the most prominent in the mutiny, the fact that the Moulvee was surrounded by a very strong force of Policemen in our uniform were sufficient to ensure the punishment of those who belonged to the villages most prominent in the mutiny, who were in those villages from the time the Moulvee fled, until the time of their apprehension.

EUROPEANS AND SIKHS MARCH TO SUPPRESS THE REVOLUTIONARIES

13th.—On the morning of the 18th a strong party of Europeans and Sikhs with two guns marched out of the fort and moved up to the jail to destroy Sumdabad and clear out the cantonments, which were then supposed to be filled with the Mewati Pathans.

NORMAL CONDITIONS RESTORED

14th.—From the jail a party of Seikhs[1] were given to me and I went to the *Kotwalee*, appointed a *Kotwal*, given to me for the occasion by Major Brasyer viz., Pussawan Singh, a Seikh (Sikh) of the Regiment. I proclaimed martial law to be in force for the rebellious etc. when I found that this law, though terrible to mutineers, was for their especial protection and invited them and all others friendly to us to return to their homes and professions. There were there no Police, *and no necessity luckily for a detective Police*, a Military-guard was left at the *Kotwalee*; and posted at Kydganj[2]. Mr. Palmer, who was then attached as a volunteer to the Ferozepore Regiment, was in the first (instance) at Major Brasyer's recommendation and subsequently at my own, authorized to raise a city Police from the merchants of the city and to exercise power over them. Mr. Sandys, also attached to the Ferozepore Regiment, was entrusted with similar duties in Daraganj[3], Colonelganj[3] and the Katra[3] and other suburbs of the city. The success of these measures was evident; the city in the course of a few days regained life. When first I went down on 18th I did not see a man (in) *Kotwalee*. I rode

[1] Sikhs.
[2] A *Mohalla* in *Allahabad City*.
[3] *Mohallas* of *Allahabad City*.

up and down the main street where I found every house and shop closed; 2 days afterwards the trading streets were filled and every shop in them opened.

15*th*—But our power necessarily limited to the precincts of the city; because the Police were gone, troops could not be given and although I had plenty of information reporting the general depopulation of *pergunnah*, still I was informed that the Mewatis were scattered about watching events, and it would have been madness to send out officers, unsupported in any way to represent authority. At all events, I should have been loath to go alone myself and I would not therefore depute anyone else.[1]

FATEHPUR

OUTBREAK AT FATEHPUR

Extracts from Narrative from J. W. Sherer, Collector and Magistrate, Fatehpur

TREASURY PLUNDERED, 9TH JUNE 1857

9*th*—About 8 A. M. on Tuesday, the city mob rose and went to the treasury, but the guard stood to their arms, and the *Soubadar* declared, that if any attempt were made to plunder, he would fire upon the crowd. There can be no doubt that his motive was to preserve the treasury for his own Regiment, which he probably expected to see at Futtehpoor on their way to Delhi. The mob then went to the jail, but here again they were opposed by the *Nujeebs*. I had on the previous day praised the *Nujeebs*, and given presents of money to some of them, as they had kept their post at the jail when the treasure party from Allahabad approached. On this occasion they certainly fired at the mob, but I imagine without any serious intention, as no one was hit. It had however the effect of making them retire. Mr. Tucker also, with a few sowars, in another direction, drove back a part of the rabble towards the town.

[1] '*Extent of Mutiny in Pergunnah Chail*', Judicial File No. 3, year 1858. Allahabad Collectorate Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

MISSION PREMISES DESTROYED

The crowd then went to the Mission premises, which they first looted, and then burned, and burning down also the dak bungalow, they returned into the city, where a violent tumult commenced.

VILLAGERS JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Whilst we had been occupied in watching the movements of the city mob, and our partial successes at the treasury and the jail, we had scarcely observed that from the surrounding villages an innumerable multitude was pouring in, amongst whom doubtless were the prisoners who had arrived in the morning from Allahabad. These occupied all the bungalows in the station, and began looting and wrecking and finally burning them. The Doctor's bungalow was very near the main guard, and one of the Doctor's servants declared that he had seen one of the sepoys of the guard set fire to the roof of the house. During this time occasional sorties on the part of the gentlemen connected with the railway, attended by a few sowars for the purpose of rescuing their property, had the effect of driving away small parties of the insurgents; but their places were speedily supplied from the numerous hordes that surrounded us. On the approach of the rabble from the city, Mr. Macnaughten had sent his three horses to a place at some distance, and afterwards his *syees*[1] had returned, and said that a *zemindar* had removed the horses and taken possession of them.

HIKMATULLAH'S ACTIVITIES

All the morning I had seen nothing of the Deputy Magistrate, Hikmut Oollah; but about 2 O'clock he sent to ask permission to wait on me. At 4 he came to the house, but attended by an immense crowd of Puthans, and other Mussulmans armed with matchlocks, swords, and other weapons. On seeing this multitude, I sent to the Deputy Magistrate to request him to come alone, and leave his retinue

[1] Grooms.

outside of the compound. No attention was paid to this message, and in a moment the compound was filled with the armed mob. My companions, with the exception of Mr. Macnaughten, were then on the roof. I happened to be lying down in one of the rooms when Mr. Macnaughten brought in Hikmut Oollah, and three or four of the leaders of the rabble. On my asking him the reason why he had not been at his post, endeavouring to preserve order all the morning, he stated that he had made several attempts to come to me, but had been confined to his house by the rioters, and that on one occasion he had been thrown out of his *palkee*, his bearers had been maltreated, and himself forcibly compelled to return to his house. I then asked him what was the object of his visit; and he replied, that it was to assure me of the fidelity of the city, and to tender the assistance of the persons whom he had brought with him. Upon this I enquired why, if they were really disposed to assist, they had not come forward in time to save the bungalows; and he answered that they were afraid to come out at that time. Some of his companions, who remained in the verandah, displayed great anxiety to learn the number of our little garrison, and our state of preparation as to arms, provisions, etc. Hikmut Oollah, after expressing himself in a very friendly manner, took his leave, and carried away his retinue with him.

HIKMATULLAH BECOMES CHAKLEDAR

When I consider that these loyal Puthans, who were so ready to assist us, were the very men, who, on the following day, murdered my unhappy friend, Mr. Tucker, and that immediately these same *loyal subjects despatched a letter to the Nana, tendering their submission to the miscreant's rule* and that Hikmut Oollah, within a week, began to issue *purwannahs*, in which he assumed the style of *Chukladar* of Futtehpoor, I cannot but express my opinion that the interview just recorded was one of the most audacious acts of dissimulation which has ever been witnessed. I received intimation in the course of the afternoon that there was treachery at work in the jail, and it was afterwards discovered that the jail *Darogah* had written to the *Soubadar* at the treasury to say that he awaited his pleasure to set free the prisoners.

FLIGHT OF EUROPEANS TO BANDA

I need scarcely remark that our future movements had during the last few days been the subject of constant and anxious discussion. We had all, with the exception of Mr. Tucker, come to the conclusion that there was no resource[1] but to withdraw for a time from a post which was now become perfectly untenable. But where we were to go[2], was a point upon which some difficulty still existed, and in truth our position was not a little perplexing:—the Nana was besieging Cawnpoor; the residents of Allahabad were shut up in the fort, their fate hanging on a hair; Salone, beyond the river, had revolted two days before; Banda alone remained in a state of doubtful allegiance; and to Banda, accordingly, I endeavoured to direct the hopes of my companions as a place where we might perhaps find safety, and should at least in extremity, as the event proved, find an exit for further retreat. On the melancholy subject of the disapproval of these plans by one member of our party, I cannot now dwell. Suffice it to say, that every persuasion was used, but all proved unable to shake his fixed determination of remaining; and his firm belief that the Treasury-guard, notwithstanding the suspicious conduct of its officer, would maintain its fidelity. Having deliberately arrived at the conclusion that our only safety was in retreat, we prepared, as night approached to retire in as good order as possible. When the rabble appeared to have dispersed for the night, we mounted our horses, and made our way towards the Jumna, passing, as we did so, through villages crowded with liberated ruffians from the jails, and narrowly escaping, on the bank of the river, a large party of insurgents, who had just carried off some bullocks, placed for the night under the protection of the *Ghat* Police. We found Sirdar Khan, Deputy Magistrate of Banda, on the opposite bank with boats, some of which he sent over to fetch us, and thus we crossed over into the district of Banda.[3]

[1] The proper word would be 'recourse'.
[2] Should be 'Where were we to go ?'
[3] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Fatehpur District*, pp. 3 to 5.

LOOT OF KHAKRERU TREASURY, FATEHPUR

Petition Signed by Police Officer, Pargana Takrala, District Fatehpur, dated June 3. 1858, in the case State vs. Azim, resident of Khakreru.

Gist of the Petition—Although the defendant has confessed his crime still the fact that he has long been mad has been confirmed by investigation.

Petition—Kalewa and Bharma, the *Chowkidars* of *mauza* Khakreru brought one named Azim, absconder, to the *thana*, charged with the loot of the Khakreru treasury, at 8 P. M. on May 18, 1858. The *Thanedar* despatched the defendant together with his apprehenders to me. I recorded the deposition of the two.

The defendant deposes, "I did not plunder the treasury. This was done by Amin Bakhsh, Bua Brahman, Faqir Bakhsh, Ali Bakhsh, Amir son of Ali Bakhsh, Imad, Saadat Qalandar, Sami Ullah, Lal Brahman, Thakur Din, Aman Bakhsh son of Ali Bakhsh, Mata Din, Yaqin Shah, Mosam Shah, Imam Bakhsh and other residents of Brahta. I got Rs. 5/- from Imam Bakhsh, out of his own share. I did not plunder anything but utensils and cloth of the *tahsil*. I was wounded with a bullet shot by the white soldier and kept wandering through the forests after being wounded. I had kept two *degchis*, one silver *lota*, one cotton carpet, one *charpai*, one small glass of brass, one silver *katora* of looted property at the house of my brother-in-law named Haidar, resident of Harchand Pur who does not return them to me now. Ghulam Husain, Ramzan Qalandar, Faqir Bakhsh, Shiva Bakhsh, Imad and Amir Bakhsh plundered the treasury and distributed it amongst themselves at the gate of the court. I came to see my sister-in-law at Khakreru and was beaten and caught by the *Chowkidars* on the gate who said that I was a *Badmash*." Bharma and Kalewa *Chowkidars* depose, "We were on the round last night when we found Azim hiding under the tamarind tree on the door of Amin Bakhsh, defendant. He pelted us with brick-bats when we asked him who he was. Both of us charged him with *lathis*, wounded him in the hand and caught hold of him. When we took him to the *thana* he was identified. We did not recognise him because we are newly recruited. When we called Gangua, Ram Bakhsh and Munua, the old *Chowkidars*, now discharged, to identify him, they deposed that they had not seen Azim plundering the treasury and that he

turned mad twice or thrice every year. Meharban, Allah Din, Dhoom, Husain Bakhsh, Maiku, Ganga Din, Shiva Sahai, residents of *mauza* Khakreru, unanimously declared that he had remained mad and used to be kept fettered when the fit of insanity was more violent..... '[1]

BANDA

OUTBREAK AT BANDA

No. 65 Service Message from Major R. R. W. Ellis, Political Assistant for Bundelkhand, Rewa, etc., to Secretary to the Government of India, Calcutta, dated Nagode, 2nd July via Mirzapur 5th July.

PROCLAMATION BY THE NAWAB OF BANDA, 14TH JUNE 1857

All quiet at Nagode. Forward copy of a letter from the *Dak Baboo* at Banda recording that on the night of the 14th ultimo the Nawab of Banda issued a rebellious proclamation "*Khalaq Khoda Ka Mulook Badsha Ka Hookum Nawab Alli Bahadoor Ka*,"[2] proclaiming his own authority. Copy of the message had been sent through Major Erskine's office to the Agent, Governor General, Central India. Another paper received from the head *zemindar* of Nierie[3] on this side of Banda, states that Mr. Cockerell the Joint Magistrate of Banda was murdered close to one of the gateways of the Nawab's palace. The following is the copy of the letter : "My dear Cousin ! We are very glad to hear from Guneresha[4] Aheer that all of you are safe at Nagode. On our part we are sorry to inform you that since the departure of the European gentlemen of this station to Nagode, this district is in great tumult, the gentlemen have left this station on the

[1] Fatehpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 2, File No. 27: '*Loot of the Khakreru Treasury*'.

[2] 'Khalq Khuda Ka Mulk Badshah Ka Hukum Nawab Ali Bahadur Ka—People are of the God, Country of the King and Order of Nawab Ali Bahadur'.

[3] Not clearly decipherable.

[4] Illegibly written,

evening of the 14th instant, who we have learnt have safely arrived at Nagode.

PLUNDER OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY ETC.

Just after their departure all the bungalows of the station were put to fire by the insurgents; early on the morning of the 15th, they came over to the jail, released all the prisoners and took from the Lines the two guns, which were there, to the jail. At midnight of the 14th His Highness the Nawab Alli Bahadoor had sent out cryers to proclaim '*Kalwa Khan*[1] *Ka Mulook Badsha Ka Hookum Nawab Alli Bahadoor Ka*,' without consulting the rebels which displeased them very much and they demanded of the Nawab an explanation of his so doing. The Nawab with his prudent measures and sweet speech satisfied them and gave them liberty to do what they liked. On the 15th they plundered the Banda Missionary School and carried with them Mr. Pappanah Paul Khan who after having been converted to Mahomedans *sic*, have (*sic*,-has) been released in a very distressed condition. The same condition succeeded to Duncan and his wife. At about 8 O'clock A. M. Mr. Cockerell arrived here from Jerohun[2] but unfortunately the gentlemen are (*sic*,) killed by the insurgents and Nawab's soldiers without any notice being given to the Nawab who was then sleeping. On the very day the *Dewall Mulkhana*, the treasury where there was no money and all other public offices were plundered by the *Nujebs* and insurgents but they have not burnt any of them, of some of the records they have destroyed a part. I cannot omit to convey the sad news of the massacre of Captain Benjamin and wife,[3] Mr. Bruce his old mother in his private house and even afterwards caught[4] and brutally butchered by the Nawab's men and the rebels. Had the matter been brought to the notice of the Nawab they would have been released safe. Everything depends on the Will of Providence so our lamentations are all in vain.

[1] Should be 'Khalq Khuda'.
[2] Not legibly written. Perhaps spelt for '*Tirohan*'.
[3] Something appears to have been omitted here.
[4] Can be read as 'sought' also.

SOUND ADMINISTRATION OF THE NAWAB

We are all safe here which should be attributed to the generosity and good administration of His Highness the Nawab Alli Bahadoor. The insurgents have promised to pay a lac of Rupees to the *Nujeebs*. They may give them two guns and do not interfere with them in any matter, but they have not paid a farthing. They have left them for Cawnpore with the two lacs of the Banda treasure on the 19th instant making over the charge of the districts to Nawab Alli Bahadoor. The Nawab has appointed Mahomed Irr Badhure[1] Deputy Collector of Banda, Mizarainedid[2] Deputy Accountant and Treasurer, Murelsha Abbas[3] Superintendent of the forces, Meer Fushn Ali[4], Assistant *Nizam*, the Nawab has retained Collectory and *Fouzdarry* Establishments with the exception of the offices; the Post Office Establishment is abolished and the records and furniture have found place within his palace. The city is yet safe from plunder. The Appahghur (*sic*,) force amounting to about three or four hundred men are stationed on the other side of the river (at) a place called Newneelall[5] waiting the opportunity to contend with the Nawab about the hereditary right or get possession of the district. The Nawab had sent about a hundred men and one hundred men and one hundred (*sic*,) to Nondaga (illegible) *pergunnah* in *zillah* Humeerassee (illegible) to bring up a treasure amounting to about Rupees Twenty-three thousand which were (*sic*,) in that Jhreebe (*sic*,). The treasure has reached Banda this evening. A party was sent to *pergunnah* Leooda who (which) had returned with little treasure and property.

DISTURBANCES IN THE INTERIOR OF THE DISTRICT

The station is in very good condition but there is great disturbance in the interior of the district. We are confined here to bewail the loss of our situation, the non-receipt of

[1] Not legibly written in Original.
[2] Illegibly written in Original.
[3] Not clearly decipherable.
[4] Appears wrongly spelt for some name.
[5] Illegibly written.

any news from anywhere else and the danger to step out of the city. A few days ago the Nowgong Post Office *Baboos* arrived here, in beggars' habits; they related to us the tragedy which has taken place at Nowgong. There the Military Lines have been burnt and city plundered and the insurgents went to Jhansi to join the other Wing; at Nowgong gentlemen have fled away but Jhansi gentlemen are all killed. Among the Nowgong gentlemen four men, one lady and a child have been brought by the villagers before the Nawab who has treated them very generously.....[1]

* * *

Extracts from letter from F. O. Mayne, Magistrate and Collector of Banda, to C. Chester, Commissioner of the Allahabad Division, dated Allahabad, the 11th September 1857.

COMMENCEMENT AND SPREAD OF THE REVOLUTION

10*th*—The insurrection commenced in the Banda district in the villages of Murka[2] in *pergunah* Buberoo in Mow on the Jumna, and in the Dursenda *pergunah*. I first heard of the assembling of armed men, of secret councils, and loudly uttering threats from the *pergunahs*. This was in the beginning of June, and they were soon followed up by the mutineers[3] at Cawnpoor and Allahabad, before which no actual outbreak or even a dacoitee (dacoity had taken place in the Banda district. The released convicts from Allahabad and Cawnpoor however soon spread over the country and forced the *ghats* on Jumna, notwithstanding my previous precautions; which had been more for the purpose of apprehending fugitives than to resist armed masses, and the insurrection of the whole country followed too soon upon the disasters of

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 31st July 1857, No. 182. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Marka*, Tahsil *Baberu*, District *Banda*—A large village lying in 25° 41′ N. and 80° 54′ E. distant 39 miles from Banda and 13 miles from Baberu with which it is connected by a fourth-class unmetalled road of very indifferent quality. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, 1909, p. 268).

[3] The correct word here would be 'mutinies'.

Allahabad to allow of my strengthening the *ghats* even if I had been able to do so. The released convicts found the Banda people only too ready to join them.

ZAMINDARS PLUNDER MAU TAHSIL

The *tehseelee* of Mow was first attacked and plundered by the *zemindars* of Mow and the neighbouring villages, and the records torn up and distributed to the winds, in order, as they said, that no record of their liabilities might remain to the new Government. The *tehseelee* and *thanah* establishments did their best; but were overwhelmed by thousands, and compelled to seek safety in flight. The loss of the Kumasin, Buberoo, Simounee[1], and Pylanee *tehseelees* soon followed in a like manner. I saw *tehseelee* after *tehseelee* going, and the waves of the rebellion rapidly approaching Banda itself, and was totally helpless to prevent it. The whole district went to the bad in less than a week. The town and bazar of Rajapoor[2] was saved from plunder by the merchants themselves, who assembled a large force and repelled the repeated attacks of the surrounding villagers. Mr. Cockerell, Joint Magistrate was stationed at Kirwee (Karwi)[3] and gallantly did he, single handed, maintain his post, assisted in some measure although lukewarmly, by Narain Rao and Madho Rao. He saved the

[1] *Simuni*, Tahsil *Baberu*, District *Banda*— A village in 25° 36′ N. and 80° 39′ E. distant 18 miles from Banda and 7 from Baberu. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, 1909, p. 290).

[2] *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 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, 1909, p. 284).

[3] *Karwi*, Tahsil *Karwi*, District *Banda*—The town of Karwi lies on the main road from Banda to Manikpur, in latitude 25° 13′ N. and longitude 80° 57′ E., at a distance of forty-two miles from the former and 20 miles from the latter place. There is also a station on the Jhansi-Manikpur branch of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, 1909, p. 254).

tehseelee of Tirhowan[1]. The *tehseelee* of Boudousa[2] in the south of the district was saved by the good conduct of the *Thanahdar* Oosman Khan, who stood by his post although abandoned by the *Tehseeldar*, until relieved by the Kirwee (Karwi) Raos. The *Tehseeldar tahsil* of Seonda being on the south-west corner of the district remained intact, as also the *tehseelee* of *pergunah* Banda, until the time of our abandoning the district.

PEOPLE'S PLIGHT LEADS THEM TO REVOLT

11*th*—I must say in defence of the District Police and Revenue Establishment of Banda generally, that they remained at their posts to the very last, and many of them were killed and wounded in defence of Government property. As for the people, ruined as they were by over assessment and bad seasons, and half starving, still they would I think not have risen in rebellion, if they had been left to themselves. It was only when excited by the reports from other districts, and hearing of the excesses committed elsewhere, and of what was then supposed the total massacre of all Europeans at Allahabad, that they too came to the conclusion that the British rule was at an end, and every man had best take care of himself.

REMOVAL OF THE TREASURE

12*th*—Banda *pergunah* and town still remained quiet for a few days after the district had supplied[3] from my grasp. In (At the commencement of the rebellion, I had in my treasury

[1] At other places, the name appears as 'Tirohan'. Apparently *Tarahuwan*, Tahsil *Karwi*, District *Banda*—Tarahuwan lies close to Karwi in the same latitude and is connected with it by straggling houses. The Paisuni river flows close by. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, 1909, pp. 292-293).

[2] *Badausa*, Tahsil *Badausa*, District *Banda*—The headquarters of the tahsil lie in 25° 14′ E. and 80° 43′ N., on the metalled road from Banda to Karwi, on the banks of the Bayain 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, 1909, p. 203).

[3] 'Supplied' appears to have been wrongly written for 'slipped'.

upwards of eight lacs of rupees, including two lacs subscription to the 5 per cent loan by Narain Rao and Madho Rao of Kirwee, which had just been paid. Wishing to hold out as little inducement to the Native Infantry (3 Companies of the 1st Native Infantry) stationed at Banda as possible, I took advantage of the return detachment[1] of the 56th Native Infantry to Cawnpoor, to send under orders of the Accountant, North-Western Provinces, all my spare cash to Futtehpoor (two lacs and a half), and I also transmitted by the same opportunity (*sic*,)[2] two lacs and twenty odd thousand old coins to Allahabad for the Calcutta Mint. For these sums I duly received receipts from the Collectors of those districts. I shortly afterwards, also under orders of the Accountant, North-Western Provinces, transmitted 50,000 (Rs.) to Nagode, under an escort of the 1st Native Infantry. It is a curious feature in the mutinies (?) that these detachments under native officers only should have so honorably acquitted themselves of their trust only a few days before the outbreak at Cawnpoor. By the above means, and by paying up all pensions and salaries to the end of May, I reduced my treasury to two lacs and about 7,000 rupees; and hoping thereby to hold the detachment of the 1st Native Infantry true by an exhibition of confidence, and at the same time to protect it from the bands of insurgents who were surrounding Banda, I placed the two lacs in tumbrils and sent it up to the Native Infantry lines. It was under their guard at the treasury, and I was entirely in their power. They could have taken it away at any time, and I thought it just as well to try the only chance of keeping the treasure at Banda by placing it more directly under their charge. The report of Lieutenant Bennett, the Officer Commanding the detachment at that time, in spite of mutinous conversation and spirit shown by individual sepoys in the town, was that he could most assuredly depend on his men and that they were staunch.

EUROPEANS ABANDON THE JAIL

13*th*—One difficulty at Banda was that we had no place of refuge; and even if we had such a stronghold, we had no

[1] Correct phrase would be 'return of the detachment'.
[2] It must be 'authority'.

men to defend it. I had chosen the jail, mounted two cannons, and stored grain and *atta* there for the purpose; but secret agency was at work, and we narrowly escaped a mutiny of our own *Nujeebs*. They were told that the grain was only stored to be mixed with cow-bones for their food. I immediately paraded them, and told them any one was at liberty to resign who was afraid for his caste; I dismissed four men, and warned the rest that severe punishment would be inflicted on any one who again was heard to mention the subject. We were compelled subsequently to abandon the jail, owing to cholera having broken out very extensively.

REVOLUTION SPREADS TO BANDA CITY

14*th*—Two Mussulman proclamations were fixed up in the city, calling for the massacre of the Christians; but no serious alarm was given at the station of Banda until the Futtehpoor residents were compelled to take refuge with us. On the occasion of their reaching the Jumna on Monday the 8th June, a verbal message was sent in by Mahomed Sirdar Khan, Deputy Collector, that the mutinous Cavalry were crossing the river. This verbal message was given to me in open *cutcherry* by the sowar, and spread like wild fire. The *budmashes* rose in the city, and plundering commenced. I immediately removed the ladies to Nawab Ally Buhadoor's palace, and with the aid of my Police quickly quieted the town. The same evening the Futtehpoor gentlemen came into Banda, causing no little curiosity among the people. Unfortunately Mahomed Sirdar Khan returned with them to Banda, bringing in all the Police and sowars, thus abandoning his post at Chilla Tara[1] and leaving the line of communication entirely open to the disaffected, and causing the villagers immediately to rise in his rear, fortunately having first by my order broken up the bridge of boats.

15*th*—As it was of the utmost importance to guard

[1] *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, 1909, p. 223).

Chilla Tara Ghat, with the greatest difficulty I induced the Gouriar troops to consent to reoccupy the post. They only proceeded however one march, and then precipitately retreated marching through Banda back to their homes, without communicating with me at all. I never saw them again.

GREEN FLAG RAISED AT CHILLA

16*th*—Meanwhile a few sowars had crossed the river at Chilla Tara and set up the green flag in the Mahomedan village of Chilla which, with Muddunpoor (Madanpur) and others and the villages of Lulowlee on the opposite bank in the Futtehpoor district, were most conspicuous in the rebellion and plundering of defenceless travellers. Numerous reports, apparently well founded, also reached me of mutineers marching to assist their brethren at Banda. A different tone was soon manifest in the Police; they no longer obeyed orders with their usual alacrity, and not a single man, Horse or Foot, could be obtained for extra levies.....

53RD N. I. AND 1ST N. I. IN REVOLT

18*th*—Matters remained apparently quiet until Sunday the 14th, by which time the detachment of the 1st Native Infantry had obtained correct information of the doings at Cawnpoor, and of the black treachery of the Head Quarters of their Regiment, with orders, I have no doubt, to do likewise. It was on this very day also at 2 P. M., that the detachment of the 53rd Native Infantry at Humeerpoor rose and murdered the Christians of that station. At Banda, the same day, the sepoys of the 1st Native Infantry showed open mutiny and insubordination. I was in need of cash, and my application to the Officer Commanding for one of the tumbrils under his guard was met with the reply, that the sepoys had insolently refused to give up a single rupee. They also sent word to my jail *Darogah*, that the grain and *atta* stored in the jail, and my two guns, which I had ordered to be taken to the Nawab's palace, were not to leave the place, but were to be kept for their *Soubadar's* orders, who was marching with troops to occupy Banda. The scoundrel of a jail *Darogah, and the greater part of the Nujeebs were also proved to be in league with them.* The *Toomandar* remained true; I had two days previously

requested the Adjygurh force to take up their quarters around the jail for its protection; they verbally consented, but failed to attend to the requisition. They were evidently waiting at Banda, merely to see which hand got the uppermost, and to act accordingly. The 1st Native Infantry had also possession of the magazine, containing some 80,000 rounds of ball cartridge, and three times that number of blank cartridge. Lieutenant Bennett reported his men as being utterly beyond control and refusing to obey any orders.

ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS THE REVOLUTION

19*th*—On consultation we resolved to try, with the aid of the Nawab and his troops, 125 in number, to proceed that evening (Sunday the 14th), (to) first repossess ourselves of the guns at the jail, and then with the assistance of the Adjygurh troops, force the sepoys of the 1st Native Infantry to give up the treasure and ammunition, and disarm them. There was not much hope of the plan succeeding, but it was our only chance. The gentlemen of Banda and Futtehpoor divided, half to accompany the force, the others remaining with the ladies.

SUCCESS OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

20*th*—The troops were drawn up in the Nawab's courtyard, and we were all ready to start, when Mr. Benjamine, commanding the Nawab's forces, was found to be in an unfit state to proceed, and at my request the Nawab acquiesced in Lieutenant Bennett's taking the command. A large and tumultuous assembly or rabble and town's people had meanwhile assembled in the courtyard, and we were surrounded on all sides. The moment was a critical one. The Nawab's sepoys, when first paraded, had exhibited a sullen and disorderly disposition; and when Lieutenant Bennett assumed the command, broke out into open mutiny and attacked that officer with their bayonets, shouting and vociferating in the most outrageous manner. Lieutenant Bennett's coolness and courage at that moment alone saved us from an insurrection inside of the courtyard. Had a shot been fired, or blood spilt, it would have been a signal for a general massacre of all the Christians therein assembled. Lieutenant Bennett

faced the mutinous sepoys, and stood his ground and reasoned with them, until I forced the Nawab in person to interpose between them and Lieutenant Bennett. The Nawab had been about to retire; but I let him know, in unmistakeable (*sic*,) terms, that he was responsible for our protection within his own walls, and that whatever happened afterwards he must at least release us from his own sepoys, and clear the palace yard of the tumultuous assembly therein collected. Thus warned, with the aid of his *Moosahib*s, partly by force, and partly by reasoning, he managed to induce the sepoys to leave the palace, and then speedily clearing away the crowd closed the gates. I must here bear witness that nothing could have been better than the behaviour of the Nawab and his *Moosahibs* upto this time. The Nawab's sepoys marched straight off to the cantonments of the 1st N. I., singing the *Jahad Jehad)* and calling upon all Musselmen to join them in exterminating the *Ferringhees*. The sepoys of the 1st, forewarned of what had been going on by a sowar, rose and armed themselves, sounding the alarm. Ensign Clerk rode down to the parade ground, and it was a mercy he was not killed on the spot. The men told him to be off, asking jeeringly where Bennett Sahib and the Collector were, who were going to disarm them. Ensign Clerk and Lieutenant Fraser then joined us at the Nawab's telling us of the outbreak of the sepoys.

WHOLE COUNTRY IN ARMS AGAINST THE BRITISH

21*st*—It was hopeless for us to try any longer to resist. We were in a palace surrounded by traitors, and unable to defend the place. The Nawab's sepoys, upon whom he had avowedly depended for our protection, had mutinied and joined the 1st N. I. also in open mutiny. They had possession of two guns and the magazine and treasure. The *Nujeebs* sided with the sepoys. I could no longer depend on my sowars or Police, as was proved immediately afterwards by those men with me, leaving me to a man. There only remained the Adjygurh troops, who had, as noticed above already given signs of their disinclination to serve actively against the insurgents. We were quite helpless, and were accompanied by seventeen ladies, women and children. I appealed to the Nawab, who replied he could do no more

for us, that his sepoys had deserted and mutinied, that he would himself stand and fight with us, but that he could not answer for our lives, or for the conduct of his followers and dependants. To add to our difficulties, it was reported that troops had been detached from Cawnpoor to occupy Banda, and had crossed the Jumna. *The whole country round us was known to be in arms. Cawnpoor, Futtehpoor, Allahabad, Humeerpoor, Mahoba*[1] *and Nowgong were all in the hands of the insurgents.*

FLIGHT OF THE BRITISHERS

22*nd*—Under these circumstances it would have been madness to have remained at Banda and exposed our party to almost certain death. We could do nothing to stay the revolt, and opposed as the course was to my own feelings, I was compelled to beat a retreat. In less than half an hour we were in the saddle. There was not a moment to lose. Mr. Webster, Assistant Magistrate, with a few volunteers, cleared the road from the palace, whilst I was collecting the women and children, and we escaped with nothing but the clothes on our backs. We left at 8 P. M. on the night of the 14th of June, and marched the first night to Kallinger (Kalinjar), 36 miles, and the next night to Nagode, 36 miles. The people were in two places inclined to resist our march, but we were too strong a party for villagers to attack with impunity, and they made no actual attempt. We were hardly out of the town when the whole cantonments were in a blaze, which lighted us on the road for the first 10 miles....

24*th*—I deeply regret to record the murder the next morning, 15th June, of Mr. Cockerell, my Joint Magistrate, on his arrival from Kirwee (Karwi), and of Mr. Benjamine, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Loyd, (Eurasians), and their families by the sepoys and followers of the Nawab. The latter gentle-

[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).

men had refused to accompany us, thinking the Nawab would protect them.....

ATTEMPT BY THE ENGLISH TO REOCCUPY BANDA

26*th*—From Nagode I went to Rewah and was arranging with Lieutenant W. Osborne to return to Banda with the Rewah troops, but received orders to join the Head Quarters of the Division. A second of a similar nature has been lately failed by disturbance in the Rajah's own *elaqua*. I am most anxious to re-establish myself in the district, and am ready to do anything to promote that end; without some kind of force to back my authority, and to reduce the turbulent *zemindars* to order, I should be able to retain no hold on the district, and unable to issue the prompt punishment which so many rebels richly deserve.....

DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

28*th*—The burning of cantonments and civil lines was accompanied by plunder of all the property they contained. The stamps, opium, etc. in the treasury were plundered, and the Collector and Magistrate's and Judge's records thrown into a mass of confusion, but I believe not entirely destroyed. I had previously taken the precaution of removing all Settlement *Mists* of Regulation IX of 1833, and the last year's *Huftganah* papers, as also the English records of Commissioner's correspondence from the year 1852 downwards, into the Nawab's palace, where I believe they still are under the Nawab's protection. The few odd thousands of rupees which remained in the treasury under a *Burkundaz* guard, I also removed on the Sunday afternoon, and the Treasurer verbally reported to me that he had deposited the money in the Nawab's *Jamadar Khana*.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS FROM THE JAIL, 15TH JUNE 1857

P. S.—I omitted to mention in the body of my letter, that the prisoners were relieved at the jail by the sepoys of the 1st N. I. on the 15th June.[1]

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Banda District*, pp. 2-7.

Banda Magistrate's version of the Outbreak.

The report made by the Magistrate of Bandah (Banda) on the petition of Mahomed Abbas *Tahsildar* was to the following effect :—

That in this district mutiny broke out on the 14th June and on the 27th June the Nowab of Bandah sent 300 armed men (Artillery) for carrying the treasury amounting to Rs. 19,000 of the *tehseelee* at Modha and Bandah to him after paying the salary of one month to the officials of *tehseelee* and these men brought with them a letter to his (Abbas's) address from Mirza Imdad Allee Baig (which appears from the evidence of many witnesses to have been sent by Sirdar Khan (Deputy Collector) intimating him to give up all the treasures to the persons alluded to; then the petitioner with all his family and the treasures went to Bandah accompanied with the said armed men and the petitioner carried the treasury on the elephants of the Nowab. It appears from the statement of the petitioner that he had remained in Bandah for a long time.

2*nd*—It is proved that when the Petitioner was *Tehseeldar* of Bandah, Kulloo Mirdaha then a servant of Nanha (Nana) came there to make a proclamation there of the commencement of the Nanha's reign, which he did not prohibit him from so doing.....[1]

Statement of Mirza Villayut Hoossein (Vilayat Husain) son of Moonshi Rehmtoolah (Munshi Rahmat Ullah) of Banda, Manager of Nawab Ali Bahadoor (Bahadur).

EUROPEAN OFFICERS AT NAWAB'S HOUSE

All the gentlemen came to Nowab's house—Mayne Sahib, Judge Sahib, Assistant, Captain Burret[2] and many others numbering 32. During that time the Manager was Imdad Ali Beg. On 3rd or 4th day, the Nowab said he would go and retake the treasury, with Mr. Mayne, from the

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records: File No. XVIII—31; 'Copy of a Report of the Commissioner of Hamirpur in reply to a letter of Government'. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Can also be read as 'Bennett' which appears correct.

rebels. After Nowab and Mayne Sahib had made the *Telungas* swear that they would follow, the Nowab went to get his horse. The *Telungas* then called out that Captain Burret had struck them and they would not serve. The Nowab said to the *Sahib logue* "there are 10 of my relations and friends here besides myself, one or two shall be taken first". In the meantime the mutineers sounded a bugle and prepared to advance.

FLIGHT OF EUROPEANS TO NAGODE

The Europeans then said they could do nothing against such numbers and begged the Nowab to assist them in reaching Nagode in safety. About 10 O'clock at night they all went to Nagode. The sepoys subsequently surrounded the Nowab's house calling out for the *Sahib logue*. In the morning we heard that Cockerell Sahib had been murdered by the rebels.

REVOLUTIONARIES MARCH TO KANPUR

They (the rebels) left the place in the course of two days and went to Cawnpore. Afterwards 3 gentlemen and one child were brought by 500 men to the Nowab, one of these gentlemen was called Captain Scott. I protected these gentlemen and took care of them. The gentleman said, "Pray search for this child's mother--a Doctor's wife". She was found in a village. She said that 10 *koss* from Nowgong the *zemindars* had murdered her husband. The Nowab took great care of them administering medicine to the lady; Major Ellis was duly informed of their arrival. About one month or one month and a half subsequent to this, Major Ellis wrote to the Nowab, telling him to send these gentlemen with 50 sowars to Adjeygurh (Ajaigarh); and they were accordingly sent, and I got a receipt for them from the Ranee. Then about 14 or 15 musicians came. These also found refuge with the Nowab, and they were sent to Nagode, the Nowab giving them 200 Rs. After this the Bindware[1] camps consisting of 3,000 or 4,000 sepoys arrived and completely

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

surrounded the place. They threatened to kill us if we did not remain with them. After this another regiment reached Banda with the 5th Cavalry. They put the Nowab and myself under surveillance, and did what they liked. We knew of no English force being near enough to assist us.

MURDER OF EUROPEAN OFFICERS

Captain Benjamin, Bruce, and Loyd with their families were living at a bungalow, belonging to Mr. Muggrahy. This house was some distance from the Nowab's. It appears that instead of accompanying the other gentlemen as advised, they concealed themselves in this house and were murdered by the *Telungas*. Both the doors of the palace were shut and I never left the Nowab. These officers were murdered the day after Mayne Sahib left. I did not tell Captain Scott about the murder of these people. Captain Benjamin and Bruce were employees of the Nowab, and Mr. Loyd was the brother-in-law of Captain Benjamin. These gentlemen were murdered by the sepoys of the Qitters Pulton. They may have been joined by the Nowab's *Telungas*.

We all took leave of Mr. Bruce and the others and gave them sowars fancying they were about to accompany the rest of the party. We had no communications with the sepoys. I never left the Nowab at all and did all in my power to assist the European gentlemen and ladies etc.[1]

OUTBREAK AT KARWI

Extract from the Statement of the Prosecution.

.....In addition to this the sowars and servants of Narain Rao who were sent out to patrol the country repeatedly got up false alarms and came galloping in reporting large bodies of rebels to be at hand, which afterwards proved to be totally without foundation and were evidently got up with a view to induce Mr. Cockerell to retire from Kirwee and thus to leave the field open to them.

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records: File. No. XVIII—33. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Mr. Cockerell however gallantly held on at his post until ordered into Banda on the night of 13th of June. He then requested Narain Rao to assist the Police in maintaining order during his absence, and made over the Police etc. to his care saying he would be back in four days.

On arriving at Banda next morning Mr. Cockerell was murdered.[1]

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Narain Rao and Madho Rao of Kirwee and Makund Rao Jemadar, Executor and Guardian of Madho Rao and Gobind Rao, son of Makund Rao*". Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records: File No. XVIII—36, Part II. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

CHAPTER SIX
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN ALLAHABAD DIVISION

KANPUR

NANA ASSUMES INDEPENDENCE

.....After the Europeans had evacuated the entrenchment the Nana placed a flag up, and had a grand review of the troops; there were present Balla (Bala) Rao and Jwalapersad; the Nana received a salute and went away.

When the English were prisoners no sentries or guards were from the Line Regiments but the Nana and Balla Rao arranged for their protection with his own men and worst characters.

When the English were to be executed sepoy Bala Singh (since dead), others of the 56th Regiment, I forget their names, went to join in the execution. These men were bad characters; the native officers told them this was not their work and not to do it but they would listen to no one.....[1]

NANA'S RULE AT BITHOOR

Deposition of Appa Shastree, son of Ramchunder Punth (Ramchandra Pant), Brahmin Dukhnee (Dakhini) of Poonah, at present residing at Bithoor, age 51 years.

Question—When the outbreak occurred at Cawnpore, where were you ?

Answer—I was at Bithoor at the time. One day, the date of which I do not remember, Bapoo Datar, a Mahratta, accompanied by 20 or 22 persons, both Horse and Foot, went to the *thanah* of the old cantonments at Bithoor, set up a flag there, and another at the Government *thanah.* From that time it was known that the Nana's rule had commenced, and that all the troops were subject to him. After this, the Nana blew away from a gun, Goordeen, the Bace Sahib's

[1] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

agent, and his family; also confined me, Lalla Ram, and Appa Jee Punth, at the *thanah*, and put fetters on us; and until the re-establishment of the British rule, we remained in that state, together with a number of other persons connected with the Bace.

Question—State the occurrences you observed during the disturbances at Bithoor.

Answer—As I was not liked by the sepoys and the Nana's men, I did not venture to stir from the *thanah*, but Appa Jee, Luchmun Bhakree, Lalla Ram, and Juggurnath Deechut[1] used to go out of the place and witness what was going on. The Bace's men used to come every day to see me, bringing me food and giving me all the news. I remember having heard that on Tuesday the 9th June, a gentlemen[2] and a lady who was with child, and three heads of some Europeans, were brought into Bithoor by some sepoys and sowars who carried them to the Rao; and that when the sepoys intended putting the two former to death, the Baces interfered and had their lives spared. So the lady was kept in the *Burra Sahib's* house, and the gentleman together with the heads were sent to the Nana. These facts were communicated to me by Bulwunt Rao, the Bace's brother. Some days after, the lady above alluded to was delivered of a daughter, and the Baces caused great care to be taken of her. Five or six days after this a boat containing 45 or 46 Europeans together with some ladies and children were sent to Bithoor by Jussa Sing, *zemindar*; their boat was brought and moored opposite the *thanah*. I saw it from a distance, but Appa Jee Punth and Lalla Ram, went out of the *thanah* and saw the boat, and Choonee Sing Chowdree, who was appointed *Thanadar*, called out to Juggurnath Deechut, now deceased, to come out and see his friends—the English. He accordingly went out to see them. I was informed, that the Rao treated these Europeans very kindly and sent them food. The next day in accordance with instructions received from Bala, they were all sent to Cawnpore. Koosaba Khiranee-gir, and Koondoo Punth, two of the Nana's officers, were sent in charge of them.

[1] Probably spelt for 'Jagannath Dikshit'.
[2] It should be 'gentleman'.

ENTHRONEMENT OF NANA AT BITHOOR

When the entrenchment was vacated, the Nana and Bala came to Bithoor; the former took his seat on the throne, in honor of which salutes were fired, the city and other places illuminated, and *khilluts* distributed, after which Bala returned to Cawnpore, and the Nana remained at Bithoor for five or six days, when he also returned to Cawnpore owing to a dispute having arisen in the troops, regarding the distribution of salary and rewards.....[1]

REVOLUTIONARY GOVT. ESTABLISHED AT KANPUR

Shepherd's version of Revolutionary Government at Kanpur, 29th August 1857.

.....At sun-set of the same day (27th of June) the Nena (Nana) had a general review of all his troops, said to consist of corps or portions of corps, noted in the margin (given in footnote)* and which had joined at Cawnpore, from time to time, since the 6th of June 1857, which assembled on the plain of Subada (Sawada) on the north of our vacated entrenchment. Here three salutes were fired from the heavy guns, one of twenty-one guns for the Nena (Nana) as Sovereign; nineteen for his brother, Balla Sahib, as Governor General; seventeen guns for Jowalla Pershaud (a Brahmin), as comman-

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 39, pp. 80-81.

*Note in the Original--

2nd Light Cavalry; the 1st, 53rd, and 56th Regiments Native Infantry, of Cawnpore.

1st and 2nd Oude Irregular Cavalry; two regiments of Oude Native Infantry, from Lucknow.

17th Regiment, Native Infantry; 13th Irregular Cavalry, from Azimgurh.

12th Regiment Native Infantry; 14th Irregular Cavalry; No. 18 Field Battery, from Nowgong.

Detachment of 10th Native Infantry from Futtehgurh.

Ditto 6th Regiment Native Infantry from Allahabad.

3 Nowabie regiments from Lucknow.

2 half-regiments of newly-raised Infantry at Cawnpore besides a great mob of zemindars, etc., of neighbouring districts, who came well armed, to assist the Nena (Nana).

der-in-chief; after which the so-called Governor General gave a short speech to the army, praising them for their great courage and bravery in obtaining a complete victory over the British at Cawnpore, and promising them a lac of rupees as a reward for their labours, which, however, was put off from day to day, and the army never saw a pice of it.....

NANA'S ARMY

All this while the Nena (Nana) continued to receive many more troops, which, after mutinying, had left their respective stations, and poured in from all sides into Cawnpore, so that *about the 10th of July, there were near upon* 20,000 *armed fighting men of all classes at his command* and the depradation they committed in the city was excessive. Many rich *Mahajuns* were plundered and reduced to beggary, and the poorer classes of people suffered in proportion; every person who appeared respectable or well-to-do in the world, was assailed, and his house searched, under the plea of having Europeans hid in it, but really for no other purpose than to plunder whatever property he might have worth taking. It is impossible to describe all the wickedness these wretches committed during so short a time.....

ACTION AGAINST THE SPIES

Just after the defeat at Futtehpore of the rebels, a few spies (whether real or imaginary it is not known) were brought to the Nena (Nana) as being the bearers of letters supposed to have been written to the British by the helpless females in the prison; and with it some of the *Mahajuns* and the Bengalees of the city were believed to be implicated. It was therefore agreed that the said spies, together with all the women and children, as also the few gentlemen whose lives had been spared (said to be 6 in number out of 17 officers who had been captured about the 10th or 11th of July on their way, by water, from Futtehghur to this and whose deaths were also delayed under promise of a ransom), should all be put to death, *and that the Baboos of the city, and every individual who could read or write English, should have their right hands and noses cut off.....*[1]

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 91 in No. 3, pp. 182-84.

PROCLAMATION OF NANA SAHEB PESHWA

From Dhondo Punt Nana Peishwa, Punt Prudhan to all the *Surinjamdars*, *Jageerdars*, Deshmooks, Deshpandeys and other *Jumeendars*, Patels, Coolkernees (Kulkarnis), Naikwads, Shetsundees and the whole of the population of the Deccan and the Carnatic, it is ordered to be proclaimed that:

The English, who are "*Kaffurs*" came to this country under pretence of carrying on trade. Afterwards instigating sedition among our *Surinjamdars* and practising treachery they seized all the Hindoo and Mahomedan kingdoms, imprisoning some of the descendants of the former kings and driving others to beggary; they themselves enjoy the country. This is well known to the whole of you.

The "*Kaffurs*" upon the strength of their acquisition of the Empire have turned very arrogant and, keeping up outward appearances of justice, have most unjustly destroyed life and acquired wealth and property. They have been endeavouring to delude and convert the population of this country by inducing them to abandon their own religion and caste, but, having failed by mild means to do this, they were about to use force.

Tyranny, wickedness and injustice having been much practised by the "*Kaffur*" English on the faithful and sin-fearing I have been commissioned by God to punish the "*Kaffurs*" by annihilating them and to re-establish the Hindoo and Mahomedan kingdoms as formerly and to protect our country and I have conquered the country north of the Nurbuda (Narmada) river.

To submit to and live under such wicked "*Kaffurs*" is disgraceful. So immediately on the perusal of this proclamation you are bravely to take up your swords and without mercy destroy the "*Kaffurs*". By this you will gain merit and show your manliness and your courage will be proved.

Ye heroes ! this is the best time for you to avenge the wrongs and wickedness perpetrated by the "*Kaffur*" English on your grandfathers and on your kings. By allowing such an opportunity to escape do not suffer the stain of being effiminate and foolish to attach to the people of the south.

At the present time the English having disagreements among themselves about their religion are quarrelling and fighting and killing each other. The French and the Russians

who entertained from a long time a hatred against the English and a design to turn them out of Hindoostan have thought this a proper time to carry it out and with this intention they have been sending armies by sea these three months past. The Chinese also have declared war against these "*Kaffurs*" and the latter having no army to send against the Chinese are much alarmed. The Persians, Afghans and Beloochees moreover are ready with their armies collected to aid us. In short this is the 'golden time' to root out completely the English from this country. The "*Kaffur*" English, in order to discourage the population, fabricate false information of their having retaken Delhi and other places and having defeated us, and make it known among the public; but such ought not to be believed. If you allow this time to escape all of you will be liable to punishment from us and for that guilt whatever *Jageers*, lands and other subsistence you may possess will be brought under attachment.

This proclamation is published by order of "*Ullee Shan*" "*Bundeegan*" "*Ullee Hoozoor*" the Emperor of Delhi.

By Rao Punt Prudhan Peishwa.[1]

NANA'S KACHEHRI

Extract from the Statement of Hulas Singh, son of Ram Singh, age about 70 years, Caste Kurmi, inhabitant of manzah Nowdega, zillah Furruckabad (Farrukhabad), profession, he was at one time in Service, at another a zamindar.

.....His *cutcherry* was arranged as follows : the Nana's was the highest court; and 2nd that of Deputy Ram Lall. In the Nana's court, Bala, and Bhut, Azim Oollah and Jwala Pershad, Brigadier, and others used to pass orders. Ram Lall had no associate in his court; Moonshee Jwala Pershad was Ram Lall's confidential adviser. These two did all the work.....[2]

[1] *Source Material for the History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I, 1818-1884, (Bombay); Foreign Political Consultations, 22nd Oct. 1858, No. 18: Accompaniment to Dharwar Magistrate's letter No. 1488 of 28th September 1858. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 23, p. 55.

THE TWO JWALA PRASADS

Translation of Supplementary Depositions of Hulas Singh, Rama Nand and Janki Prasad made on oath before the Magistrate of Kanpur on 13th and 15th December 1860.

DEPOSITION OF HULAS SINGH

Question—In your confession before Lieutenant-Colonel Williams you have stated that you saw Moonshee Jowala Pershad in the Court of Ram Loll Deputy Collector. State if you refd. (referred) to the Jowala Pershad who was Extra Asstt. in Oudh and is now dead.

Answer—Yes, he is the identical person.

Question—Besides this Jowala Pershad and the Jowala Pershad *Ressaldar* of the Nana's troops, who has been hanged, was there another of that name with the Nana's army or office?

Answer—No, there was no third Jowala Pershad.

DEPOSITION OF RAMANAND

Question—In your deposition before Lieutenant-Colonel Williams you have stated that Jowala Pershad used to visit the Nana. State who this Jowala Pershad was.

Answer—During the Nana's rule, Jowala Pershad managed his affairs. This very Jowala Pershad afterwards held office in Oudh as Extra Asstt. and is now dead. The 2nd Jowala Pershad who has been hanged was the Nana's servant. Besides these two there was no other of that name with the Nana.

DEPOSITION OF JANKI PRASAD

Question—In your deposition before Lieutenant-Colonel Williams you have stated that you heard that Jowala Pershad often used to attend Dy. Ram Loll's Court. State who this Jowala Pershad was and did you refer to the man of that name who took service in Oudh as Extra Assistant or any other?

Answer—I referred to the Jowala Pershad who took service in Oudh.

Question—Besides this Jowala Pershad and the other of that name who was at the head of the Nana's troops and has been hanged, was there a third Jowala Pershad with the Nana's army or office?

Answer—No.[1]

ROLE OF SOME TAHSILDARS OF KANPUR DISTRICT IN THE OUTBREAK

"The following is a history of the acts of the *Tehseeldars*, ascertained after the re-occupation of Cawnpoor by the British. The ringleaders, and other parties who came in at the same time, are also mentioned in order of dates.

Name of Tehseeldar and of his pergunnah	Residence or Home	Remarks
Shah Ali Hossein, *Tehseeldar* of Jajamow.	*Zillah* Allahabad.	This person took leave from the Collector prior to the disturbances. After getting leave he remained here two or three days and then went to Allahabad. After the massacre of the Europeans he returned to Cawnpoor to recover the tehseeldarship of Jajamow, but he was not appointed to it. When the British re-occupied Cawnpoor and the arch traitor fled, this man also left and went to his home.
Maharaj Buksh, *Tehseeldar* of Sada Suleempoor[1].	Formerly of Bundki (Bindki), now of Jajamow.	This person was faithful to the traitor Nana during the rebellion, and forwarded the collections of revenue of the *pergunnah* to the Nana. In every way he was a traitor to the British Government, and has now absconded.

[1] File No. 723 regarding Jwala Prasad, English Records Room, Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Apparently *Salempur*, Tahsil *Narwal*, District *Cawnpore*—This village gave its name to pargana which was formed out of the old Akbari Mahals of Majhawan and Jajmau and remained in existence till 1837 when it

Name of Tehseeldar and of his pergunnah	Residence or Home	Remarks
Luchmun Pershad, *Tehseeldar* of Akburpoor[1].	Of Pertaub Gurh adjoining Allahabad.	Azeez-ood-deen, *Tehseeldar* of Sekundra[2], forwarded treasure to the *Tehseeldar of* Akburpoor 15 days before the outbreak. The latter took charge of the money, and kept it by him; and also kept charge of the collections of his own *pergunnah*. At the commencement of the mutiny, he sent all that money to the Nana to ensure the Nana's favour and continued to carry out the orders of that arch traitor. On the re-occupation of Cawnpoor by the British, he absconded.
Fureedoos Zuman (Farid-uz-zaman), *Tehseeldar* of Rusoolabad, son of Waheed-oos-Zuman, Deputy Collector of Humeerpoor.	Resident of the Oudh territory adjoining Chilayan.	This person maintained his post in his *pergunnah*, and presented himself before the Collector, on the restoration of the British Government. He came in with Warris Ally, *tehseeldar* of Derapoor. Afterwards, in pretence of going to bring the Government treasure and records, he disappeared, and then absconded without giving notice to the authorities. Afterwards Salar Buksh brought away the Government treasure and records.

was amalgamated with Sarh to form a single tahsil now called Narwal. It stands in 26° 21′ N. and 80° 30′ E., about eleven miles south-east from Cawnpore on the road from Jajmau to Maharajpur and nine miles from Narwal. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 331).

[1] *Akbarpur*, Tahsil *Akbarpur*, District *Cawnpore*—The town of Akbarpur stands in 26° 23′ N. and 79° 57′ E., at a distance of 26 miles west-south from Cawnpore. It is some three miles to the north of the Kalpi road, with which it is connected by two metalled branches, one taking off near Barah and the other near the Lalpur station on the Indian Midland Railway. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 229).

[2] *Sikandra*, Tahsil *Bhognipur*, District *Cawnpore*—An old town standing in 26° 22′ N. and 79° 37′ E., on the Mughal Road in the north-west of the tahsil, at a distance of forty-five miles from Cawnpore and about seventeen miles from Pukhrayan. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 341).

Name of Tehseeldar and of his pergunnah	Residence or Home	Remarks
Mahomed Nuzur Khan, *Tehseeldar* of Bulhoor[1].	Of Phupoond, *zillah* Etawah.	This person joined in the rebellion; and fearing the vengeance of the British Government, has absconded.
Ehmud-oolah (Ahmadullah), *Tehseeldar* of Bithoor.	Of *zillah* Allahabad.	This person with Doob Chund, his *Peshkar*, was constantly in attendance upon the traitor Nana from the commencement. He is the cause of the whole of this rebellion. For it was he who joined the Deputy Collector Ram Lall in compelling the *Mohurrirs* and *Omlah* of the *kutcherries* to attend the traitor Nana's *durbar* and also issued stringent orders about them, and coerced them to attend. This man was guilty of every act that could disgrace a traitor. I should not be surprised if he is still with that accursed wretch.[2]

ROLE OF DEPUTY RAM LAL IN THE OUTBREAK

Name of the Revolutionary	Resident of	Charged for (*sic*, with)	Punishment	Remarks
Ram Lal Deputy Collector at Cawnpore at the time of revolution.		Rebellion against the Queen of England in accepting service under Dhoodoo Punth.	Hanged at Cawnpore; property confiscated.	1. The charge was supported by general rumour and the confession of the prisoner. He pleaded that he was compelled by threats of violence to become a servant of the rebel Govt. (Govern-

[1] Apparently *Bilhaur*, Tahsil *Bilhaur*, District *Cawnpore*—The capital of the Bilhaur pargana and tahsil is a town situated in 26° 50′ N. and 80° 4′ E., at a distance of 34 miles north-west from Cawnpore. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 249).

[2] Forrest: *State Papers*, Vol. III, pp. CCCXLI to CCCXLIII (Appendix).

Name of the Revolutionary	Resident of	Charged for	Punishment	Remarks
		Muhratha in arms against the English Government.		ment); The Court did not accept his excuses and sentenced him to death by hanging. This Court of Commission was held in General Havelock's camp on the 19th of July 1857 before John Sherer Esqr. and Henry Willock Esqr. Commissioners. The District Magistrate of Cawnpore wrote about him that he flaunted his disloyalty in the face of the whole district and displayed a zeal in behalf of the Nana's cause. The Commissioner approved of the opinion of the Collector that Ram Lal's family deserved no sort of consideration from the Government for the release of the property.[1]

AMLAH WHO SERVED UNDER RAM LAL DEPUTY COLLECTOR

Translation of Examination of Belas Roy (Bilas Rai), late Revenue Serishtedar, Collector's Office Kanpur and at present Serishtedar, Deputy Commissioner's Office Partabgarh (Pratapgarh).

Question—Give me the names and places of residence of those *Umlah* who served under Ramlall Deputy Collector.

[1] Dept. XIII, File No. 637, English Records Room, Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Answer—The following are the names of the *Umlah* who served under Ramlall Deputy Collector during the mutiny at Cawnpore:

S. No.	Name	Rank	Father's Name	Place of Residence	
1.	Belas Roy	*Sheristadar*	Bhowany Pershad	Bhogaon	Present in Court.
2.	Shew Churn Lall	*Naib Sheristadar*	—	Jagmow *zh.* Cawnpore	Acting *Sherishtadar*, at Oonao.
3.	Ishree Pershad	do	—	do	Not known where he is.
4.	Bhugwan Pershad	*Naib Sheristadar* D. C. O.	—	Cawnpore	*Peishkar* at *mh.* Sadh Salampore.
5.	Lall Chund Kaith	*Robkar Navis*	—	Rawutpore	Heard that he was in the Barrack Dept. at Mundeo. Can't tell where he is now.
6.	Goorsahai Kaith	*Roznamcha Navis*	—	do	Heard he was employed at Oonao but he may be at home now.
7.	Muthrapershad Kaith	*Naib Roznamcha Navis*	—	do	Can't tell where he is now, may be at home.
8.	Havee Khan Musulman	*Purwana Navis*	—	Jais Oudh	do.
9.	Oulad Ahmed	*Naib Purvana Navis*	—	—	do.
10.	Mahomed Havee	*Mohurir*	—	Allahabad	do.
11.	Raheem Bux	do	—	—	do.
12.	Golam Rasool	do	—	—	do.

S. No.	Name	Rank	Father's Name	Place of Residence	Remarks
13.	Kifait Ali	*Mohafis Duftur*	—	Nawab-gunj	Can't tell where he is now—may be at home.
14.	—	*Naib Mohafis Duftur*	—	—	Was absent on leave before the rebellion from Cawnpore.
15.	Baboo Ray Kaith	*Vasilbakee Navis*	—	Allahabad	Not known where he is.
16.	Shewpershad Kaith	*Naib Vasilbakee Navis*	—	Cawnpore	do.
17.	Bhugwandeen Kaith	*Jumma Khirch Navis*	—	Rawutpore[1]	Is the *Seah Navis* at Pertaubghur but is now on leave at Cawnpore to clear his character.
18.	Toolsee Ram Kaith	*Seah Navis*	—	Akburpore	Not known where h is.
19.	Kishooree Sing Thakoor	*Nagree Navis*	—	—	do.
20.	Nund Kishore Kaith	do	—	Allahabad	do.
21.	Gunesh Roy Kaith	do	—	—	do.
22.	Gomtee Pershad Kaith	do	—	Rawutpore[1]	do.
23.	Luchmun Pershad Kaith	*Daroga* of *Abkaree*	—	do	do.

[1] *Rawatpur*, Tahsil *Cawnpore*, District *Cawnpore*—The large suburban village of Rawatpur stands in 26° 29′ N. and 80° 17′ E. about three miles west of Cawnpore and adjoining Kalyanpur and Maswanpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 329).

Besides the above there may be two or three others of the Collectorate but I don't remember their names.

Question—Who of the above attended Ram Lall's *cutcherry* ?

Answer—I cannot tell who attended or who were absent; Shere Mull *Nazir* of *zillah* Akburabad and Surjoo Pershad *Naib Nazir* place or residence not known, there was another Surjoo Pershad of the "*Ahulmud*", were among the above.[1]

ROLE OF BILAS RAI SARISHTEDAR

Extract from a letter from Captain J. H. Chamberlain, Asstt.General Superintendent, Lucknow, to W. Sherer, Magistrate Kanpur, dated Lucknow, the 18th August 1859.

I have the honour to inform you that under instructions of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, a man named Belas Roy, who was *Sheristadar* in the Revenue Department of *zillah* Cawnpore when the rebellion broke out is now under examination before me touching the history and details of the Cawnpore massacres and the occupancy of the place by the rebels.

I would feel extremely obliged if you will be so good as to inform me whether you have any evidence against this individual, either as having tendered his services to the Nana, or in any way been subservient to that heartless leader, whether there are any documents in existence, such as petitions or otherwise from him to the Nana or his immediate responsible subordinate; in short whether you can give me any assistance in ascertaining, whether the information Belas Roy records, is as he states merely "hearsay", or whether he was in any degree accessory to the horrors of those world-wide deeds of infamy and blood.[2]

ROLE OF AHMAD ALI TAHSILDAR

Extract from official letter No. 859 from L. B. Thornhill, Commissioner, Allahabad Division, to W. Sherer, Magistrate of Kanpur, dated 12th October 1859.

Regarding the case of Ahmad Ally the Officer says,

[1] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] Dept. XIII, File No. 659, English Records Room, Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

"I have the honor to observe that it appears to me, that we must resist the influence of rebels by the position which they attained among the insurgents, and the fact of Ahmad Ally having been entrusted with the responsible duties of *Tehseeldary* by the Nana, marks him in my opinion as a leader."

Another officer, whose name is not legible in letter No. 286 to the Commissioner, Allahabad, wrote that, "He (Ahmad Ally) was appointed *Tehseeldar* of Akberpur by the Nana and was most undoubtedly of great service to rebel cause. He kept up a communication between Kalpi and the part of country where from time to time the Nana was residing".[1]

PROCLAMATIONS ISSUED

Extract from the Statement of Ram Deen, Khazanchi, Collectorate of Cawnpoor (Kanpur), son of Moonshee Adjoodhia Pershad (Munshi Ayodnya Prasad), resident of town of Baligram, lately resident of Cawnpoor (Kanpur), age 24 years, service.

Question—When you were at Cawnpoor, did you see or hear of a Mahomedan flag been (*sic*,) planted ?

Answer—There was a Mahomedan flag planted.

Question—Was there a proclamation issued inviting all classes to flock to the flag ?

Answer—Proclamations were issued.

Question—What was written in those proclamations ?

Answer—The proclamations invited the Mahomedans and Hindoos to unite in common for protection of their religions.

Question—State the truth, who raised the flag ? By whose order were the proclamations issued, and did you see the flag with your own eyes ?

Answer—I did not see the flag with my own eyes, nor am I aware who the person was that first of all got it up. The proclamations were issued from the press of Mussehoz-zuman, one of whose scholars furnished me with a copy.

Question—Do you know whether it was Kazi Wussieood-deen or Moulvie Salamut Oollah who planted the flag ?

[1] Dept. XIII, File No. 662, English Records Room, Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Answer—I only know that both these persons used to accompany the flag.[1]

PLANTING OF THE GREEN FLAG

Extract from the Deposition of Azeezun (Azizan), Prostitute, and resident of Cawnpore (Kanpur).

Question—What do you know about the religious flag raised at Cawnpore ?

Answer—I heard that it was raised by Azeem Oollah Khan, who took Moulvie Salamut Oollah with him. The Moulvie in vain attempted to resist. He also took all the residents of the city, and said "if you don't come I will blow you from the mouth of cannon;" he must have also taken Kazi Wasi-ooddeen. The sowars collected all the people, and took them to a house near the canal and they took me also. There were about 1,000 persons, men and women collected there. The Nana and Azeem Oollah ordered the people to attack the entrenchments. Moulvie Salamut Oollah and the people said, "you first attack them, then we will." They then sent the people away and I also returned home. I remember seeing the Nunney Nawab; Azim Ali Khan, *Darogah*; Agha Meer Shah Ali; Recar[2] Alie; Moulvie Salamut Oollah; Baker Ali; Kazi Wasi-ooddeen; and Ahmed Ali Khan, *Vakeel*; Moulvie Ubdul Ruhman, Hoolas Sing, *Kotwal*; and Raheem Khan, Native Doctor; and all the Government officials were present, and a good many from the city whose names I don't know.[3]

ENGLISHMEN NOT TO BE GIVEN SHELTER

Nana's order to Hulas Singh, Kotwal of Kanpur, dated 4th Ziqaad, corresponding with 24th June 1857.

You are hereby ordered to make known within your jurisdiction, that whoever may have in his possession any

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 25, p. 66.

[2] Appears misspelt for some other name; it may be Riaz Ali.

[3] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 28, p. 69.

property plundered from the English, such as chairs and tables, china and metal dishes, arms *buggies* (*bagghis*), medical apparatus, horses, and wood, or railway officers' property, such as beams, iron, wire, jackets, coats and trousers, goats and sheep, must, within four days, produce such property. Should any one secrete such things, and they be found hereafter in his house when searched, he will be visited with condign chastisement. Should any person have in his house an Englishman or any children (*baba logue*), he must produce them, and will not be questioned; but any person concealing the above, will be blown into the path of destruction from the cannon's mouth.[1]

NANA'S VICTORY AT KANPUR

Letter from Nana Saheb to Raghunath Singh, Bhawani Singh etc., officers of the Regiment at Sitapur (41st N. I.) and Wahid Ali Khan, Naib Risaldar, First Irregular Cavalry, at Sikandra, dated 4th Ziqaad 1273, *corresponding with 27th June* 1857.[2]

Greeting—Your petition, presented by Meer Punah Ali (Mir Panah Ali), has been received. Its contents have become known to me. The report of your bravery and gallantry has given me great pleasure, 'much praise be yours, thus should you ever act, thus let men act.' Here (Cawnpore) this day 4th Zikad (27th June), the white faces have fought with us. The whole of them, by the grace of God, and the destroying fortune of the King, have entered hell. A salute in honour of this event has been fired as usual. It behoves you also to celebrate this victory with rejoicings and peals of artillery. Moreover, your request for permission to fight with the infidels has given me great satisfaction. In a few days, when order shall have been restored in this district, the victorious force which has now swelled to a large army, still daily increasing, will cross the Ganges, continue to hem in the infidels until the arrival of my camp. This event will take place shortly; and then display all your valour. Bear

[1] Kaye, J. W.: *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, (London MDCCCLXX) Vol. II, p. 672.

[2] The following appears to have been written after the massacre at the Ghat.

in mind that the people pertain to both faiths. They must be neither molested nor injured in any way. Have a care to protect them, collect supplies, and keep them in readiness.[1]

DESTRUCTION OF ENGLISHMEN

Order from Nana Saheb to Hulas Singh, Kotwal of Kanpur, dated 8th Ziqaad, corresponding with 1st July 1857.

Whereas, by the grace of God and fortune of the King, all the English at Poona and in Punna[2] have been slain and sent to hell, and five thousand English who were at Delhi have been put to the sword by the royal troops. The Government is now everywhere victorious; you are, therefore, ordered to proclaim these glad tidings in all cities and villages by beat of drum, that all may rejoice on hearing them. All cause for apprehension is now removed.[3]

LOYALTY TO NANA'S GOVERNMENT

Proclamation issued by Nana Saheb, dated July 1, 1857.

As, by the bounty of the glorious Almighty God, and the enemy-destroying fortune of the Emperor, the yellow-faced and narrow-minded people have been sent to Hell, and Cawnpore has been conquered, it is necessary that all the subjects and landholders should be as obedient to the present Government as they have been to the former one; that all Government servants should promptly and cheerfully engage their whole mind in executing the orders of Government; that it is the incumbent duty of all the ryots, and landed proprietors of every district and *pergunnah*, to rejoice in the thought that Christians have been sent to Hell, and both the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions have been confirmed; and that they should, as usual, be obedient to the authorities

[1] Kaye : *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. II, pp. 672, 673.

[2] Referring perhaps to former '*Panna State*' in Bundelkhand.

[3] Kaye : *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. II, p. 673; *cf.* Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 8 in No. 3, p. 119.

of the *pergunnahs*, and never to suffer any complaint against themselves to reach the ears of higher authorities.[1]

DEATH OF BABU RAM BAKHSH'S BROTHER

Letter from Nana Saheb to Babu Ram Bakhsh, Taluqdar, Daundia Khera, Avadh, dated 10th Ziqaad, corresponding with 3rd July 1857.

Greeting---Your petition dated 6th Zikad (29th June), reporting the slaughter of the English, and the deaths in battle of your brother Sudhainan Sing, with two officers, and also begging for my favour as a reward for your self-devotion, has been perused. You are hereby informed, that I also am grieved at your loss, but the will of God must be submitted to. Moreover, this event (the death of his brother) has happened in the cause of Government, and you will ever remain the object of my protection. Have no manner of fear, Government will certainly befriend you.[2]

MEASURES TO INSTIL CONFIDENCE AMONG INDIANS

Order from Nana Saheb to Hulas Singh, Kotwal of Kanpur, dated 12th Ziqaad, corresponding with 5th July 1857.

Whereas sundry persons of the town, on hearing the report of European troops having marched from Allahabad, are abandoning their homes and seeking shelter in villages, you are hereby ordered to have proclaimed throughout the town that Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery have marched to repel the English. Wherever they may be met, at Futtehpore, Allahabad, or wherever they may be, the revenging force will thoroughly punish them. Let all remain without fear in their homes, and pursue their usual avocations.[3]

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 8 in No. 3, pp. 119, 120.

[2] Kaye : *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. II, pp. 673, 674.

[3] Kaye : *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. II, p. 674; *cf.*, Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*. 1857 Inclosure 8 in No. 3, p. 120.

BRITISH AIM TO CONVERT INDIANS TO CHRISTIANITY

Translation of a Proclamation printed by the order of the Peshwa Bahadur on the 13th Ziqaad 1273 A. H., corresponding with 6th July 1857.

From a traveller who has come from Calcutta and is now in Cawnpoor it has been ascertained that, before the distribution of the cartridges, a council was held for the purpose of taking away the religion and caste of the natives of Hindoosthan. The Members of the Council came to the conclusion that, as this was a matter of religion, some seven or eight thousand European troops would be of use and 50,000 natives would be killed; and that all the natives of Hindoosthan would then become Christians. A representation to this effect was made to Queen Victoria, and the proposal was approved. Again a council was held and the English merchants were permitted to join it, and it was decided that, in case of a reverse on the occasion of the insurrection, there should be as many European soldiers brought here, as there were Hindoosthanee soldiers. When this representation was read in England, 3,500 (?) European soldiers were despatched on ships in great haste, towards India and intelligence of their despatch was received in Calcutta. The Gentlemen (*Sahibs*) of Calcutta issued the order for the distribution of the cartridges the principal object of the measure being the conversion of the native troops, because the troops being converted, there would be no difficulty or delay in converting the people and the cartridges were greased with pigs' and cows' fat. *This was ascertained from the Bengalees who were employed in making up the cartridges, and one of these, who gave this intelligence, was killed, and all the rest were imprisoned.* On this side were these designs, on the other side the representative of the Sultan (Porte) wrote to his master from London that 35,000 European troops had been sent to India for the purpose of making the troops and the people of India Christians. The Sultan (May God give glory and honor to his Kingdom) sent a *Firman* to the Pasha of Egypt to the following effect—"You are in collusion with Queen Victoria. This is not a time for peace; for, my representative writes that 35,000 European troops have been despatched to India for the purpose of making the troops and the people of India Christians. Now is the time for a remedy (to look to this),

if we should neglect (the present opportunity) "how shall we shew our faces to God ? and this day (fate) some day or other will befall us, for, if the English make Christian converts of the natives of India, they will also attempt to do the same in our kingdom." When this *Firman* reached the Pasha, then, before the arrival of the European troops, he made his arrangements, and collected her[1] troops in the city of Alexandria which is the road to and from India. Immediately on the arrival of the European troops the Pasha brought his guns to bear on them from all four quarters and destroyed and sunk the ships, so that, of them all, not a single European escaped. The English in Calcutta, after the issue of the order for distribution of the cartridges and after the insurrection had come to a head, were in expectation of the arrival of the troops from London, but the Great God, in his Almighty power, had finished them off before hand. When the intelligence of the destruction of the European troops was received the Governor General was greatly pained and grieved, and beat his own head.

"(Here follow 4 verses which it does not seem necessary to translate). Printed by order of the Peshwa Bahadoor 13th Jeekadh 1273 Hijree."[2]

ARRANGEMENT OF THE ARMY

Translation of a Proclamation proposing the organization of the Troops, dated 13th Ziqaad 1273 A. H., corresponding with 6th July 1857.

In every Regiment, whether of Infantry or of Cavalry there will be appointed one Colonel as Commanding Officer, one Major as second in command under him; and one Adjutant. Of these three officers, it will be the duty of the Commanding Officer to command his troops, and execute any orders which the "*Sirkar*" may issue with respect to any arrangements to be made in the Regiment. He will be

[1] It should be 'his'.

[2] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 31st July 1857, Part I, Cons. No. 87 pp. 2128-2130, National Archives, New Delhi; *cf.* Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 22 in No. 2, pp. 60, 61.

Note:—No. of European troops is given as 3500 at one place and 35000 at another in this document.

vested with authority to adopt all the necessary measures with regard to the construction of batteries and war conformably to the instructions of Government. The Officer 2nd in Command shall be considered as the *Aide-de-Camp* of the Colonel assisting him by his advice and aiding him in commanding the Regiment and he will also take the place of the Commanding Officer when vacated by him. The Officer who shall be appointed as Adjutant shall drill the Regiment and teach them manoeuvres and perform all other duties which from of old appertain to the post of Adjutant. He shall be in charge of the records of the office of the Quarter Master, as well as take care of the magazine and ammunition as Quarter Masters did, so that no one may mis-appropriate any portion thereof. He will moreover see what quantity each sepoy has in his possession. If any of these articles be injured, found less in number, or misappropriated, the person who may injure or misappropriate them, will be considered as a culprit. The monthly allowance of 50 Rupees for every Company shall be paid to the *Subadars*. Out of this amount, the sum of 30 Rupees shall be paid to those who command and the remaining 20 Rupees shall be disbursed on account of repairs to be made by *Moochees* (*Mochis*), Carpenters, Blacksmiths etc. A *Moonshee* is to be appointed in every Regiment, and be paid by the 10 *Sirdars* of the 10 Companies that are in the receipt of allowances. The duty of this *Moonshee* shall be on the expiration of the month to prepare the Pay Lists of the 10 Companies as well as the Muster Rolls shewing the number of sepoys present, absent and wounded and to submit them under his signature to the Adjutant of his Regiment. The Adjutant should have in his Office one Head Moonshee and two Assistant Mohurrirs who shall be paid by Government. The Adjutant shall get the pay abstract of the 10 Companies prepared by these persons, and send them to the Commanding Officer, who after having examined the same, shall forward them to the *Sirkar*, and then the pay will be issued to the Regiment in reference thereto. On the occasion of the assembly of a Court Martial, the Head Moonshee above alluded to, shall record the allegation of the Plaintiff, the depositions of the witnesses and the opinion of the Court and after having got such record signed by the members of the Court make it over to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment who is to attest the same with his

signature, and to send it to the Brigadier. The Brigadier shall then transmit the paper to the *Sirkar* and with its sanction the sentence of the Court shall be carried into effect. The pay of the Head Moonshee shall be 50 Rupees; and that of the two *Mohurrirs* 10 Rs. each. Out of the 10 *Subadars* of the Regiment one is to be appointed as Adjutant, who shall receive the salary of a *Subadar* and the allowance also of the Adjutant. The one of the aforesaid two *Mohurrirs* shall attend the *Sirkar's* office, and at 4 O'clock copy and take to the Adjutant's office, any orders which may be issued by the *Sirkar*. By the office of the Adjutant such orders shall be promulgated and enforced in the Regiment and the expenses which shall be incurred in the execution of these orders, shall be defrayed out of the said 20 Rs. The Major and Colonel of the Regiment shall be two distinct officers and shall be paid separately. In their places other *Subadars* will be appointed. The *Sirkar* will fix such amount of salary for the men who shall be attached to the Adjutant as well as such pay and allowance of Colonel and Major as may be deemed proper. This is the first proposal.[1]

* * *

Proclamation of Nana Saheb, dated 13th Ziqaad 1273 Hijri, corresponding with 6th July 1857.

In the Artillery, Infantry, and Cavalry, there shall be four Commanding Officers. The pay of a Colonel shall be 500 rupees, and his allowance 250 rupees; the Major's pay shall be 500 rupees; and the Adjutant's allowance, in addition to his pay as a *Subadar*, shall be 150 rupees. The Quarter-master also shall have 150 rupees, in addition to his pay as a *Subadar*, both of whose duties he is to do.[2]

[1] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 31st July 1857, Part I, Cons. No. 89, pp. 2130-2132. National Archives, New Delhi; *cf.* Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 23 in No. 2, p. 61.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 24 in No. 2, p 62.

PENSIONS TO THE ARMYMEN AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

Translation of a Proclamation by the Nana Saheb dated 13th Jeekadh (Ziqaad) (1273 A. H.), corresponding with 6th July 1857.

Everyman belonging to the Artillery, the Infantry and the Cavalry, who has joined us or will join us in the contest, a pension will be given, for one generation, to his son, or his wife, or his mother or his sister or his daughter. And whoever has been, or may be incapacitated by wounds, he will get a pension for his life according to custom; and those, who are not incapacitated, and remain on duty, and those, who get old in the service, will also receive pensions according to custom. And whatever the rate of pay at Delhi may be, that will be given here from the day of joining the army of *Sirkar.*[1]

NANA ENCOURAGES OFFICERS TO BRAVE ACTION

Nana's message to the officers of the Army dated 14th Ziqaad, 1273 A. H., corresponding with 7th July 1857.

I have been greatly pleased with your zeal, valour, and loyalty. Your labours are deserving of the highest praise. The organisation and scale of pay and rewards established here will have likewise to be established for you. Let your minds be at rest, all promises made will be fulfilled. Troops of all arms have this day crossed the Ganges *en route* to Lucknow; you will be aided in every possible way to slay the unbelieving Nazarines, and despatch them to hell. The greatest reliance is placed on your readiness and bravery to secure victory. On receipt of this order, certify to me, under your hand and seal, that you have learned its contents, and are ready to cooperate in the destruction of the infidels. Have no fears as regards ordnance stores. Any amount of ammunition and heavy guns is (*sic,*) available. Shurf-ood-

[1] Foreign Secret Proceedings, 31st July 1857, Part I, Cons. No. 88, pp 2130. National Archives, New Delhi; *cf.* Further Papers (No.4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 25 in No. 2 p. 26.

Dowlah and Ali Reza Beg, *Cotwal* of Lucknow, have been ordered to supply provisions. They will do so; but should they fail in this duty inform me, and a conspicuous example will be made of them. All of you display valour and fortitude. May victory speedily crown your efforts, thus shall I myself be at liberty to proceed towards Allahabad. There can be no hesitation on your part or on mine. After this rapid success, march to Allahabad and conquer there.[1]

BOATS WITH BRITISHERS ABOARD SUNK

Letter from Nana Saheb to Kalka Prasad, Qanungo, Avadh, dated 16th Ziqaad, corresponding with 9th July 1857.

Greeting—Your petition has been received stating that seven boats containing Europeans were going down the river from Cawnpore, and that two parties of your men who were at the spot joined the Government troops and fired on them so unremittingly that they proceeded, slaying the English the whole way, as far as the villages of Abdool Azeez (Abdul Aziz), when the Horse Artillery and yourself in person joined the rest, and sank six of the boats, the seventh escaping through the force of the wind. You have performed a great deed, and I am highly pleased with your conduct. Persevere in your devotion to the Government cause. This order is sent (to) you as a mark of favour. Your petition, with which a European was sent in, has also reached me. The European has been sent to hell, thus adding to my satisfaction.[2]

REWARD TO THE HELPERS OF NANA'S GOVERNMENT

Nana's order to the Thanedar of Sirsoul[3], dated 20th Ziqaad, corresponding with 13th July 1857.

The victorious army of Government had marched towards Allahabad to oppose the Europeans, and it has now

[1] Kaye : *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. II, pp. 674, 675.
[2] Kaye : *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. II, p. 675.
[3] *Sirsaul*, Tahsil *Narwal*, District *Cawnpore*—This large agricultural village stands in 26° 16′ N. and 80° 30′ E., to the south of Maharajpur on the Grand Trunk Road, at a distance of fifteen miles from Cawnpore. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 342).

been reported that the latter have deceived the Government troops, attacked and scattered them. Some troops are said to remain there; you are, therefore, ordered to instruct the landholders in your jurisdiction and in Futtehpore, that every brave man should join heart and hand to defend his faith, to put the Europeans to the sword, and send them to hell. Conciliate all ancient influential landholders, and persuade them to unite in the cause of their religion to slay and send to hell all the infidels. Moreover, tell them that Government will give every man his due, and that those who assist it shall be rewarded.[1]

ADVANCE OF EUROPEANS TOWARDS KANPUR

Message from Nana Saheb to the Bahadurs and officers of Cavalry, Artilery and Infantry at Lucknow, dated 23rd Ziqaad, corresponding with 16th July 1857.

Greeting—A force of about one thousand British, with several guns, were marching towards Cawnpore from Allahabad. To arrest and slay these men an army was despatched. The British are advancing rapidly. On both sides men fall wounded or killed. The Europeans are now within seven *koss* of Cawnpore, and the field of battle is warmly contested. It is reported that Europeans are coming up the river in steamers, and strong defences have consequently been constructed without the town of Cawnpore. Here my troops are prepared, and at a distance the battle rages; you are, therefore, informed that the aforesaid British are opposite the district of Baiswara on this bank of the river. It is very probable that they may attempt to cross the Ganges. You must, for this reason, send some troops into the Baiswara country to shut them in on that side. My force will press them from this direction, and by this combined action the slaughter of the infidels may be achieved, as is most desirable.

Should these people not be destroyed, there can be no doubt they will press on to Delhi. Between Cawnpore and Delhi there is no one that could stand against them. We must without fail combine to destroy them root and branch.

It is also said that the British may cross the Ganges; some English still remain in the Bailey Guard and maintain

[1] Kaye : *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol II, p. 675.

the fight, whereas here there is not a living English person left. Send troops immediately across the river, at Sheorajpore, to surround and cut up the Europeans.[1]

INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED NOT TO INJURE THE RYOTS

Proclamation by Homdeo Sharma (by order of the rightful Government) given near Bheema Sunker, dated Bhadrapud Shudh 13, *Shuke* 1779....

By order of the rightful Government Proclamation is made by Homdew Sharma to all Hindoos and Mussalmans who are informed that the English having combined together have through deeds ruined every one. For this reason all who are going (hopeful) should collect their people and kill them (the English) and those natives in their service, such as the native army and in the Revenue Department *Mamlatdars, Mahulkurrys,* Peons, etc., unless they join with us. *The Ryots must not be injured.* 1/4th of the Revenue is to be remitted and the other 3/4 are to be collected by the *jamindars* who will pay those who assemble (join against the English) double the pay they receive from the English. If there is not money enough for this, after some time, assistance in money, for pay and rewards together will be sent from Hindoostan. When that comes, all will be paid. But all must assist and those who injure the Ryots must be watched and the Europeans must be killed (suddenly attacked). In that attack those who will kill or bring in alive any Europeans will over and above their pay receive the following scale of rewards :—

	Rs.
For each dead body (Europeans):	500
For Collector, Judge in[2] or any one of equal rank alive :	10,000
For Colonel, Major or Captain or any one of equal rank :	13,000
For Governor or Chief Justice or any one of equal rank :	50,000

Above these any showing particular zeal shall receive either villages in *Inam* or some other reward which it is impo-

[1] Kaye : *A History of the Sepoy War in India,* Vol. II, p. 676
[2] 'In' appears Superfluous here,

ssible how (*sic*,) to specify, and any of our people giving information to the Europeans will be imprisoned for twelve years. All should do their work with diligence.[1]

ALLAHABAD

NAZIM OF ALLAHABAD

Memorandum dated 29th of Moharram, or about 20th of September 1857.

An order to the Civil Authorities (Native) of the seven *pergunnahs* Nawabgunge, Sewra, Secundra, Jhusi, Mundeea, etc. etc., in the *zillah* of Allahabad, to the effect that Fuzil Azeem (Fazal Azim) of Salone has been appointed *Nazim* to arrange three districts. The writer then states that he has been appointed to remain with and execute the orders of the *Nazim*, the Civil Authorities above alluded to are ordered to assist with their forces in rooting out the English, and in any matter of difficulty to refer to the *Nazim*.[2]

* * *

Letter from the Magistrate to the Commissioner of Allahabad, dated Allahabad, September 29, 1857.

NAZIM OF ALLAHABAD IN ACTION

The only occurrence of the last two days' report is such as to require especial notice.

2*nd*—A *Nazim* sent from Lucknow has entered *pergunnah* Nawabgunge, under the title of *Nazim of Allahabad*, his name I understand to be Mahdee Husun. He is accompanied by one regiment of Infantry, one of Cavalry, and 8 guns, and a son of Shangram Sing (Sangram Singh), in command of another Infantry regiment, is at Jhechangeerabad (Jahangirabad), about 8 miles in his rear. The *zemindars* of the *pergunnah* are in his train, and the total force with him is estimated at 8,000 men, of whom half are trained men.

[1] *Source Material for the History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I, 1818-1884, (Bombay), pp. 5 to 8 & 11 to 12.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 27 in No. 8, p. 150.

3*rd*—The band is to a certain extent disciplined, one fourth of the trained men are said to be sepoys of the Oude Irregular, and the Company's Regular army. The *Nazim* holds court, and exercises the other prerogatives of vice-regency.

AVADH FORCES REINFORCED

4*th*—The Meewatees (Mewatis) of Sumdabad and the other suburbs of Allahabad, and many other of the followers of Leeakut Alee (Liaqat Ali), are in his service, and affairs of the trans-Gangetic *pergunnahs* have assumed a serious aspect.

9*th*—The rebel, and now organized force, is getting daily increase of strength. I have learnt from many sowars, that the occupation of Jhoosee *pergunnah*, including Jhoosee itself, is aimed at by the rebels, and I am certain it will be exceedingly difficult, if possible, to dislodge them, with the force in the garrison.

10*th*—Our communications between this and Benares are imperilled by a strong force and if lost will be exceedingly detrimental.

11*th*—Our communications at Futtehpore have been uninterrupted for nearly four months, though no troops have been stationed there until within the last ten days.[1]

PROCLAMATION OF LIAQAT ALI

Abstract translation of a Proclamation issued by Moulvee Liaqat Alee (Maulvi Liaqat Ali) of Allahabad under the seal of Brijees Kuder (Brijis Qadar), for the murder of the "Nisara Nafurjam" (faithless Christians).

INSTRUCTIONS OF QURAN AND FURQAN

After praises to the Almighty God I the servant of the learned, the meanest of the *Fukeers*, and the expectant of the kind graces of God, Mahomed Liaqat Alee of Allahabad do hereby publish a few of the instructions contained in the *Kooran* and *Foorkan*, and in the words of the *Nukee*, for the

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 25 in No. 8, p. 149.

guidance of the True Mahomedans, that I may not be held responsible on the day of salvation for being backward in doing my duty, am trying to carry on the orders of the *Shuru* (*Shara*).

The tyranny, oppression and cruelty practised by the "*Kufroh Fujruh Nisara*" (fraudulent Christian Infidels) on the Mahomedans of the whole of India especially of Allahabad by plundering, burning, murdering, demolishing, fighting and killing the learned men and *Mushaekhs* (*Mashaikh*), and burning the *Kooran* and other religious books, are as clear as the Sun. It is therefore necessary and incumbent on all the Mahomedans to prepare themselves for a *Jehad* (Religious War) and follow the words of Mahomed who says that "there has been a particular work appointed for every *Nubee* and to fight in *Jehad* is fixed for me."

Indeed whoever left his work undone at last, became ruined and dishonored. Now therefore every man must earn the benefits of the next world, and become martyr, and gain everlasting life and the fairies of the heavens in marriage and without thinking of anything amiss, join with all their hearts and with all their fortunes, and not let this auspicious opportunity pass away.

Whoever will take the lead in this matter, must be obeyed and followed by others. The *Kooran* and *Foorkan* are filled with full of) the orders and instructions to join in *Jehad* and more especially the "*Soorak Toubah*" strictly enjoins the undertaking. Therefore no one should wait for a separate message but try to persuade his friends and acquaintances to join in this common cause.

In a *Jehad* it is specially necessary to place confidence in God and ask His assistance, which the Almighty has already bestowed on the Mahomedans on this occasion.

Behold the Mahomedans were destitute of arms and other war ammunition, God took these away from the same "*Kooffar Nabukar Nisara Bud Utwar*" (useless and misconducting Christian Infidels) and made them over to the Mahomedans of India with such ease and facility. The union of the Rajahs of Oudh and of the surrounding Rajahs of Allahabad etc. and the aid given in men, ammunition and money by the Emperor of India and by Mirza Birjees Kudur, the Ruler of Lucknow, added to the assistance of the population in general of all creeds is (*sic*,) sufficient proof of the Will of

the Almighty God in extirpating the "*Taghee Baghee Nisaras*" (fraudulent and mutinous Christians). Therefore it is becoming in all the Mahomedan brethren to come to Allahabad immediately on hearing these tidings, and join in killing the besieged "*Kooffar Nabukar*" (useless Infidels) and driving the surviving out of the country and re-establishing the Mahomedan rule.[1]

BANDA

NAWAB OF BANDA PLEDGES ALLEGIANCE TO NANA

Draft of a Letter from Nawab Ali Bahadur to Nana Saheb Bahadur of Bithoor.*

My respected and honoured uncle. Be your greatness for ever.

BANDA SURROUNDED BY BUNDELAS

After paying my respects and obeisances, I beg to inform you, that some time ago I forwarded to you a letter by the hands of the trustworthy and confidential Madho Rao Punth, informing you the state of affairs here, and requesting you to send troops—artillery, ammunition and money, of which I have not been honored with an answer, notwithstanding the lapse of a long time. Now the real fact is that this Govt. was supported only by pension, which has now ceased and the district of Banda being in the Centre, surrounded on all sides by the territories of the Boondelas, troops and money are necessary to retain possession of it. But this Govt. is in want of both. The Boondelas have accordingly surrounded the district and some have advanced with their troops to a short distance from this. I am unable to drive them away owing to want of means. If now, you send me assistance agreeably to my request, I can take possession of the *pergunnahs* of Banda. Since our stay at Poona up to the present time, the affairs of you and me are the same; and I have never failed to serve and obey you. Taking this into consideration you will, I am

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Mammoo Khan*". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 7. Another Version of the Proclamation issued by the Imam named Liaqat Al. of Allahabad : Foreign Political Consultations, Nos. 749-53; *Freedom Struggle in U. P.*, Vol. I, pp. 445-48.

* "Found in the Nawab's Private writing Desk."—Marginal note in the Original.

certain, kindly give me the assistance required; but until you do so I shall be under anxiety both day and night, lest (God forbid) owing to want of men and money the *zillah* of Banda which belongs from time immemorial to the family of Peishwa (i.e. you) be lost from us. Upto the present day I with my small band of followers have protected Banda from plunder and ruin. But the people of Ujoygurh (Ajaigarh) are here in large numbers on the pretext of there being a house of Raja Gooman Singh in Nimneepar, but with the real intention of fighting with me and they are gaining additions every day. The people of Banda are afraid of being plundered. I am unable to expel them for the above reasons, i. e., want of men and money.

NAWAB SOLICITS SUPPORT FROM NANA

Under these circumstances I respectfully entreat you to send me troops, guns and money. You can either keep your troops at Banda till the country becomes settled, paying them yourself or transfer them permanently to me and remit money sufficient to defray the expence (*sic*,) of paying them and my old servants for four or five months, by which time the collections would begin to come in from the *pergunnahs*.

I feel extremely happy to hear from the petition of Madho Rao the welcome intelligence of your having ascended the throne on Wednesday the.....[1]. May the Almighty prosper you. I herewith send 21 Gold *mohurs* as *Nazzer* to you and beg its acceptance.

May your Government last for ever.[2]

NANA'S INFLUENCE AT BANDA

Draft of Rules for the Government of Nawab Ali Bahadur.**

NANA'S SUZERAINTY

Two things should be kept in view in conducting the affairs of this Government :

[1] Space left in Original.

[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

* "Found in the Nawab's private writing desk."—Marginal note in the Original.

(i) Efforts should be made to establish terms of sincere friendship with Nana Sahib and complete submission and obedience should be shown to the Noble Emperor. *An intelligent and learned person shall be appointed Wukeel and sent to Cawnpore through whom letters will be frequently forwarded to the Nana. Nothing important should be done without reference to him.* Even the people of Ujoygarh are not to be expelled without consulting him. To secure the perpetuity of this Government *prudent measures should be taken to procure a writing from the Nana or a firman from the Emperor giving permission to govern this country.*

(ii) The English form of Government should be continued as it has two advantages—less expenditure and large receipts.

THE DARBAR

2*nd*—The *Huzoor* will hold *Durbar Khas* daily from 8 to 12 O'clock A. M. and *Durbar Aam* from 8 to 12 O'clock P. M. Having put on the cap of gold and seated yourself in the *musnud* with great glory the *Huzoor* is to use such expressions as will strike terror into the minds of all; during *Durbar Khas*, the only topic of conversation should be, the administration of the affairs of Government and Revenue. *Sunnuds* should be issued to the *Nazim*, *Moontzim*, *Moonsarim* and the Commander of forces describing the powers vested in them and bearing the *Huzoor's* seal and signature. The *Nazim* should be vested with full powers in Revenue and *Foujdaree* matters, like a Collector. The *Moontzim* and *Moonsarim* should be subordinate to the *Nazim* and invested with the powers of Deputy Collector. *Huzoor* will keep all military matters which are most important in his own hands and inspect the troops occasionally.

APPOINTMENT OF A MUFTI

3*rd*—A *Mooftee* should be appointed to pass sentences on petty offenders, so that no person may be punished without the sanction of the Mahommedán Law. This will please God and men.[1]

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad; *cf. Freedom Struggle in U. P.*, Vol. I, p. 437.

APPOINTMENT OF VARIOUS OFFICIALS

Extract from the Petition from Nokkee Lall[1] *for Abdool Hukeem (Abdul Hakim) to the Viceroy and Governor General of India, dated the 9th September* 1859

FARHAT ALI NAZIM AND AMBIKA PRASAD SARISHTEDAR

. . . . . 2*ndly*—To illustrate the assertion above made Your Lordship's petitioner begs to submit the following particulars : Furhat Ally (Farhat Ali) son of a dancing girl, and a *Nazim* of the rebel Nuwab of Banda, and Umbica Persaud (Ambika Prasad) *Sheristadar*, son of a *Putwaree*, and *Dewan* of the *Subadar* during the disturbances, who had written the order appointing Mohumed Sirdar Khan as *Nazim*, and who had also occupied the Sheristadarship of the rebel Government, and enabled the rebel Nuwab through the information supplied by him to seize and use the property of the Government which had been concealed in different places, have now respectively been appointed *Thesildar* of Banda and *Sheristadar* of the Collectorate of the district.

MATHURA PRASAD

3*rdly*—One Mothoorapersaud (Mathura Prasad) inhabitant of Turbee, whose oppressive conduct towards the people of *purgunnah* Summoobee has been a matter of much complaint, and who was a participator in the plundering expeditions of the inhabitants of Johurpoor, thereby having got possession of public money from the *Thesil* Court, has got back his property either by getting himself recommended to the *Thesildar* or by having imposed upon that officer. The office of *Kanoongoe*, which had been taken away from his family for his misconduct, has again been restored by being given to his nephew.

LALA JADURAM

4*thly*—Lalla Jadooram, who had employed two Companies of his troops in the service of the rebel Nuwab's service (*sic*,) and in whose estates at Pungradeh was established a

[1] Can be read as 'Sookhee Lall' also; correct name may be either 'Sukh Lal' or 'Anokhe Lal'.

station for the rebel troops, and who himself was an active partisan of the rebel chiefs having devised and taken a leading part in the plunder of *mouzahs* Behree and Poorkaree, has now been enabled owing to his being *Sheristadar* to Kalee Churn *Thesildar* of Nudoosa to proclaim his loyalty to the state.

LALA DURGA PRASAD—DEPUTY BAKHSHI OF THE ARMY

5*thly*—Lalla Doorga Persaud formerly in the service of Baboo Kishen Kishore late *Sheristadar* of the Collectorate as *Dullal* or broker to procure bribes also made over to the rebel Nuwab two Companies of his troops in the names of Jeerakhun and Delchayt and was appointed Deputy Buckshee of the rebel army, being in the habit of taking pay from Runjoor of Doajghur, and having been concerned in the company of Janker Tutera[1] in the plunder of the public property in the jail and release of the prisoners thereof on the occurrence of the outbreak. It was by this cruel man's advice that Mirza Emdad Ally Beg and Villayut Hossain *Kamdar* imposed a fine on the inhabitants of Banda; but having now proclaimed himself a loyal subject, has procured the *mouzah* of Punchee settled with himself on a reduced assessment in reward for his faithfulness and has accordingly obtained large profits.

GAYA PRASAD CHAUBE

6*thly*—Gaya Persaud Choubay who had been instructed in the arts of fraud and deceipt by Huttia Doobay was the individual that devised and accomplished the ruin and destruction of *mouzah* Goodpah.....[2]

EXTIRPATION OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE

Letter from Muhammad Nasir Khan, Musahib of Nawab Ali Bahadur (supposed to be written to the Nawab of Farrukhabad).

The Noble, the Shadow and *Khuleefa* (*Khalifa*) of God! May the Lord extend your kingdom and country.

[1] Correct name may be 'Janki Thathera'.

[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—20. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

FALL OF KANPUR; BANDA DISTURBED

Your old servant, Syud Muhumud Nasser with due respects, begs to state that *Firman* having reached him lifted him up to the heavens. May the Almighty continue you long upon the throne for your favours to your servants. Thanks to God that your servants' prayers have been accepted but he regrets that he is at a distance. How happy will be the hour when he will be in your presence. From the time he heard that the flag of your Kingdom has been raised on high, he is trying to cope (come) and lay himself at your feet, but he is unable to do so owing to the insecure state of the road specially since the defeat of the Nana's followers and the recapture of Cawnpore by the mischievous English; disturbances have been raised all around this district. The English though few in number, trouble the people of God beyond description. Your servant has heard that the number of the accursed is a little more than 2,000.

ALLAHABAD FORT GARRISONED

At Allahabad is a strong fort of the Emperor, wherein they have resolved to take shelter and have made the preparations of war. Having cleared the *muhulla* of Kydgunge (outside the fort) of all buildings, they have made an entrenchment and posted guns thereupon. Thence to the fort which is little more than a mile and all around the fort they have dug mines and placed gunpowder therein. They will first fight from the entrenchment and when the large army will pour upon them, they will retire to the fort. The victorious troops will of course follow them and when they will come across the mine, they will blow it out, so they have designed a great mischief but evil be to those who evil think. The Lord will consume these faithless men with the fire of His wrath. They have done as above stated at Cawnpore also.

NAWAB OF BANDA—A STAUNCH ENEMY OF THE BRITISH

In Bundlekund all the Rajahs particularly the Rajah of Tiroha (Tirohan) are assisting them (in) every way with men, money and supplies and have kept them at their own homes. But Nabob Ally Bahadoor, the King of Banda, being a true

follower of the Prophet bears mortal enmity towards the English. As he was a pensioner only, he has no troops and the apparatus of war. He has shown enmity towards the English from the very beginning. Consequently the British officers and the Rajahs of Bundlekund are his enemies. The infidels having assembled on all sides, battles are frequently fought with the Nabob's with guns and muskets.

May the blessings of God and the favour of the Emperor be upon the Nabob. Let us see how the affair ends. The Nabob often wishes to present himself before you.

I have other things to say which I will do when I see you in person.

It is urgently necessary to root out and kill these evil doers. If they get time they will complete their preparations. May the Lord prosper the King.[1]

BATTLE BETWEEN THE NAWAB OF BANDA AND THE ENGLISH

Draft of a letter supposed to be written by Muhammad Nasir Khan, Musahib to Nawab Ali Bahadur, to his brother at Furruckabad (Farrukhabad).

To my brother, high in dignity and rank, the strength of my wrist. May you long live.

I write you a few lines after offering my blessings. Your letter which healed the wounds of my heart, with the *Firman* of the Most Holy and High (Emperor), (whose Kingdom may last for ever) to the most renowned and illustrious the Nuwab Sahib and the *Firman* bearing the seal of the son of the *Moorsheid* of the world, has come to hand and imparted pleasure to my heart and light to my sight. May the Almighty exalt you to the throne of success and prosperity for your thus remembering me. Your promotion increases my honour and happiness. I swear by God that I am filled with joy at your showing this mark of affection towards me. The extent of my delight is now more than what was the extent of my sorrow before. Thank Heaven it is owing only to your kindness that I have got this honour. It is to be regretted that the *Firman* granted to me by the Shadow of God (Emperor) whose Kingdom may

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

last for ever was mislaid in the road. May God keep you and my other brother in safety and I expect to get a hundred *Firmans*. The Nuwab was highly pleased at the arrival of his *Firman*. To say the truth my brother undertook and fulfilled this difficult task only to add to my honour, as the *wakeels* of all the princes of Hindoostan are in attendance with presents but none have (*sic*,-has) been yet favoured with *Firmans*. May God continue Royal favour upon you. The Nuwab intended to send me with presents and *urzees* in answer to the *Firman* but did not do so in consequence of the dangers of the road. As all the kings of Bundlekund with the English bear enmity against the Nuwab, so they have assembled on all sides and are fighting with guns and muskets. God has protected the Nuwab upto this time as he has the courage of Roostum.

BANDA NAWAB SCORES A VICTORY

A great battle took place one day. Guns, muskets and fire-arms were continually fired since the morning. The Nuwab became much annoyed when he saw his troops retreating and the batteries were about to be evacuated. I then advanced with my men. By God shots were poured out from the guns and muskets like hail falling from the sky. The Nuwab notwithstanding took the field in person and by Divine Grace, obtained a victory. The English are desirous to encamp their troops at Banda as it is in the vicinity of Allahabad, Cawnpore and Agra and to collect the apparatus of war here. There are many forts, high grounds and passes in this part of the country. If they once enter these hills, it will be very difficult to drive them out. It is therefore necessary that when the Imperial troops are sent to scour the land of the enemy they should drive away the enemy from this place; up to this time no one has been able to obtain possession here in consequence of the exertions of the Nuwab.

ARRIVAL OF DINAPUR REGIMENTS

P. S.—Three regiments from Dinapore arrived at this place. As the English were at Nagode which is three days' journey from Banda and the Rajahs of Punna, Ujoygurh and Tiroha (Tirohan) were assisting them with men and money, the (Nawab) represented that the English have kept a body

of sepoys under custody and that it is necessary to kill the English and liberate the sepoys. The regiments accordingly proceeded to Nagode last week and will by the mercy of God after vanquishing and plundering the English return here. The Nuwab is desirous of keeping these regiments in his service as they are experienced in war. The sepoys however represent themselves to be the servants of the Emperor. This fact has been stated by the Nuwab in his petition to the Emperor and an *urzee* has beeen submitted by the regiments also. You will be pleased to send *Firmans* to the officers of these regiments directing them to remain with the Nuwab[1].

CAPTURE OF KALINJAR

Letter from Nuwab Ali Bahadur to Muhammad Wazir Khan (in service of the Raja of Charkhari) dated 3rd Shufuvool Muzzuffer (Safar-ul-Muzzaffar) 1274 Hijri, corresponding with 23rd September 1857 with the form of address, "The Possessor of Bravery".

DINAPUR REGIMENTS ACCEPT SERVICE UNDER THE NAWAB

.....As respects Kutara, I approve the arrangements made by you, but you should send him and his men speedily as there is occasion for them here. I make you this communication, believing you to be trustworthy, else I would not write it to any other person. The cause of my wanting them is that I intend to go soon to Tiroha (Tirohan) and it is not improbable that a fight will take place. There are no other means of getting such a large sum as would cover the expenses of the troops. Three regiments and some sowars will shortly reach Banda. The three regiments, which went to Nagode having by the mercy of God gained the victory, are returning here. These have accepted my service and their names have been entered in my office. It is also probable that the three regiments aforesaid will accept my service. I will proceed towards Tiroha (Tirohan) with them and with my former troops. If you join me at such time, so much the better, else send

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records: File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Kutara soon, that he may be of service to me at this time. The troops, who marched against Nagode, have captured the fort of Calinger Kalinjar and by the mercy of God that territory has come under my possession. I offer congratulations for this. Nana made an attack upon Cawnpore, where a battle took place, in which 2,000 infidels were slain.....[1]

KALINJAR AS HEAD QUARTERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Draft of a letter from Nawab Ali Bahadur to the Raja of Shahgarh, dated 11th Safar 1274 Hijri, corresponding with 1st October 1857.

NAWAB'S PLAN TO MAKE KALINJAR THE HEAD QUARTERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

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 everyone, 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 Bundlekund 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 Bundlekund, where we will send half or one third of our troops or as much as is determined upon, who shall be stationed there

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

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 Bundlekund there is no place so strong and safe and fit for the location of troops as Calinger. But as some troops of the Rajah 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 there 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.[1]

THAKUR OF BIJAIRAGHOGARH SEEKS NAWAB'S HELP

Letter from Rana Soorjoo Prasad (Sarju Prasad) to Nawab Ali Bahadur, dated Bijairaghogarh, the 14th Rubee-oos-Sance (Rabi-us-Sani), 1274 Hijri, corresponding with 2nd November 1857.

The High Noble and Kind Nuwab Alli Buhadoor (Nawab Ali Bahadur).

After giving my *salaams* and expressing my desire to see you, I beg to observe, that the non-receipt of the news of your good health for a long time makes me very sorry. I therefore request the favor of your letting me know the news respecting your health so that my mind may be at ease. As to the state of this country, the management of my estate was vested

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

in the hands of the English in consequence of my minority. I have now reached my majority but they do not still make over my property to me; and have kept me in such a miserable state that I am obliged to ask others for even a single *cowry* (*kauri*).

THAKUR SARJU PRASAD REVOLTS

I have in consequence murdered the *Tuhseeldar* and rebelled against the English Government, who are accordingly bent upon ruining me.

They have made over my estate to the Raja of Rewa, who having forgotten our former friendship, has, through avarice, sent a large force against me. Let us see what comes out from the dark.

As there was great friendship between my ancestors and those of yours, I do now, considering you my true friend ask your assistance and advice. Please let me know what you think it would be prudent to do and I will act accordingly.

Consider me as one of your well-wishers and write to me always.[1]

MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR EXTENDS HELP TO THE NAWAB OF BANDA

Abstract Translation of a letter from the Maharaja of Gwalior to Nawab Ali Bahadur dated Kartik Suddee (Kartik Sudi) 15th Sambat (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. Don't fear. I am ready to

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

assist you. You have done well. I have published your name from this to Delhi.[1]

EXTIRPATION OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

Letter from Raja Bakht Bulee (Bakht Bali) of Shahgarh (with his seal) to Nawab Ali Bahadur, dated Shahgarh, the 1st Aghan 1914 Sambat (Samvat), corresponding with 3rd December 1857.

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 to the officers and soldiers of *Poorbea* Regiments and to the *Rissaldars* and sowars, as has saved the religion of every one, of the Emperor, the *Wuzeer*, the Nabobs, the Nobles and of us the Rajahs. God is very kind to those 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 the 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.

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

The Peishwa Sahib Bahadoor is patron (*malik*) of both you and me. Introduce my good man[1] to him, so that I may be in 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.[2]

BANDA NAWAB EXTENDS HELP TO THE RAJA OF SHAHGARH

Draft of a letter from Nawab Ali Bahadur to the Raja of Shahgurh (Shahgarh) dated 5th Jumaduolawul (Jamadi-ul-Awwal) 1274 Hijri, corresponding with 22nd December 1857.

Raja Sahib, kind and affectionate, Rajah Bakht Bali Ji Bahadur! 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 this 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.[3]

[1] 'Name' would be proper here.

[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records; File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[3] *Ibid.*

NAWAB SEEKS HELP FROM THE RAJA OF CHHATARPUR

Draft of a letter from Nawab Ali Bahadur to Raja Jagat Raj of Chhatarpur, dated Jumadool-awul (Jamadi-ul-Awwal) 1274 Hijri, corresponding with December-January, 1858.

After expressing my desire to see you, which is very intense, I beg to inform you that a letter has been lately received from Sreemunt Maharajah Nana Sahib Bahadur to the effect that "the concerns of Raja Juggut Raj Sahib Bahadur (i. e., you, friend) and of this house are the same, that the said Raja conducts himself in accordance with the wishes of this Government, that if therefore, any one tries to injure him, you should punish him." It is known to you and to the world at large that there were great friendship and union between Maharajah Pertap Singh who is now in Heaven and my deceased father Nawab Zoolfcar Ally (Zulfiqar Ali) Sahib Bahadur particularly from the time when the deceased Rajah was installed in his *guddee* at this place. The same friendship has continued between you and me upto this time; and it gives me much pleasure to learn, that terms of friendship exist between you and Maharajah Sreemunt Bahadur. My affection to you has now increased a hundred times. You may therefore consider me as your intimate friend and I have and will have regard for your pleasure.

I intended to send a trustworthy person to you to obtain information on some important matters but did not do so for several causes.*

They also caused the delay in sending back your *Hurkuras.* I am now returning these to you with this letter. They will be soon followed by my confidant, who will let you know our old friendship. In consequence of our old friendship, I am certain everything will be done after we have consulted with each other.[1]

* "The passage in the original is obscure."—Marginal note in the Original.

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

NAWAB REQUESTS REWA RAJA TO HELP THE KING OF AVADH

Draft of a letter from Nawab Ali Bahadur to the Raja of Rewa, dated 14th Jumadoos-Sanee (Jamadi-us-Sani) 1274 Hijri, corresponding with 3rd January 1858.

The Raja of Rewa, Maharaja Sahib, kind and affectionate ! May God keep you in peace.

After expressing my desire to see you, which is so ardent that I find no words to describe it, I beg to inform you that as from time immemorial, the tree of friendship between you and me has been nourished by the waters of our union and affection to each other, so I am heartily inclined to protect you and your property from the dangers of these times. You are aware of the dice of evil, which Heaven is now playing on Hindoostan. A *Khureeta* has been lately received from the King of Oude by the hands of Hyat Muhammud to the effect that the "troops of the King will soon proceed to the other side of the Ganges either to Cawnpore or the country adjoining to punish the enemy and that you should send an adequate force to assist the King's men". It encloses another to your address, the contents of which I am not aware of but as an old friend I beg to advise you to do what you will think proper, after you have read the *Khureeta* and weighed the state of the times in the balance of your Judgement. Let not your decision be formed on a consideration of things past but with reference to the present and future state of the times. Answer the *Khureeta* according to its purport.

I request you to consider me as your sincere friend, and impart pleasure to me by kindly writing letters often.[1]

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MAHARAJ KUMAR LAL AVADHUT SINGH AND NAWAB ALI BAHADUR

Letter from Maharaj Kumar Shri Lal and Doot[2] Singh, Raja of Kothi Sohawal, to Nawab Ali Bahadur, dated Kothee, Poos Budee (Pus Badi) 12, Sumbut (Samvat) 1914, corresponding with 11th January 1858.

Sreewant Sree Raja Sree Nawab Ally Bahadur Jee !

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] This name is given as "Avodhoot Singh" in the text of the letter.

Muharaj Koomar Sree Loll Avodhoot Singh Jee Deo's compliments to you. He wants to learn good tidings from you very often, daily and hourly. Through your kindness, every thing is well here. He has sent Punth Sree Gurg Muhipal Singh. Kindly listen to what he says to you orally. You are his master. The Gurg will inform you the present state of affairs. Be kind enough to give ear to his words. You only can assist him, you have the power to do everything.

Kindly write to him the news of your good health. All well here through your favour.[1]

* * *

Translation of a letter from the Thakoor (Thakur) of Kothee Suhawul (Kothi Sohawal) to Nawab Ali Bahadur, dated Poos Soodee (Pus Sudi) 7, corresponding with January 1858.*

After the customary epithets, I have received your letter and learnt the circumstances from Punth Sree Gurg Muhipal Singh. I have much regard for what you write and say. But owing to the necessity of this place I cannot comply with your request. When there will be safety there will be no lack (possibly of succour). Here are all joy and pleasure.,[2]

RULE OF NARAIN RAO AND MADHO RAO

Extract from the Statement of the Prosecution.

...When the news of the departure of the British authorities from Banda and of the murder of Mr. Cockerell reached Kirwee (Karwi), a proclamation was immediately issued by beat of drum notifying that the British rule had become extinct and that Narain Rao and Madho Rao Peishwa reigned in their place. They took possession of all the Government offices, turned out the *Thanadar* and giving a *khillut* to a scoundrel of

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

* "The original Hindi letter is not forthcoming"—Marginal note in the Original.

[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records; File XVIII—35. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Tirohan by name Khoda Bux appointed him *Killadar* of the Tirohan fort and sent him to oust the Government *Tehsildar* and take possession of the treasure, seals, badges of office etc. In spite of the remonstrances of the *Tehsildar*, Khoda Bux using the most insulting and disrespectful language to the British Government carried out the orders he had received and conveyed the Government property to Narain Rao, and the *Tehsildar* and *Tehvildar* were placed under a guard and subjected to much bad treatment and grave indignities. The *Tehsildar* was not released until December 1857 and then only on a promise not to rejoin his former masters.

Narain Rao and Madho Rao assumed the titles of Peishwa Maharajah and Sreemunt which had already been refused to them by the British Government, and took possession of half the district by force of arms, raising large levies of Horse and Foot and founding guns and preparing ammunition on an extensive scale; and collected the Government revenue. Many of these men and guns were distributed throughout the *pergunnahs* and large bodies stationed at the principal *ghats* of the Jumna to oppose the crossing of our troops. The boats of the different ferries of the Jumna were also collected and placed under a guard for the same purpose. They in many instances made new settlements of villages and granted new *pattas*, they granted lands in rent free tenure; instead of maintaining the Government establishment and assisting them to preserve order they put in men of their own; among others they appointed a *Tehsildar* of Mow--a man who had been dismissed by the Government N. W. P. and introduced their own system of rule and accounts and only occasionally offered service to the Government officials on reduced pay. They appropriated all that they found in the *tehseelee* buildings, Government treasure, opium, stamps etc. etc.

In (At) the commencement of the rebellion the *Tehsildar* of Kamasin went to Kirwee and demanded aid from Narain Rao to restore order and the British authority, and it was refused...[1]

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the case *Government vs. Narain Rao and Madho Rao of Kirwi and Mukund Rao Jamadar, Executor and Guardian of Madho Rao and Govind Rao, Son of Mukund Rao.*" Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records: File No. XVIII-36, Part II. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PROTRACTED STRUGGLE

ALLAHABAD

CAPTURE OF ALLAHABAD FORT

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Neill to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Allahabad, June 14, 1857.

ARRIVAL OF COLONEL NEILL

I have the honor to report my arrival here on the afternoon of the 11th instant, having left Benares on the evening of the 9th, accompanied by a party of forty-three men, and an officer of the Madras Fusiliers. We found nearly all the horses taken off the road. It was with much difficulty we could get on by coolies assisting the horses we had, and dragging some of the *dak* carriages; and had it not been for the assistance rendered by the Collector and Magistrate at Mirzapore, Mr. S. C. Tucker, we should have been obliged to have marched on and left our baggage. We found the country between this and Mirzapore infested with bands of plunderers, the villages deserted, and none of the authorities remaining. Major Stephenson, who left Benares the same evening, with 100 Fusiliers, by bullock van, experienced the same difficulties. Many of the soldiers have been laid up in consequence of the exposure and fatigue; four have died suddenly; and on the whole, unless it were that by moving troops along the line of road protection to it is afforded, and the moral influence on the natives, I would advise that as many of our men as possible be sent up the river by steamer.

NEILL FINDS THE FORT INVESTED

I found this fort almost completely invested, the bridge of boats over the Ganges in the hands of the mob in the villages of Daragunge, and partly broken. I was obliged to cross over by boats, part of the small party dropping down the Ganges, the other crossing at its junction with the Jumna. On reaching this I at once assumed command, and arranged early next morning to drive the enemy out of the

villages, and secure the bridge of boats over the Ganges. This was well done by a small party of the Fusiliers and a party of the Seikhs (Sikhs), and a native officer's guard of the Seikhs placed on this end of the bridge, with a *Havildar's* party posted on to the opposite bank, thus securing our communication with the road to Benares, and Major Stephenson's detachment came in by the bridge that evening. On the afternoon of the same day, detachments of the Seikhs and the remnant of the Irregular Cavalry drove the enemy out of Kydgunge[1], the nearest village on the Jumna. On both these occasions our men behaved with much spirit, and destroyed many of the enemy.

SIKHS DRIVEN OUT OF THE FORT

The destruction of property has been very great, that of the railway in particular; and I regret to say, before my arrival, the Seikhs, who are most difficult to control, had taken to plundering, had got into the godowns of some of the merchants and the steam company, and taken away large quantities of liquor, wines, spirit; and the consequence was, I found drinking to excess among all the soldiers, Europeans and Seikhs; the latter in addition supplying the former with liquor; total disorganisation would soon have ensued, and the consequence to us and the safety of the fort fatal. With some difficulty I have got all the Seikhs out of the fort; they occupy the houses and godowns of the steam companies on the Jumna, and I have either destroyed all the liquor, or what has been seized or bought from the Seikhs has been handed over to the Commissariat. By this means I have checked drunkenness, and had the good fortune to get the Seikhs out of the fort, into which they shall never, with my consent, again enter. It appeared to me that the Seikhs were coaxed into loyalty, that they had become overbearing, and knew their power; *and, I feel assured had not European reinforcements arrived when they did, Allahabad would not now have been ours.* I am assured by the Civil Authorities that we are certain of not wanting for supplies, and the steps I am taking to deal blows on the insurgents will have the effect of inducing the well-disposed to

[1] Now a locality of *Allahabad City.*

return to their usual occupations in supplying the garrison with all that it requires. Had it not been for the unfortunate breaking open of the spirit and wine stores, I could ere this have attacked the chief rebels; but I will do so as soon as possible. The heat is also intense: no European can exist in it, and with the almost total want of *dooly* bearers it would be madness to attempt anything I could not carry out with energy. The consequence of men falling down from sun-strokes, and the inability to carry them away, would be serious, and give these people something to boast about. As it is, I am dealing a blow every morning or evening, and although not to the extent that I would wish, consequent on the little time allowed to inflict it, yet I am doing a good deal more than the enemy like. The Government may now rest assured Allahabad is safe, but it will require a garrison of 500 Infantry (Europeans) at the lowest, besides Artillery.

RAILROAD BETWEEN ALLAHABAD AND KANPUR DESTROYED

I have no intelligence from Cawnpore, except that it is safe. Having secured this I will push on to Cawnpore, with all the European troops I can. I have twice written to Sir H. M. Wheeler; by the "Coel" I hope to obtain a reply. The railroad from this to Cawnpore is closed up, and the railing being destroyed, there will be difficulties in getting there which will retard, but, I trust, will not prevent me reaching that station.

TELEGRAPH LINES DAMAGED

The telegraphic line has been destroyed near this (and) between Benares. I am happy to report (that) on more than two occasions parties injuring the wires between eight and ten miles from this were fired upon and loss inflicted by Major Stephenson. Lieutenant Beaumont's detachments I have sent out to endeavour to repair the damage, and hope it will be effected.

I have now 270 Fusiliers in high heart and spirits, but suffering from the intense heat. A fall of rain on the setting in of the monsoon would enable me to act with vigour and scatter the mob now about us, who are emboldened by our inability to act as we wish.

There is no Engineer Officer here—there ought to be, and one should be sent sharp. The Seikhs have been running in and out like cats; I have blocked up some of their ways, but there are too many small sally ports; and I wish it to be properly guarded by a weak garrison. The Commissariat officer is also away, but his place is well supplied; these departments ought to be complete and most efficient here. It is my intention to send out parties of the Seikhs to chastise some of the *zemindars* near this, who have behaved infamously; I hope to carry this out; although our Seikh privates complain that the matchlock carries farther than their musket, etc., the love of plunder will, I doubt not, remove their doubts on this subject. Their Commandant, Captain Brasyer, appears to have some influence over them, and exerts it boldly and with discretion, but they are difficult men to manage.

REVOLUTIONARIES' SPIES IN THE FORT

The formation of our movements and intentions of attack have been obtained from within this by spies; the Arsenal Native Detachment, composed of Mahomedans, are, I believe, false; the headman has joined the insurgents; and I believe, from my own inquiry, I have detected another giving information; he is for trial, and, found guilty, will be made an example of.

In conclusion, I again beg to assure the Government that Allahabad is at present safe, and that every day will enable us to do something, even with limited means and unfavourable season against us; but we shall succeed, and I hope my next will give a better account of our position, and that an effectual blow has been struck against the chiefs of the insurgents line.[1]

ENTIRE CITY IN ARMS AGAINST THE BRITISH

Letter dated Allahabad, June 14th, 1857.

We were surrounded the whole way, but the wretches never came within shot, and were merely looking out for plunder.

[1] Further Papers relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 135, pp. 60 to 62.

We are surrounded here by sepoys, Mussulmans, villagers, and *in fact all mankind.* Food very short, and our men are dying in an awful way from overwork and exposure.

The enemy are in a very strong position in a place called "the King's Garden" three miles off nearly.[1]

* * *

Letter dated Allahabad, June 14, 1857.

The whole country is in arms, and the few native servants left in the fort seem to be going off rapidly.[2]

NEILL'S ATTACK ON ALLAHABAD VILLAGES

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Neill to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Allahabad, June 17, 1857.

ATTACK ON DARYABAD AND KYDGANJ

I last did myself the honor of addressing you on the 14th instant, and although unable to move out in force to attack the insurgents, yet on the 15th I sent a party by steam up the Jumna, which, although consisting of only 20 Fusiliers with the Enfields, and a howitzer, under command of Captain Hammond, of the Artillery, inflicted severe damage on the village of Derryabad (Daryabad), and others in its neighbourhood; at the same time the Seikhs, under Captain Brasyer, supported by a party of 50 Fusiliers commanded by Lieutenant Bailey, of that corps, after the villages of Kydgunge and Moahgunge had been shelled from the fort, attacked these villages, drove the enemy out into the city; the Seikhs followed up beyond Derryabad, and only halted when their ammunition was nearly expended. All behaved with great gallantry. The Fusiliers were strongly opposed, a great portion of the insurgents appearing to be sepoys. They lost two soldiers killed, Lieute-

[1] Groom: *With Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow*, (1857), p. 6. (Letters written to his wife by William Tab Groom, an officer in the 1st Madras Royal Fusiliers).

[2] Groom: *With Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow*, (1857), Letter No. 3; p. 8. (Letters written to his wife by William Tab Groom, an officer in the 1st Madras Royal Fusiliers).

nant Bailey and six men wounded, one soldier dangerously, the others seriously. The Seikhs have only three wounded. The enemy were very severely handled, and their ammunition must be nearly expended, from their firing pieces of telegraphic wire instead of lead.

FLIGHT OF THE MAULVI

Yesterday morning I had arranged to send a party by steamer up the Ganges, to the cattle farm at Passamow[1], and endeavour to get in some of our bullocks. The steamer could not get so far, but nearly in the morning intelligence was sent into our outposts that the insurgents have, consequent on the attacks made on them, broken up, abandoned their position in the city, and that the *Moulvie had fled.* The two guns which had been taken away the night of the mutiny were also sent back, as well as Ensign Cheek, with the 6th and Mr. Conductor Coleman and family, who had escaped being murdered on the night of the mutiny, and had been in confinement ever since. Some Christian children have also been sent in. Having procured bullocks and the means of moving out, I shall do so as soon as I possibly can, and in one day, from all quarters, attack and completely destroy all the villages close to and forming the suburbs of the city, which have been inhabited by all the worst of the insurgents. After having done so, and made a severe example, I intend laying the city under the heaviest possible contribution, to save it from destruction also.

PEOPLE CO-OPERATE WITH THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The majority of the chief merchants and others have shown the worst spirit towards us; many of them have taken a most active part against us. I intend to make the most severe example of all such. I anticipate the best results from our success in the neighbourhood. I have embodied a small corps, about 30 men, of European Cavalry, from the gentlemen of the Railway Engineers, etc., who have horses of their own. These, with the few sowars who have remained faithful to us, will, I feel assured, be of great service in enabling me to strike a few blows

[1] Appears to have been spelt for *Phaphamau.*

against the *zemindars* and parties of insurgents I cannot otherwise reach. The steamer 'Coel" arrived yesterday with Captain Harris's detachment of Fusiliers of 4 officers and 104 men. As soon as a sufficient number of Europeans arrive, I shall push on as large a body of Fusiliers to Cawnpore as I can, but almost fear it will be impossible until a shower or two of rain falls. The heat here is fearful; all are suffering from its effects. When cooler weather sets in, after a little rain, I will make the attempt, and I doubt not, if it is to be done, with success. I will also endeavour to send up men by steamer when the river rises. However, of this feel assured, I will push on troops to Cawnpore with the utmost dispatch. I shall take steps when the troops move out to have the state of the railway terminus, etc. ascertained; I am in hopes it may be soon opened again. I have not allowed any of the people, Europeans attached to it, or the public works, to leave, except such as have been recommended by the heads of departments; my object being to have any available man on the spot to set to work and repair the damage done, and collect materials taken away or scattered about, immediately the insurgents are entirely dispersed, and the country in some degree of order.

REMOVAL OF ENGLISH WOMEN AND CHILDREN

But I have deemed it advisable to urge all women and children being sent down country to a place of security, and have ordered passages at the public expense for such. They are all the wives, children, widows, or orphans of persons (several ladies and gentlemen) who have been plundered of all they had, and barely escaped with their lives. I sent down by the first steamer, on the 15th instant, 7 men, 17 women, and 20 children; and by the steamer to-day 10 men, 33 women, and 26 children. The men sent are to defend the others, the crews of the steamers—Mahomedans—being suspected. With the first party I sent Major Cary, of the 6th, in charge. It has been a great object getting rid of so many women and children out of this crowded fort, in a state of great filth now, from the sweeper and that class having fled, or being prevented coming in by the insurgents.

THREE REVOLUTIONARIES HANGED

Yesterday evening I hanged three men; one, a Maho-

medan, held office under the Moulvie; the other, a Hindoo of substance, also deeply concerned in the insurrection; both caught to-day setting parties to plunder the houses of influential people who have been faithful to us. The third was a sepoy of the 6th, with the corps when it mutinied. I have to visit with justice many others equally deserving, to-day and to-morrow. I expect a great improvement in our means and comfort; the bazar people, servants, and others will now flock back to their employments.

DELHI SEPOYS AT ALLAHABAD

Many sepoys from Delhi were here yesterday, and took an active part against us. Conductor Coleman, when prisoner, recognized many.

The Fusiliers now have 11 officers and 360 men here.

P. S.—I have written to Colonel Potts, at Mirzapore, not to encourage his sepoys drawing out from the treasury any more of their savings; having such a hold upon them will, I trust, keep that regiment right.[1]

* * *

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Neill to the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Allahabad, June 19, 1857.

VILLAGES ATTACKED AND DESTROYED BY BRITISHERS

I last did myself the honor of addressing you on the 17th instant. On the following morning I moved out with all my force, having the previous day obtained bullocks for my two guns. I sent one party of 80 Fusiliers and 100 Seikhs (Sikhs) in the steamer, with a howitzer, up the river, to attack and destroy the Pathan village of Derryabad and the Mewattie villages of Sydabad (Saidabad) and Russelpore (Rasulpur), and to co-operate with me. I marched from cantonments, with 200 Fusiliers, two guns, all the Seikhs and Irregular Cavalry, and proceeded as far as the jail, thus getting between the city and

[1] Further Papers relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 129, pp. 56 to 58.

the villages belonging to and said to be occupied by the insurgents. I met with no opposition, the enemy, I regret to say, having disappeared during the night; *I swept and destroyed these villages*, and collected all my force on the parade ground of the 6th Bengal Native Infantry. It was my intention to have occupied the church and other buildings during the heat of the day; but as symptoms of cholera amongst the Fusiliers had occurred during the night, one man having been taken ill *en route*, I determined to return to the fort with all the Europeans, and leave Captain Brasyer and his Seikhs, with the Irregular Cavalry, accompanied by Mr. Court, Collector and Magistrate, to destroy several villages beyond the church, which work was properly done. I got back to the fort about 7 A. M., and regret to say, that several of the men came into hospital with cholera in its worst form. Eight men were buried last evening, and twenty this evening; there are still many cases in hospital, but of a milder nature, and I hope, with God's blessing, for the best...

MAULVI TOWARDS LUCKNOW

The Moulvie has left this with about 3,000 followers, his destination is unknown, but supposed to be Lucknow, or in this neighbourhood. I have arranged to beat up his camp if it is.[1]

MAULVI LIAQAT ALI AS A REVOLUTIONARY

Judgment in the case Govt. vs. Liaqat Ali, signed by A. R. Pollock, Sessions Judge, dated 24th July 1872.

The prisoner Lyakut Allie (Liaqat Ali) confesses that he did commit the offences charged against him, that is that he was a leader of the revolt and rebelled and waged war against the Queen, and the Government of the East India Company in the month of June 1857. In his recorded statement taken down before the Magistrate and in this Court the prisoner asserts that he was led into acts of rebellion partly by the

[1] Further Papers relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 108, pp. 48, 49.

persuasion of friends and the conviction that by joining the opposition he could preserve the city from wholesale plunder and maintain order among the other rebels—but chiefly because he saw that the power of the British was shattered and heard that the King of Delhie was established on the throne of India. He acknowledges that he placed himself at the head of a body of rebels who were collected together at Khoolda (Khuldabad) Seraie in this town, that they had two guns attached to their party and that he opposed and fought with a British force that came out of the Fort and that subsequently when he found the British Government becoming re-established at Allahabad he fled to Cawnpore to the Nana and was present at that place in the Nana's camp at the time the Europeans in Wheeler's entrenchment were so cruelly massacred by rebels and mutineers acting under the Nana's orders. The prisoner further acknowledges that since the time he first threw off his allegiance to and openly rebelled against the British, he has never by any act or sign shown contrition for his rebellious conduct or any desire to return to his allegiance. But he is a man held in extraordinary respect and recoration[1] by his co-religionists of Allahabad is evident from the vast crowd of sympathising Mahommedans who assembled round this Court House on the 18th instant when the case was first called up for trial, and there can be little doubt that if he had been loyally inclined he might have exercised his influence in June 1857 for good as successfully as he used it for evil. That the prisoner was in the Nana's camp at Cawnpore at the time of the massacre of Wheeler's garrison, and that he was a man of considerable influence and authority at that time is clearly proved from Mrs. Bennett's evidence. She was taken along a crowded therefore (*sic*,—thoroughfare) dressed in European clothes and was to all eyes unmistakeably (*sic*,—unmistakably) a European. She was escorted by one sowar only, and they were challenged on the road by sundry parties of soldiers of the Nana's army but were steadily allowed to pass unhindered on the sowar giving the name of the "Moulvie Sahib", the prisoner, as the authority under whom he was acting. But the prisoner whilst confessing that he rebelled and was a ring-leader of rebellion asks for consideration to be shown him in consequence of his

[1] This word appears to be a copyist's mistake for 'veneration'.

having spared the lives of several Europeans. He cites the case of Mrs. Bennett. She says she was taken out of the boats at Cawnpore by a sowar who took her to the prisoner by whom she was asked if she would change her faith and turn Mahommedan or die. She says she refused to change her religion, and then she was consigned by order of the prisoner to the custody of the sowar who was told to feed her. She was at that time an unmarried girl of 18. The sowar took her away and kept her with him for 10 months but she states that after that first interview with the prisoner she never saw him again. The prisoner does not from the part he acted in this matter deserve much gratitude from Mrs. Bennett or consideration from this Court. The written statements of Subina White and Mrs. Budget Bond put into Court by Major Parsons at the request of the prisoner's pleader, show satisfactorily that the prisoner whilst he commanded the rebels at Allahabad had it in his power to murder the Coleman's family, consisting of the father—a conductor in the Commissariat Dept., mother and two girls (deponents) who came down the Jumna in boats and were attacked when close to the Fort on the morning of the 8th June 1857. The father was mortally wounded, but the party were saved from further molestation by the followers of the Moulvie who interfered by his orders and carried them off to his Head Quarters in Khooldabad Seraie where they were kept close prisoners, ill fed and not well treated, till they were deserted by their guards and returned to European protection. Mrs. White also says Ensign Cheek was brought in to the Moulvie very badly wounded and he was also kept with their party. She says he had no allowance of food and her mother had to give him part of her's and that was little enough. No care whatever was taken about the wounded man during their confinement under the prisoner's orders. Mrs. White says the Moulvie never once visited them during the 10 days of their confinement and Ens. (Ensign) Cheek died of his wounds about 4 hours after he reached the Fort, and his father lingered on, and died on the 23rd of June or five days after he reached the Fort. Besides these already named Mr. (*sic*,—Mrs.) White names the following persons as having been confined along with them in the same place viz. : Miss Crump, Mrs. Decastro, and native Xtian (Christian) Missionary named Gopee Nath Nundee, his wife and three children besides sundry other natives. She says Mr. *sic*,—Mrs. Decastro was made to

perform a sweeper's work in their prison. Gopee Nath and a number of other native prisoners were locked in Stocks. As regards the food allowance she says their party had nothing to eat, between the time they were captured on the morning of the 8th July and the following day at noon, and that the daily allowance of each was a handful of grain at noon and one *chapattee* weighing about one *chittack* (*chhatak*) at midnight. Of water they had as much as they required; they were at all times close prisoners and guarded by armed men. The native Missionary alone was actively ill treated; he was beaten twice, but as regards the others Mrs. White says we were not maltreated. The prisoner with the great influence and authority he professed could with ease have sent his prisoners into the Fort or have had them escorted to within a safe distance of the Fort and have left those who were unwounded to go there for aid to bring in the wounded. Strongly contrasted[1] with his conduct is that of the *zimidar* Mohummud Takee (Muhammad Taqi) of Phapamow, who appeared as a witness for the prisoner. He sheltered and protected the Hutchins family, father, mother and two children, and with a very far inferior guard to what the prisoner could have commanded the escorted them to within safe distance of the Fort and then left them to find their own way in. Again he gave shelter to Ens. (Ensign) Cheek until that young officer considered the neighbourhood too dangerous and fled elsewhere for safety. Mohummud Takee was rewarded by Govt. for what he did. Had Ens. Cheek (Ensign Cheek) and Mr. Coleman been sent into the Fort at once, whether their lives would have been saved or not, they would have got medical treatment, and their chances of recovering would have been greatly increased. There is in the opinion of this Court an absence of any such extenuating circumstances in the prisoner's powers as would justify the infliction of any less punishment than the severest that the law permits short of death. The Court allows that the prisoner is not shown to have taken any active part in the perpetration of gross cruelties or murders of Europeans or natives, but at the same time there is the most ample evidence that the prisoner Lyakut Allie (Liaqat Ali) was, whilst the rebellion lasted at Allahabad and

[1] This word is written as 'contracted' in the Original.

Cawnpore, devoted to the rebel cause, and he has now been brought to trial not by any act of submission of his own but through his being captured by the Police of Bombay whilst living under another name. In a case of such magnitude as this one whose[1] the accused has shown such determined hostility which but for a total absence of courage might have been carried further, the Court has but one course left to it and that is to pass a very heavy sentence.

FINDING AND SENTENCE

The prisoner Lyakut Allie having confessed to the charge that he being a person owing allegiance to the British Government was a leader in revolt and rebelled and waged war against the Queen and the Government of the East India Company in the month of June or thereabout in the year 1857, at Allahabad, the Court finds that he is guilty of an offence punishable under section I Act XI of 1857 and directs that the said Lyakut Allie shall be transported for life.[2]

ACTIVITIES OF A FAQIR AT ALLAHABAD

Translation of a Parwana apparently addressed by Maulvi Liaqat Ali.

The following is a detailed account of all that took place in the city of Allahabad during this troublous time, when the wrath of God was visited upon the Nazarene race :— The sepoys of the army murdered the English officers, and released the prisoners; and after waiting hopelessly for the fulfilment of their engagement by the Sikhs, of whom there were about 500 in the Fort, they took from the treasury (in which there were about 22 lakhs) what was required by them and plundering the rest, departed. On hearing this, your humble servant, who lived about seven *coss* from the city, considered in his mind that, as the ancestors of the people had once lived under the ennobling auspices of this great Government, the fulfilment of the conditions of loyalty, and

[1] 'Whose' is a wrong word here.

[2] "Judgment in the Case *Government vs. Liaqat Ali*". (Papers taken out from a bundle of papers belonging to the file relating to Niaz Muhammad, 1872). Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

the protection of the people was now incumbent on him. He at once, therefore, along with several champions of the faith, and a number of *talookdars*, (viz. Sheikh Nizamut Ashruf and Gholam Ismael and Mohummud Hossein and Choudhree Meeran Buksh and others), went into the city to institute a religious war, and send to hell the English, who remained, and with the intention, after sending a congratulatory address to your invincible Highness, of assuming charge of the *zillah* until the receipt of supreme orders.

PROCLAMATION ISSUED

The flag of Mahomet Muhammad was planted in the Chouk, and a proclamation was made in the city to this effect: —

"The Nazarene race is the enemy of the life and faith both of Hindoos and Mussulmans. This Fukeer having girded his loins to protect the life and faith of the people of God, and to fulfil the conditions of loyalty to the ministers of the kingly Government, it becomes you also to assist with all readiness in the destruction of the English who remain."

On hearing this proclamation, Moulvee Syud Ahmed Alee and Moulvee Gholam Hyder and Moulvee Amjud Alee and Hossein Khan, Kurm Shere Khan and the inhabitants of the *mohullahs* of Russoolpoor and Shumdabad (Samadabad), coming to the assistance of this Fukeer, succeeded by the grace of God in beating the accursed ones in the first battle.

BRITISH TAKE REFUGE IN THE FORT

In the second battle, from among the great men of the city, Sheikh Lutuf Alee, prime minister of His Highness Scindia Buhadur, with his followers, and several chiefs of the *mohullah*, viz, Sheikh Futtah Alee, *Darogah*, Sheikh Nuzuf Alee, *Naib Kotwal*, and Nuzuf Khan, *Naib Thannadar*, and others, with a great crowd, having joined this Fukeer, so arranged the battle field, that by the grace of God on that day they sent to hell a number of the accursed ones, who being entirely routed, took refuge in the Fort. Two magazine carts, some English horses, and 49 Artillery bullocks, fell into the hands of the victors. In this way, on three several separate occasions a fight took place in this *zillah*. At last the accursed ones

being reduced and vanquished on all sides by the vengeance of God, and the arms of the victors, retired into the Fort, closed the gates, and remained hopeless. *After this the whole zillah, Sudder and Mofussil, came under the control of this Fukeer.* At this time the accursed ones, and some few who had sided with them, took counsel together. Fear and dread of this Fukeer so predominated in their minds, that they talked of flying from the place. Some *Sahibs* had on that day started for Calcutta, and the rest now proposed committing their allies to the care of God, and following their companions in a steamer.

These evil-minded men, lamenting over the fate that would befall them, urged upon the *Sahibs* that for some time the fort would be a safe retreat, and that if they would remain in it a few days longer, they would contrive to spread a panic in the city, and cause the people to flee, and that then the Moulvee Sahib, being left alone, would be powerless. So it turned out by the evil destiny of the people and by the Will of God, that these enemies spread in the city fearful reports, that the English were preparing the artillery of the Fort to destroy the city, and that before dawn they would commence bombarding it with shot and shell. To shew the sincerity of their advice, these men, with their families, set off, giving out to all that they had left their houses and property to God's protection, and were going to save themselves by flight. On hearing this fearful report the people, notwithstanding my repeated injunctions, commenced a precipitate flight with their families and goods; so that by night-fall not a house was tenanted and not a light was to be seen in the whole city. I then, being thus left alone and helpless, went to Cawnpore, to the army of Nana Rao Buhadur, and sent an address to Your Majesty's ministers, detailing the above events, with a request for a conquering army to be sent to my aid. I do not know whether this ever came before the Illustrious eyes or not. I formed the design of presenting myself at Court; but owing to the disturbances created by the accursed ones, and the blocking up of the road, I remained for some time unable to perform. At last, in despair, I set out for the capital city of Shahjehanabad, and presenting myself before the ministers of the shrine of Your Holiness, the shadow of God, (May your Kingdom prosper), represented the state of affairs. By reason of the fierce contest then carried on by the

army encamped before the city, and the entrance of the army of the accursed inside the city of Delhi, the idea of despatching any army, or of rendering me any assistance, was out of the question. However an order, with the royal signature and seal, addressed to all the Chiefs and Princes, and people of the *zillah* of Allahabad, was obtained, a copy of which I send with this narrative for Your Majesty's inspection.[1]

CESSATION OF BRITISH AUTHORITY

Narrative of Events in the Central Provinces up to the end of August, 1857.

Allahabad Division—On the Lieutenant-Governor's[2] arrival the only district of this Division in which any Civil Administration was carried on was Allahabad. The portion of this district south of the Jumna was in good order, owing chiefly to the worthy conduct of the Rajah of Mandah. In the Doab portion of the district a large part of the population had not returned to their villages. In the portion north and east of the Ganges the line of the Grand Trunk Road and the country between it and the Ganges was maintained, but to the north of that line the country was suffering from incursions of the Oude *zemindars*. In the district of Futtehpore a few *thannahs* and police posts had been established along the Grand Trunk Road towards Cawnpore, but the authority of the British Government had not been restored either in Futtehpore or Cawnpore. The districts of Banda and Humeerpore were quite given up. The latter was believed to be in some degree administered in our behalf by the Rajah of Churkarree (Charkhari).[3]

INCURSION FROM OUDE (AVADH) INTO ALLAHABAD DISTRICT

Within the last few weeks it has been found necessary to abandon the greater part of that portion of the Allahabad

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Allahabad District*, Supplement, pp. 1, 2.

[2] The Lieutenant-Governor started from Calcutta on the 6th of August late in the evening and reached Ghazipur on the 24th of August 1857.

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

district north of the Ganges, which borders upon Oude. Bodies of armed men have entered the district from Oude, which the Police were quite unable to resist.

KUNWAR SINGH'S ENTRY INTO N. W. P.

The body of Dinapore mutineers has been passing through the *pergunnahs* of Allahabad, south of Jumna, and proceeding on into the Banda district for some weeks. The accounts of these men are, however, confused, and not a little contradictory. Excepting such men of the 40th Native Infantry as have remained with Koer Sing, the whole body are now in or beyond Banda. On one occasion a party of them crossed the Jumna into the Doab, but returned to the south bank immediately. Information has just been received that Koer Sing and his party, who had been for some time threatening Mirzapore, after entering Rewah, and being obliged immediately to leave it, and after having crossed the Tonse, were taking the same route, and were on the march through *pergunnah* Bara towards Banda. There is a report, which is worthy of credit, that he has announced his intention to be, to offer his services to the Nena (Nana), and if they are not accepted by him, to proceed to Delhi.

The Mohurrum passed off quietly at Allahabad.

The occupation of Futtehpore by a body of European troops, which has now been effected, will, if it is the General's design to make Futtehpore a permanent military post, however small, permit the immediate return of the Civil Officers, and the re-establishment of the administration of that district. Sir J. Outram has been addressed on this point.[1]

PANIC AT ALLAHABAD

Letter to the Editor of 'The Englishman' from Au Revoir dated 10th September 1857.

The Captain General of the Military is informed by the Chief of the Brick and Mortar Brigade, that in addition to the

[1] Further Papers (No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure in No. 8, pp. 83, 84.

cf.—Narrative of Events in the Central Provinces furnished by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Central Provinces, forwarded by the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Fort William, October 3, 1857 (No. 116 Public).

Fort we possess, it is absolutely necessary for the safety of handful of Europeans, who are to be graciously favoured with entrance therein for purposes of protection from total annihilation, that extensive and expensive entrenchments be added to the said Fort.....Railway Engineers are enlisted to superintend operations. Railway flunkies are forthwith set to work to demolish ruthlessly, the homesteads of the unprotected natives, because the ground whereon they stand is required for the proposed entrenchment, and the bricks whereof they are constructed for fancy[1] purposes. The houseless wights, panic-stricken, know not what to do. They cannot contend with doughty scions of the beef-eating florid complexed races; they clasp their hands in agony.....

Our horizon is dark as Erebus. Bodies given are congregating around us on all sides. Our garrison at present does not exceed 300 men (sick included) to man the Fort, and the extensive fancy works facetiously baptised "entrenchments". We have certain intelligence that "It's all up in Rewah." Koer Singh,.....has managed somehow to creep through some insignificant and therefore unguarded pass, with a stunning force.....[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS INTO DOAB

The Narrative transmitted by the mail despatched on the 10th instant containing the news received upto that date. (Signed by R. I. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, dated Fort William, the 24th of September 1857).

Allahabad—All was well in the Garrison, though the country to the north of the Ganges in its neighbourhood continues disturbed. A party of 3 (300) or 400 men with 4 guns had crossed into the Doab, between Allahabad and Cawnpore. A party was sent from Sir James Outram's

[1] Appears to have been misspelt for 'fencing'.

[2] *The Englishman*, Wednesday, 23rd September 1857. *Ibid.* Another letter dated Allahabad 7th Oct. 1857 spoke as under—

"A very general uneasiness pervades all classes—European and native, at the nonreceipt of any intelligence concerning our force.

At Lucknow...Budmashes are swarming in our neighbourhood, and becoming more and more daring in perpetrating acts of aggression and oppression on the villages...."

Column which was then on its way to Cawnpore under Major Vincent Eyre of Artillery who drove them back to their boats and utterly dispersed them. The mutineers threw their guns into the river.[1]

STATE OF ALLAHABAD DISTRICT

Letter from F. O. Mayne, the Joint Magistrate of Gopeegunge (Gopiganj), to the Commissioner of Allahabad, dated September 24, 1857.

JHUSI OCCUPIED BY AVADH FORCES

I have the honor to report, for the information of Government, the present disturbed state of the *pergunnahs* of the Allahabad district, north of the Ganges, and beg at the same time urgently to represent the imminent danger, unless I am very speedily assisted with a competent force of Infantry and guns, of the road communication between this and Jhoosee being cut off, and the whole of these *pergunnahs* becoming temporarily occupied by the *talookdars* of Oude and our rebel ex-zemindars.

CONCERTED ACTION

2*nd*—The two parties appear to have *dissolved for the time all internal strife and dissension, and to have united for the one common object of driving out and destroying the British Government. Their proceedings are by no means hurried, but are conducted in the most systematic manner;* they summon the *zemindars* of village after village by letter, and exact from them submission and tribute; if the *zemindars* refuse to come, their estate is visited by a party of matchlock-men, and the sound of their matchlocks heard in the village, is considered proof of possession; a few men are left in the village to maintain possession; and should any oppose these invaders, they are murdered, their houses burnt, and their property plundered; their united forces are daily increasing, and they daily advance in the occupation of the country.

[1](Original) Military Consultations, A, No. 410 of 25th September 1857. National Archives, New Delhi.

MENHDI HASAN APPOINTED NAZIM OF ALLAHABAD

3*rd*—They collect revenue, destroy crops, appoint their own Police, and are making arrangements for an *Abkarree* settlement. Our best friends and well-wishers in self-defence are obliged to submit to them; to crown the whole, an agent from Lucknow, by name Mahindee Hoossein Khan (Menhdi Husain Khan)[1], has been appointed *Nazim* of Allahabad, and is on his way to join his appointment, Aga Ujeem Ally Khan (Agha Azim Ali Khan), his *Naib*, having already assumed the reins of Government at Makkam Chowrah, *pergunnah* Nawabgunge. Our own Police have been driven in, and are now stationed on the Trunk Road watching events.

RENEWED OUTBREAKS

4*th*—Mr. Court had barely written the above report, when the rebellion again spread through these *pergunnahs*, but in a different and far more serious form. When General Havelock retreated across the Ganges, the Oude *talookdars* who had been watching events, crossed the frontier, determined to take possession of those *pergunnahs* of Allahabad, over which they formerly ruled. It is said that this was done by direction from Lucknow, and that the Allahabad *pergunnahs* north of the Ganges were allotted to each *talookdar*, and that the Oude territory, including the northern districts of Benares and these *pergunnahs* have been divided into *chucklas* and *Chuckladars* appointed. In June and July it was 'ousted *zemindars* versus auction purchasers'; we now have 'Oude and ousted *zemindars* versus the British Government'.

AVADH TALUQADARS OPPOSED TO BRITISH

5*th*—The Oude *talookdars* opposed to us in these *pergunnahs* are:—

(i) Rai Pirtipal Sing (Rai Prithi Pal Singh), Runder

[1] This name has been spelt as 'Menhdi Hossein' and also 'Menhdi Hussun' in some documents; retained as 'Menhdi Hasan' in headings.

Sing, of Doudpore; Runjeet Sing, *elaquadar* of Goorwa; Kalka Bux; Sitta Bux.

This party, assisted by Banee Bahadoor Sing of Nusrutpore, first crossed and took possession of Mirzapore, Chowharee[1], Moutiwa, and many villages in the north of *pergunnahs* Secundra and Soraon, and levied tribute; they murdered Bijaee Sing, *zemindar* of Bajeepore : they have since pushed their possession still farther into the Soraon and Nawabgunge and Secundra *pergunnahs*, and commit much plunder and outrage.

(ii) Rajah Bijee Bahadoor Sing of Purtabghur (Pratapgarh), commonly called the Raja of Kolheya; Golab Sing, Ajeet Sing, Surubdeen, of Deolee and Terowl; Sultanat Bahadoor of Baispore.

These men claim to be descendants from Hurbun Rajah, who formerly ruled over *pergunnahs* Secundra and Jhoosee[2]. They crossed the frontier on the plea of assisting the British Government against Pirtipal Sing, etc. of *pergunnah* Doudpore, and have since gradually taken possession of a very large portion of these *pergunnahs*. Our ousted *zemindars* have joined them in great numbers. These two parties, Rai Pirtipal Sing and Bijee Bahadoor, nearly came to blows in disputing their right to the *pergunnahs*, but they have since joined issue to fight the common enemy.

(iii) Issory Bux[3], etc., Baboo Chutterpall Sing (Babu Chhatra Pal Singh) of Summapore.

These men crossed the Allahabad frontier in the west corner of *pergunnah* Nawabgunge, with 6 guns and a number of men, and extended their encroachment as far as Nawabgunge.

Our rebel *zemindars* belong to the *talookas* and villages noted below :

[1] Spelt as 'Chowhurree' elsewhere in this document; (p. 657).

[2] *Jhusi*, Pargana *Jhusi*, Tahsil *Phulpur*, District *Allahabad*—The ancient town of Jhusi stands on the left bank of the Ganges in 25° 26′ N. and 81° 54′ E., on the high ground above the junction of the river with Manseta, immediately opposite the Allahabad fort, at a distance of 14 miles south-west from Phulpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 245).

[3] Probably Spelt for 'Ishwari Bakhsh'.

Pergunnah Soraon and Nawabgunge	Pergunnah Secundra and Jhoosee	Pergunnah Meh[1] and Kewai[2]
	Nusrutpore.....	
	Ooprowputtee.....	Busna Burreetha.
	Jamagee Bera.....	Jelalpore.
	Bilna Bircetha.....	Beebeepore.
Abdoolpore.....	Dhoby.....	Chandapoora.
Khursun.....	Tardhee.....	Satnee.
Sugrome and other villages.....	Kunehur.....	Seeah Deeh. Purtunpore, etc.
	Helaputee.....	
	Dookree.....	
	Kootwa, etc.....	

AUCTION PURCHASERS OUSTED

7*th*—These men, both of Oude and Allahabad, I suppose with a view to delude us, all try to get authority from Allahabad, and complain one against the other. Rajah Bijee Bahadoor Sing and Golab Sing, both wrote, saying they had come to afford us assistance and are willing to stay or retire as we wish. Mr. Court wrote, requesting they would leave the district, inasmuch as their acts are opposed to their professions: and, further requested, that if certain acts of rebellion and opposition to the British Government have been committed by their people without their orders, they will prove their loyalty by giving them up for trial. No answers have been received. Banee Bahadoor Sing, of Nusrutpore, *pergunnah* Secundra also wrote in a similar strain, complaining of the exaction and oppression of the Oude Rajahs and of Manick-

[1] Apparently *Mah*, Pargana, Tahsil *Handia*, District *Allahabad*—This pargana comprises the northern and larger portion of the Handia tahsil, extending northwards from Kiwai to the Jaunpur boundary. To the east the border marches for a few miles with pargana Bhadohi of Mirzapur, while to the west lies Jhusi and to the north-west pargana Sikandra. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 264).

[2] *Kiwai*, Pargana, Tahsil *Handia*, District *Allahabad*—This pargana forms the southern portion of the Handia tahsil, being bounded on the north by Mah, and on the south by the Ganges, which separates it from pargana Khairagarh. To the west lies pargana Jhusi of the Phulpur tahsil while on the east and south-east the boundary marches with the Mirzapur district. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 260).

chand, of Phoolpore, and of his intention to oppose them and restore order. Manickchand, as you will know, is a large auction purchaser, a *bunya* of Phoolpore, and in every sense of the word a well-wisher to Government. There cannot be a doubt of either the acts or intentions of the Oude Rajahs and ousted *zemindars*. *It is clear as the noonday sun that they are all one and play into each other's hands, their object being to obtain possession of these pergunnahs, and subvert the British Government.* This is daily proved by their acts of oppression and cruelty, and the forcible occupation of villages as lords of the soil.

DETAILS OF AVADH OFFENSIVE

8*th*—The present position of the rebels, as nearly as can be ascertained from *pergunnah* reports and spies, is as follows:

(i) In *pergunnahs* Soraon and Nawabgunge, Chutterpal Sing and Ishree Sing, *talookdars* of Shunmispore[1] (Oude) with a large force and 5 guns, assisted by the *zemindars* of Singrove[2], hold a position between Putna (Patna) and Shummapore[3] *pergunnah* Nawabgunge, and are extending their encroachments eastward.

(ii) At Nawabgunge our Police have been turned out, and Rajah Bijee Bahadoor Sing holds the town with some 500 or 600 men, and 2 guns.

(iii) Mirzapore, Chowhurree and Mow and the neighbourhood were first overrun by Kalka Bux and Sitta Bux, headed by Runder Sing[4].

(iv) They were succeeded by Golab Sing, of Deolee, and his party, who, assisted by Banee Bahadoor of Nusrutpore, have extended their ravages to Soraon, and are now with 500 men and 3 guns located in *mouzah* Puchdeorah. A battle is said to be expected between Golab Sing of Deolee and Rajah Bijee Bahadoor's men, for the possession of

[1] & [3] Spelt as *Summapore* elsewhere in this document; (p. 655).

[2] Apparently *Singraur*, Pargana *Nawabganj*, Tahsil *Soraon*, District *Allahabad*—The ancient town of Singraur stands in 25° 35′ N. and 81° 39′ E., on the left bank of the Ganges, at a distance of 22 miles north-west from Allahabad and a mile west of Mansurabad on the road from Phaphamau to Lalganj and Kunda. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 299).

[4] Probably spelt for 'Randhir Singh'.

Nawabgunge; but I think the report is merely one of the numerous similar *ruses de guerre.*

(v) A party of Rajah Bijee Bahadoor's men occupy Ismailgunge[1] and Pundura[2], *pergunnah* Soraon, and threaten Jhoosee. In *pergunnahs* Secundra and Jhoosee we have :—

(a) Rajah Bijee Bahadoor Sing with 1,500 men at Phoolpore, and he has about 500 men elsewhere. He and Banee Bahadoor Sing of Nusrutpore, and Golab Sing of Deolee, hold all the north part of *pergunnah* Secundra, and he was appointed a *Cutwal* (*Kotwal*) at Phoolpore, and issued *Abkaree* contract. Baboo Bulburddur Sing (Babu Balbhadra Singh), of Sujokee with men and guns, is said to be coming to his aid.

(b) In Nusrutpore, Banee Bahadoor Sing, *zemindar* of Taloopora Puttee Gora and Jama Gubheera, has entrenched himself with guns; the place is said to be surrounded with jungle and difficult of access. He is casting more guns. He is attended by Rai Pirtipal Sing, Runder Sing, and Runjeet Sing, *elaquadars* of Oude, and by some of the ousted *zemindars* of Kootwa, and other villages.

(c) Helaputtee[3] and Kunehur in *pergunnah* Jhoosee, are strongly held by Fuqueer Bux (Faqir Bakhsh), Ruham Allee, etc. the ousted *zemindars*, assisted by Banee Bahadoor Sing, of Nusrutpore. They threaten Lallgunge, Jhoosee, Hunnoomangunge (Hanumanganj) and Sydabad (Saidabad), and they are waiting for guns which they have demanded from Hunnooman Sing of Kulakunkur. In *pergunnahs* Meh and Kewai, the Beebeepore[4], Busna Bareta[5], Jelalpore and other *zemindars*, have formed the faction of Rajah Bijee Bahadoor Sing of Pertabghur, and Banee Bahadoor Sing of Nusrutpore, have taken possession of many villages, collected tribute and

[1] *Ismailganj*, Pargana and Tahsil *Soraon*, District *Allahabad*—Tikri Pandra, better known as Ismailganj, is a small town standing in 24° 33' N. and 81° 54' E., on an unmetalled road from Phaphamau to Sikandra, from which a branch leads to the market of Sheogarh to the west of the provincial road to Fyzabad, at a distance of 8½ miles from Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 244).

[2] *Pandra*—An agricultural hamlet to the south of *Ismailganj*, District *Allahabad.*

[3] Apparently spelt for *Hetapatti.* (see p. 661).

[4] *Bibipur* is in Tahsil *Handia*, District *Allahabad.*

[5] Spelt as '*Burreetha*' elsewhere in this document, (p. 656).

rent, plundered far and wide and daily extend their possessions, but they are not yet in very great force; in Meh and Kewai, *mouzah* Othran is threatened. The Rajah Bijee Bahadoor Sing has about 70 men at *mouzah* Chandoopore, 25 at Jelalpore, and a few in other villages; when required, a force moves from Phoolpore to attack a village and returns. The ousted *zemindars* of Busna Bareta are in force in their own villages, and also those of Beebeepore; the latter have guns. The *zemindar* of Seeahdeeh, Surub-down Sing[1], is a thorough knave. He is, I believe, allied with all the rebels in these *pergunnahs* and gives them information, and the aid of his influence, whilst he himself keeps quiet and gets certificates of good character from the Officer Commanding at Sydabad, by furnishing him with supplies. In Kewai the *zemindars* of Pertaimpore and the neighbourhood are all rebels but are not at present actually opposed to us. In all the *pergunnahs* there are, I suppose, some 5,000 or 6,000 men (mere rabble) with guns. The only Cavalry I have heard of, are 60 of some Irregular Cavalry corps, who passed up last night, and were seen at Berahpore, one mile east of Hundeea[2], and were travelling northward, as if towards Phoolpore. I have sent people to see where they go to.

9*th*—I have thus stated the case as far as I have been able to ascertain it up to the latest date of report. I will not vouch for the correctness of details of names of the Oude Rajahs, but my information, for the greater part of which I am indebted to Mr. Court, may I believe be taken generally to give a correct view of what is going on.[3]

AVADH REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN ALLAHABAD DISTRICT

Telegraphic Message from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta, dated Allahabad, September 28, 1857, (11-25 *A. M.*).

The Oude people, whom I have frequently represented

[1] May have been spelt for 'Sarvdaman Singh', or 'Sarbdin Singh'.

[2] *Handia,* Pargana *Kiwai,* Tahsil *Handia,* District *Allahabad*—The chief place in the Handia tahsil is merely a large village situated in 25° 22′ N. and 82° 11′ E., on the north side of the Grand Trunk Road, at a distance of 24 miles east from Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers,* Allahabad, 1911, p. 238).

[3] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies,* 1857, Inclosure 21 in No. 8, pp. 144-147.

as pressing down towards that part of the Allahabad district which is north of the Ganges, have approached within some four or five miles of Jhoosee, namely, the village which is opposite Allahabad, and commands (*sic*,-command) the ferry across the Ganges. *The force is a rabble, but they may interrupt our communication.* I am therefore sending a party of Sikhs, under an European officer, to take post in a temple at Jhoosee, which some time ago I selected, and the armed steamer "Jumna" was also ordered by me into the Ganges this morning and will be available for the protection of the ferry. This, I hope, will prevent the Oude rabble advancing further. There is no danger of the force; but the Naval Brigade, which has been expected here since the 18th idem, ought to be sent up in the most expeditious way; by land, if necessary. Nothing heard at this station upto this date from General Outram's force since its arrival at Begumgunge. On the 25th heavy firing was heard at Cawnpore; in the direction of Lucknow some firing on the 26th, and a few guns on the 27th idem.[1]

REINSTATEMENT OF AUCTION PURCHASERS

Extracts from the letter from C. Chester, the Commissioner of Allahabad, to the Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, dated Allahabad, October 3, 1857.

BRITISH ON THE DEFENSIVE

3*rd*- *Allahabad, September* 28– Gun-boat "Jumna" went round to Papamow Ghaut to prevent any attempt to cross the Ganges by the Oude rabble, who are in force on the other side of the river. A detachment of Sikhs was also sent to occupy the entrenched post at Jhoosee. The aggression by the Oude people is daily acquiring strength, and insolence.

5*th*—*Allahabad, September* 30—"Jumna" Gun-boat returned to the fort; the water in the Ganges is falling so fast there was fear of her getting shut in. A letter from Mr. Court of 29th instant, reports that the only occurrence since the beginning of the week requiring special notice is detailed therein. This

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 69 in No. 5, p. 282.

letter will be at once submitted for His Honor's consideration and orders. It relates to the aggression from Oude, and the appointment of a *Nazim* under the title of *Nazim* of Allahabad. Mayne reports, under date the 29th instant, that the head of Mohun Sing, of Heetaputtee, had just been brought in; he was killed in fight with Manik Chund's men.....

FALL OF DELHI

7th—Allahabad, October 2—News arrived of the fall of the palace and Selimghur at Delhi, and the capture of the king and queen. Also of the relief of the garrison at Lucknow. Demi-official instructions received from Colonel Strachey to take measures for the cultivation of cabbages for the European soldiers; this will be attended to.....

8th—Allahabad, October 3—"The *soidisant Nazim* of Allahabad is reported to have come to an understanding with Bence Bahadoor Sing; they are to join their forces, seize upon Phoolpore today, come down on the outposts on the Trunk Road, and then attack Jhoosee. I doubt whether they will do any one of these things in the face of recent intelligence from Lucknow. We have no force to oppose to (*sic*,) them, however. On the 20th ultimo, the Oude rebels detached a party to Papamow, and carried off the *Dak Hurkuras* and the *zemindars*. On 30th idem they attacked Sooram, killing the *Jemadar* and a *Nujeeb*."....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES HOLD PHAPHAMAU-GOPIGANJ

Telegraphic Message from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Banaras, September 30, 1857.

A detailed report was received today from Mr. Mayne, the able Magistrate appointed to Gopeegunge, of the state of the country between the Trunk Road and Oude. *The result in short is, that from near Gopeegunge to Allahabad, the whole country*

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 6 in No. 10, pp. 263, 264.

is in the hands of various large parties of Oude talookdars and zemindars, each having several guns, who are systematically acquiring, without much violence, village after village. These parties already possess the country as far south as the neighbourhood of the road which they threaten immediately to cross and occupy. Some mutineers from Oude are beginning to join them. On receipt of this report, I immediately telegraphed to Colonel O'Brien to ask the state of his garrison. I know that he is positively forbidden to send a man out of it for any purpose. I have got his answer. He has 439 effective Europeans, and 131 Sikhs, Captain Peel, with about 300 men, starts for Allahabad by steamer to-morrow morning, and should arrive in three days. I have now just received a message from Colonel O'Brien, dated 9 P. M. to-night, saying that a person calling himself the *Nazim* of Allahabad, has seized Papamow (Phaphamau), a village about 5 miles on the east side of the Ganges, and, with a very large number of men and some guns, threatens to interrupt our communication. *Papamow is to Allahabad what Howrah is to Fort William.* There can be no doubt that the telegraph wire will be immediately stopped, unless the country north of the Trunk Road is immediately recovered and secured. Two weak Sikh posts, of 50 men each, at Gopeegunge (Gopiganj) and Sydabad (Saidabad), may hold their own, but cannot proceed to other points along a road running through the enemy's country. But if 2 guns and 150 Europeans are added to the 100 Sikhs, this force, with 50 of Matheson's sowars, and 200 of Catania's levy, whom I dispatched to Mr. Mayne to-day, will be able to drive off and punish the Oude men, and to recover the country north of the road, whilst the remnant of the 50th Native Infantry, who have come in from Nagode, hold the posts of Gopeegunge in the rear. The Goorkhas are at this moment fighting on the Oude border, both in Azimghur and Jounpore. It is for Your Lordship to elect between leaving Allahabad with about 300 effective Europeans, and 150 Sikhs, and sacrificing our telegraph and *dak*, and bullock train communication. I believe Allahabad, with such a garrison, to be safe, with a force at Futtehpore to the north, and another on the Trunk Road to the east, and sailors close at hand; and I strongly recommend saving the road. It would be a great inconvenience and disgrace, at this moment, to have our communication stopped almost

under the guns of Allahabad. An immediate decision is necessary.[1]

INTELLIGENCE REGARDING REVOLUTIONARIES

Extract of Intelligence received from the Joint Magistrate of Gopeegunge (Gopiganj), dated October 14, 1857.

Date	Name of Informer	Intelligence
8th October	Asapal Sing, *zemindar* of *talooka* Turdhee, *pergunnah* Secundra.	A *Resaldar* is enlisting men at Pertabghur. At Hussunpore Bundore, *pergunnah* Sooltanpore, a *Nazim* is encamped. He has called on *talookdars* of Belkur to pay revenue, but is not obeyed.
10th ,,	Asapal Sing, *zemindar* of Turdhee, *pergunnah* Secundra.	Mehdee Hussun, the *Nazim* at Hussunpore, has about 2,000 Hindoostanee sepoys with him, and he is enlisting men. Doorga Sing *Foujdar* is with one regiment at Pertabghur. He is enlisting other men.[2]

PHAPHAMAU CAPTURED

Telegraphic Message from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta, dated Allahabad, September 30th, 1857, 10-20 *P. M.*

Your telegram of 30th September has been received. The Naval Brigade has arrived at Benares. Detachment of seventy seven men, under Captain Thompson, Her Majesty's 64th has reached me; I shall detain it. I understand my force to be purely for defensive operations. A moveable Column on the north bank of the Ganges much required. Rebels growing very strong and bold, have seized the village

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies,* Inclosure 16 in No. 6, p. 42.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies,* Inclosure 27 in No. 7, p. 73 .

of Papa Mhow (Phaphamau), about five miles north from this; moveable Column might be formed from this after Naval Brigade joins from Benares. The wounded men, who will never be fit for service, and the sick who are recommended to go to sea, shall be sent straight to Calcutta; two of the wounded men, who are residents of Chunar, I understand are to be sent to Chunar.[1]

STRONG POSITION OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Extract of Intelligence received from the Commissioner of Allahabad, dated October 14, 1857.

I am surprised at the inaction of the Allahabad *Nazim*. He must by this time be fully acquainted with the state of affairs at Lucknow. Rebellion and disaffection are daily gaining strength in Cawnpore and Futtehpore. This was to be expected, as the wave is pushed down from above to the Lower Doab; meanwhile we are very weak. The hitherto well-affected *pergunnahs* south of the Jumna are beginning to waver. This may be caused by the triple invasion they have suffered; by the unsettled state of Rewah, and by the unpunished aggression of the Oude people in this district.[2]

BRITISHERS APPREHENSIVE OF REVOLUTIONARIES' ATTACK ON ALLAHABAD

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated Dec. 10, 1857.

.....At Futtehpore, the garrison has had to retire into a fortified position before a large number of rebels. An attack upon Allahabad is not considered an improbability. Close to Juanpore are rebels, numbering, it is said, fifteen thousand, before whom the little force detached towards that direction has had to retire.....[3]

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 87 in No. 5, p. 286.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 26 in No. 7, p. 72.

[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, December 10, 1857, p. 395. National Library, Calcutta.

BRITISH ATROCITIES AT ALLAHABAD

.....Over the whole history of the Sepoy War, over the whole length and breadth of the country which witnessed its manifold horrors, there is no darker cloud than that which gathered over Allahabad in this terrible summer..... Martial Law had been proclaimed; those terrible Acts passed by the Legislative Council in May and June were in full operation; and soldiers and civilians alike were holding Bloody Assize, or slaying natives without any assize at all, regardless of sex or age. Afterwards, the thirst for blood grew stronger still. It is on the records of our British Parliament, in papers sent home by the Governor General of India in Council, that, "the aged, women, and children, are sacrificed, as well as those guilty of rebellion."* They were not deliberately hanged, but burnt to death in their villages—perhaps now and then accidentally shot.....[1]

* * *

From the "Travels of a Hindoo", by Bholanauth-Chunder (Bholanath Chandra), Edited by a Government Secretary, and dedicated to the Governor General of India.

They speak of it as a fearful epoch of unexampled atrocities on the one side, and of an unparalleled retaliation on the other. There were the sepoys with the blood of murdered officers on their heads, and *budmashes* and bullies, and cut-throats and cut-purses, all acknowledging a fraternal tie, and holding a bloody carnival. But it was impossible that twenty uncongenial parties, divided by quarrels about caste, quarrels about religion, quarrels about power, and quarrels about plunder, could long act together in an undisturbed concert. Soon as batch after batch of Englishmen arrived to re-establish the Saxon rule, they were driven like chaff before the wind.

RIGOURS OF MARTIAL LAW

Then followed a dreadful sequel, the horror of horrors.

* "Papers presented to Parliament, February 4, 1858, moved for by Mr. Vernon Smith, formerly President of the Board of Control, and signed H. S. Seymour."—Note in Original.

[1] Kaye : *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. II; pp. 268 to 270.

The Martial Law was an outlandish demon, the like of which had not been dreamt of in Oriental demonology. Rampant and ubiquitous, it stalked over the land devouring hundreds at a meal, and surpassed in devastation the *rakhasi*, or female carnival of Hindoo fables. It mattered little whom the red-coats killed; the innocent and the guilty, the loyal and the disloyal, the well-wisher and the traitor, were confounded in one promiscuous vengeance. To 'bag the nigger', had become a favourite phrase of the military sportsmen of that day. 'Peafowls, partridges, and *Pandies* rose together, but the latter gave the best sport. Lancers ran a tilt at a wretch who had taken to the open for his covert.' In those bloody assizes, the bench, bar, and jury were none of them in a bland humour, but were bent on paying off scores by rudely administering justice with the rifle, sword, and halter, making up for one life by twenty. The first spring of the British Lion was terrible, its claws were indiscriminating.

One's blood still runs cold to remember the soul-harrowing and blood-freezing scenes that were witnessed in those days. There were those who had especial reasons to have been anxious to show their rare qualifications in administering drumhead justice; scouring through the town and suburbs, they caught all on whom they could lay their hands, porter or pedlar, shopkeeper or artisan, and hurrying them on through a mock trial, made them dangle on the nearest tree. *Near six thousand beings had been thus summarily disposed of and launched into eternity; their corpses, hanging by twos and threes from branch and sign-post all over the town*, speedily contributed to frighten down the country into submission and tranquillity. *For three months did eight deadcarts daily go their rounds from sunrise to sunset, to take down the corpses which hung at the crossroads and market-places, poisoning the air of the city, and to throw their loathsome burdens into the Ganges.* Others, whose indignation had a more practical turn, sought to make capital out of those troublesome times. The Martial Law was a terrible Gorgon in their hands to turn men into stone; the wealthy and timid were threatened to be criminated, and they had to buy up their lives as best they could under the circumstances.[1]

[1] Kaye : *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. II, pp. 668, 669 (Appendix).

WHEELER ACTIVE AGAINST REVOLUTIONARIES

Telegram from Colonel Neill, Commanding at Allahabad, to Colonel Birch, C. B., Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, and Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Allahabad, 28th June 1857.

All well. No intelligence from Cawnpore except a native from there on the 23rd, states Wheeler holds out and moves out of his entrenchments frequently to attack. People coming in, confidence being much restored. Collecting abundance of supplies and carriages from different quarters; cholera gone entirely. The Column will certainly march from this on the 30th towards Cawnpore; Major Renaud, Madras Fusiliers, will command. I will have the utmost confidence in him. They are well Europeaned, and must get on well; the weather is cool.[1]

SATICHAURA GHAT INCIDENT

Copy of a statement by Lieutenant H. G. De La Fosse, late 53rd B. N. I, one of the few sowars of the Garrison at Cawnpore (Kanpur).

. . . On the 26th a Committee of Officers went to the river to see that the boats were ready and serviceable. Everything being reported ready, and carriage for the wounded having arrived, we gave up our guns etc. and marched out on the morning of the 27th about 7 O'clock. We got down to the river and into the boats without being molested in the least, but no sooner were we in the boats and had laid down our muskets and taken off our coats in order to work easier at the boats, than the Cavalry gave the order to fire. Two guns that had been hidden were run out, and opened upon us immediately, whilst sepoys came from all directions and kept up a heavy fire. The men jumped out of the boats, and instead of trying to get the boats loose from their moorings rushed to the first boat they saw loose. Only these boats got safely even to the opposite side of the river but were met there by 2 field pieces, guarded by numbers of Cavalry and Infantry. . . .[2]

[1] Forrest: *State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 77.

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th October 1857, No. 450. National Archives, New Delhi.

Statement of Jemadar Doorgah Persaud Missur (Durga Prasad Mishra), 56th Regiment Native Infantry.

Surrendered at Amorha and States:—

When the Regiment mutinied at Cawnpore I was in command at Banda with Captain Halliday, Grenadier, and 1st Company. We were relieved by 2 Companies of the 1st Native Infantry and received seven lacs of treasure (to carry) to Futtehpore and Allahabad. 3 lacs were deposited in the Futtehpore treasury and I was ordered to go with 50 men to Allahabad to escort the remaining 4 lacs. I asked Captain Halliday for an officer as the country was disturbed. He replied, "There is no fear, if you don't plunder it, no one else will."

REGIMENT REVOLTS

I escorted the treasure to Allahabad and made it over to Treasurer, received an acknowledgement and gave it over to Havildar Nearj Sing[1]. On making one march from Allahabad, we heard firing at Cawnpore; before this date the sepoys had shown a mutinous spirit but on hearing the firing the men told me, I was no longer commanding. They remained all day at this halting place and next morning started off for Cawnpore, plundering and burning *en route*. I went with them. On my arrival at Cawnpore I found the Regiment had mutinied, and that all the native officers with the exception of Motee Lall *Jemadar* 6th Company were absent on Furlough, that on the Regiment mutinying Havildar Major Annundeedeen Missur (Anandi Din Mishra) had assumed command, and was in command. He had a parade and ranked himself as a Captain; on my arrival he was in command. The Europeans were in the entrenchment and my Regiment with others surrounding them.

On reaching Cawnpore Annundeedeen Missur told me to report myself to the Nana. I did so. He asked me if my men were in hand. I replied they were not on the march but they might be here. He replied "if they don't obey orders here I'll turn them out". All this time Government bullocks, horses and telegraph wire were being sent to the "Nana".

[1] Probably spelt for 'Niraj Singh'.

WHEELER'S ENTRENCHMENT

I returned to the Regiment which was at the entrenchment and remained there whilst the firing was going on for 17 or 18 days. During this time I saw Jwalapersaud, the Nana's Agent, come down to the entrenchment. I never saw Balla Rao or the Nana there; during this time incessant firing of guns and musketry was kept up.

The 1st Regiment Native Infantry established it as a rule that men who joined from Furlough should get their places and promotion. Numbers joined in consequence and in my Regiment Subadar Gungadeen Missur and others joined taking the rank of Colonel, Major etc.

EUROPEANS PERMITTED TO LEAVE

After this delay the Europeans were permitted to leave the entrenchments on the understanding that they were to give up their treasure and arms.

NANA'S ARMY ESCORTS THE EUROPEANS

Jwalapersaud ordered the new Regiments the Nana had raised to escort the Europeans to the boats and men from each Regiment went to the *Ghat* as volunteers. The 17th Regiment Native Infantry and some guns were on the opposite side. I remained in the lines of my Regiment.

EUROPEANS FIRED AT

I heard that those who had gone to the boats had fired on the officers and that the 17th Regiment on opposite side had also done so. I don't recollect how long afterwards that some officers came from Futtehgurh who had escaped, they were taken to the Nana and placed in house by his order; his orders were supreme.....[1]

* * *

[1] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated July 9, 1857.

Overtures were with that view made to the individual who seems to have placed himself at the head of the rebellion in the district of Cawnpore...recommended to that post doubtless by his position as the surviving dependent of a deposed prince and more strongly by his success in the massacre of the European fugitives from Futtyghur (Fatehgarh). Dhoondoopunt Nanajee is the adopted son of the late Bajee Row, whose career as Peishwa of the Mahratta confederacy was cut short by Sir John Malcolm. He imbibed from his patron all that refinement of treachery and faithlessness which characterised Bajee Row's own conduct throughout his reign. On the death of Bajee Row, Dhoondoopunt applied for a reversion of his splendid pension, and failing with the Government here sent a native agent to England where his suit was equally unsuccessful. Meanwhile, by a series of intrigues, forgeries, and perjuries, he deprived the rightful heir of the Prishwa (*sic*,-Peishwa) of all the property left her by the deceased Bajee Row. He still maintained a high position which he has now turned to the purposes of rebellion. Nanajee Sahib readily acceded to the proposals of the besieged garrison, and promised on oath to let them to go unmolested to Allahabad. No sooner however were they on board the boats which were to convey them down than fire was opened upon them from batteries, on the right bank of the river. The hapless passengers endeavoured to escape by the other bank, but a body of Cavalry cut off all those who landed. Thus was the entire body of refugees destroyed. If this harrowing tale be true, for doubts have been cast upon it, the safety of every other post of the country may be disregarded to afford means for avenging the massacre of the Cawnpore refugees. For treachery so base, so vile and so appalling in its consequences, punishment no doubt will be meted out. We only hope that that punishment may not be dealt out too late. Nature of course will be suppressed by civilization, and Dhoondoopunt spared a punishment which if a Mogul or a Mahratta were to inflict it would have combined in his single person the sufferings of his hundreds of victims. There should also be enquiry why the gallant Wheeler had to wait for succour from Allahabad until all succour was too late.

The fall of Cawnpore seems to have taken place on the

28th ultimo. The event appears to have precipitate (*sic*,—precipitated) a general assault upon Lucknow by the mutineers of the Oude force. It is very probable that, as stated, Sir Henry Lawrence finding his position in the city no longer tenable, burnt it down and fell upon Cawnpore which place, jointly with the force of Colonel Neill, he may have already regained.[1]

* * *

Extract from Alleged Statement of Tatya Tope.

...The fighting continued for 24 days. On the 24th day the General raised the flag of Truce, and the fighting ceased. The Nana got a female, who had been captured before, to write a note to General Wheeler to this effect that the sepoys would not obey his orders and that if he wished, he (the Nana) would get boats and convey him and those with him in entrenchment 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 lac of Rupees, and authorised him to keep the amount. The following day I went and got ready 40 boats, and having caused all the Gentlemen, Ladies and children to get into the boats, I started them off to Allahabad. In the meanwhile 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 Kalakunkur[2], but was there caught and brought back to Cawnpoor, and all on board of it destroyed.....[3]

VENGEANCE WREAKED ON BRITISHERS

Russell's Version.

February 12—The scenes where great crimes have been

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, July 9, 1857, p. 219. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *Kala Kankar*—Formerly a state in *Pratapgarh* District.

[3] "*Trial of Tatya Tope*". Original Consultations, 2nd September 1859, No. 144. National Archives, New Delhi.

perpetrated ever possess an interest, which I would not undertake to stigmatise as morbid; and surely among the sites rendered infamous for ever in the eyes of British posterity, Cawnpore will be pre-eminent as the magnitude of the atrocities with which it is connected. But, though pre-eminent among crimes, the massacre of Cawnpore is by no means alone in any of the circumstances which mark turpitude and profundity of guilt. We who suffered from it think that there never was such wickedness in the world, and the incessant efforts of a gang of forgers and utterers of base stories have surrounded it with horrors that have been vainly invented in the hope of adding to the indignation and burning desire for vengeance which the naked facts arouse. Helpless garrisons, surrendering under capitulation, have been massacred ere now; men, women, and children have been ruthlessly butchered by the enemies of their race ere now; risings, such as that of the people of Pontus under Mithridates, of the Irish Roman Catholics against the Protestant settlers in 1641, of the actors in the Sicilian vespers, of the assassins who smote and spared none on the eve of St. Bartholomew, have been over and over again attended by inhuman cruelty, violation, and torture.... In fact, the peculiar aggravation of the Cawnpore massacres was this, that the deed was done by a subject race—by black men who dared to shed the blood of their masters, and that of poor helpless ladies and children. Here we had not only a servile war and a sort of *Jacquerie* combined, *but we had a war of religion, a war of race and a war of revenge, of hope, of some national promptings to shake off the yoke of a stranger, and to re-establish the full power of native chiefs, and the full sway of native religions.* There is a kind of God's revenge against murder in the unsuccessful issue of all enterprises commenced in massacre, and founded on cruelty and bloodshed. Whatever the causes of the mutiny and the revolt, it is clear enough that one of the modes by which the leaders, as if by common instinct, determined to effect their end was, the destruction of every white man, woman, or child who fell into their hands—a design which the kindliness of the people, or motives of policy, frustrated on many remarkable occasions. It must be remembered that the punishments of the Hindoo are cruel, and whether he be mild or not, he certainly is not, any more than the Mussulman, distinguished for clemency towards his enemies. But philosophize and theorize as we may, Cawnpore will be a name ever heard by

English ears with horror long after the present generation has passed away.....[1]

KANPUR FALLS TO REVOLUTIONARIES

Extract from letter dated Allahabad, July 3rd, 1857.

...I was on main guard yesterday, and at 2 O'clock A. M. had to open the gate for an officer who had come in with dispatches from Renaud, forty miles ahead. He says they have received intelligence in camp, of the fall of Cawnpore, and the massacre of the whole Europeans there. A Rajah told Sir Hugh Wheeler that if he would quit the place at once, they might do so without molestation by boats....[2]

* * *

From Brigadier-General Havelock, to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Allahabad, 3rd July 1857, (6-50 *A. M.*).

The news of the entire destruction of the Cawnpore force confirmed by *cossids*, who, carrying letters from Lucknow to Allahabad, witnessed it. They state that the Nana swore to send the garrison in boats to Calcutta, but that as soon as the Europeans got into the boats the guns opened on them; the fugitives made for the opposite bank, and were entirely destroyed by a large body of Cavalry.[3]

* * *

From Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief, dated Allahabad, 3rd July 1857, 4 *P. M.*

The steamer started this morning with provisions for Sir H. Wheeler and one hundred Fusiliers, with two guns on board, to proceed with all despatch towards Cawnpore; and if it still be ours, communicate with Sir Hugh; and if it has

[1] W. H. Russell: *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, (1957), Chapter VII, pp 29, 30.

[2] Groom: *With Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow*, (1857), p. 15. (Letters written to his wife by William T. Groom, an officer in 1st Madras Fusiliers).

[3] Forrest: *State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 78.

fallen, to keep out of range of their guns after removing as near as possible to Cawnpore, and await General Havelock's orders, or drop in the river at once abreast of his force and advance with it. I do not credit the report by the *cossid* yesterday that Cawnpore had fallen. I feel confident Wheeler still holds out. General Havelock has halted Renaud's force. I would not, as it is strong enough for anything that could be brought against it, and if the report is true, should move on steadily to Futtehpore, to be there to be overtaken by the General. The steamer, besides the great effect it will produce on the Ganges, will cooperate with the advance by land. If the river is open, we can transport troops and stores and have much land carriage. My opinion is we ought never, if possible, to stand, but always be advancing, if only three or four miles a day. Accounts from Renaud's party good; have ordered a light siege train to be prepared here, and have instructed Lieutenant Brown, a most excellent officer, to take charge of and prepare it, subject to approval.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated 10th July 1857.

Nana Saheb has exacted large sums of money from the shroffs of Cawnpore. No less than 75,000 Rs. was (were) extorted from Isoree Pershad (Ishwari Prasad). It is known that the Cawnpore Magazine well stored with ammunition and treasure to the amount of seventeen lakhs of Rupees was on the 27th of June in the possession of the insurgents. Since that date authentic intelligence has not been received from Cawnpore.[2]

EUROPEANS SUED FOR PEACE WITH THE NANA

Telegram from Colonel Neill, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Allahabad, 5th July 1857.

Note from Renaud, dated last night, the 4th instant; had the day before sent men on into Cawnpore, who returned

[1] Forrest: *State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 79.
[2] *The Friend of India*, 16th July 1857, p. 680. National Library, Calcutta.

on the 4th, and report that on Sir H. Wheeler's being shot through the leg, and afterwards mortally, the force had lost heart, and sued for peace; the Nana allowed them to get into boats with all they had, and three-and-half lakhs of rupees; that after getting them in boats, fire was opened on them from the bank, and all destroyed. One boat got away ten miles down the river, was pursued, brought back, and all in her taken back into barracks and shot. One old lady was alive on the 3rd at Futtehpore, from Cawnpore. No troops had arrived there, but two regiments and two guns were expected there. I much regret Renaud having halted, and that he had been induced to send for Captain Spurgin, but he states that four sowars he sent with note to Spurgin could not reach him, and I hope he will get my note, pointing out his mistake; he is acting with energy, and punishing with much discretion some villagers in his neighbourhood. I hope he will be ordered on; he is quite equal to anything. The Sikhs and Irregular Cavalry behaved splendidly; the latter in particular, under Palliser, doing good service. An advance, however slow, will have a splendid effect. Also Spurgin making his way up the river, both ought to keep moving; falling back on this would be ruinous. The people between this and Futtehpore quite in great dread, beyond that all are plundering; an advance there will quiet them completely. We must keep moving on. A note from Renaud of to-day's date; still halted at Kutonghun[1]; doing well; sends in a few lines from Agra, of 21st June; all well there.[2]

BAKSAR-DAUNDIA KHERA INCIDENT

Extract from the Judgment in the case Govt. vs. Babu Ram Bakhsh, by the Assistant Commissioner, Rae Bareli, dated 16th Nov. 1859.

EUROPEANS AT BAKSAR

The massacre of Cawnpore, and the deeds of treachery

[1] Apparently *Katoghan*, Pargana *Hathgaon*, Tahsil *Khaga*, District *Fatehpur*—A large village in 25° 45′ N. and 81° 9′ E., on the south side of the Grand Trunk Road, at a distance of four miles east of Khaga. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 238).

[2] Forrest: *State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 81.

which were there enacted, have become matter of history. They are too well and too painfully known to need further recital. Suffice it to say, that Captain Mowveray Thomson, and H. M. De La Fosse of the 53rd N. I., had, with some ten other Europeans (the exact number and names unknown) effected their escape and were making their way eastward in a boat, which at last touched near Lallpoor, a small village on the Oude side of the Ganges. They landed there and proceeding along the sands made for the high bank at Buxur, followed up, and fired upon from time to time, by some sowars of our 2nd Cavalry sent in pursuit. The prisoner had full opportunity for observing the course of the fugitives from his *Barradurree* (*Baradari*) at Doundia Khera, which commands a view of the low land, and the high banks, from Buxur on the east up to and even beyond, Soorajpore on the west, the small village of Lallpore, where the boat with the Europeans had grounded, being visible, and about 2 miles distant in the valley of the dry bed of the river.

EUROPEANS HIDE IN TEMPLE

On reaching the high bank near Buxur the Europeans were set upon by a large party of armed men, previously placed there by the prisoner, under the command of his brother Judnath (Yadunath) Sing. Between this force and the fugitives stood a small Hindoo temple in which refuge was taken amid a shower of bullets from the assailants. One of the Europeans is said to have fallen in making for the temple; and a second, a wounded straggler, was overpowered and butchered on the sand, some 300 yards to the west of it.

EUROPEAN FUGITIVES OFFER A FIGHT

The temple itself was not, as far as I could judge from the appearance of its ruins, when examining them a few days ago, of more than 8 feet diameter inside and the entrance to it was from the west. For some time the Europeans managed to hold out in it even though a cannon had been brought to bear upon it; and it was not until the plan of burning them out was resorted to, that they abandoned their place of refuge, and plunged into a deep branch of the Ganges which ran immediately under the temple. Five only, however, effected their

escape, while the others, less fortunate, were shot down, some on the bank and some in the water.....[1]

* * *

Statement of Babu Ram Bakhsh dated 17th September 1859.

Baboo Rambuksh states in reply that the Europeans in the Buxur *Shewalah* were not killed by his orders, that he was in no way concerned directly or indirectly in this murder and that he was not present at the time that this murder took place, that none of his people of any description were present, that he had been lying concealed in his own house at Sayroopoor, at a distance of 2 or 2½ *koss* from the spot where the murder had taken place. That he remained concealed on account of the fear that he entertained of Judnauth Sing, that Judnauth Sing wished to kill him in order to obtain his (Rambuksh's) estate. Judnauth Sing had ingratiated himself with the Nana, and had collected troops and had encamped at Buxur, that Dft. (Defendant) himself had not troops at that time, he had only the usual servants, that the village of Buxur in which the *Shewalah* is situated was not then in possession of Dft., it was held by other Bai[2] Thakoors, Dais Raj (Des Raj), Juggut Sing (Jagat Singh), Eesurree Buksh (Ishwari Bakhsh). Eesurree Buksh and Juggut Sing were hanged by the British, I suppose, for the very crime of which I am charged. Two or three days after the murder had been committed, I heard of it, and was ill at the time and not in my senses through fever and ague. The crime was said to have been committed by Judnauth Sing and the Nana's troops. Judnauth Sing, I heard, was present at the time. I do not know how many Europeans had been murdered, but I heard that 4 escaped. Judnauth Sing himself was killed in the attack on the *Shewalah*. This attack took place in Assar (Asarh)[3]. For Sawun following I received an order from Brijees Kudr (Birjis Qadar) at Lucknow, to make arrangements in my *elaka*, not interfering with the estates of my brethren and to prevent all disorder. I then

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Babu Ram Bakhsh* Taluqdar of Daundia Khera." Unnao Collectorate Mutiny Basta

[2] Reference is to 'Bais Thakurs'.

[3] Fourth month of the Indian Calendar.

placed *thannahs* in my estate. When the Europeans had been killed in the *Shewalah*, the Nana's people reported to their master that I had not assisted them; the Nana hearing this caused my *Kothie* at Cawnpore to be plundered.....[1]

Statement of Ram Kishan Kahar dated 22nd September 1859 attested by Deputy Commissioner.

Ram Kishoon Kahar late in the service of Babu Rambuksh Dft. (Defendant) on oath states:—

"A boat with Europeans was coming down the river Ganges in the month of Assar (Asarh). Baboo Judnauth Singh's troops (*fouj*) was (were) encamped near the *Shewalah* at Buxar. The troops fired on the boat; the Europeans got out of the boat, and rushed into the *Shewalah*. For about 2 *ghurries* the fight between Judnauth Singh's people and the Europeans in the *Shewalah* had lasted when the Europeans asked for "*Ban*" - this they were refused. Judnauth Singh then sent for Baboo Rambuksh. The Baboo had not had time to reach when Judnauth Singh was killed by a shot from the *Shewalah*. Then the Baboo reached with about 50 or 60 men. When the Baboo's people could not drive the Europeans out of the *Shewalah*, the Baboo gave orders to place *chuppers*[2] against the door-way of the *Shewalah* and thus burn them out. A bag of powder (belonging to a gun) was thrown on the *chuppers* and fire set to the whole. The Europeans rushed out. They were fired upon. Some jumped into the river, 8 or 9 were killed on the spot. The soldiery followed after those who had jumped into the river but could not seize them and the soldiers returned. The Baboo left the spot after ordering the heads of those Europeans who had been killed to be brought to Doundia Khairah (Daundia Khera). The sweepers of Doundia Khairah cut off the heads of the Europeans who had been killed and brought these heads to Doundia Khairah. The heads were afterwards sent to the Nana at Cawnpore. A letter was received by the Baboo from the Nana, praising the Baboo and telling him that

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Babu Ram Bakhsh*, Taluqdar of Daundia Khera." Unnao Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] Chhappar - Thatched Roof.

if the Nana succeeded in his enterprise he would reward the Baboo by giving him lands etc. I accompanied the Baboo when he went to Buxar on the summons of Baboo Judnauth Singh. Judnauth Singh was related to Baboo Rambuksh. There was no enmity between Baboo Rambuksh and Judnauth Singh. Some of the arms belonging to the Europeans were brought to Doundia Khairah. These arms were at once plundered by the soldiers. Tukb (*sic*,) Singh the Baboo's *Naib* was present at the murder of the Europeans. The Nana's sowars, about 200 in number had followed the boat from Cawnpore." Recognizes prisoner.

Re-examined—When the murder of the Europeans took place Baboo Rambuksh was not ill, he was residing at Doundia Khairah.[1]

* * *

Deposition of Lakshman Prasad, Vakil to Babu Ram Bakhsh, taken on Oath on the 26th September 1859, attested by Deputy Commissioner.

"I was at Lucknow when the Europeans were murdered at Buxar. I heard that Judnauth Singh had attacked the Europeans. I do not know whether the Europans had attacked the troops under Judnauth or whether Judnauth Singh first attacked the Europeans. Judnauth Singh was killed. During the rebellion I was Baboo Rambuksh Singh's *Vakeel* at Maharaj Balkishoon's *durbar*. Brijis Kudar had ordered Rambuksh to present himself at Lucknow, when he (Rambuksh) wrote back that he was ill. Rambuksh went to Lucknow subsequently in the month of Sawun to obtain his *Cabooliut*, Judnauth Singh used to complain against Baboo Rambuksh because the latter had designs on Judnauth's estates.[2] Baboo was the more powerful of the two. They were cousins. Buxar belonged to Baboo Rambuksh. He kept a force of about 300 men. He had also 2 or 3 guns. If Baboo Rambuksh had wished to save the Europeans and had endeavoured to place them in his fort, he might perhaps have saved them. At the first settlement on annexation the Baboo lost his villages, but when the rebellion broke out he took possession of them. When-

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Gase *Government vs. Babu Ram Bakhsh*, Taluqdar of Daundia Khera." Unnao Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] See Statement of Babu Ram Bakhsh, p. 677.

ever required Judnauth Singh used to come with his men to the assistance of Baboo Rambuksh. I do not know why Judnauth Singh had come to Buxar which was a village in Baboo Rambuksh's estate."

This *Vakeel* has given his evidence with much difficulty and prevarication pretending to ignore everything that might implicate his former master.[1]

* * *

Statement of Lieutenant H. C. De La Fosse, a participant.

...Before the boats had gone a mile down the stream, half our small party were either killed or wounded, and two of our boats had been swamped. We had now only one boat, crowded with wounded, and having on board more than she could carry. The two guns followed us the whole of the way. The Infantry fired on us the whole of the night. On the second day a gun was seen on the Cawnpore side, and opened on us at Nujufghur (Najafgarh), the Infantry still following us on both sides. On the morning of the 3rd day, the boat was no longer serviceable; we were aground on a sand bank, and had not strength sufficient to move her. Directly any of us got into the water, we were fired upon by 30 or 40 men at a time. There was nothing left for us but to charge and drive them away. So 14 of us were told to go, and do what we could. Directly we got on shore, the insurgents retired but having followed them up too far, we got cut off from the river, but had to go down parallel with it, and came at the river again a mile lower down, where we saw a large force of men right in front waiting for us, and another lot on the other bank of the river. Just by the force in front was a temple. We fired a volley and made for it in which we took shelter, losing one man killed, and one wounded. From the door of the temple we fired on any one of the insurgents that happened to show himself.

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Babu Ram Bakhsh*, Taluqdar of Daundia Khera." Unnao Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

FIGHT AT THE TEMPLE

Finding they could do nothing against us while we remained inside, they heaped wood all round and set it on fire. When we could no longer stay inside on acct. (account) of the smoke and heat, we threw off what clothes we had, and each taking a musket charged through the fire. Seven of us out of twelve got into the water but before we had gone far, two poor fellows were shot. There were only five of us left now and had to swim whilst the insurgents followed us along both banks loading and firing as fast as they could.

FLIGHT OF EUROPEAN FUGITIVES

After we had gone about three miles down the stream one of our Artillerymen to rest himself began swimming on his back, and not perceiving in which direction he was swimming floated to shore and was killed.

When we had got down about six miles, firing on both sides ceased and soon after we were hailed by some natives from the Oude side, who asked us to come on shore and they would take us to their Rajah who treated us kindly, giving us clothes and food. We stayed with him for about a month as he would not let us leave saying the roads were unsafe.

At last he sent us off on the 29th July to the right bank of the river to a *Jamadar* of a village who got us a hackney and we took our departure on the 31st for Allahabad but met the Detachment of the 84th under command of Lieutenant Woodhouse before we had gone ten miles, and marched up with them to Cawnpore.....[1]

BHONDU SINGH'S ALLEGED PARTICIPATION IN BAKSAR EVENT

Translation of a Parwana (32) *addressed to Bhondu Singh, Subedar of the Barker* (17*th*) *Regiment dated* 3 *Zilkadeh* (*Ziqaad*) *in the year* 1273 *Hijri at* 10 *O'clock at night on Friday, corresponding with* 26*th June* 1857.

Health and prosperity to Boondoo Sing (Bhondu Singh) *Subadar* of the Barker (17th) Regiment.

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th October 1857, No. 450. National Archives, New Delhi.

'Your petition regarding your arrival with treasure, and your plan for the seizure of certain sepoys who have absconded, has been received and read. The *Sirkar* Maharajah Bulkishor (doubtful) Buhadoor[1], being pleased with your zeal and bravery, has approved of your deeds and your cleverness; and assuredly what you have done is deserving of praise and approval, and it was certainly proper that you should do something to please your Chief.

As to what you have written regarding the sepoys, a good plan will be made about them when you arrive here, because the *Sirkar* has got thirteen guns, etc., posted in different places.

Having devised measures with you, the runaway sepoys will be searched for and seized.

At this time there are absolutely no English troops remaining here; they sought protection from the *Sirkar*, and said, "Allow us to get into boats and go away;" therefore the *Sirkar* has made arrangements for their going, and by 10 O'clock to-morrow these people will have got into boats and started on the river.

The river on this side is shallow, and on the other side deep. The boats will keep to the other side, and go along for three or four *koss*.

Arrangements for the destruction of these English will not be made here, but as these people will keep near the bank on the other side of the river, it is necessary that you should be prepared, and make a place to kill and destroy them on that side of the river, and having obtained a victory come here.

The *Sirkar* is much pleased with your conduct, and it is very conspicuous, and the English say that they will go in their boats to Calcutta.

Janduce, trooper, who came from you, has also received a *perwunnah*, and been sent back.[2]

* * *

[1] The name appears to be misprinted for 'Maharaja Balkishan Bahadur'.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 21 in No. 2, p. 60.

Letter No. 36 from Captain Gowan, Assistant Commissioner on Special Duty at Camp Fatehpur, to Captain J. H. Chamberlain, Assistant General Superintendent, Lucknow, dated 27th January 1860.

In reply to your letter No. 615 dated the 23rd instant I have the honor to state that the name of Bhondoo Singh is not mentioned in any of the orders or requests issued by the Nanha's (Nana) orders to the 13th Irregular Cavalry and 17th N. I. nor does it appear in any of the complimentary or other letters issued by the Nanha, copies of which are in my possession.[1]

* * *

Extract of a letter from Major J. Gordon, H. M. 5th Frs. Regiment to the address of Captain J. H. Chamberlain, Asst. General Supdt., dated Dinapur, 10th February 1860.

Having seen it mentioned in the newspapers that "Bhoondoo Sing" *Subadar* of the late 17 N. I. is going to be tried by you I think it as well to mention, in case perhaps you should not know it, that in the Nana's letter book which was in my possession for some months, there is the copy of a letter addressed by the Nana to "Bhoondoo Sing" written the night before Sir H. Wheeler's force was to leave in the boats, desiring him to lie in wait with his regiment which was coming up the left bank of the Ganges and send every one of the *Feringhees* to Hell. The letter explained that the English were not to be molested at Cawnpore but, that as the river was shallow on that side the boats must go for 4 or 5 *coss* on the opposite or left side where the water was deeper, and these were doubtless the men who fired into the 3 or 4 that did manage to get away from Cawnpore. I made over the letter book to Mr. Sherer the Magistrate of Cawnpore who I suppose has it still.[2]

SPIES BEHEADED

News from Cawnpoor (Kanpur) appearing on 27th Aug. 1857.

The native inhabitants of the city, especially the Bengalee *Baboos*, were subjected to innumerable distress and oppressions;

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Bhondu Singh*". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] *Ibid.*

the rebels entered their houses under several pretexts and plundered their property; they were obliged for the safety of their lives to shut themselves up in secured houses. Many of the *Baboos* on several occasions concealed themselves in the houses of their servants, etc. At last an order was given by Nana, on the 16th July to apprehend all the Bengalee *Baboos* on the evening of that day or the next morning and kill them, but the arrival of the British troops on the above mentioned day frustrated his designs.

The Baboos were suspected of writing letters to English gentlemen and giving them information, several spies having been apprehended with letters in their possession. The spies were all beheaded on the 14th (*sic*,) July.[1]

FIRST BATTLE OF KANPUR, 16TH JULY 1857

Extracts from letter from Brigadier-General Havelock to the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, dated Kanpur, July 20, 1857.

I have the pleasure to announce that the triumph of the Mahratta pretender, Nena (Nana) Sahib, adopted nephew(*sic*,) of the late ex-Peishwa Bajee Rao, has been of short duration. The treacherous proceedings by which he compassed the destruction of the force under the gallant Sir Hugh Wheeler have already been reported to the Commander-in-Chief. I have now to announce the complete discomfiture of his force, under his personal command, and the capture of his cannon, followed by the reoccupation of this station, which, since the 6th June, he has been devastating and desecrating by every form of cruelty and oppression.

EUROPEANS MURDERED

2*nd*—He filled up the measure of his iniquities on the 15th, for on hearing that the bridge at the Pandoo Nuddee was forced, he ordered the immediate massacre of the wives and children of our British soldiers still in his possession in this cantonment, which was carried out by his followers with every circumstance of barbarous malignity.

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, Aug. 27, 1857, p. 279. National Library, Calcutta. See p. 532 also for this document.

NANA AT AHERWA

3*rd*—My information was in every respect good, and I ascertained that he had taken up a position at the village of Aherwa, where the Grand Trunk Road unites with that which leads direct to the military cantonment of Cawnpore.

NANA'S ARMY

4*th*—His entrenchments cut, and rendered impassable, both roads, and his guns, seven in number, two light and five of siege calibre, were disposed along his position, which consists of a series of villages. Behind these his Infantry, consisting of mutinous troops and his own armed followers, was disposed for defence. It was evident that an attack in front would expose the British to a murderous fire from his heavy gun, sheltered in his entrenchment; I resolved, therefore, to manœuvre to turn his left. My camp and baggage were accordingly kept back, under proper escort, at the village of Maharajpoor[1], and I halted my troops there two or three hours in mango groves to cool and gain shelter from a burning sun.....

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE BATTLE

9*th*—The enemy's Infantry appeared to be everywhere in full retreat, and I had ordered the fire to cease, when a reserved 24-pounder was opened on the Cawnpore Road, which caused considerable loss to my force; and under cover of its fire two large bodies of Cavalry at the same time riding insolently over the plain, the Infantry once more rallied. *The beating of their large drums and numerous mounted officers in front announced the definitive struggle of the Nena (Nana) for his usurped dominion....*

11*th*—But the final crisis approached. My Artillery cattle, wearied by the length of the march, could not bring

[1] *Maharajpur*, Tahsil *Narwal*, District *Cawnpore*—A considerable village standing in 26° 18′ N. and 80° 29′ E., on the Grand Trunk Road at a distance of 13 miles south-east from Cawnpore and seven miles from Narwal with which it is connected by a metalled road leading past the Sirsaul railway station, about two miles distant. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 307).

up the guns to my assistance, and the Ist Madras Fusiliers, 64th, 84th, and 78th detachments, formed in line were exposed to a heavy fire from the 24-pounder on the road. I was resolved this state of things should not last; so calling upon my men, who were lying down in line, to leap on their feet, I directed another steady advance; it was irresistible. The enemy sent round-shot into our ranks until we were within 300 yards, and then poured in grape with such precision and determination as I have seldom witnessed. But the 64th, led by Major Stirling and by my *Aide-de-camp*, who had placed himself in their front, were not to be denied. Their rear showed the ground strewed with wounded, but on they steadily and silently came; then with a cheer charged and captured the unwieldy trophy of their valour....

NANA RETIRES TO BITHOOR

13th—The fruits of this victory I shall have afterwards to describe. Our troops had been thirteen hours in their bivouac when a tremendous explosion shook the earth. *Nena (Nana) Sahib, in full retreat to Bithoor, had blown up the Cawnpore magazine.*

Ist BATTLE OF BITHOOR

The first movements of the Mahratta indicated a determination to defend himself desperately. Reports from the front assured us that he had assembled 5,000 men, and placed 45 guns in position for the defence of his stronghold. But his followers have since dispersed and I have taken possession of Bithoor without a shot....[1]

FIRST BATTLE OF KANPUR IN FULL SWING

Early on the morning of the 16th the troops rose and fell into their ranks. It was reported in the camp that the women and children, 210 in number, who had survived the massacre of the 27th of June, were still alive at Cawnpore, and that town was only twenty three miles distant. The animating

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 38 in No. 2, pp. 69 to 71.

hope of rescuing them from destruction, banished every sense of fatigue. As the day advanced, the heat became more intense than the troops had experienced it since they marched from Allahabad, and the rays of the sun darted down as if they had been concentrated through a lens. Thus, they marched sixteen miles before they came to halt at the village of Maharajpore, where they rested for three hours and obtained a meal, though in too many cases it consisted, as before, where the meal had become offensive, only of biscuit and porter (*sic*,).

The Volunteer Cavalry, who had been thrown out as an advanced picket, sent in two travellers they had met in their progress. They turned out to be two sepoys of the Bengal Army, who continued faithful to the Government. One of them had come down from Delhi, and gave the latest account of the progress of the siege; both had marched with the rebels from Cawnpore the previous day, and spent the night in their Camp. They were intimately acquainted with the force and position of the enemy, of which they gave the details to the minutest particular. The Nana had come out in person with a body of 5000 men and eight guns, to play his last stake for power. The position which he had chosen was a most formidable one. His left, covered by the Ganges, a mile distant, and by the high ground sloping towards it, was defended by four 24-pounders. The road to the cantonment of Cawnpore divided his left from his centre, which was posted in a low hamlet. Here a 24-pounder howitzer and a horse 6-pounder were planted and entrenched. The great Trunk Road ran between his centre and his right, which was behind a village encompassed with mango groves, surrounded by a mud wall, and defended by two 9-pounders. The rail road embankment lay to the right of it. The two roads met about 800 yards in front of the enemy's position, which extended over a mile and a quarter in the form of a crescent, the centre more retired than the flanks. The Nana calculated that our force would necessarily come up the Grand Trunk Road to this point of convergence, and all his Artillery was laid and pointed to sweep, the range having been carefully measured and marked off. His Infantry was massed in support of the guns to defend this strong position, and the mutinous 2nd Cavalry was placed in the rear of the enemy's left. It was evident that any attempt to carry this position by a *coup-de-main* would entail a most serious loss of life, for the Artillery of the enemy equalled our

own in number, and outweighed it in calibre, and they enjoyed the immense advantage of an entrenched cover. It would have been the case of Ferozeshuhur over again; the General, therfore, determined to turn their position. The Volunteer Cavalry was directed to bring in some of the neighbouring villagers, who were minutely and separately questioned as to the nature of the ground on both the enemy's flanks, and the bye roads leading to their camp. From a careful collation of these reports, it appeared that the ground lying between the enemy's left and the river was more elevated, while that on their right was low and swampy, and moreover commanded by the railway embankment. The General resolved, therefore, to select their left flank for his attack, and to leave his field hospital, baggage, and camp followers in an enclosure at Maharajpore, with a strong guard and two guns....[1]

* * *

For three miles the Column moved steadily on the road, and then wheeled to the right, while the Volunteer Cavalry drew the fire of the enemy's guns on itself. The Infantry marched for a thousand yards under shelter of the groves, and unseen by the enemy; but a gap in the trees at length betrayed the movement, and the enemy opened with every gun that could bear on the flank of the 78th Highlanders, and the 64th, and inflicted some loss. Not a shot was fired in return; the Column advanced silently and compactly as on parade, and the stillness was only broken by the bursting shells of the enemy, and the imprecations of the bullock-drivers, as they urged their cattle to the utmost speed. At length the movement became intelligible to the enemy, who appeared to be filled with surprise and consternation, and made a hasty attempt to change front to meet it; but it was now too late. The rear of our Column having cleared the groves, the Companies wheeled at a bound into line. The force at once advanced in direct echelon[2] of battalions from the right, the 78th, the leading battalion, being supported by four guns on each flank, and by

[1] Marshman, J. C., *Memoirs of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock*; (London 1860), pp. 304-306.

[2] In the Original text, the spelling is given as "echellon".

the whole of the Madras Fusiliers in skirmishing order. Our Artillery at once opened fire, pushing forward as rapidly as the exhaustion of the cattle and the broken nature of the ground would permit. By this master-stroke, the fire of the enemy's centre and right was neutralised as they could not use their guns without endangering their left. But it soon became evident to the General that this action must be decided, not by Artillery, but by the bayonet. The three 24-pounders of the enemy's left, rapidly and skilfully served, carried death through the ranks. Sheltered as they were by the trees and buildings, amidst which they were posted, our light pieces in vain endeavoured to silence them. To delay the advance of the Infantry would have been to afford the enemy the opportunity they coveted of changing their position, and bringing their remaining guns into action.....The enemy's left was now crushed. Rushing in confusion to the rear, their Infantry appeared to break into two bodies; one taking the road to the Cawnpore cantonment, and halting at the distance of a few hundred yards, the other falling back to the centre of their position, and rallying round and behind the howitzer placed there. Five minutes elapsed in reforming the troops breathless and broken by the rush....Led by their noble commander, Captain Barrow, with waving swords and loud cheers they dashed on and deep did they dye their swords in the blood of the enemy. At length the little band was obliged to pull up, when they found their number diminished by one-third; one trooper had been killed, and another wounded; two horses were killed, and two unable to move from wounds. As they drew rein, they were rewarded for their gallantry by the ringing plaudits of the Infantry, who had witnessed their exploit, and the approving smile of the General as he exclaimed, "Well done, Gentlemen Volunteers; you have done well. I am proud to command you". At the same time the 64th and 84th, and the Sikhs, pushing further to the left, encountered the right of the enemy's position, overcame all opposition, and captured the two guns which strengthened it.....

As our troops were halted for a few moments to re-form, a heavy fire was opened on them from the village in which fugitives had rallied.....The enemy appeared to be in full retreat to Cawnpore, followed by our exhausted troops, when a reserve 24-pounder planted on the road, and aided

by two smaller guns, reopened a withering fire on our advancing line. *It was here that the Nana had determined to make his final stand for the possession of Cawnpore, from which fresh troops had poured forth to his assistance.* He was seen riding about among his soldiers, the band and the buglers striking up as he approached. The greatest animation pervaded the enemy's ranks. The din of their drums, the shouts of their Cavalry, and the booming of their guns, were sufficient to affect the minds of the troops, lying down as they were to afford time for our own guns, which were a mile in the rear, to come up. This temporary pause in our advance emboldened the enemy; their Infantry prepared to advance; and the Cavalry stretching out in the form of a crescent menaced the small body of our troops, whom the casualties of the day, and large detachments, had reduced to about 800.

The General's horse had been shot, but he mounted a hack, and coming up in front of that rain of fire, in a clear and firm tone issued the order to rise for a last advance. "At the word forward," says an eye-witness, "the ardour and impetuosity of the troops rose to a height almost resembling frenzy. The 64th was the leading regiment of the echellon (*sic*,-echelon) and as it advanced, the gun swept its ranks and from thirty to forty fell before the corps reached the muzzle." The General, describing the scene, said :— "But the final crisis arrived. My Artillery cattle, wearied by the length of the march, could not bring up the guns to my assistance, and the Madras Fusiliers, the 64th, 84th, and 78th detachments, formed in line, were exposed to a heavy fire from the 24-pounder on the road. I was resolved this state of things should not last; so calling upon my men, who were lying down in line, to leap on their feet, I directed another steady advance. It was irresistible. The enemy sent round shot into our ranks until we were within three hundred yards, and then poured in grape with such precision and determination, as I have seldom witnessed. But the 64th, led by Major Stirling and by my *aid*[1]*-de-camp*, who had placed himself in their front, were not to be denied, their rear showed the ground strewed with wounded; but on they steadily and silently came, then with a cheer charged and captured the

[1] It should be 'aide'.

unwieldy trophy of their valour.[1] The enemy lost all heart, and after a hurried fire of musketry gave way in total rout. Four of my guns came up, and completed their discomfiture by a heavy cannonade and as it grew dark the roofless barracks of our Artillery were dimly descried in advance and it was evident that Cawnpore was once more in our possession."[2]

GALLANT DEFENCE OF BITHOOR

Letter from Brigadier-General Havelock to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Bithoor, August 17, 1857.

I have to request the favour of your informing the Commander-in-Chief that I marched to this place yesterday.

The mutineers of the 31st and 42nd, from Saugor, the 17th, from Fyzabad, and sepoys of other regiments, with troops of the 2nd Light Cavalry and 3rd Irregulars, united to a portion of Nena (Nana) Sahib's troops, were, with two guns in one of the strongest positions I have ever seen : they numbered 4,000 men. The plain, densely covered with thicket, and flanked by villages, has two streams flowing through it not fordable by troops of any arm, and only to be crossed by two narrow bridges the furthest of which was protected by an entrenchment armed with Artillery : the road takes a turn after passing the second bridge, which protects the defenders from direct fire; and behind are the narrow streets and brick houses of Bithoor. I must do the mutineers the justice to pronounce *that they fought obstinately*; otherwise they could not for a whole hour have held their own, even with such advantages of ground, against my powerful Artillery-fire; the streams prevented my turning them, and my troops were received, in assaulting the position, by a heavy rifle and musketry fire from the rifle and battalion Companies engaged; but, after a severe struggle, the enemy were driven back; their guns captured, and Infantry chased off the field, in full retreat

[1] *cf.*—Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 38 in No. 2, para 11.

[2] Marshman, J. C., : *Memoirs of Henry Havelock*, pp. 307 to 311.

towards Scorajpore (Sheorajpur). Had I possessed Cavalry, not a rebel or mutineer could have reached that place alive; as it is, they shall not long remain there unmolested.

The loss of the enemy is estimated at 250 killed and wounded; mine is 49, and my numbers are further reduced by sunstroke and cholera.

I inclose a sketch of the position; Returns of killed and wounded, and captured ordnance.[1]

* * *

Return of Ordnance captured in the two Actions of the 15th of July, and the Action of the 16th July 1857, signed by T. C. Maud, Captain, Horse Artillery, Commanding Artillery, Camp Cawnpore (Kanpur), dated July 21, 1857.

Brought into Camp.

July	15th :—	1	24-pounder iron gun.
,,		1	24-pounder iron carronade.
,,		2	6-pounder brass guns.
July	16th :—	2	24-pounder iron guns.
,,		1	24-pounder iron carronade and limber.
,,		2	12-pounder iron guns.
,,		1	9-pounder brass gun.
,,		2	6-pounder brass guns (found since the action)
Total		12	

	Guns
Total of above	12
Captured on the 12th	12
Brought in from Bithoor	20
Grand Total	44[2]

* * *

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 36 in No. 3, p. 149.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 40 in No. 2, p. 73.

List of Ordnance captured at Bithoor on the 19th July, 1857. Signed by T. N. Harward, Lieutenant, Commanding Bengal Artillery.

1	24-pounder iron gun.
1	12-pounder iron carronade.
1	9-pounder brass gun.
7	6-pounder brass guns.
2	6-pounder brass guns, dismounted.
1	5⅝-inch brass mortar.
1	3-pounder brass gun.
4	3-pounder brass guns, different pattern.
1	1-pounder brass gun.
1	model gun.
Total 20[1]	

NANA RETIRES TOWARDS TIKAPUR GHAT

Extract from the Statement of Appa Shastree.

.....A short time after this, when European troops reached Cawnpoor from Allahabad, and the Nana was defeated, he came back to Bithoor and taking away his valuables, retreated towards Teekapoor Ghat, and the European troops came into Bithoor. The Nana left during the night and I quitted the *thanah* the next morning, had the re-establishment of the British rule proclaimed, and prevented Government property being removed from the palace. When General Havelock reached Bithoor, I sent to him Appa Jee Punth, and gave intimation of the Government property which the son of Narain Rao *Subadar* had removed, and whatever Government property I could collect I made over to them.

Question—What became of the lady who was kept in the *Burra Sahib's* house ?

Answer—The day that the Nana left Bithoor, the guard placed over her put her to death by his orders.

Question—Where is Bulwant Rao (Balwant Rao), the brother of the Bace, now ?

Answer—He is at Gwalior.

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure No. 37 in No. 2, p. 69.

Question—When Koosaba Khuranee-gir, and Koondo Punth, accompanied the Europeans from Bithoor, did you see them ?

Answer—I did not see them go with the Gentlemen, but when Koosaba Khiranee-gir[1] returned, he told me he had gone in company with the Europeans to Cawnpoor. He is still here, and will not I think tell a falsehood, if put on oath.

Question—Where is Koondo Punth ?

Answer—He left this in company with the Nana.

Question—Do you know anything further regarding the Nana's doings ?

Answer—Whatever news of the consultations and proceedings of the Nana reached Rao, was communicated to me by the Baee's brother Bulwunt Rao, and her elder brother; and I conveyed this intelligence to Lalla Nanuck Chund's (Lala Nanak Chand) Agent, through Teeka Jee Punth, who is now at Bithoor.

Question—How long did the 45 Europeans remain at Bithoor ?

Answer—They only remained at Bithoor for one night, in the *Burra Sahib's* house.

Question—Did Koosaba Khiranee-gir, tell you the number of ladies and children ?

Answer—He did mention it to me, but I do not recollect now, he will be able to give a correct account.

Question—What other news did you convey to Lalla Nanuck Chund, and what was your motive for doing so ?

Answer—I with several others were in the service of the Peishwa's widows, and engaged in fighting out their case against the Nana. I was therefore convinced that as the Nana's rule was predominant, there was no chance of any of us being spared. I was also confident that in a short time the British rule would be re-established and if the Nana were taken alive, such record would be very useful. Lalla Nanuck Chund is the Baee's Agent, I therefore sent him all the news I could collect.

Question—Was there a woman named Begum in the Nana's service ?

[1] Spelt as 'Khuranee Gir' above and 'Ghiranee Gir' on p. 535.

Answer—Yes there was a slave girl of the Peishwa's time, named Hosseinee, who was called Begum.[1]

ATTACK ON KANPUR APPREHENDED

Letter dated Aug. 1st, 1857.

Cawnpore quiet, but hourly expect to be attacked by the Gwalior and Futtehghar (Fatehgarh) rebels who are making preparations for moving on the place.[2]

* * *

Letter dated Aug. 2nd, 1857.

Here we are still in our old place, entrenching ourselves and making ourselves as strong as we can to resist the enemy, who are going to make us all into curry directly. I am in great hopes that they will attack us here,.....[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT NAWABGANJ

Telegraphic Message from Chester to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Allahabad, August 6, 1857, 10-40 A. M.

The following is an extract from a letter just received from Brigadier Neill, dated Cawnpore, 4th instant :—

"I have just heard from the General that he has drawn the enemy out. They are now at Nawabgunge. That he marches instantly, hoping to attack them early to-morrow. This is all right. Please telegraph it to Governor General and Commander-in-Chief as from me."[4]

SECOND BATTLE OF KANPUR

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier-General Havelock to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Kanpur, August 19, 1857, 1-10 P. M.

There is a combination against us, which will require our

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore. Deposition No. 39, pp. 81-82.

[2] & [3] Groom : *With Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow*, (1857), pp. 58-59. (Letters written to his wife by William T. Groom, an officer in the Ist Madras Fusiliers).

[4] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 53 in No. 2, p. 80.

best exertions to baffle. The troops from Oude have come down to the left bank, and will threaten Cawnpore, meanwhile boats are collecting at Futtehpore to enable a portion of their troops to cross there and interrupt the communication with Allahabad; whilst the Gwalior Contingent (strong in Artillery, and provided with a siege-train) passes at Calpee, and attacks by diminished force. I will do my best against them, but the risk is great.

I have sent the steamer down to destroy the boats at Futtehpore. I should bring into the field 8 good guns, but the enemy are reported to have from 29 to 30. These are great odds, and my 900 soldiers may be opposed to 5,000 organized troops. *The loss of a battle would ruin everything in this part of India.* I could entice the enemy at Calpee, and prevent their crossing the Jumna, or permit them to cross, and drive them back into it, if my force were adequate to the effort, but it is fearfully weak and disease daily diminishes my numbers.

As I am told in the camp that Your Excellency has heard nothing of my movements since the 4th of the month, I will mention that, hitherto, everything has gone on prosperously I struck a heavy blow against the Oude troops on the 12th at Busherutgunge—third fight there, and re-crossed the Ganges that day in less than six hours, without the slightest interruption. On the 16th I defeated the Saugor troops at Bithoor, and destroyed everything there.

I will make head against this new danger with the like determination; but without reinforcements. I do only hope for success.[1]

SECOND BATTLE OF BITHOOR

Extract from the letter dated Entrenched Camp, Cawnpore (Kanpur), 18th Aug. 1857.

...The force went to Bithoor yesterday to turn out the 42nd B. N. I., the 2nd Cavalry, and some Oude Regiment that has occupied the place. Fusiliers had seven killed and

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 110 in No. 2, p. 105.

five wounded; 78th thirteen wounded, and one officer. It was a sharp affair.[1]

ENTRENCHED CAMP TO BE ABANDONED

Extract from the letter dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), Aug. 20, 1857.

.....The camp which has been entrenched near the river, where all the sick live and all our food and ammunition is (*sic*,) stored, is to be abandoned, and a new position taken up.[2]

EUROPEANS MUCH EXHAUSTED

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Neill to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Kanpur, August 19, 1857, (4-50 P. M.).

Require every man we can get. Would like one regiment Madras Native Infantry. Parties of the enemy on opposite bank of river, in sight of this; also collecting boats to cross twelve miles down. Steamer gone to destroy them. Havelock encamped near Native Cavalry line. Europeans much used up; imperative they should be rested, and not exposed; they are not equal to a few miles' march; 346 in hospital, 7 officers sick, also 120 convalescent —total, 17 officers and 466 men, non-effective. The sooner a permanent work to secure our stores, magazines etc. is commenced upon, the better; the permanent side will never do (*sic*,). Think the Artillery carriages the best.[3]

GWALIOR REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS KANPUR

Telegraphic Message from Chester to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated August 20, 1857, (12.45 P. M.).

On 8th instant, the rebels' powder factory in Delhi was blown up by a shell : 500 artificers said to have been

[1] Groom : *With Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow*, (1857), published in 1894, London.; p. 77. (Letters written to his wife by William T. Groom, an officer in the 1st Madras Fusiliers).

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

[3] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 109 in No. 2, p. 105.

killed. The Gwalior insurgents are said to be meditating a junction with the Oude rebels by crossing Jumna at Calpee, and moving towards Cawnpore. Captain Nixon requests me to beg Supreme Government to push on two squadrons of Dragoons, and one European battery from Mhow to Agra, via Neemuch and Nusseerabad, that side being quite open.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier-General Havelock to the Commander-in-Chief dated Kanpur, August 20, 1857, (7 P. M.).

I was appointed to the command of the force above designated in July last. Between the 12th of that month and the present date I have been engaged with the enemy at Futtehpore, Pandoo Nuddy, Cawnpore, in Oude, at Oonoo (Unnao) twice, at Busserutgunge, at Boorjah (Boorea) kee chowkee, and Bithoor. On every occasion I had defeated him and captured in the field forty guns, besides recovered for the State sixty more. But I was unable for want of troops to march on Lucknow.

My force, which lost men in action, and has been assailed in the most awful way by cholera, is reduced to 700 in the field, exclusive of detachments which guard the entrenchments here, and keep open communication with Allahabad. *I am threatened by a force of* 5,000 *men from Gwalior*, with some twenty or thirty guns. I am ready to fight anything, but the above are great odds, and a battle lost here would do the interest of the State much damage. I solicit Your Excellency to send me reinforcements. I can then assure the initiative, and march to Agra and Delhi wherever my services may be required. With 2,000 British soldiers nothing could stand before me and my powerful Artillery. I shall soon have equipped eighteen guns, six of siege calibre; but I want Artillery-men and officers, and Infantry soldiers.[2]

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 116 in No. 2, p. 107.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 118 in No. 2, pp. 107 and 108.

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES COMBINE

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier-General Havelock to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), August 21, 1857, (12-30 P. M.).

I cannot express the gratification with which I have perused Your Excellency's telegram of the 19th instant, which has just reached me. The approbation of my operations and views conveyed to me by so distinguished a soldier, more than repay me for the labours and responsibilities of two arduous campaigns, undertaken, of necessity, at a most unpropitious season; my soldiers will as highly and deeply value Your Excellency's commendation. I am for the present unable to give them shelter from the extreme inclemency of the weather and the repose of which they stand in need; but sickness continues in our ranks. We lose men by cholera in the number of six daily. I will frankly make known to Your Excellency my prospects for the future. If I can receive prompt reinforcements, so as to make up my force to 2,000 or 2,500 men, I can hold this place with a high hand; protect my communications with anything that comes against me, and be ready to take part in active operations on the cessation of the rains. I may be attacked from Gwalior by the mutinous contingent, with 5,000 men and 30 guns, or by the Goorkhas which are assembling at Furruckabad under rebellious Nabobs (Nawabs), which have also a formidable Artillery; but as they can partly unite, I can defeat either or both in fights; but if regiments cannot be sent me, *I see no alternative but abandoning for a time the advantages I have gained in this part of India and retiring upon Allahabad*, where everything will be organised for a triumphant advance in the cold season. It is painful to repeat that, in the latter event, Cawnpore and the surrounding countries, in fact the whole Doab, would be abandoned to rapine and misery, and Agra will fall unsupported. I do not consider that our force would be compromised, for in truth the case* of the operation is, strange to say, like the Punjab. I have endeavoured briefly to state my case, and must leave the decision of the important question involved in it to Your Excellency.[1]

*"*Sic*' in the original" —Note in Original.

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 125 in No. 2, p. 109.

RETREAT FROM KANPUR CONTEMPLATED

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to Major-General James Outram, dated Calcutta, August 23, 1857, 11-15 A. M.

Since my telegram to you of 11-45 last night (August 22) urging the immediate dispatch to Allahabad and Cawnpore of the 90th Regiment, and, if possible, also of the detachment of the 5th Regiment, on board the "Benares" steamer, I have received two fresh telegrams from General Havelock, pressing for reinforcements. He states, *unless immediate reinforcements are promised by telegraph, he must at once abandon Cawnpore and fall back on Allahabad.*

His loss by cholera was 6 men daily, and he had lost 2 officers on the 20th by the same disease. His sick in hospital were 331, principally cholera and wounds. The Gwalior force, noted at 5,000 men, with 30 guns, had crossed the Jumna.

I will send you, by post, copies of all his recent telegrams addressed to the Commander-in-Chief. This includes those to General Grant, as well as to myself.

I believe the troops, not only in the Dinapore, but also in the Cawnpore Division, have been placed under your orders, and you should therefore be acquainted with all that has recently taken place in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore.[1]

CONTEMPORARY PRESS ON KANPUR INCIDENTS

Extract from 'The Friend of India'.

.....For some time the prisoners retained by Nana Sahib were treated with great rigour, *but having obtained instructions from Delhi*, he supplied them with clean gowns and better food.....Here is Nana Sahib, a man who prided himself upon his nearness to western civilisation, who could speak English, who had acquired a smattering of English Literature, and could reason about the rights of man, and representative institutions. He could clamour for political freedom, and yet commit a crime which would have disgraced

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 135 in No. 2, p. 113.

the court of a Surajah Dowlah[1]. He spoke two or three languages, was intelligent and shrewd. If he had gone to England he would have been courted and honoured. What a pity he rebelled; his services as Assistant Commissioner or Deputy Collector would have been invaluable.....[2]

SWEEPERS' POLICE AT BITHOOR

Telegraphic Message from Chester to Lieutenant Brown, dated Allahabad, September 4, 1857, (2-45 P. M.).

The following is an extract of a letter from Brigadier Neill to me from Cawnpore, 3rd instant—"News five days old. I believe authentic, from Lucknow, by *cossid*; our people in good health, and all right; have driven mine under house near their walls, from which they had been much annoyed by enemies' sharp-shooters, between 100 and 200 of whom had been blown up; our people sallied out, and spiked one of the large guns. It is also said that the sepoys of the besieging force are leaving for their homes. The Gwalior troops remain quiet, and are not expected to move for some time, if at all. All quiet at Cawnpore, only we have no *military occupation of the country to the west beyond Bhitoor (Bithoor), which is held by the Nena's (Nana's) civil officers.* The Sweepers' Police have re-established our authority at Bhitoor (Bithoor), and also got the fort of Sul Kynee, in the Calpee road."[3]

[1] Appears referring to 'Siraj-ud-daula'.

[2] *The Friend of India*, July to Dec. 1857 Vol., Sept. 3, 1857 issue, pp. 839-840, under the heading "The Insurrection". National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 124 in No. 3, p. 193.

cf. Gubbins : *The Mutiny in Oudh*, p. 374:—

"News was received on the 10th Oct. (1857) through Captain Bruce, the Military Magistrate at Cawnpore, of the action fought at Boolundshahur by Brigadier Greatheds' column. Anticipating its early arrival Captain Bruce proposed to join it with a hundred of his "low-caste police". He had raised at Cawnpore a police force, consisting solely of men of the lowest caste, viz. "Mehturs," or sweepers, and I understand that they had been found exceedingly useful. Whether, however, it would be desirable to extend further this principle of enlisting the lowest caste men only, into our new police, certainly admits of a doubt....."

RENEWED ACTIVITY BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Extract from the letter dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), September 8th, 1857.

.....The enemy have again begun to work at their batteries on the other side of the river, and I hear had a regular parade this morning with colours flying, and only three regiments and about 400 each.[1]

OUTRAM ARRIVES IN KANPUR

The Narrative transmitted by the mail despatched on the 10th instant containing the news received upto that date (Signed by R. I. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, dated Fort William, the 24th of September 1857).

Cawnpore Sir James Outram with the 5th Fusiliers, Her Majesty's 90th Regiment and Eyre's[2] Battery had arrived on 16th September. The troops crossed the Ganges for an advance on Lucknow on the morning of the 19th; no opposition, skirmishing only with advanced posts.[3]

LUCKNOW GARRISON TO KANPUR

Extract from the letter dated September 18, 1857.

.....The garrison of Lucknow are now marching to Cawnpoor under the protection of some powerful Rajahs and *zemindars*.[4]

AUCTION PURCHASERS WOOED

Letter from C. Chester, the Commissioner of Allahabad, to the Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, dated Allahabad, October 3, 1857.

Cawnpore : *September* 30 Sherer's precis of important

[1] Groom : *With Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow*, (1857), p. 97. (Letters written to his wife by William T. Groom, an officer in the Ist Madras Fusiliers).

[2] Can be read as 'Gyers' also.

[3] (Original) Military Consultations, A, No. 410 of 25th September 1857. National Archives, New Delhi.

[4] Groom : *With Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow*, (1857) p. 109. (Letters written to his wife by William T. Groom, an officer in the Ist Madras Fusiliers).

events for the week ending 26th September was received today. It contains strange doctrine in regard to ex-zemindars and auction purchasers. Sherer seems to think that fear of the former should induce us to act with injustice to the latter. There can be no doubt, I think, that all rebellious ex-zemindars ought to be appropriately punished, and all auction purchasers reinstated in their property. The precis is submitted in original.

Cawnpore : *October* 2- Received Sherer's report of daily occurrences for 28th ultimo. The *thannah* at Sheorajpore had been driven in by the remains of the 42nd Native Infantry who crossed over from Oude. Bills on Calcutta at eleven days' sight were at seven rupees per cent premium. The Sumpthur Rajah had sent in Mr. Thornton, an uncovenanted Deputy Collector of Jhansi, and Mrs. Hemmings and family. The Calpee Rao offered no opposition, but an escort of 500 Sumpthur men, with a gun, accompanied Mr. Thornton and party, which probably induced the Rao to keep quiet.....

Cawnpore : *October* 2- Sherer reports at 2 A. M. of the 28th ultimo, a party of the 42nd Native Infantry, aided by Suttee Pershad, the Rajah of Sheorajpore, attacked the *thannah* at Bithoor, and killed several of the Police. This contretemps is chiefly attributable to Pursidhnuraen (Prasidh Narain), who was sent to Bithoor to superintend the Police and keep them vigilant; instead of which he had a great feast, getting drunk himself, and causing his subordinates to follow his beastly example. I have ordered his immediate suspension, and trial for gross neglect of duty, and being drunk on his post....[1]

DELHI REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS KANPUR

Telegraphic Message from Colonel Wilson to the Chief of the Staff, dated Kanpur, October 16, 1857, (2 *P. M.*).

Further intelligence regarding march of Delhi mutineers received from the Magistrate; they number about 300, and have 14 guns; they will probably reach Bithoor today, thirty-two miles. Certain information of their being

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 6 in No. 10, pp. 263-264.

at Urewal on the 15th; they have eighty men and much treasure. Their intention is to cross over to Oude; they are dispirited and badly provided. I had intended to march a force to Sheerapore, when certain intelligence of their approach towards and near Sheerapore was received. Sheerapore is twenty miles from here. I wish to prevent their menacing Bithoor, eleven miles distant, or crossing at their ease in Oude with their guns; but your message about the Alumbagh supplies, state of the road, etc. altered my plans.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Banaras, October 18, 1857. (P.R. M.).

On the 17th October the Delhi fugitives were in the Cawnpore district, but within twenty miles of the Cawnpore station. How much further off, not stated. They are reported at between 3,000 and 1,000 fighting men, with 14 guns and 80 elephants, and a quantity of plunder. The Nena (Nana) was still at Futtehpore Chowrassee.[2]

NANA SAHEB RETIRES TO FATEHPUR CHAURASI

Narrative of Events from Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated October 22, 1857.

Cawnpore - All well at Cawnpore. Great exertions making to collect supplies and stores, and forward them to Alumbagh. The collection of supplies was progressing satisfactorily; carts and stretchers were being made up. The Cawnpore district was generally quiet and undisturbed except by a few paltry *zemindars* and plundering parties. The Nena (Nana) had retired with a few Cavalry, from Lucknow to Futtehpore Chowrassee, and was said to be about to cross to meet the Gwalior mutineers. A body of the Delhi fugitives, hampered with sick, and marching down in separate bodies,

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 221 in No. 2, p. 119.

[2] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 255 in No. 2, p. 128.

from the scarcity of supplies, with some guns, elephants, and treasure, having arrived near Bithoor, where the Nena (Nana) had been inducing them to join him Colonel Wilson moved out on the 18th with a small force towards Sheorajpore. They reached the place, drove the enemy out with hardly more than a nominal resistance. They followed them up for two miles, and continued a mile and a half further on with some sowars but could not overtake them. No guns taken, but some ordnance stores; our casualties are seven or eight.[1]

THIRD BATTLE OF KANPUR

Narrative of Events from the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated Military Department, December 10, 1857, (No. 31).

1ST DIVISION ENGAGED, 26TH NOVEMBER 1857

Cawnpore - Major-General Windham attacked the 1st Division of the Gwalior Contingent, above eight miles from Cawnpore, on the 26th November. It consisted of upwards of 3,000 men, with two 18-inch howitzers and two field-guns. After a sharp fight of an hour and a half they were completely routed, and all but one light gun captured.

MAIN FORCE ATTACKS NAWABGANJ, 27TH NOVEMBER 1857

The Gwalior Contingent attacked Nawabgunge on the 27th. The British troops were obliged to retire into the entrenchment, and on the same night the rebels burnt down the camps of the 34th, 82nd, and 88th Regiments, and on the 28th they attacked the entrenchment. A sortie made against the assailants from the canal was most successful; the 60th Rifles beat back the rebels, and brought in two of their heavy guns. On the right the 64th Regiment suffered severely. Brigadier Wilson was killed, and Major Stirling and Captain Murphy badly wounded.[2]

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 2, p. 48.

[2] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 4, p. 148.

Telegraphic Message from the Commissioner of Allahabad to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Allahabad, December 1, 1857.

The Gwalior Contingent attacked Nawabgunge, near Cawnpore, on the 27th ultimo. The British troops retired into the entrenchment, and on the night of the 27th the rebels burnt down the camp of the 34th, 82nd, and 88th Regiments. On the 28th they attacked the entrenchments from the Canal and the Subadar's Tank. A sortie made against the assailants from the Canal was most successful. The Rifles beat back the rebels, and brought in two of their 18-pounder guns. The fire of the rebels from the Subadar's Tank was also quite silenced, but our extreme right and the 64th Regiment suffered very severely. Brigadier Wilson is killed, and Major Stirling badly wounded.

Sir Colin Campbell arrived at Cawnpore at 5 P. M. of the 28th.

The ladies and children of the Lucknow garrison encamped four miles from Cawnpore.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated 21st January 1858.

"Sir, What more shall I say about myself. The state of affairs here has since assumed a comparatively favourable aspect, and I am doing my duty as usual. But then the mind is laboring under the great anxiety, anxiety for the restoration of order and tranquillity in these disturbed districts. The enormous rise in the prices of articles has put the poorer classes to unspeakable straits, and our share in the misfortune was and is by no means inconsiderable. On the 27th of November, the rebels and other scoundrels (a great many in number) fully equipped, *made an united attack upon Cawnpore and having laid the city under a siege, put themselves in a manner in possession of the place.* I was at office when this affair took place, and neither I nor any of my fellow officers had an opportunity of returning to our homes. With tears in our eyes, and the name of the Almighty in our mouths, constantly

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies,* 1858, Inclosure 67 in No. 4, p. 183.

repeated to save us from the impending peril; we took shelter in the earthen fortification lately erected by our rulers *where almost all our countrymen remained in quaking fear for their lives.* The firing continued ten days without intermission; and so deep and terrible indeed was the noise of the Artillery that not a soul of us could stir either hand or foot but remained shrunk up in trembling suspense like a tortoise in its shell. Many a ball and bullet flew hissing over our heads into the river, and our preservation on that eventful day might well be compared to that of a stag, who finding himself, all at once, in the midst of a flaming wilderness, is saved in the end by an unexpected and God's sent shower. The rain of balls was thick enough to intercept sight, and the thundering noise of the cannon did not rest even for a moment. Here let me ouce (*sic*, once) thank the Great Disposer of events whose mercy is enough to shield us from the most imminent and inevitable dangers. I cannot however flatter myself with the idea that our deliverance was the result of our own good fortune. It was strongly indicative of the fortune and prowess of our British rulers and as such alone it must be viewed. Nine suns had thus rolled away and when the tenth appeared, he appeared with peace and victory on his (*sic*, side. Our Commander-in-Chief, so renowned for his skill, and so successful in all his operations arrived from Oude and made a most gallant and furious move upon the enemy. The rebels were confronted on all sides, and unable to stand the heavy firing that was directed against them and which lasted for five hours dispersed at dusk, not a little struck with the superior valor and tactics of their noble adversary. They were made a good account of and pursued a distance of about twelve miles, falling before our troops like corn before the reaper. The rascals left all goods and chattels behind them and it is not known which way they fled. Subjoined is a Return of stores captured by us on the occasion.

Ammunition Waggons.....about 200
Bullocks.....from 4 to 500
Cannons.....from 52 to 55
Guns ..... innumerable

besides a great many cooking and other utensils, clothes, ropes, and an immeasurable quantity of *ghee*, sugar, flour, wheat, gram etc., etc., etc., the greater portion of which is still lying without the city and is being gradually brought in.

In conclusion I have to inform you that we have all been sadly ruined. The nine days, during which the city was in the hands of the insurgents, were days of fearful plunder, in which we Bengalees were by far the greater sufferers than the Hindoostanees. A number of our native fellow officers and myself used to dwell and still do dwell together and we have nothing left us save a suit of clothes each. Our countryman, Baboo Hullodhur Bose, was at his house when the scoundrels came in and his losses in consequence were not very great. Baboo Luckhinarain Mitter has not a bit of thread in his possession and I can assure you that the condition of all other Bengalees is equally terrific; not to speak of Baboo Bissumbhur Ghose who with others connected with him have actually been stripped bare and naked. It is fortunate however that we have not lost our lives. Heaven alone is witness to the extreme wretchedness of our lot in those days, we would certainly have died of hunger and thirst had it not been for the plentiful supply of water which we had from the adjacent stream. There is very little to fear for the present, although we have been reduced to an unusual state of destitution and distress."—Correspondent of *The Probhakur* from Cawnpore.[1]

BRITISH COMPELLED TO RETIRE INTO THE ENTRENCHMENT, 28TH NOV. 1857

Extract from the Letter from Brigadier Carthew, Commanding Madras Troops, to the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, Kanpur, dated Kanpur, December 1, 1857.

...On advancing and clearing the front line of trees, I was desirous, and endeavoured, to push the whole of my party across the plain in front, to charge the enemy's guns, but as their Infantry still occupied the broken ground of other huts, and my force without support, it could not be done. The enemy's guns were driven far to the rear by the fire of my two guns, after which my skirmishers, support, and right picquet, took up their original positions, and I returned with

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 21st January 1858, p. 23. National Library, Calcutta.

the guns to the bridge. Shortly after this the enemy's Infantry were seen to be skirting along the edge of the town, with the evident intention of turning our flank, and of pouring a fire upon us from the houses on our left. Both picquet and skirmishers applied for reinforcements, which I could not afford, but desired them to hold their positions as long as possible and then fall back to the head of the bridge, which they did about 5 O'clock.

The enemy were now increasing in large numbers on our left, occupying houses, garden walls and the church. A Company was sent through the gardens to dislodge the enemy, and drive them from the church, but the enemy were strong enough in position, to maintain, or rather to return to their position. I then concentrated all my force on both flanks of the bridge and with the guns kept up a heavy fire. The enemy now brought up a gun into the church yard, which enfiladed the bridge at a distance not exceeding 150 yards, my own guns not being able to bear on their position.

The enemy were still increasing and working round to my rear by my left flank; I retired the guns about 100 yards, so as to command the brigade and the road leading from the town.

Officers and men were at this time falling fast around me. I applied for a reinforcement, but by the time they arrived night had set in, and now, I considered it prudent to retire with the remainder of my force into the entrenchment, which was done with perfect regularity, the reinforcement of rifles protecting the rear.

Although for some time earnestly advised to retire, I refrained from doing so, until I felt convinced that from the increasing numbers of the enemy the fatigue of the men after three days' hard fighting and my own troops firing in the dark into each other, the position was no longer tenable, and that consequently it became my painful duty to retire.

I beg to forward a Return of the killed and wounded during the day.[1]

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 2 in No. 6, pp. 233-234.

BRITISH WOMEN AND CHILDREN WITHDRAW FROM KANPUR

Narrative of Events from the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of East India Company, dated Military Department, December 10, 1857, (*No.* 313).

...Sir Colin Campbell hearing of this, pushed into Cawnpore on the night of the 28th, and on the following morning the women and children, and sick and wounded, were brought over the river. The families, and about 500 of the sick and wounded (leaving about 860 of the latter to be protected at Cawnpore for the present), were sent off towards Allahabad on the 3rd.[1]

BRITISHERS EXPECT SUCCOUR FROM LUCKNOW

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Campbell to the Military Secretary to the Governor General of India, dated Allahabad, Dec. 1, 1857, (10-15 *A. M.*).

Commissioner Chester has received a letter from Commissioner[2], dated November 29th. The Rifles have taken two 18-pounders. Brigadier Wilson is killed. Major Stirling and Captain Murphy badly wounded. Cavalry etc., hourly expected from Lucknow. Treasure and store safe in entrenchment. The Commander-in-Chief arrived at 6 P. M. on 28th. The women were encamped within four miles of Cawnpore. The camps of 34th, 80th and 82nd were burnt by the enemy.[3]

KANPUR BESIEGED

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Cawnpore (*Kanpur*), *November* 29, 1857.

Having heard that Cawnpore was besieged, I marched in thirty six miles, arriving at dark yesterday. Cawnpore is

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 4, p. 148.

[2] Appears to be wrongly written for some other official.

[3] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 68 in No. 4, p. 184.

now relieved, and the rebels apparently commencing a retreat. I am engaged in bringing my long convoy of families, and women, and wounded men, from the left bank of the Ganges. I cannot act decidedly against the enemy until I have seen them on their way to Allahabad.[1]

BABU RAM BAKHSH COLLECTS FORCE

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Campbell to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Allahabad, November 30, 1857.

I have received the Governor General's message, and forwarded it by telegraph to Colonel Maxwell at Futtehpore, to be sent from there. I will also send *cossid* from here with a copy.

The firing at Cawnpore ceased at 2 P. M. yesterday. A force is being collected by Rambush (*sic*,--Ram Bakhsh) opposite Sheorajpore, and threatening Futtehpore.[2]

POSITION OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES AT NAWABGANJ

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Campbell to the Military Secretary to the Government of India, dated Allahabad, November 30, 1857, (2-40 P. M.).

Received the following from Colonel Maxwell:--

"The Europeans did not go from this. Magistrate here has heard that 1,000 Europeans arrived at Cawnpore the evening before last, and more were expected shortly. The story is likely to be true, but has come through several mouths; a spy has just come in from Cawnpore, which he left at 10 A. M., yesterday; he only went as far as the nearest battery in Nawabgunge, close to the canal, and about 800 yards from entrenchment. He says he counted the enemy's guns, twenty-seven; each had two waggons, with country carts near them. The guns of different sizes, some of them mortars. He says,

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 59 in No. 4, p. 181.

[2] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 64 in No. 4, p. 183.

when he left, immense deal of firing was going on, ours much the heaviest and doing frightful execution. He knows nothing about reinforcements from Lucknow; no enemy on this side of Cawnpore, except a few sowars in its environs.[1]

PLUNDER OF KALYANPUR THANA AND TAHSIL

Telegraphic Message from Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Banaras, December 1, 1857, (5 P. M.).

The following message received from Futtehpore, at 3-6 P. M. is forwarded for your information:—

"From Magistrate of Futtehpore to the Lieutenant Governor, Central Provinces, 1st December (Tuesday).

"No direct news from Cawnpore today, but a native report agrees in saying, that on 28th and 29th November, we were successful in our sortie, and captured several guns. Ladies and children, I believe, came in on morning of the 29th. Grand Trunk Road in Cawnpore district infested with sowars, and communication is very difficult. No enemy in this district, but the Kallianpore *tehsil* and *thannah* have been plundered by villagers; 100 Oude men covered the Grand Trunk Road from north to south, the day before yesterday. Heavy firing in Oude this morning, and about fifteen miles off. Hardly any firing in Cawnpore direction."[2]

GHATS CLOSED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Telegraphic Message from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Banaras, December 1, 1857.

The following message from Futtehpore at 7-15 P. M. is forwarded for your informaton:—

"I have just received one line from Captain Bruce; he says the Chief has reached, and we are all right now, 30th November 4 P. M. The bearer, who seems to be speaking the

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 65 in No. 4, p. 183.

[2] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 70 in N 4, p. 184.

truth, says that we have driven away the enemy out of Cawnpore, and we have taken sixteen guns, and we are still following them up to the west. The ladies and children arrived on the morning of 29th November. Baboo Rambush (Ram Bakhsh) and Bhugonauth Sing, Oude *zemindars* are, I expect, up to mischief; they have closed the *Ghauts*.[2]

WYNDHAM'S FORCE PRESSED

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Kanpur, December 2, 1857.

In consequence of the force under Major-General Wyndham having been so much pressed at Cawnpore, prior to my arrival, I regret to say that a very large portion of his camp equipage, abandoned on the occasion of his retreat from outside the city, and the store-rooms containing all the clothing of some of the eight or ten of his regiments here and at Lucknow, have been burnt by the enemy. I must entreat Your Lordship to give the most urgent orders for the transmission of clothing, great coats, etc., from below to make up the deficiency, which has occurred in consequence of this lamentable circumstance. I am endeavouring to dispatch all the women and some 500 wounded men towards Allahabad this evening; but this will leave about 1,500 of the latter to provide for, and to be protected here for the present. As a consequence it is not yet in my power to make the movements necessary to push the enemy out of the city of Cawnpore.[3]

DESTRUCTION OF TELEGRAPH LINES

Telegraphic Message from Lieutenant Stewart to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Kanpur, December 2, 1857.

The line of the electric telegraph to old offices in Cawnpore passes through part of the stations still in the enemy's hands, and was destroyed by them. A branch line has been

[1] Correct name may be 'Raghunath Singh' or 'Bhrigunath Singh'.

[2] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 69 in No. 4, p. 184.

[3] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 73 in No. 4, p. 185.

carried into camp, and an office opened there. Line to Alumbagh almost entirely destroyed. The Commander-in-Chief's force arrived at the Ganges on the evening of the 28th, with an enormous quantity of baggage, sick, and wounded. No attack has yet been made on the enemy, who occupy the city, and part of station near Church.[1]

THE ENCOUNTER OF 6TH DEC. 1857

Extract from the Narrative of Events from the Governor General of India in Council to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated Military Department, December 10, 1857, (No. 31).

Cawnpore – . . . . . The Commander-in-Chief attacked the rebels on the 6th, and completely routed them, taking sixteen guns, a quantity of spare waggons, ammunition, and baggage, and followed them up fourteen miles towards Calpee.

Our loss was insignificant.[2]

ENCOUNTER NEAR SERAJGHAT DECEMBER 1857)

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India in Council dated Cawnpore Kerpa December 10, 1857, (2 A. M.).

A dispatch has just been received from General Hope Grant, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers; narrates that he came up with the fugitives at Serajghaut, when they were beginning to cross the guns over the Ganges. He attacked them instantly with his Cavalry and Artillery with great spirit, and, after half-an-hour's sharp firing, took fifteen guns, including one 18-pounder, eight 9-pounders, three 12-pounder howitzers, two 1-pounder howitzers, and 6-pounder, native, with all their stores, carts, waggons, large quantities of ammunition, bullocks, hackeries etc. General Grant estimates the loss of the enemy at about 100. He did not lose a man in the operations, he himself being slightly wounded. I congratulate Your Lordship on the happy finish of this particular campaign.[3]

[1] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 75 in No. 4, p. 185.

[2] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 4, p. 148.

[3] Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 98 in No 4, p. 191.

ENGAGEMENT OVER PANDU NADI

Letter from W. A. J. Mathew, the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Calcutta, July 31, 1857.

I have the honor, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to forward for submission to the Governor General of India in Council, two dispatches received from Brigadier-General H. Havelock, C. B., commanding the moveable Column, dated the 15th and 20th July, giving an account of his engagements with the rebels under Nena (Nana) Sahib, at the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, and at the re-capture of Cawnpore from the same enemy.

2*nd*—His Excellency considers that the greatest credit is due to the Brigadier-General, and to the brave troops under his command. They have marched 130 miles in eight days, at the most trying season of the year; fought three obstinately contested combats, in each of which the insurgents have been signally beaten, destroyed the stronghold of that arch-fiend and traitor, the Nena (Nana) Sahib, and captured forty-four pieces of ordnance, many of which are of large calibre....[1]

BATTLE AT AONG[2]

Extracts from the letter from Brigadier-General Havelock to the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, dated Camp Pandu Nadi, July 15, 1857.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the troops under my command have been twice successfully engaged with the enemy to-day, and have captured four guns....

3*rd*—Intelligence, meanwhile, came in to the effect that the villae (*sic*,-village) of Aong was strongly occupied by the enemy; that he was entrenched across the road, and had two Horse Artillery guns in position....

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 34 in No. 2, p. 67.

[2] *Aung*, Pargana *Bindki*, Tahsil *Khajuha*, District *Fatehpur*—This small village lies on the Grand Trunk Road, in 26° 8′ N. and 80° 36′ E., at a distance of 24 miles from Fatehpur and two miles and a half to the west of the Bindki Road station. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 170.

5th—The enemy's entrenchments were not formidable, but the country being thickly wooded, he was enabled to maintain himself for some time against our fire, during which interval bodies of Cavalry advanced on both flanks, with the intention of capturing our baggage. These attacks were very persevering, and to defeat them, as I had only twenty Horse, I was compelled to protect the flanks with the Infantry in second line, and by Artillery fire. It is gratifying to have to report that the enemy was unable to capture a single baggage-animal or follower. The last attempt was defeated by the baggage-guards, where fire was very effective.....

9th The enemy opened an effective cannonade upon our Column as they advanced along the road. They, therefore, deployed, and advanced with great steadiness, in parade order, in support of the guns and riflemen. Captain Maude's bullets, soon produced an evident effect, and then the right Wing of the Fusiliers suddenly closing threw themselves with rare gallantry upon the bridge, carried it, and captured both guns. These two affairs cost me twenty-five killed and wounded as shown in the accompanying Return. Amongst the latter, I regret to have to particularize Major Renaud, 1st Madras Fusiliers, to whose gallantry and intelligence I have been under great obligations. His left thigh was broken by a musket ball in the skirmish at Aong; but I hope from the fortitude, with which he endures all suffering, a favorable result.[1]

STIFF FIGHT AT AONG

...As day broke native scouts brought word that the village of Aong ahead, in thickly wooded country, was fortified; an entrenchment had been thrown across the road, an enemy battery was in position and his Cavalry were in strength—the first stand since Fatehpur. Sending part of the force ahead under Tytler, with Beatson and Harry, Havelock took personal command of the vital baggage train which in the absence of sufficient Cavalry would be vulnerable. A stiff fight developed and two hours passed before the enemy were thrown out of Aong, with Renaud badly wounded and several

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 35 in No. 2, pp. 68-69.

men killed. More than once the sepoy Cavalry charged down on the baggage train. 'These attacks were very persevering,' wrote Havelock in his despatch, 'it is gratifying to have to report that the enemy was unable to capture a single baggage animal or follower.'

At length the enemy turned and fled, but having only twenty Horse, Havelock was unable to follow them....[1]

RENAUD DIES IN THE ACTION AT AONG

15TH JULY 1857

Early on the morning of the 15th, the little force again commenced its march, and arrived in front of the village of Aong a little after daybreak, and learned that the enemy was in position with two 9-pounders, behind an entrenchment thrown up across the road. After a reconnaissance, the General gave Colonel Tytler the command of a strong advanced guard, consisting of about a third of the force, while he himself took charge of the main body to protect the baggage, which the enemy's Cavalry, hovering in both flanks, showed a determination to attack. Colonel Tytler found the enemy strongly posted in gardens and enclosures. On the advance of the Volunteer Cavalry, the two guns of the enemy behind the entrenchment opened fire. Some delay having necessarily occurred while the Colonel was completing his dispositions, the rebel sepoys, misinterpreting the cause of it, advanced boldly to the attack, as if confident of victory, and took the initiative by moving forward to a village about 200 yards in front of their position. The Madras Fusiliers were ordered to drive them out, which they quickly accomplished in the most gallant style, under the command of Major Renaud. But the success was dearly purchased by the loss of that able and intrepid soldier, who received a wound in his thigh, of which he died three days after. Colonel Tytler then gradually advanced his whole force, and playing the rebels with his

[1] Pollock, J. C., : *Way to Glory, Life of Havelock*, (London 1957), Ch. XI, pp. 173-174.

superior Artillery, whenever the ground would admit of its use, drove them from their position, which they abandoned with precipitation. Meanwhile, large bodies of the enemy's Cavalry repeatedly essayed to cut in on the main force, under the personal command of the General, and plunder the baggage, but every assault was repelled, and not a single article was carried off. The Cavalry, seeing the Infantry routed, followed them in their flight, and the road was thickly strewed for miles with abandoned tents, carts, baggage, and military stores.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES DISCOMFITED AT AONG

On the 14th, the force marched fourteen miles to Kullianpoor. On the 15th they started afresh; and after proceeding about five miles, found the rebels in position at a village named Aong, with two guns. Here, also, an easy victory was obtained by the British Artillery and riflemen, aided by the handful of Volunteer Horse. The want of Cavalry was again severely felt. The rebel troopers made an attack on the baggage, and would have cut it up, but for the gallantry of the hospital Sergeant of the 78th, who collecting all the invalids and stragglers in the rear, formed a small rallying square of about a hundred men, and received the mutineers with such a fire of musketry, that they rode off discomfited, leaving many dead behind them.[2]

BATTLE AT PANDU NADI

. . . Havelock's mind was on the 'Panda Nudi' river some miles ahead, which in the rains constituted the only serious natural obstacle before Cawnpore. . . .[3]

Native scouts had now brought word that the bridge stood but that the enemy were busy mining it. . . .[4]

[1] Marshman, J. C., : *Memoirs of Henry Havelock*, pp. 299-300.
[2] Montgomery Martin : *The Indian Empire*, Vol. II, p. 376.
[3] Pollock, J. C., : *Way to Glory, Life of Havelock*, (London 1957). Chap. XI, p. 174.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 174.

After two hours the advance guard came round a bend of the road, saw the bridge in tact half a mile ahead, and received several 24-pounder shot, which killed or wounded two or three.....[1]

As the artillery duel warmed up, Havelock was standing with the grenadier Company of the Highlanders, steaming in their muddy scarlet wool, who were lying down as ordered, the enemy round shot whizzing and whistling overhead. One fell and smashed a grenadier's head to red pulp.....[2]

The next moment a loud roar was heard from the bridge above the noise of rifle and gun fire. 'There goes the bridge,' cried the soldiers and Havelock mounted and cantered forward. As the smoke cleared away, the bridge was still there, the mine having only crumbled part of the parapet and roadway. Maude himself on the road, was right up to it, pumping shrapnel at pointblank range into the battery beyond. 'With a cheer the right Wing of the Madras Fusiliers rose from their places and with rare gallantry' swept forward, a compact mass, across the bridge to give the rebel gunners the bayonet, the Highlanders following. The enemy horse turned and fled leaving the gunners to be cut to death or flung into the stream by the furious Blue Caps.

At two in the afternoon, one mile beyond the bridge, Havelock halted the Column. The men threw themselves down, dead to the world. The two actions had cost only twenty-five killed and wounded.....[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES' BID TO BLOW UP BRIDGE AT PANDU NADI

.....From the commencement of his advance from Allahabad, the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, or river, which lay in his route to Cawnpore, had been an object of great anxiety to the General. This little stream, though only sixty or seventy yards wide, and generally fordable, was now

[1] Pollock, J. C., : *Way to Glory, Life of Havelock*, (London 1957), Chap. XI, p. 174.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 175.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

swelled by the periodical rains, and had become impassable. In a military point of view it was still more formidable from the circumstance of its flowing at the bottom of a deep ravine. The General had no pontoons, and amidst hostile population, there was no hope of being able to procure boats. If therefore the fine masonry bridge over it was broken down, his progress to Cawnpore might be indefinitely retarded. The appearance of the enemy at Aong, a few miles distant from it, assured him that up to the period of the engagement the bridge was entire. But while the force halted for its meal, information was brought to the General by his spies, that the enemy, after having been routed by Colonel Tytler, who had lost sight of them while halting for the main body, had rallied at the bridge-head, on the further side of the river, and were preparing to blow it up. He felt that not a moment was to be lost; and though his troops were completely exhausted by a long march and a severe action under a nearly vertical sun, and had not had time to prepare a meal, he called on them to rise and advance. In the unquestioning spirit of confidence which his well known care for their welfare, equally with his self-denying example, inspired, they did so with the greatest alacrity. Those who know British soldiers can best estimate the value of the cheerful obedience they now displayed, as will always be the case when under a leader who has shown himself worthy of the men he commands. After another march of two hours, they came suddenly under fire from the bridge-head, and found that the enemy was fully prepared to receive them, and to dispute the passage of the river. The rebels had for some days past diligently entrenched themselves on the opposite side of the stream, where they had planted a 24-pounder gun, and a 24-pounder carronade, so as to sweep the bridge and the great Trunk Road for 2000 yards beyond it. The approach to the bridge and the position of the enemy were immediately reconnoitred, and the plan of attack decided on. At Captain Maude's suggestion, it was resolved to envelop the bridge in an artillery fire, for which its position on a salient bend afforded great facilities. Three guns were therefore posted in front of it, and two on the right, and three on the left. The Madras Fusiliers, as being the best marksmen in the force, and, moreover, armed with the Enfield rifle, were pushed on through the ravines; and lining the bank above and below the bridge, opened a galling fire, and picked off the

enemy's gunners, among whom and a large body of horse supporting them, their bullets were seen with glasses to fall like a shower of hail; our guns at the same time doing great execution, and increasing the confusion of the rebels. Suddenly, a cloud of white smoke was seen to arise from the bridge, and float for some seconds over it. It was caused by the attempt of the enemy to blow up the bridge, but their train had been hastily and clumsily laid, the effect of the explosion was therefore incomplete, and no other damage was done but to create a cavity in one of the arches. Our shrapnel bullets soon after smashed the sponge staffs of the rebel gunners, or, as some who were present affirmed, they themselves broke their staffs and spiked the guns. Be that as it may, their fire, hitherto of...the Fusiliers seizing the moment rapidly closed, and, nobly led by Major Stephenson, who had succeeded Major Renaud in the command of the regiment, dashed across the bridge amidst a storm of bullets and captured the guns. The day was now won, and the enemy in full retreat on Cawnpore.[1]

FIERCE RESISTANCE BY REVOLUTIONARIES AT PANDU NADI BRIDGE

After capturing the guns and driving off the foe, the force halted to breathe and drink water, and then marched on three miles further, to the Pandoo Nuddee, a river spanned by a masonry bridge of three arches, which was said to be mined. The enemy had formed a second intrenchment on the further side of the river; and as soon as the foremost of the British Column emerged from among the mango groves, through which their road had lain, a couple of 24-pounder shot, accurately thrown, fell in their midst, wounding men and gun bullocks. The British Artillery advanced with all speed; the guns rapidly unlimbered and opened fire. The effect was instantaneous. The first discharge of shrapnel bullets smashed the sponge staffs of the enemy, so that they could no longer fire their guns; and they turned and fled, leaving the bridge and the guns in the hands of the British. It was generally remarked that mutineers *fought more closely*

[1] Marshman, J. C., : *Memoirs of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock*, pp. 300 to 302.

and fiercely than at Futtehpoor, and that a competent leader would have rendered them formidable. Two Europeans (a Highlander and a bombadier[1]) were killed and twenty five wounded, Major Renaud mortally. (He sank rapidly after the amputation of the left leg above the knee, but was brave and cheerful to the last). It was fortunate that the British had passed on so rapidly; for the enemy had attempted to destroy the bridge, and had failed for want of time. The explosion of their mine had thrown down the parapet walls, but left the arches uninjured.[2]

BATTLE AT HASWA FATEHPUR

Extract from the Alleged Statement of Tatya Tope.

.....Four days after this the Nana said he was going to Bithoor to keep the anniversary of his mother's death. They (sepoys) allowed him to go and some of them also accompanied him. Having kept the anniversary they brought him back to Cawnpoor and they took for their pay the money they had first made over to the Nana's charge, and made arrangements to fight against Hussua[3] Futtehpoor where they heard some Europeans had arrived from Allahabad and they told the Nana to accompany them there. The Nana refused and the Nana remained at Cawnpoor, and sent Jowla Persad his (the Nana's) Agent along with them to Futtehpoor. Having arrived there and been defeated they returned to Cawnpoor.....[4]

NANA'S MARCH TOWARDS FATEHPUR

Telegram from Colonel Neill, to the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief, dated Allahabad, 9th July 1857.

News very contradictory. Brazier, who has good intelligence, writes from Renaud's camp, dated yesterday,

[1] It should be 'bombardier'.

[2] Montgomery Martin : *The Indian Empire*, Vol. II, p. 376.

[3] *Haswa*, Pargana *Haswa*, Tahsil *Fatehpur*, District *Fatehpur*—The capital of the pargana is a decayed town situated in 25° 52′ N. and 80° 55′ E., at a distance of seven miles south-east from Fatehpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 222).

[4] "*Trial of Tatya Tope*". Original Consultations, 2nd September 1859, No. 144. National Archives, New Delhi.

that they heard the other day the Nana was marching on them with twenty-four guns, two regiments Cavalry, and four regiments Infantry. Since heard that he had sent off camp colors to Futtehpore, which was confirmed; but they had dispersed, finding no one followed them; that Cawnpore was broken up into small parties. No control; scarcely one hundred holding together. The guns still there, but no bullocks to draw them away. Mr. Court just writes to me, from two native letters received by him, the Nana has not gone away; that his plan of operations is not fixed, he wishing to move on Lucknow, the Moulvie and Mussalmans wishing to move here; that the latter prevailed; that five troops of Cavalry, one regiment of Infantry, and two guns are at Futtehpore to collect supplies and form an advance. Renaud ought to smash them. The whole force with Nana is computed at seven Infantry and one Cavalry regiments and fourteen guns. The writers are respectable, and one a very careful man, a pleader in the Judge's Court. The Benares guns ought to be sent up sharp, and no more delay. If they do come down here we ought to give a good account of them.[1]

NANA'S MARCH TO CRUSH RENAUD'S DETACHMENT

.....Late on July 10th at the fourth camp from Allahabad Renaud sent back alarming news, confirmed by Havelock's native spies; the Nana Sahib was advancing rapidly in great force down the Grand Trunk Road from Cawnpore to crush Renaud's detachment; and Sir Henry Lawrence had fought a battle outside Lucknow, had been defeated and was now closely shut up in the Residency. The Nana was believed to have three thousand five hundred regular sepoys supported by Cavalry, twelve guns and innumerable native levies.[2]

CONCENTRATION OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES NEAR FATEHPUR

On the 10th of July, General Havelock learned that the

[1] Forrest : *State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 82.

[2] Pollock, J. C., : *Way to Glory, Life of Havelock*, (London 1957), Ch. XI, p. 165.

rebels had despatched a formidable force, said to consist of 1,500 Infantry and Artillery, 500 Cavalry, 1,500 armed insurgents (in all, 3,500 men), and twelve iron and brass guns, to the vicinity of Futtehpoor, within five miles of which place Major Renaud expected to arrive on the morning of the 12th. The Grand Trunk Road offered facilities for rapid progress. The wet weather had given place to intense heat. The General advanced by forced marches, until by moonlight on the night of the 11th, he overtook Major Renaud, and the united forces marched on together to a fine open plain, about four miles from Futtehpoor. The main body had marched twenty four miles; Renaud's men nineteen and the hope was for breakfast rather than fight. "Men and officers", writes a member of the force, "had lighted their pipes; and a cluster of us were assisting at the manufacture of a brew of tea; when one, who had been employing himself with his field-glass, drew the attention of his neighbours to our small party of Volunteer Horse (sent on under Quartermaster-General Tytler, to reconnoitre in advance), who were returning before their time." A moment afterwards, a large body of Cavalry, in white, emerged from the distant trees on the edge of the plain, in pursuit of the Europeans followed by Infantry and Artillery. The British ranks fell in; and the enemy perceived, with dismay, that the junction of the forces had been accomplished, and that, instead of surprising a detachment, they had burst upon a prepared army, comprising 1,400 British bayonets and eight guns, besides 600 native auxiliaries.

In ten minutes the affair was decided; for in that short time our Enfield rifles and cannon had taken all conceit of fight out of the mutineers. The Enfield rifles were thoroughly effective at more than 300 yards distance; while the smooth bored musket, with which alone the rebels were armed, was comparatively useless. Resistance was futile; they broke and fled, and the British Artillery and skirmishers pushed on in pursuit, leaving the reserve Column far in the rear, owing to the impediments of the ground. On reaching Futtehpoor, the entrance of the main street was blocked up by a barricade of carts and baggage, which was so firmly and advantageously placed that it was at first supposed to be a defence purposely raised by the foe, and Artillery was brought to bear on it; but it was soon discovered to be a mass of baggage, which had been jammed up between the houses in a hasty attempt to

carry it away. The only casualty among the Europeans occurred at this juncture. A wounded bullock broke loose, and, rushing wildly forwards, flung Major North into the air, and afterwards tossed a Highlander, who rushed to the assistance of the officer. In the midst of the heap were found two new 6-pounders, with limbers and ammunition complete, besides large stores of gun and musket ammunition; and a little beyond, two tumbrils of treasure, "one of which fell into the hands of those astute plunderers, the Seiks (Sikhs), and was no more seen." The "loot" realised by both Europeans and natives, was various and considerable. Of the hostile force the Cavalry alone fought well. They were regular troopers, mounted on Regular Horse, but armed and equipped after the native fashion; and, in consequence of this alternation, they moved about the field with a rapidity of which they would have been incapable had they been weighed down by the weapons and accoutrements required by the Bengal system.[1]

TIKA SINGH, LIAQAT ALI, JWALA PRASAD IN COMMAND AT FATEHPUR

Extract from the Statement of Hulas Sing.

Question—Who commanded at the battle of Futtehpore ?

Answer—I myself saw Teekah Sing (Tika Singh) the General, and the Allahabad Moulvie, and Jowalla Pershad Brigadier, going off to command. Many others went. Small fry of leaders.

Question—What arrangements did you make to supply the troops ?

Answer—I bought supplies for the troops from the bazar people through Ahmed Ullah, who used to receive the order from the Nana and give me orders; there was no other arrangement for supplies.

Question—State plainly what arrangements you made with the city people and *Mahajuns* ?

Answer—Motie Ram and Kheatie Ram were the *Chowdries*. I used to work through them. Whatever place they pointed out, I used to demand supplies from thence.

[1] Montgomery Martin : *The Indian Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 374-375.

Question— How were the magazine arrangements made ?

Answer—From wherever I could get sulphur, lead and saltpetre I used to send them, and supply *dhar* wood, sending for it from the villages....[1]

HAVELOCK'S MARCH

Havelock determined to press on at once by forced marches. The bugle went at midnight and at one A. M. on July 11th the Column set off to cover sixteen miles to Khaga[2], five miles further than originally planned.....

On Sunday, July 12th the advance guard made contact with Renaud.....

BATTLE OF BELANDA

The complete force marched on into the dawn. The sun swept up high in the sky and at about seven A. M. they reached the scheduled camping ground at Belanda, five miles short of the town of Fatehpur. Havelock planned to halt for the day to recover strength, before attacking Fatehpur the next morning. 'Arms were piled in line,' wrote one of Renaud's men, 'ground was taken up for each corps and the weary, wayworn men, overcome by the oppressive heat and brilliant sunshine lay down in groups, anxiously expecting the arrival of the tents and baggage which were close behind.....

Suddenly in the distance a gun fired, and a 24-pounder ball bounced in, two hundred yards from the General. Tytler came cantering back to report. The enemy were advancing rapidly and obviously supposed that they had nothing in front but Renaud.

The enemy were now firing two guns at an impossible range and throwing forward Infantry and Cavalry. 'I wished earnestly' wrote Havelock in his despatch, 'to give our harassed soldiers rest, and so waited until this ebullition should expend

[1] *Mutiny Narrative*, N. W. P. Agra, *Cawnpore District*; Depositions taken at Cawnpore, Deposition No. 23, pp. 59, 60.

[2] *Khaga*, Pargana *Hathgaon*, Tahsil *Khaga*, District *Fatehpur*—The headquarters of the tahsil are located in a village lying in 25° 46′ N. and 81° 6′ E. on the Grand Trunk Road at a distance of some 20 miles south-east from Fatehpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 239).

itself, making no counter-disposition beyond posting a hundred Enfield riflemen of the 64th in an advanced copse[1]. But the enemy maintained his attack with the audacity which his first supposition had inspired, and my inertness fostered. It would have injured the morale of my troops to permit them thus to be bearded; so I determined at once to bring on an action.

The alarm sounded 'and the troops', wrote a Volunteer Cavalry-man, 'all fell out so quickly and steadily it was quite charming to see them'. The breakfast was left untouched. Maude disposed his eight guns and checked the range as the hordes of white-uniformed sepoys emerged in the distance half a mile away across the plain. They were in good order and advancing confidently; they had swept all before them for six weeks, had annihilated a divisional General and proved that they were masters. Now they would hurry on to Allahabad and all lower Bengal would rise and drive the English into the sea.

Maude gave an order and the battery opened an accurate fire at 800 yards. A moment later a smart fusillade crackled from the Enfield riflemen, ahead and to the left. The white mass shook, hesitated and began to draw back. The sepoys, expecting musket or muzzle-loading rifle fire, had thought they were still out of range, and the withering hail of bullets shattered their self confidence, Maude's second salvo having already disabled two of the forward guns which were hurriedly abandoned. Maude limbered up and advanced as fast as his skinny bullocks allowed, his own sub-division on the road and those to left and right pushing through the swampy fields. The sepoys seemed to be reforming and Cavalry were coming down the road at a trot. 'So we came into action again at 650 yards', records Maude, 'and at the first shot the Cavalry turned about and bolted, leaving in view two elephants, two heavy guns and a large body of Infantry. We peppered into these so smartly that they would not stand to their guns; which latter when we came up to them we found to be loaded and turned them upon the retreating masses.'

[1] Appears a misprint for 'Corps.'

ATTACK ON TATYA TOPE

The 64th were advancing on the left and Renaud had cleared a hillock on the right, the Highlanders with their short-range muskets keeping the line between centre and right. Each moment increased the confusion in the sepoy ranks and raised the spirits of Havelock's force. Beatson and Fraser Tytler, coming up to Maude, saw that one of the retreating elephants carried a leader, believed afterwards to be Tantia Topi, the Nana's General. 'Knock over that chap on the elephant', they called to Maude, who dismounted and himself laid a gun at line of metal; the ball went in under the elephant's tail and bowled him over, Tantia Topi flying through the air. He was seen to stagger away badly shaken.....

About a mile beyond the town, from which the inhabitants had fled, the enemy made a last stand. 'My troops were in such a state of exhaustion that I almost despaired of driving them further.' A mass of enemy Cavalry moved down on Havelock's small force of Native Irregulars riding forward on the right flank. The mutineer 2nd Cavalry waved their swords making signs that the Irregulars should come over and the Irregulars hesitated, refusing the order to charge. The two bodies of Horse thus met at a gentle trot. Palisser, the Irregular's commander, thrown by a sudden swerve, saved only by the devotion of his native officers, three of them losing their lives, the only casualties of the day. From his position in the centre Havelock saw the melee and, a moment later, the Irregular Cavalry galloping back in near-mutinous confusion, their English subalterns and Palisser, remounted, forced to retreat with them. 'I never rode so hard in my life,' said one of the subalterns afterwards, 'it was a regular run for our necks, for the whole of the fellows were behind our small party thirsting for our blood. They had an immense number of Regulars and Irregulars. For the moment I fully believed that our men were about to join the 2nd Cavalry and leave us to their mercy. You may imagine how jolly I felt.'

REVOLUTIONARIES DEFEATED

The guns, squelching and straining through the mud, had again been pushed to the front and with the riflemen now poured a devastating fire into the 2nd Cavalry, which broke

and turned back as they had come. This was the end. The enemy was in 'final and irretrievable flight.'.....

He (Havelock) next drafted his despatch and then wrote triumphantly to Hannah: "My dear Hannah—One of the prayers oft repeated throughout my life since my school days, has been answered, and I have lived to command in a successful action. I must refer you for the particulars to my despatch. I will here only say that I marched down upon this place yesterday morning, Sunday the 12th (battle of the Boyne)* with harassed troops intending to attack the insurgents next day, but their fate led them on. Out they sallied and insulted my camp..... He described the action briefly and ended, 'but away with vain glory. Thanks to Almighty God, who gave me the victory : I captured in four hours eleven guns, and scattered the enemy's whole force to the winds. I now march to retake Cawnpore, where, alas our troops have been treacherously destroyed, and to succour Lawrence at Lucknow. Harry was in the thickest of the fight, but God be praised, escaped unhurt.....

.....His small Column had trounced a rebel army over twice its size. For the first time the mutineers had been beaten in the open field and the long catalogue of disgraces brought to an end.....

Neill, fearful of renewed attack, had been clamouring from Allahabad for the return of the Sikhs and the veteran Artillerymen.....

The Sikhs were ordered to punish Fatehpur by setting it on fire before returning towards Allahabad.[1]

ENGAGEMENTS BETWEEN ALLAHABAD AND KANPUR

FALL OF FATEHPUR

July 12, 1857, 5 *P. M.* - We had our first fight this morning at 8 A. M. and by one it was over. Eleven guns taken, and

* "Maude told him this during the action. A few days later Havelock recollected that it had not been the anniversary of Boyne but of the battle of Aughrim the following year. Maude was most impressed."—Note in Original text.

[1] Pollock, J. C., : *Way to Glory, Life of Havelock*, (London 1957), Ch. XI, pp. 165-172.

Futtehpore in our hands.....It was a short, sharp and very decisive affair. Our rifles completely upset their Cavalry.....The sepoys engaged were 1st, 53rd, 6th Gwalior Artillery, 2nd Light Cavalry and some Irregular regiment. The Cavalry all fought in their regimentals; Infantry in white clothing.

July 14, 1857—The guns we captured on Sunday came chiefly from Nowgong; in fact it was the Nowgong Company of Artillery that was in the field.....

ACTION AT AONG AND PANDU NADI

July 15, 1857 We have had two fights this morning but have of course held our own. The enemy's practice with a 24 siege gun, which was planted on a bridge over a wide *nullah*, was mighty creditable, but very disagreeable.[1]

THE BATTLE OF FATEHPUR

Havelock's despatch on the Battle of Fatehpur.

After noticing his (Havelock) junction with Major Renaud, he (Havelock) proceeds to say-

Our information had been better than that of the enemy, for when Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler pushed a reconnaissance upto the town they evidently supposed they had only Major Renaud's gallant but small force in their front; for after firing on the Lieutenant-Colonel and his escort, they insolently pushed forward two guns, and a force of Infantry and Cavalry cannonaded our front, and threatened our flank.

I wished earnestly to give our harassed soldiers rest, and so waited until this ebullition should expend itself, making no counter-disposition beyond posting a hundred Enfield riflemen of the 64th in an advance copse. (*sic*,-corps) But the enemy maintained his attack with the audacity which his first supposition had inspired, and my inertness fostered. It would have injured the morale of my troops to permit them thus to be bearded; so I determined at once to bring on an action.

[1] Groom : *With Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow*, (1857), pp. 26-32. (Letters written to his wife by William T. Groom, an officer of 1st Madras Royal Fusiliers).

Futtehpore constitutes a position of no small strength. The hard and dry Grand Trunk Road subdivides it, and is the only means of convenient access, for the plains on both sides are covered at this season by heavy lodgments of water, to the depth of two, three, and four feet. It is surrounded by garden enclosures of great strength, with high walls, and has within it many houses of good masonry. In front of the swamps are hillocks, villages, and mango groves, which the enemy already occupied in force.

I estimate his number at 3,500, with twelve brass and iron guns.

I made my dispositions. The guns, now eight in number were formed on and close to the *chaussee* in the centre, under Captain Maude, R. A., protected and aided by one hundred Enfield riflemen of the 64th. The detachments of Infantry were, at the same moment, thrown into line of quarter distance Columns, at deploying distance and thus advanced in support, covered at discretion by Enfield skirmishers. The small force of volunteers and Irregular Cavalry moved forward on the flanks on harder ground.

I might say that in ten minutes the action was decided, for in that short space of time the spirit of the enemy was entirely subdued. The rifle fire, reaching them at an unexpected distance, filled them with dismay; and when Captain Maude was enabled to push his guns through flanking swamps, to point-blank range, his surprisingly accurate fire demolished their little remaining confidence. In a moment three guns were abandoned to us on the *chaussee*, and the force advanced steadily, driving the enemy before it at every point. Major Renaud won a hillock on the right in good style, and struggled on through the inundation. The 78th in extension kept up his communication with the centre; the 64th gave strength to the centre and left; on the left, the 84th and Regiment of Ferozepore pressed back the enemy's right.

As we moved forward, the enemy's guns continued to fall into our hands, and then in succession they were driven from the garden enclosures, from a strong barricade on the road, from the town wall, into, and through, out of, and beyond the town. They endeavoured to make a stand a mile in advance of it. My troops were in such a state of exhaustion, that I almost despaired of driving them farther. At the same time the mutineers of the 2nd Cavalry made an effort to renew

the combat by charging, with some success, our Irregular Horse, whose disposition throughout the fight was, I regret to say, worse than doubtful. But again our guns and riflemen were with great labour pushed to the front. Their fire soon put the enemy to final and irretrievable flight, and my force took up its present position in triumph, and parked twelve captured guns.

I must endeavour in this hasty despatch to do justice to those who led the troops to this easy victory. First on the list, I must place Major Renaud, whose exertions at the head of the advanced Column I cannot sufficiently praise. His coolness and conduct in the action are equally entitled to my highest commendation. I hope that it will be in the power of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to bring speedily to the notice of His Royal Highness, the General Commanding-in-Chief, the courage and skill of Captain Maude, R. A. I have seen some artillery fights in my time, but never beheld guns better served, or practice more effective than that of my battery under this officer.

Colonel Hamilton led his Highlanders well, and they followed him full of spirit and devotion. I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct in this combat of Major Sterling[1] at the head of the 64th; of Lieutenant Ayton, in command of the 84th detachment; of Captain Brasyor, of the regiment of Ferozepore; of Captain Barrow, leading the Volunteer Cavalry; and Lieutenant Palliser[2], at the head of the Irregular Horse.

I have next to speak of the staff; Captain Beatson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, has given me entire satisfaction in the performance of his ordinary duties, and I was much gratified by his boldness and activity in the fight. Lieutenant Colonel Tytler is indefatigable and most intelligent in a sphere of duty entirely new to him. Captain M.'Bean's Commissariat arrangements, chiefly with the advanced Column, have hitherto been every way successful. My orders were conveyed in the field boldly, actively, and intelligently by my aid[3]-de-camp,

[1] Spelt as 'Stirling' in other documents; (pp. 705, 710).
[2] Spelt as 'Palisser' and 'Palliser' in different documents.
[3] It should be 'aide'.

Lieutenant Havelock, 10th Foot, and the following officers—Lieutenant Moreland, 1st Fusiliers; Lieutenant Moorsom, H. M. 52nd Light Infantry; Captain Sheehy, H. M. 81st Regiment; Captain Russell, Engineers; and Captain M.'Bean.

I enclose the list of casualties, the lightest, I suppose, that ever accompanied the announcement of such a success. Twelve British soldiers were struck down by the sun, and never rose again. But our fight was fought, neither with musket nor bayonet nor sabre, but with Enfield rifles, and cannon; so we lost no men.

The enemy's fire scarcely touched us; ours, for four hours, allowed him no repose.[1]

MEWATIS OF JAHANABAD IN ACTION

Letter from C. Chester, the Commissioner of Allahabad, to the Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, dated Allahabad, October 3, 1857.

DINAPUR REVOLUTIONARIES AT BANDA

Futtehpore : *September* 30—A demi-official letter from Probyn, dated 29th instant, states that his spies report the presence, at Banda, of 1,800 of the Dinapore mutineers; they had some guns, but number of them is unknown. The Mehwatees (Mewatis) of Jehanabad had created a disturbance at that place, and wounded the *Thannahdar* and some *Burkundauzes*. Six hundred men (new levies) with two guns, were at Chilla Tara Ghaut.....

Futtehpore : *October* 2—Probyn reports demi-officially that the villagers of Beynda and other *mouzahs* in the neighbourhood of Chilla Tara had turned out, and thrashed Nawab Alee Bahadoor's men posted there. Fighting is said to be going on at Banda between the Nawab and the Adjighur (Ajaigarh) people.....[2]

[1] Marshman, J. C., : *Memoirs of Henry Havelock*, pp. 293 to 295.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 6 in No. 10, pp. 263-64.

DAILY REPORT OF IMPORTANT OCCURRENCES IN ZILLA FATEHPUR

Diary from 28th Sept. to 30th Oct. 1857.

JAHANABAD MEWATIS ATTACK THANA OFFICIALS

September 28th, 1857 - Information received of the *Thannahdar* and three *Burkundauzes* of *thannah* Jehanabad having been wounded by the Mewatties of that village.

SAWAR HANGED

September 29th, 1857 - A sowar of the 2nd Bengal Cavalry sent in by the *Tehseeldar* of Ghazeepore was hung.

SEIZURE OF GUNS SENT BY THE NAWAB OF BANDA

September 30th, 1857—Received information that the inhabitants of Bandah and neighbouring villages have attacked and taken two guns sent by the Nawaub of Banda off Chilla Tara Ghat.

ATTACK ON QANUNGO'S HOUSE

Received information that on the night of 29th, 30th Septr. a party of about four hundred dacoits attacked the house of Ishreepershaud *Canoongoe* (Ishwari Prasad *Qanungo*) of Eddulla[1] in Kukhreroo[2] which they plundered and burnt. They also murdered four *Burkundauzes* who were in the *Canoongoe's* house. The party of dacoits is said to have been composed of men from Kote, Chukeewa, Buratwa and Kukhreroo Khas.

October 2nd, 1857—A party of 150 men of H. M.'s 90th with officer left Futtehpore for Cawnpore at about 3 A. M.

October 5th, 1857—About 100 men of H.M.'s 5th Fusiliers arrived in the morning from the east. About 50 men H.M.'s 90th left here for Cawnpore shortly before midnight.

[1] Spelt as '*Ekdulla*' and '*Ekdilla*' at other places in this diary; pp. 735 741, 812.

[2] Can be read as '*Hukreroo*' also; correct name is *Khakreru*.

October 7th, 1857—Received information of a large number of rebellious villages gathering at the *perguanah* Ekdull.

RESUMPTION OF THE PROPERTY BY THE REVOLUTIONARIES

October 8th, 1857 - Received information that about two thousand armed men from Surhondee had received a quantity of property (belonging to Ishree Prasad late *Nazir*) attached by the Police at *mouzah* Asothur *pergunnah* Ghazeepore.

A party of about eighty men of H.M.'s 64th Regiment arrived from the east shortly before midnight.

October 9th, 1857—The party of H.M.'s 64th Regiment which arrived the previous night left about 10 A. M.

KARIMDAD KHAN WOUNDED

Received information that Kareemdad Khan *Jemadar* of *thannah* Kullianpore had been wounded at Bandha[1] while attempting to apprehend three criminals.

GHAZIPUR THANA THREATENED

October 11th 1857—Received information that a number of villagers had collected from Surhondee and some of the Banda villages with the intention of attacking Asothur and subsequently *thannah* Ghazeepore.

October 13th 1857—Received information that during the night a party of dacoits from Surhondee and the neighbouring villages had attacked Koosoombhee[2]: the attacking party were driven off leaving three of their wounded men prisoners.

October 15th 1857—Two guns under charge of a party of the Madras Fusiliers arrived in the morning.

TAHSIL JAMADAR WOUNDED

October 20th, 1857—Received information that the *Jemadar* and a *Chuprassee* of *tehseelee* Kullianpore had been wounded by Zoolfikar Beg of Chuk Rujor *pergunnah* Bindkee.

[1] Spelt as *Bandah* also; p. 734. Perhaps *Banda* is meant.
[2] Apparently Spelt for *Kusumbhi*.

Received information that Maharaj Singh of Rampore had with a party of about one hundred men attacked and burnt Chokee Bukewa *thannah* Khujooa. One *Burkundauz* by name Mahasookh was slightly wounded.

October 21*st* 1857—The Grenadier Company of H.M.'s 93rd Highlanders arrived in the morning.

REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE WESTERN PARTS

October 23*rd*, 1857 - Received information that a number of turbulent men are wandering about the western part of the district with whom the Police are quite unable to cope.

October 24*th* 1857—The western part of the district is in a bad state; the *budmashes* are increasing in number and impudence and the Police are not strong enough to put them down.

POLICE HELPLESS BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARIES

October 26*th* 1857 - *Budmashes* are congregating in different parts of the district, the Police are quite unable to cope with them.

ACTIVITIES OF MAHARAJ SINGH AND JODHA SINGH

October 27*th* 1857—Received information that on 26th October the *Thannadar* of Kullianpore had heard of Maharaj Singh, an ally of Jodha Singh, being in the neighbourhood; he accordingly collected some Police and other men and attacked him in *mouzah* Doomdree. Maharaj Singh had between fifty and a hundred men with him; the fight lasted some hours and the Police were eventually repulsed with the loss of one killed and one wounded. They state that Jodha Singh's loss was more severe. Immediately the Police retired Jodha Singh got an increase to his party and attacked the *Thannadar* of Khujooa who happened to be in *mouzah* Muhmoodpore with a few Police. Jodha Singh succeeded in setting fire to the house in which the *Thannadar* was, but was eventually beaten off with the loss it is said of one or two men.

It is a physical impossibility to bring this district into order without the aid of a few Europeans. The Police are quite unable to cope with the *budmashes*.

MAUZA KUNERA ATTACKED AND BURNT

October 28th, 1857—Received information that from five to ten thousand insurgents had collected in Dulsourah and Chandpore (villages in the south-western part of the district) and attacked and burnt *mouzah* Kunera. It is supposed that they intend attacking the *tehseelee* and *thannah* of Jehanabad. The district can never be brought into order until a hundred Europeans are allowed to move about and punish any refractory villages. If even one bad village was properly punished the whole district would remain quiet for several weeks.

BANDA REVOLUTIONARIES AT SALONDI

October 30th, 1857—Received information that the main body of the Banda insurgents with three guns are at Salondee (not legible) in this district.[1]

* * *

Diary from 31st Oct. to 5th Nov. 1857.

BANDA REVOLUTIONARIES COLLECTING 'RASAD' NEAR FATEHPUR

October 31st, 1857—Information received that 3 sowars and 20 sepoys—the advance guard of the mutineers from Bandah— had arrived at Boora, 12 miles from Futtehpore and were collecting *rusud* for the main body. The advance of these men was subsequently proved to be a blind for concealing the route the mutineers intended to take, as informers, who came in the course of the day, stated that the main body had left Bandhora and taken the road to Bindkee.

Colonel Powell of H.M.'s 53rd with about 700 men of the 53rd Naval Brigade (with two 8-inch howitzers), Royal

[1] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of W. G. Probyn, Officiating Magistrate and Collector, Fatehpur. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Engineers, H.M.'s 23rd (Royal Welsh Fusiliers) and the Dumdum detachment arrived at the *Parao* at about 9 O'clock in the evening having left Jarcearh[1] in the afternoon and arrangements were made by him with Colonel Gordon of the 93rd, (commanding at Futtehpore), and Mr. Probyn (Magistrate) for sending out a force the next morning on the Bindkee road to attack the mutineers.

REVOLUTIONARIES ENCAMPED AT JHOONEAN

November 1*st*, 1857.—Intelligence was received this morning that the mutineers had encamped at Jhoonean in *pergunnah* Tuffehjar[1] on the previous day, and had hung a *Duffadar* and *Burkundauz* of the *thannah* who (whom) they had caught during their stay at Jhoonean.

At about 7-30 A. M. Colonel Powell accompanied by Mr. Probyn the Magistrate started from Futtehpore having with him about 550 men of H.M's 53rd, H.M.'s 93rd (Highlanders) Royal Engineers, Dumdum detachment and the Naval Brigade. Lieutenant Anderson of the Artillery with two 9 prs. (pounders) and about 20 Artillery-men went with the force.

ACTION AT KHAJUHA

November 2*nd*, 1857.—The force under Colonel Powell came up with the Bandah mutineers at Khujooa on the 1st instant; a severe action was fought. The mutineers had a strong natural position, and the height of the *bajra* crop was much in their favor. The soldiers and sailors of Colonel Powell's force had marched 20 miles and were consequently very tired. The rebels fought well under cover, but after about two hours' hard fighting two of their guns (a 6 pr. and a *gordah* 1½ pr.) were taken, their camp plundered, and they themselves dispersed in all directions. Owing to the lateness of the day, and the tired state of the men pursuit was impracticable and Captain Peel, who succeeded to the command on the death of Colonel Powell, retired to Bindkee where the force has reached for the night.

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

Our loss was about 100 killed, wounded and missing. Colonel Powell was shot while sending on his men to capture the guns of the rebels. Five or six officers were wounded. The loss of the enemy who numbered about 4000 is computed at between 4 (400) and 500 killed and wounded. They managed to take one gun—a 6 pr. (pounder) – away with them. The next morning seeing that the Europeans were coming to attack them again they abandoned it, and it fell into the hands of the Police who endeavoured to bring it into the English camp, but the sepoys discovering their mistake went after them and retook the gun. The force under Captain Peel returned here last night.

The Commander-in-Chief with his staff arrived at 9 last night and after halting a few hours left for Cawnpore early this morning.

Ajab Sing *zemindar* of Akree *pergunnah* Nutgaon[1] reports that 1000 men (500 of Bhagwan Buksh, and 500 of Basunt Singh and Jugganath Buksh) were collected in a *bagh* on the Oudh side of the river opposite the village of Akree.

BANDA REVOLUTIONARIES NEAR KHAJUHA

November 3rd, 1857—*Thanahdar* of Khujooa reported that the Bandah mutineers were lurking about his neighbourhood and that he apprehended an attack from them.

Last night a 6 pr. (pounder) gun abandoned by the mutineers and four ammunition tumbrils were brought in by the Khujooa Police. The *Thanahdar* has been told to send a detailed report of the circumstances of their seizure. On its reception, application will be made for rewards for those who were instrumental in seizing it. The *Thanahdar* mentions that Murdun Singh the former *zemindar* of *mouzah*.... (Mss. torn) rendered him every assistance. *Thanahdar* of Jehanabad reports in..... (Mss. torn) of October 31st that he had heard men had crossed the Jumna and in concert with the inhabitants of Chandpore and Dulsoura[2] were coming to plunder Kapil and Jehanabad. Actual route of mutineers who were defeated at Khujooa not yet ascertained, but they are reported to have dispersed in all directions.

[1] Not clearly decipherable.
[2] Not clearly decipherable.

PEEL LEAVES FATEHPUR FOR KANPUR

November 4th, 1857—Captain Peel with 3 Companies of 53rd, 2 of 93rd Highlanders and details left for Cawnpore at about 5 P. M. leaving sick and wounded of his force at Futtehpore, and a company of the 93rd Highlanders and one of the 23rd (R. W. F.) in garrison.

Mutineers of the Bandah force supposed to have dispersed in all directions.

Thanahdar of Jehanabad reports in.....(Mss. torn) of 2nd November that reports were ripe as[1] 2 small parties of the mutineers from Bandah being in different places, some were said to have passed through Jehanabad, others to be at Nareicho with Maharaj Singh, and others to have gone in the direction of Amoulee. The *Thanahdar* also heard that they had fled in the direction of the Jumna, and were wandering about the villages on its banks.

REVOLUTIONARIES LEAVE FOR 'BURHEE'

November 5th, 1857—A company of Madras Sappers and Miners arrived in the morning and left in the evening. A troop of the Military Train passed through in the evening.

Thanahdar of Jehanabad reports in *rooznamacha* of 3rd November that it was rumoured that some of the mutineers had gone to Burhee in *pergunnah* Ghatumpore *zillah* Cawnpore and that from that place, seeing Europeans were coming, they had fled to Ghatumpore.[2]

Diary from November 8 to December 10, 1857.

MAHARAJ SINGH NEAR KHAJUHA

November 8th, 1857—The dacoit Maharaj Singh is reported to be lurking about the neighbourhood of Khujooa.

[1] The words should be 'rife of'.

[2] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of G. Macnaughten, Assistant Magistrate Incharge, Fatehpur. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

SEPOY HANGED

November 9th, 1857—A sepoy of 6th N. I. sent in by the *Kotwal* was hung.

November 10th, 1857—The wounded left for Allahabad early in the morning.

BARQANDAZES ATTACKED

November 13th, 1857—Received information that Jao Khan . . . (Mss. torn) and Junkee *Burkundauzes* who were deputed to Elowlee, *pergunnah* Ekdilla, for carriage, were attacked and wounded by the villagers. Jao Khan's wounds are said to be severe.

November 14th, 1857—Received information that Kumaloodeen (Kamal-ud-din) and Deedarbuxsh (Didar Bakhsh) *Burkundazes* of *chokee* Satna[1] who were bringing in two prisoners were attacked and beaten by the villagers and the prisoners rescued.

November 20th, 1857—Received information that the notorious dacoit Maharaj Singh had at the village of Kisereca seized one Waris Allee, had charged him with being a government servant and had then cut off his nose and hands. Waris Allee is said to have died from the effects of the injuries.

PLAN TO ATTACK MAUZA BEUHA

November 22nd, 1857—Received information that a number of men from Banda had crossed over and joined the men of Koorra Kurrnuk with the intention of attacking and plundering *mouzah* Bowha, *pergunnah* Alahsah[2].

DISORDER IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE DISTRICT

November 23rd, 1857—Received information of a very serious affray between the village of *mouzah* Sadhowra and

[1] The name of the place is not clearly decipherable. Can be read as '*Saten*' or '*Laten*' also.

[2] Not clearly decipherable.

mouzah Silhera, *pergunnah* Khaga. A number of men on both sides are said to have been killed and wounded. The south-western part of the district is becoming in a very disorganized state and the *zemindars* refuse to pay up their revenue. The state of things appears to be caused by the proximity of the Gwalior troops.

November 25th, 1857—The state of district is the same as reported in the latter part of the diary of 23rd instant.

MAHARAJ SINGH KILLS A CHAUKIDAR

November 27th, 1857—The notorious Maharaj Singh is said to have killed a *Chokeedar* in *pergunnah* Korah.

KALYANPUR TAHSIL AND THANA ATTACKED

November 30th, 1857—Received information that the *tuhseelee* and *thannah* of Kullianpore had been plundered by the neighbouring villages.

JAHANABAD TAHSIL BURNT

December 3rd, 1857—Information received that *tuhseeldaree* of Jehanabad had been burnt, and the greater portion of records destroyed.

December 4th, 1857—Received information that on 3rd instant the Mewaties with other *budmashes* attacked and burnt the *tuhseelee* of Jehanabad and took the *Tuhseeldar* and *Jemadar* prisoners; they also wounded several *Chuprassies*. On hearing of this the Khujooa Police all betook themselves to Kullianpore.

RANIPUR CHAUKI ATTACKED BY JODHA SINGH

December 7th, 1857—Received information that the notorious dacoit Jodha Singh had crossed over from Oudh and attacked the *chokee* of Ranepore on Grand Trunk Road, killed one man and driven off some of the Government horses.

TAHSILDAR OF JAHANABAD ESCAPES

December 9th, 1857—Received information that the *Tuhseeldar* of Jehanabad, who had (as noted in the diary of



Dariyao Singh's *Garhi* (fortress) Khaga. Distt. Fatehpur

4th instant) been made prisoner by *budmashes*, had effected his escape.

December 10th, 1857—Received information of two murders having taken place, one in Khaga and the other in Ghazeepore[1].[2]

* * *

Diary from 11th December 1857 to 17th December 1857.

MAUZA SIRSAIN IN BANDA DISTRICT BURNT

December 14th, 1857—Information received that some men of Narain Rao's had burnt *mouzah* Sirsaen in *zillah* Bandah, and that three or four thousand villagers had crossed the Jumna for safety, and were in Gorha and the neighbouring villages.

REVOLUTIONARIES APPREHENDED NEAR BELANDA

December 14th, 1857—Seventy two men armed with matchlocks and swords apprehended near the Belinda *thannah* by the Police. They state that they were going to take service under Narain Rao of Tirohan.

December 17th, 1857—Colonel Barker's Column which had been to the south of the district returned to the station.[3]

* * *

Diary from 23rd December to 31st December 1857.

MAHARAJ SINGH NEAR KHAJUHA

December 23rd, 1857—Received information that the dacoit Maharaj Singh is in the neighbourhood of Khujooa.

[1] Ghazipur thana in Fatehpur is meant, not *Ghazipur* District.

[2] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of W. G. Probyn, Officiating Magistrate and Collector, Fatehpur. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[3] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of W. G. Macnaughten, Assistant Magistrate In-charge, Fatehpur. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

MAHARAJ SINGH AND WILAYAT HUSAIN

December 28*th*, 1857—Received information that a *Burkundauz* of *thannah* Jehanabad who had been made prisoner by the dacoit Maharaj Singh managed to effect his escape. Received information of a dacoity attended with murder and wounded having been committed by the notorious Maharaj Singh on *mouzah* Gorah *pergunnah* Korah. Received information of the murder of a Sikh belonging to the Ferozepore Regiment in *mouzah* Satna *pergunnah* Huswa. Received information of several carts laden with guns for Government having been attacked and plundered by the dacoit Willayat Hosein in *pergunnah* Dhatu.

December 30*th*, 1857—Received information that the notorious dacoits Madhoo and Sadhoo of Sadhowra had been attacked when in the act of committing a dacoity by the Police aided by Madhoo Singh of Sutore[1]. Madhoo and Sadhoo with seven of their followers were killed and seven others were taken prisoners. The loss on our side consisted of two men.

December 31*st*, 1857—Heard of a murder in the Ghazeepore *thannah* jurisdiction.[2]

BANDA AND KARWI

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT KARWI

Extracts from the Statement of the Prosecution.

VILLAGE POORBA ATTACKED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

.....Narain Rao and Madho Rao were given no authority to collect the Government revenue, still they have systematically continued to do so long after the reoccupation of Banda and after the Collector had taken charge; using

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

[2] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of W. G. Probyn, Officiating Magistrate and Collector, Fatehpur. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

force and burning and plundering villages and transferring landed property whenever the *zemindars* refused to pay. Many villages are totally ruined by them and cannot recover for many years to come. The combined force of Nawab Ally Bahadoor and Narain Rao and Madho Rao attacked and destroyed the village of Poorba[1], P. Budousa (*pargana* Badausa).

NARAIN RAO COLLECTS REVENUE

When the Commissioner of Allahabad issued a proclamation warning the people that Narain Rao was not authorized by him to collect revenue and telling them to keep it for the British Government, Narain Rao immediately sent more men into the *pergunnah* of Budousa to enforce his demands, notwithstanding the Government *Tehsildar* was present with a British officer at Kallingur (Kalinjar) in the *pergunnah*; they even came to blows with the *zemindars* of Surra only 8 miles from Kallingur, because they refused to pay them the revenue.

NAWAB OF BANDA WARMLY RECEIVED AT KARWI — HELP GIVEN BY NARAIN RAO

On the occasion of Nawab Ally Bahadoor, with a small force coming from Banda to Kirwee, he was received with open arms and great honor by Narain Rao and hospitably entertained, and they held secret councils and agreed to divide the district between them and Narain Rao lent the Nawab several lacs of rupees wherewith to pay his rebel army and arranged for future payment of the same through Oodey Kurun Sett (Udai Karan Seth) Banker of Banda. There could have been no doubt whatever that Nawab Ally Bahadoor was at that time a rebel and they exchanged mutual promises to help each other in time of need.

Narain Rao excused himself attending on Major Ellis at Kallingur when asked by that officer in the latter part of 1857.

[1] Can be read as 'Poorlia' also.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN NANA AND NARAIN RAO

Correspondence has been kept up between the Nana of Bithoor and Narain Rao's establishment. Narain Rao plundered Mohunt Joogul Doss (Mahant Jugal Das) a wealthy *maafeedar* of Kirwee because he corresponded with the Rajah of Punna, the friend and ally of the British Government.

Goodadoss of Nyagaon was similarly treated by Narain Rao.

EMISSARIES SENT TO RAJAPUR AND MAU

Emissaries were sent from Kirwee to Rajapoor and Mow to induce the mutinied regiments of Danapoor to take services at Kirwee.

50TH REGIMENT INVITED TO TAKE SERVICE AT KARWI

A sepoy in the service of Narain Rao brother of Ramsahai *Putwaree* (*Patwari*) was sent to Nagode to bring the 50th Regiment to Kirwee to take service with Narain Rao. Narain Rao took three villages belonging to the Rewan (Rewa) state the Rajah of which is our friend and ally.

All people were forbidden to name the British Government under penalty of severe punishment.

TIROHAN TAHSIL JAMADAR BELABOURED

When I wrote to the *Tehsildar* of Tirohan in September that I hoped soon to be back at Banda and ordered him to warn the *zemindars* to cultivate as usual and to be ready to pay the *Khureef kists* when demanded by the British Government, the *Jemadar* of the *tehseelee* was overheard telling this to the people. He was instantly seized by Narain Rao's *Kamdar* Radhagobind, beaten severely and paraded round the town as an instance of how any friend of the British Government would be treated.

KARWI—A RENDEZVOUS FOR THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Narain Rao took into his service Darajeet and Gopal

ex-jageerdars of Bugwantpoor Kullawan *elaqua* Pathore Cuchar who were openly in rebellion with the British Government; also Gooman, an escaped convict, and Runmust Singh a Rewan (Rewa) rebel and Furzund Ally a rebel of the Adjygurh (Ajaigarh) state. In fact Kirwee served as a rendezvous for the disaffected who flocked to serve under Narain Rao's flag. Narain Rao apprehended several rebels belonging to the Allahabad district and when ordered to send them to Allahabad, he failed to obey the order and allowed them to escape.

A knowledge of the above facts induced the Government to proclaim Narain Rao, Madho Rao and Radhagobind to be rebels and to order their apprehension.

NARAIN RAO AND MADHO RAO CONTINUED TO AID THE REVOLUTIONARIES

On the Magte. and Coll. (Magistrate and Collector) resuming charge of the Banda District at the end of April 1858, he addressed Narain Rao and Madho Rao inviting them to surrender and promising them good treatment and a fair trial. They replied that they were ready to come in and would do so immediately. But instead of doing so they kept putting the Magistrate off with vague promises and excuses, and at the same time went on manufacturing guns and powder and enlisting sepoys and failed to obey when ordered to withdraw their men from the *tehseelee* (*tahsil*) stations. They also continued to collect revenue.

On the Govt. native agent proceeding to Kirwee to advise Narain Rao, three of his attendants were murdered on the road near to Kirwee by men in the employ of Narain Rao and the agent himself escaped only by having remained behind to shave himself.

CROSSING OF POLICE AT MAU OPPOSED

Their men in *pergunnah* Mow opposed the crossing of Police whom the Magte. (Magistrate) had engaged in the Allahabad district for Banda.

MARCH OF THE BRITISH FORCE FROM BANDA TO KARWI

They evidently hoped by their false promises and

excuses to delay the advance of the British army until they were strong enough to oppose us. It was thus that they necessitated the march of a British force from Banda to Kirwee in the middle of the hot season and caused the deaths of a very many gallant soldiers from exposure.....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ASSEMBLED IN FORCE AT BANDA

Telegraphic Message from Colonel Durand, Mhow, Thursday 15th October, 8-15 P. M., to the Governor General, Calcutta, via Hyderabad and Madras.

The *Vakeel* of Scindia received yesterday a letter from Scindia of the fifth. It mentions the Agent of Nana Saib Santeea Soopay[2], was to march on the seventh with Moora[3] rebels sharut (*sic*,) and that the Nana Saib had gone to Jhamoon. Scindia's *Vakeel* received this morning a letter from Scindia of the sixth instant in which mention is made of Dinapore and other rebels being assembled in fore (*sic*,-force) at Banda. Santeea Soopay (Tatya Tope) with the Mooras (?) force will probably effect a junction with the Banda force. If the Nana march (?) south through insurgent Bundelcund at the head of such an army it will be increased by thousands of Boondeelas. Should he pursue the course which Scindia's intelligence indicate (*sic*,) the Nana may yet cause much trouble.[4]

BANDA AS HEAD QUARTERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

News dated Saturday the 7th November 1857.

.....The country between Cawnpore and Allahabad beyond a few miles of the river bank is still infested by bands of rebels. But recently, the town of Futtehpore was threatened by a body in repelling whom a loss of nearly a hundred in killed and wounded was incurred, Colonel Powell of the 53rd

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Narain Rao and Madho Rao of Karwi, Mukund Rao Jamadar, Executor and Guardian of Madho Rao and Govind Rao son of Mukund Rao*". Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records: File No. XVIII-36, Part II. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Spelt for 'Tatya Tope'.

[3] Appears misspelt for *Moorar*.

[4] Original Military Consultations, A, No. 511 of 6th Nov. 1857. National Archives, New Delhi.

Foot being among the former. This will continue to be the case in that part of the country until the insurgents who have fixed their headquarters at Banda are extirpated. These latter, we believe, are headed by Cooar Singh (Kunwar Singh), who is supported by the many petty chiefs whose forts stud Bundelkund.

The country on the north of Juanpore (Jaunpur) is still in a state of considerable disorganization. The Azimgurh district presents a disturbed appearance. A Column under Colonel Longden of the 10th Foot has marched against the rebels in that direction.[1]

'POOPOONDEE' RESIDENTS ATTACK A PARTY OF SEPOYS

Letter No. 77 of 1858 from the Officer Commanding, 24th Regiment, N. I., to the Commissioner of Banda, dated Adjutant's office, 24th Regiment, N. I., Jhansi, the 24th August 1858.

In December last a party of sepoys of this Regiment proceeding on furlough to Hindoostan, were plundered near Banda by the villagers or other occupants of the village of Poopoondee in the Ougasse[2] *purgunna* of the Banda state; property of considerable value was carried off and the sepoys ascertained that Thacoor Doobay and Dhakun were the *zemidars* of the village of Poopoondee who conducted the attack.

It is probable that at present you will not have sufficient hold of the country to make those people responsible, hence I have not sent you a memorandum of the plundered property, but I conceive it necessary to place you in possession of every information tending to the identification of individual depredation during the late disturbances and moreover hope that eventually you may be able to make them refund or to punish them in proportion to their misdeeds.[3]

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, November 12, 1857, p. 362. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *Augasi*, Tahsil *Baberu*, District *Banda*—This village lies in 25° 41′ N. and 80° 46′ E., on the banks of the Jumna, distant 35 miles by road from Banda and 9 miles from Baberu, with which it is connected by a raised and bridged but unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, 1909, p. 198).

[3] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records: File XVIII-20. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

CHAPTER EIGHT

HECTIC EFFORTS

KANPUR

THANA AND TAHSIL POSTS AT SIKANDRA ATTACKED

10*th*—The Calpee rebels headed by Rajah Bhow (Bhau) of Sekundra and Madho Sing *Canungoe* (*Qanungo*) of Bhogneepoor, crossed the Jumna and on the 11th attacked the *thannah* and *tehseel* posts at Sekundra, compelling the establishments to take flight, but not until the *Thannadar* and 15 *Burkundazes* had been killed. The Mungalpoor *tehseel* was next threatened, and necessarily abandoned.

11*th*—In consequence of these events, the Futtehpoor Moveable Column under Brigadier Carthew was immediately directed via Ghatumpoor on Bhogneepoor, and supported by a party of 400 men of Her Majesty's 34th under Colonel Kelly from Cawnpoor itself. The rebels recrossed the Jumna as soon as they were aware of these measures, but the Commissioner has since called in the Government establishments from the western *pergunnahs* of this district, considering that it would be impossible to carry on the Civil Government in the immediate neighbourhood of the large hostile force at Calpee after Brigadier Carthew's force was withdrawn. The Lieutenant-Governor has expressed his concurrence in the Commissioner's opinion, and has separately addressed His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on this subject. The rest of the district remains comparatively quiet, though the Nana's rabble still threaten Bithoor and Sheorajpoor.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES OCCUPY BHOGNIPUR

9*th*—Brigadier Carthew's Column was recalled early in the week as Her Majesty's 34th Regiment was required to

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 16th January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

reinforce Sir J. Outram at Alumbagh. Mr. Sherer returned with the Column bringing in with him the collections of the Akberpoor and Ghatumpoor *tehseels* amounting to 37,000 Rupees. The very favourable result of the collections of the week the Commissioner considers to be due to the exertions of this officer.

10*th*—The *tehseels* of the Ghatumpoor and Akberpoor have been strengthened, and are reported as now capable of holding out for some time against any enemy likely to attack them.

11*th* It is reported that as soon as the Calpee rebels heard of the return of our troops from Sekundra, they instantly crossed the Jumna and again occupied Bhogneepoor. A party of them under the Raja of Etawah is said also to have besieged the *tehseeldaree* of Ooriya in the Etawah district.[1]

GHATS CLOSELY WATCHED BY THE BRITISHERS

7*th* Colonel Maxwell commanding H.M.'s 88th Regiment marched by Akberpore to Bhogneepore with his Regiment and 50 Police Sowars under Captain Thompson on the 4th instant. The Calpee* rebels about 1000 Infantry and 100 Cavalry crossed and drove in Captain Thompson's picquet. The rest of the force then moved out and quickly compelled the rebels to recross; they had no guns, the rebel leader at Calpee refusing to trust any to their charge.

8*th* They lost from 80 to 100 killed, many of the 32nd N. I. some also of the 40th N. I., the rest belonged to the Gwalior Contingent. On our side Captain Thompson was severely wounded and three men also of the H. M.'s 88th (one dangerously). Of the sowars who behaved well, three were wounded (two severely).

9*th* The *ghats* and ferries of the Ganges closely watched to prevent the escape of the Nana.[2]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 23rd January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

*"Our Spies reported the rebels at Calpee to be about 2500 with 6 or 8 guns including those men in the Fort"—Marginal note in Original in Para 7.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract

NANA CROSSES THE GANGES

Telegraphic Message from the Judge of Cawnpore (Kanpur) to the Secretary to Government of the North-Western Provinces, dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), February 11, 1858.

Yesterday a body of 500 Infantry and about twenty sowars crossed the Ganges between Billore and Sheorajpore. It is much to be feared that the Nana or his brother were with them. They have taken the direction of Sheolie[1] and Secundra.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES PITCHED AT THE GHATS

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India, dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), February 13, 1858.

Considerable alarm prevails along the Ganges from Futteghur (Fatehgarh) to this place, on account of gatherings of rebels at the various *ghauts*. I therefore deemed advisable to move Colonel Maxwell from Akbarpore to Sheolie, and Brigadier-General Walpole back to Chowbapore (Chaubepur). The disposition of the force now in the district, for the purpose of arresting any movement across the river, is entrusted, for the next few days, to the latter. He has under his command three regiments of Infantry, 500 sowars, and twelve guns.[3]

GHATS THREATENED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Large bodies of the rebels threaten the *ghats* above Cawnpoor on the Ganges side of the district, and opposite

Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 6th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room. Lucknow.

[1] *Sheoli*, Tahsil *Sheorajpur*, District *Cawnpore*—The village of Sheoli formerly gave its name to a pargana which comprised the taluqas of Onha and Sakrej and was amalgamated with Sheorajpur in 1861. The place stands in 26° 36′ N. and 80° 4′ E. at the junction of several unmetalled roads leading from Cawnpore, Sheorajpur, Bithur, Sachendi, Tigain and Rasulabad, the last being joined by branches from Derapur and Rura : it is ten miles south-east from Sheorajpur and twenty-two miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 333).

[2] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 6 in No. 6, p. 103.

[3] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 8 in No. 6, p. 103.

Bithoor there is a party of 1500 men and four guns under Munsub Allee. On the 10th a party of the Nana's followers about 500 strong forded the Ganges above Bithoor and are supposed to have effected their escape across the Doab to Bundelcund. They were accompanied by the brother (Baba Bhut) of the Nana and Sahib Rao (Rao Saheb) the son of the former and the nephew of the latter. A police post on the Grand Trunk Road was destroyed by them on their passage and three of the Police killed.

The Nana himself is still on the left bank of the Ganges, but, it is known, is endeavouring to cross. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has been compelled to withdraw the force formerly stationed at Bithoor, but the detachment at Ukburpore (Akbarpur) has been moved to Sherolee[1] and Brigadier Walpole is ordered to hold Chowbeypoor so that if the Nana succeeded in crossing the Ganges, it is to be hoped he may be intercepted before he can reach Bundelcund. His movements are closely watched.[2]

NANA GOES TOWARDS ROHILKHAND

Telegraphic Message from the Judge of Cawnpore (Kanpur) to the Secretary to the Government. Allahabad, dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), February 19, 1858.

The Nana, finding his left flank and rear threatened by Grant's force moving up, he[3] left the bank of the Ganges, and has gone north-west towards Rohilcund. There has been a victory over the Bareilly force at Haldawanee[4], Head-quarters camp still at Cawnpore.[5]

NANA'S REPORTED FLIGHT TOWARDS ROHILKHAND

Colonel Walpole's force crossed the Ganges and destroyed

[1] Apparently spelt for *Sheoli.*

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] 'He' is superfluous here.

[4] About 25 miles from *Naini Tal* towards Bareilly on the Bareilly-Naini Tal Road.

[5] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies,* 1858, Inclosure 26 in No. 6, p. 108.

the fort of Jajamhow in Oude about the 19th instant. Colonel Maxwell with 88th moved up in support to Sheorajpoor. These operations with those of Colonel Hope Grant's Column (which has been occupied to the north of the Lucknow road and has destroyed Futtehpoor Chowrassee) have not only driven away the Nana from his old haunts, but secured the safe passage of the Agra Convoy, with which the enemies' parties occupying the lower *ghats* of the Ganges might otherwise have interfered.

The Nana, has, it is believed, fled towards Rohilkund, *but such diligent efforts are made to conceal his movements*, that all our officers speak with hesitation concerning them.

The district has been naturally much tranquillized by the presence and movements of the troops and is free for the present from any assemblage of rebels.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES BURN THE VILLAGE OF BARIPAL

Colonel Maxwell's force (consisting of H. M.'s 88th Foot and Police Horse) has been reinforced by a Wing of H. M.'s 32nd and the Tewana Horse. Some rebels crossed the Humeerpoor Ghat on the 20th and burned the village of Burriapal[2] but have not advanced further.[3]

ASSEMBLY OF REVOLUTIONARIES IN GHATAMPUR

The *ghats* on the Ganges have not been reoccupied by the rebels since the operations reported last week. On the

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 21st February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently *Baripal*, Tahsil *Ghatampur*, District *Cawnpore*—This large village stands in the south of the tahsil, close to the right bank of the Non, in 26° 2′ N., 80° 12′ E., at the junction of the unmetalled road from Srinagar and Sajeti to Amauli in the Fatehpur district with that from Rampur on the Jumna to Kora, and with that leading from Bhadona on the Rind; it is ten miles south from Ghatampur and 36 miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 240).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative(Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 28th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Jumna side, however, the accumulation of the rebels in the Ghatumpoor *pergunnah* induced His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to detach against them H. M.'s 88th and 32nd Regiments under Colonel Maxwell of the former corps. This measure had the effect of driving the insurgents back across the river, but the force has since been recalled for other purposes and has been relieved by Captain Berry's Sikh Police Battalion with some of the Tewanah Horse.[1]

HAMIRPUR REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS THE YAMUNA

The rebels from Hameerpore, about 2000 strong, but without guns, crossed on the 14th. The following day the Sikh corps, reinforced by H. M.'s 88th and Captain Blunt's battery, marched to Akburpoor; on the 16th the enemy re-crossed.

The *Tehseeldar* of Russoolabad[2], an influential and loyal *zemindar*, named Hindhur Sing, has raised 500 men at his own expense, in addition to the force allowed by Government for the defence of his *pergunnah*; the rebels have not ventured to attack it.

The revenue collections amounted to 36,148 Rs. for the week under review, a good portion of it having been obtained from the Russoolabad *pergunnah*, almost under the guns of the Gwalior rebels.[3]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Rasulabad*, Tahsil *Bilhaur*, District *Cawnpore*— The place which till 1894 gave its name to the pargana and tahsil of Rasulabad, in that year divided between Bilhaur and Derapur, is little more than a mere agricultural village standing in 26° 40′ N. and 79° 48′ E., in the western extremity of the Bilhaur tahsil, at a distance of eleven miles north from Jhinjhak station, twenty-two miles south-west from Bilhaur and about forty miles north-west from Cawnpore. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, pp. 327-328).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow,

GHATAMPUR ATTACKED AND DESTROYED

The rebels about 500 strong with two guns crossed at the commencement of the week below Humeerpore; they re-crossed on being threatened by the Columns under Colonel (s) Christie and Maxwell. However a couple of days later they came over by a lower *ghat* and by a sudden night march surrounded and destroyed the *tehseel* (and) *thannah* of Ghatumpore killing six of the inmates.

Several small bodies of rebels are reported at Futtehpore Chowrassee, Oosmanpore and other places across the Ganges amounting to about 1000 men chiefly fugitives from Lucknow.

On the 27th Maharajah Jung Bahadoor with 2500 of his men arrived from Lucknow *en route* to Allahabad.[1]

GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENT WITHDRAWN FROM GHATAMPUR

No event worth noticing has taken place in this district for the period under review. The return of Colonel Christie's Column to Jehanabad, and the movement of Colonel Maxwell towards Oreyah, left the Ghatumpore *pergunnah* so exposed that it has been deemed expedient, temporarily, to withdraw the Government establishment. Mr. Willock who has been investigating the circumstances connected with the late destruction of the *tehseel*, considers the officials partly to blame for not being more on the alert, and making a more courageous resistance.[2]

BRISK REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY ALONG THE GHATS OF YAMUNA

The rebels continue to give trouble at all the *ghats* of the Jumna, and great uneasiness is said to prevail.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Colonel Maxwell's force has been moving about, its Head-Quarters are at Akberpore.

Some Police have fallen, in an encounter with the rebels near Mossanugger[1], but no important incursion has been recently made. It is now reported that the Calpee rebels filled with terror at the fall of Jhansie are divided among themselves—that some intended crossing in force and fighting their way to Bareilly, while others are throwing their arms into the Jumna, and endeavouring to escape singly. Every effort will be made to arrest their progress.

On the Ganges side, there is a strong body of rebels with guns under one Nerput Sing at Roolooar Rooroo[2], in Oudh.[3]

* * *

Extract from the Narrative of Events.

The rebels still cross and recross at the *ghats* of the Jumna in *pergunnahs* Ghatumpore and Russoolabad. On one occasion a party of sepoys with two guns, came over and did some damage. Colonel Maxwell is at Akberpore.[4]

GHATAMPUR SURPRISED AND SACKED

This district continues much in the same state as before. A party of sixty sowars, 200 sepoys and 500 or 600 rabble by a forced march surprised the *tehsil* at Ghatumpore before daybreak on the second of May. One man was killed, the *Tehsildar* wounded, and the building itself carried and sacked; fortunately there was at the time little money in it, not more than Rs. 1500. Colonel Maxwell has made a reconnoissance and

[1] *Musanagar*, Tahsil *Bhognipur*, District *Cawnpore*—The small town of Musanagar stands in the extreme south-east of the tahsil in 80° 10′ N. and 79° 58′ E., and is built on the high ground above the Jumna. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 312).

[2] Not clearly decipherable.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 12th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 25th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

examined the river opposite Calpee. The boatmen of the latter place have offered to assist the British troops when it is attacked by us.[1]

ATTACK ON RASULABAD TAHSIL

At the close of the previous week, an event took place, which was not reported in time for the last Narrative, viz. the repulse of an attack on the *tehseel* of Rusoolabad. The *Tehsildar* had received information and assistance from a friendly *zemindar*, and one man only fell on our side; the enemy came from the Etawah district.

Three Revenue *Chuprasses* were seized in the village of Soojun by the *zemindars*, and made over to (a) party of sepoys from the other side; one was killed while scouting, the others were carried away (as) captives.....[2]

PARGANAS BORDERING ON AURAIYA INFESTED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

The *pergunnas* bordering on Oreyah were, during the week, much infested by bands of plunderers from that place. Colonel Riddell's operations would of course put an end to the evil...[3]

GHATAMPUR TAHSIL REINFORCED

The Ghatumpore *tahsil* building has been strengthened by Lieutenant Franks and is now capable of a good defence. The fall of Calpee will, however, probably settle that portion of the district. The rest of Mr. Sherer's reports chiefly relate

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 2nd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 9th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

to Sir H. Rose's movement and those of Maharaj Sing as above narrated.....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT SHEORAJPUR GHAT

Telegraphic Message from the Judge of Cawnpore (Kanpur) to Muir, dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), May 28, 1858.

The reports from Bithoor and Bilhour Police show that the rebels who entered that district were unable to cross the Ganges, and have gone back towards the Jumna, the road west of Cawnpore is again safe. The Rajah of Kupoorthala will to-day be at Urwul, with a force and retinue of some 5,000 men in all, of which 1,200 are Cavalry. The *daks* from Futtypore (Fatehpur) are now all right, but the rebels are still reported to be 1,000 strong, Horse and Foot, at the Sheorajpore Ghaut on the Ganges.[2]

ARRIVAL OF THE KAPURTHALA RAJA AT KANPUR

Telegraphic Message from the Judge of Cawnpore (Kanpur) to Muir, dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), May 30, 1858.

The Kupoorthalla Rajah has arrived, and leaves to-morrow for Oonao. His own regular force consists of three guns, 200 Cavalry, 800 Infantry. Lieutenant Hawkins, his escort, has 300 Infantry, and 100 Cavalry. Camp-followers between 2,000 and 4,000 men. The Rajah leaves for Oonao to-morrow. Both letter and parcel *dak* arrived safely from below. I hope you are better.[3]

REPORTED CAPTURE OF KALPI

This district is now free from external enemies and is comparatively quiet. The Rajah of Kapoorthala's force

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 10 in No. 17, p. 164.

[3] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 14 in No. 17, p. 165.

arrived on the 30th and marched the following day for Oonao (Unnao). He had with him 200 Cavalry and 800 Infantry and 3 guns, but another regiment of Infantry was left at Allyghur (Aligarh), and he was accompanied by Lieutenant Hawkins' levy which consisted of 300 Infantry and 100 Horse. Mr. Sherer reports decided satisfaction existing among the respectable inhabitants of the town at the capture of Calpee.[1]

CAPTURE OF MADHO SINGH AND HIS SUICIDE

One Madho Sing of Bhognipore, a very notorious and influential rebel in the Cawnpore district, was taken (captive) on the 1st June near Calpee by Sir Hugh Rose's force. On being recognised he at once poisoned himself. His death Mr. Sherer considers as likely to prove a great discouragement to rebellion and misrule in his neighbourhood.

Messrs. Sherer and Batten have been to Bithoor, and report the people as quiet and apparently well disposed, except only the mendicant priesthood who are naturally great losers by the downfall of the Nana.

The Magistrate reports that across the Ganges at Rooya, Futtehpore Chowrasee and at Bangarmow[2] large bodies of rebels exist; the former two under Nurput Sing the latter under a Delhie *Shazadah*.....[3]

NANA REPORTED TO BE AT NANAMAU

Cawnpoor is becoming settled. There were rumours of the collection of rebels near Oonao, probably owing to the

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Bangarmau*, Pargana *Bangarmau*, Tahsil *Safipur*, District *Unao*—This town lies in the centre of the pargana to which it has given its name, at a distance of thirty-one miles north-west from Unao, on the road leading from that place to Hardoi. It is situated in latitude 26° 53′ north and longitude 80° 12′ east, and is almost surrounded by extensive groves. (*District Gazetteers*, Unao, 1903, p. 156).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

absence in the opposite direction of General Grant's Column which has had a most successful engagement near Nuwabgunge on the Fyzabad road. The *Tehsildar* of Bilhour reported on the 18th that at Nanamhow[1] and other neighbouring *ghats*, various small bodies of the rebels, both Foot and Horse, were collected, and that some of them were making rafts. The Nana was said to be in that direction.....[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER FIRGZ SHAH

A report from Futtehghur that the rebels with the Nana intended crossing in force near Nanamhow Ghat, induced Brigadier-General Campbell to detach a large force of Cavalry to all the *ghats*. It appears some of the rebels had been making rafts and there is no doubt the rebels under the Shahzadah Ferozshah, who are not far distant, are in considerable force, it is said 8000 men (half of whom are Cavalry) and 12 guns. Beyond this nothing has transpired.....[3]

UNNAO THREATENED

Collections 56109-0-5. The rebels in Oude are said to be collecting near to, and threatening, the station Oonao.[4]

MAULVI LIAQAT ALI AT KANPUR

Deposition on Oath of Jankee Pershaud (Janki Prasad) son of Kashee Nauth (Kashi Nath), caste Kuttry (Khattri), resident of Cawnpore (Kanpur), aged 60, *by*

[1] *Nanaman*, Tahsil *Bilhaur*, District *Cawnpore*—The old village of Nanaman stands on the bank of the Ganges in 26° 52′ N. and 80° 7′ E., at a distance of four miles north-east from Bilhaur, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road continuing to Kakwan and Rasulabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 315).

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 20th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 27th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Kanpur for the week ending 3rd July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

profession a shopkeeper and service man, dated 24th Nov. 1859, in the presence of Colonel Williams, Commissioner of Police.

Question—Where did the Moulvie of Allahabad reside who (*sic*,-when he) came to Cawnpore during the outbreak?

Answer—He too put up in the *Bukshee's* house in *Mohulla* Moree Tola. Hundreds of persons saw him. This Moulvie used to pass through the city attended by 20 or 25 sowars.[1]

* * *

Deposition on Oath of Hulas Sing, son of Ram Sing, Caste Koormee (Kurmi), aged 70 years, resident of mowzah Koodia Furruckabad (Farrukhabad), profession zemindari or service, before Colonel Williams on the 24th November 1859.

Question—Where, and in whose house, did the Molvee of Allahabad, who came to Cawnpore, reside?

Answer—He resided in the city, I do not know in whose house.

Question—Did you at all hear, that the said Molvee lived in Zynoolabdeen's (Zain-ul-Abdin) house ?

Answer—I did not hear this, but both the Molvee and Zynoolabdeen were residents of Allahabad, perhaps it might have been the case.[2]

NANA SAHEB AND BALA RAO

NANA AS CHAMPION OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated July 16, 1857.

The Rebellion—The rebellion has now assumed an intelligible shape. The rebels have found a leader and what is more—a leader with a purpose. A dependent of a prince who was deposed forty years ago has undertaken the hopeful task of wresting the empire of India from Great Britain. The hanger-on of the last of a line of usurpers who governed a portion of Central India for about a century of the dark ages has announced himself as the legitimate sovereign of the canton-

[1] File regarding 'Jwala Prasad'. English Records Room, Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
[2] *Ibid.*

ment. *Dhoondoopunt Nanajee has chosen himself as the champion of Indian independence.* The success with which he suborned[1] perjury to deprive his patron's heirs of their heritage, has emboldened him to strive with the sword for the monarchy of Hindostan. The sepoy mutineers seem to have been relieved of a great want. In those obese gentlemen with necklaces of gold ingots - the *Subadars* and *Jemadars* of the Bengal Army—they found only leaders of companies and eaters of *ghee.* In the King of Delhi they have found a leader willing to wound but afraid to strike. The corpse of Mogul sovereignty cannot be resuscitated by the elixir of rebellion. The King of Oude is in prison, and he has given too many hostages to British clemency for him to assume the direction of the sepoy revolt. The sepoys lacked a head, and they have, we repeat, found within the last few weeks, one, the only head that the country could spare for a body so convulsed with the throes of death and despair as the mutinous soldiery and unhung scoundrelism of upper India constitute.[2]

NANA HEADS THE AVADH REVOLUTIONARIES

News extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated August 13 1857.

. . . . . Nana Sahib, we believe, heads the rebels of Oude, and to rescue the garrison of the Lucknow Residency out of his desperate hands will demand a large sacrifice than the force under General Havelock can afford. . . . .[3]

RS. 50,000 FOR NANA'S CAPTURE

News dated Friday, the 2nd October 1857.

'*The Englishman*' states that Government has issued a proclamation in several languages offering a reward of fifty thousand rupees for the capture of the Nana Saheb. Is there no man in Oude willing to purchase his escape from the consequences of rebellion, and earn a fortune too in the bargain?[4]

[1] Proper word would be 'abjured'.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, July 16, 1857, pp. 227-28. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, August 13, 1857, p. 259. National Library, Calcutta.

[4] *The Hindoo Patriot*, October 8, 1857, p. 321. National Library, Calcutta.

PARTICULARS ABOUT NANA AND TATYA

News extract from The 'Hindoo Patriot' dated Nov. 11, 1857.

.....The following description of the Nanah (Nana) Saheb and his family is taken from the *Madras Athenaeum*— "From a descriptive roll of some of the rebels we learn that Nana Rao Dhoondoo Punt, otherwise Nana Sahib, is a Dekhany Brahmin, 35 years old, of fair complexion, and 5 feet six inches in height. He is of powerful appearance and has a flat and round face. His nose is straight and well shaped, eyes large and round, teeth regular, and his breast is covered with hair. The color of his hair black, and he has ringmarks on his face. It is remarked that the Nana has the features of a Mahratta strongly depicted. On one of his toes a lancet mark, and at present, by wearing a beard, he presents a Mahomedan appearance. A servant with a cut ear never leaves his side. The Nana's wife who is likewise a Dekhany Brahmin is seventeen years of age. She is described as fat and short, of fair complexion, as having a broad pock-marked face, large nose, and round eyes. She walks with head erect. Topee (Tope) is described in the same roll as being a captain, forty two years old and of the Dekhany Brahmin caste. His person is fat, his complexion is black, his face is bloated and pock-marked, and he is of the middling height. His nose is flat, his eyes are large and his teeth are regular. The color of his hair is black and he has (a) few black hairs on his breast. Tantia does not seem to have a wife, at any rate if he has, she is not described. In the column for remarks, it is stated that Tantia was "*the founder of the outbreak at Cawnpore*".[1]

A 'CAPITAL' IDEA ABOUT NANA

News dated Friday, the 6th November 1857.

A correspondent of '*The Phoenix*' starts a capital idea. He wishes to have the custody of Nana Saheb's person for a year at the end of which he promises to return him safe in body and limb to the authorities. He would in the meanwhile "exhibit" the Nana for a small fee—each time. The returns doubtless would be considerable, and the writer offers half to

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 11th November 1857, p. 353. National Library, Calcutta.

the Relief Fund. At all events if the Nana be caught alive the man who summarily kills him will himself deserve to be hung.[1]

* * *

News dated Saturday, the 14th November 1857.

A correspondent of '*The Englishman*' suggests that the benefit of the proclamation of a reward of 50,000 rupees for Nana Saheb's person should be extended to rebels. Some one might be found in the herd of traitors associated with him who might betray him.[2]

ATTACK BY NANA APPREHENDED

News dated Thursday, the 3rd December 1857.

The same journal (*The Harkaru*) notices a statement in one of the French papers to the effect that "at Calcutta an attack from Nana Sahib was apprehended". This statement is scarcely more extravagant than those contained in the greater (great) number of letters sent to Europe by every mail.[3]

NANA SAHEB AT GWALIOR

News extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated Dec. 17, 1857.

. . . . . Nana Sahib, who probably directed the operations of the Gwalior Contingent against Cawnpore, is, we suppose, now resting at Gwalior where his family must be in his father-in-law's house. . . . .[4]

NANA INTENDS TO CROSS OVER TO SOUTHERN INDIA

Letter No. 5 (*Judl.*) *from the Magistrate, Hamirpur, to the Commissioner, Jhansi Division, dated June* 28, 1858.

I have the honor to report to you that General Whitlock

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, November 12, 1857, p. 361. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, November 19, 1857, p. 369 National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, December 10, 1857, p. 393. National Library, Calcutta.
[4] *The Hindoo Patriot*, December 17, 1857, p. 402. National Library, Calcutta.

received intelligence from Futtehpore through Mr. Mayne, that the Nana Dhoondoo Punt was intending to cross the Doab, from the left bank (of) the Ganges, and force his way through this part to Southern India. I received no official notice of it, but on hearing that a Column was to start, of about 500 men of all arms, I of course with the Dept. Coll. (Deputy Collector) accompanied it. On arriving here, I despatched a trustworthy officer to the *ghats* of Chanderpore and Serowlee, telling them to each (each to) get, some 25 men together, and watch the *ghats*, letting me know at once whatever they might see or hear. I have as yet few men entertained and so can only take this precautionary measure. I instructed them to seize any one trying to cross surreptitiously, and to give immediate notice of any considerable bodies assembling.

2*nd*—I have likewise had all the boats previously kept on the Cawnpore bank of the river, brought over here, and despatched a trustworthy person up the river to see to the boats and fords there. The Dept. Coll. (Deputy Collector) has himself gone down with Mr. Lindsay of the Engineers to see about Serowlee the most probable place for the attempt to be made.

3*rd*—I will report further on knowing more.[1]

BALA RAO IN NEPAL

Service Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, 12th January, 7-50 P. M.

The Commissioner of Goruckpore reports that Bala Rao, with his family and five hundred Bhojepore sepoys, entered the Nepaul Territory on the 6th instant. They gave out their intentions of claiming protection from the Nepalese authorities, and of dispersion to their homes, should protection be refused.[2]

BALA RAO AND NANA RAO MAKE OFF EASTWARD

Extract from 'The Bengal Harkaru and India Gazette' dated Jan. 18, 1858.

The following is an extract of a letter dated Toolsipore, dated 8th January 1859:

[1] Hamirpur District Mutiny Records: Book No. 153, pp. 33, 34. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, January 14, 1859, p. 49. National Library, Calcutta.

We have been marching, fighting and pursuing the enemy for the last 10 days. Bala Rao and Mahomud Hosein have made off to the eastward in the jungle along the foot of the Hills, whilst another large party of the enemy have bolted off to the westward with a lot of treasure and loot.....[1]

BEGAM AND THE NANA AT BUTWAL

Message from Offg. Commissioner, Gorakhpur, dated 28th March 1859, No. 63.

Reporting a successful attack on the rebels, on the 26th instant, by Colonel Kelly, at Simlar, and adds that the Begum and the Nana are reported to be at Bootwul.[2]

CONCERTED ACTION OF NANA AND BALA RAO

Message from Colonel Walter, H. M's 35th Regiment, Commanding at Dinapore, to Stewart, Secretary to Government to the Governor General, from Dinapore via Patna, dated 6th April 1859.

I have just received the following from Colonel Kelly commanding on the Nepaul frontier--

From Colonel Kelly Commanding Field Force to Colonel Stewart, Secretary to Governor General, Calcutta, Camp near Bootwul, 31st March 1859. "I was misinformed yesterday when I wrote that the rebels had returned to the first range of Hills. I learn from an Afghan *Shazada*, a relative of the late Shahsoojah (Shah Shuja) who came in yesterday with sixty and seventy *Vullaities* that the rebels under Bala Rao and Nana were still between the 1st and 2nd ranges of Hills suffering greatly from scarcity of food. Mohammed Hussein they say tried to come yesterday but was prevented by them. It will be of course impossible for me to attack them at such a distance 14 miles from this and over such ground especially; as they have a picket on the ridge it will be impossible

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, January 18, 1859, p. 59. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Political Department, N. W. P. Govt. 1859. Abstract of the Proceedings of Lt. Governor of N.W. P. in the Foreign Department for the week ending the 7th April 1859.

to surprise them. All I can do is to leave a force here to watch them while I proceed to Beluwah to join the force stationed there under Lieutenant-Colonel Ross 73rd Regiment and drive them westward towards Toolseepore. The Wing of H. M.'s 34th Regiment and two guns Royal Artillery will not arrive here till tomorrow morning when they with a Wing 3rd Seikh Infantry will remain here to watch the rebels while I march at the same time towards Tuleah with two guns Royal Artillery, Detachment H. M.'s 13th Regiment and two squadrons Jat Horse and a Wing 3rd Seikh Infantry and act with Lieutenant Colonel Ross's force against the rebels. At 4 P. M. Mohammed Hussein has just come in with one hundred fifty retainers; he promised to bring in 1200 of his followers tomorrow or next day. There are still he says between 6 (6000) or 7000 armed sepoys and about two thousand sowars many of them without horses between the 1st and 2nd range of Hills; these are commanded by Bala Rao and the Nana, the Begum is still further back. The sepoys have detained his wife and family as prisoners. He is of opinion the sepoys must have surrendered the day before yesterday from starvation had not the Goorkhas supplied them with provisions. The sepoys of the Nana and Bala Rao alone prevent the others from coming in. The Gonda Rajah and Nussirabad Brigade have alone gone westward and are in the jungle ....[1] with about three thousand men.[2]

REWARD SET FOR NANA'S CAPTURE

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette' dated April 15, 1858.

Proclamation—It is hereby notified that the Nawab of Furrukhabad, the Nawab of Banda, Tej Sing, the rebel Rajah of Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), Khan Bahadoor Khan of Bareilly and Waleedad Khan, are excluded from the benefits of the Proclamation No. 326, dated the 18th ultimo, wherein a reward was offered to any person, who should deliver the rebel Nana Dhondhoo Punt of Bithoor to the British Officer, commanding in any military camp or at any military post,

[1] Word not clearly decipherable.

[2] Foreign Political Consultations, 22nd April 1859, No. 125. National Archives, New Delhi.

and, in addition to the pecuniary reward, a free pardon was guaranteed to any mutineer, deserter or rebel who should so deliver up the said Nana Dhondhoo Punt.[1]

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN NANA AND THE BRITISH

Message from Offg. Commissioner of the Goruckpoor (Gorakhpur) Division, dated 27th April 1859.

Forward copy of an *Isteharnamah*, from the Nana of Bithoor, to the address of Major Richardson, Commanding Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry, and of its reply, for information.[2]

* * *

Translation of an Ishtiharnamah to Her Majesty the Queen, the Parliament, the Court of Directors, the Governor General, the Lieutenant-Governor and all Officers Civil and Military, dated 17th *Ramzan*, 1275 *Hijri, corresponding with* 20*th April* 1859.

You have forgiven the crimes of all Hindoostan and murderers have been pardoned. It is strange that your sepoys have killed your women and children and Mummoo Khan and the people of rank of Furruckabad[3], who truly are murderers have been forgiven, and you have written to Jung Bahadoor to send the Begum and the Rajas to their own country under his guarantee. It is surprising that I who have joined the rebels from helplessness have not been forgiven. I have committed no murder. Had General Hawla (*sic*,-Wheeler) not sent for me from Bithoor my soldiers would not have rebelled; besides he did not send for my family to the entrenchments. My soldiers were not of my own country, and I previously urged that so insignificant ("*gureeb*") a person as myself could render no material aid to the British. But General "Hawla" (Wheeler)

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, April 15, 1858, p. 356. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Proceedings, Vol. No. 33., Year 1859. Abstract of the Proceedings of G. F. Edmonstone, Lt. Governor of N. W. P., in Foreign Department for the week ending the 31st May 1859.

[3] Reference is to 'Nawab of Farrukhabad'.

would not listen to me and invited me into the entrenchment. When your army mutinied and proceeded to take possession of the treasury my soldiers joined them. Upon this I reflected that if I went into the entrenchments my soldiers would kill my family, and that the British would punish me for the rebellion of my soldiers; it was therefore better for me to die. My ryots were urgent and I was obliged to join the soldiers. For two or three years I petitioned the ("*roobkary kya*") *Surkar* but no attention was paid to it. At Cawnpoor the soldiers disobeyed my orders and began killing the English women and the ryots. All I could save by any means I did save, and when they left the entrenchments, provided boats in which I sent them down to Allahabad, your sepoys attacked them. By means of entreaties I restrained my soldiers and saved the lives of 200 English women and children. I have heard that they were killed by your sepoys and *budmashes* at the time that my soldiers fled from Cawnpoor and my brother was wounded; after this I heard of *Istiharnamah* that had been published by you and prepared to fight and *up to this time I have been fighting with you, and, while I live, will fight. You are well aware that I am not a murderer, nor am I guilty;* neither have you passed any order concerning me. You have no enemy besides me, so, *as long as I live I will fight.* I also am a man. I remain two *coss* distant from. It is strange that you, a great and powerful nation, have been fighting with me for two years and have not been able to do anything; the more so when it is considered that my troops do not obey me and I have not possession of my country. You have forgiven the crimes of all and the Nepal Chief is your friend. With all this you have not been able to do anything. You have drawn all to your side, and I alone am left but you will see what the soldiers I have been preserving for two years can do. *We will meet, and then I will shed your blood and it will flow kuree* (*sic*,-knee) *deep. I am prepared to die. If I alone am worthy of being an enemy to so powerful a nation as the British it is a great honor to me, and every wish of my heart is fulfilled;* death will come to me one day. What then have I to fear ? *But those whom you have taken to your side will on the day fixed turn upon you and kill you.* You are wise, but have erred in your wisdom. I sent a letter to Chundernugger but it did not reach. This has disappointed me or you would have seen what I could do. I will however still try for Chundernugger.

If you think proper send an answer to this. A wise enemy is better than an unwise friend.[1]

* * *

Copy of a reply sent by Major J F. Richardson, Commanding Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry, dated April 20th, 1859, to the Ishtihar bearing the seal of the Maharaja of Bithoor, dated the 17th Ramzan 1275 Hijri.

The *Ishtahar* bearing the seal of the Maharaja of Bithoor sent by the hands of a Brahmin has been received by Major Richardson Commanding European Cavalry who has made himself acquainted with the contents. I now write that the Proclamation which was issued by Her Majesty the Queen of England, was not for any one party or person, but for all. And the identical terms under which the Nawab of Furruckabad, the Nawab of Banda and other Chieftains and Rajas of Oudh, laid down their arms and surrendered themselves to Govt., those terms are open to you and all those who may wish to surrender. In writing as you do that you have not murdered women and children (*Mehm our lurken*), it becomes you to come in without fear. A reply to this is requested.[2]

* * *

Letter No. 2371 of 1859 from Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of N. W. P., dated Fort William, the 2nd May 1859.

In continuation of my telegraphic message of this date (copy of which is enclosed) I am directed to state that shortly after the receipt of the Lieutenant-Governor's message of the 30th ultimo a copy of the Nana's letter and of Major Richardson's reply reached the Governor General in Council through Brigadier Rowcroft.

2*nd*—The Governor General in Council has seen with great regret that Major Richardson has in answering the Nana referred to the cases of the Nawab of Banda and the Nawab

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859. Nos. 63-69, National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ibid.*

of Furruckabad, with the particulars of which Major Richardson cannot be fully acquainted.

3*rd*—In taking this course Major Richardson has said that which may greatly mislead. His Excellency in Council desires that for the future all overtures from rebels who have been proscribed by the Govt. or who stand suspected of having taken part in murders are to be answered by a communication of or reference to the Queen's Proclamation without further comment, the overture being forwarded to the superior of the officer receiving it, for such further notice as the Govt. may deem necessary.

4*th*—This I am desired to add is the course which Major Richardson ought to have pursued, the more so as the Nana's letter was addressed, primarily, to much higher authority than his.

5*th*—I am directed to request that under the orders of Lieutenant-Governor, these instructions may be communicated to Major Richardson.

P. S.—Your letter on this subject has since been received.[1]

Letter No. 883 of 1859 from Brigadier H. Rowcroft, Commanding Gorakhpur District, to Major-General Birch, Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta, dated Gorakhpur, 7th May 1859.

I have the honor to forward the enclosed Documents as noted in the margin (in the footnote)* for submission to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India.

2*nd*—I beg to report that I have sent up orders to Colonel Pinckney not to allow each communication to be carried on and signed by any subordinate officer, but to take such matter entirely into his own hands, and to keep them from being publicly known in camp as far as possible, obtaining the assistance of Major Richardson or other confidential officer; and, in future, on any letters or overtures being received from such rebel chiefs merely to refer them to Her Majesty the

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859, Nos. 63-69. National Archives, New Delhi.

* "Two Native letters original from the Nana and Bala Rao dated 25th and 26th April 1859 with Translations. Copies of the replies sent by Major Richardson Comdg. B. Y. Cavy. under the sanction of Coll. Pinckney C. B. Comdg. the Column."—Note in Original.

Queen's Proclamation in reply, sending in the native letters without delay, for transmission to Govt., informing the parties that their letters have been so forwarded.[1]

Translation of a letter from the Nana dated Deogarh, 22nd Ramzan, corresponding with 25th April 1859.

Major Richardson in his reply to my *Ishtihar* received on the 23rd April 1859 has noticed only one of the many subjects contained in it. This I accept but I cannot surrender myself in this manner; if a letter, written by Her Majesty the Queen and sealed with her seal, and brought by the Commanding Officer of the French ("Fransee") or the second in Command, reach (*sic*,-reaches) me, I will, placing reliance on these officers, accept the Terms without hesitation. *Why should I join you, knowing all the "dagabazi" perpetrated by you in Hindoostan ?* If you are heartily desirous of putting an end to the trouble of the country, an autograph (autographed) letter of Her Majesty, brought by the Commanding Officer of the French, I will accept. Some years ago, I sent an *Eilchee*[2] to London, by whom Her Majesty sent me a letter written with her own hand, and sealed with her own seal. This I have in my possession to this day. If you wish it, the thing can only be done in this way, and to this I consent. *If not, life must be given up some day. Why then should I die dishonored ? There will be war between me and you as long as I have life, whether I be killed or imprisoned or hanged, and whatever I do will be done with the sword only.* Nevertheless if Her Majesty's letter as above described comes to me, and this may be, I will present myself. If you consider it proper, be sure to send me an answer.[3]

* * *

Reply to Nana; transmitted from Dhukhri Camp, 25th April 1859.

Nana Sahib ! I have received your letter (dated) the

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859, Nos. 63-69. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Ambassador or Messenger.

[3] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859, Nos. 63-69. National Archives, New Delhi.



Letter of Nana Saheb

22nd Ramzan. Beyond that which I wrote you on the 23rd April, I can do nothing more than forward you a copy of Her Majesty the Queen of England's Proclamation which bears the Royal seals. Perusc it, and if there is any thing you cannot understand, write, and I will explain as far as I can. The Terms of the Proclamation are in the highest degree noble and as such recommended to your careful consideration. It must be manifest to you, as a man of education, that by adopting the style of defiance your case becomes worse. I ask you: Can you expect to compete with so great a power as Her Majesty of England? Read and study this Proclamation and having done so, give me your determination. Send any responsible party to me, and I guarantee him safe conduct to and fro, and I will explain any point you may be in doubt on. Your messenger shall be treated with consideration, more I cannot do.[1]

* * *

Translation of a "Petition to the English" from Bala Rao dated 8th Baisakh, Samvat 1916, *corresponding with 25th April* 1859.

I am the brother of the Nana. From the time of the English I have been with him; he never permitted me to go anywhere without his orders, threatening me with disinheritance, so I remained in subjection to him, and was not acquainted with any of his English visitors. This rendered me helpless. I was however desirous of preserving my honor and kept aloof from all. No one has put in a complaint against me; if any such "*roobkaree*" can be produced, I will be guilty. When he rebelled at Cawnpore, he beguiled and took me there, and placed my wife with his women, and they are together to this day. When the sepoys marched to take the treasure, I perceived my utter helplessness, for I know none of the "*Sahib log*". The sepoys would not allow me to leave them, my brother would not permit me to separate from him. I was therefore necessitated to act according to my brother's orders. I have saved the life of a child, 9 or 10 years of age, the daughter of the Judge of Futtehpoor, and kept her concealed with my

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859, Nos. 63-69. National Archives, New Delhi.

wife, and have shown her to General Budree Nur Sing (Badri Nar Singh). I petitioned Jewajee Scindia of Gwalior on my own account (he is yet living) at the time he came to Bithoor, but he replied, he could not keep me alone without permission of the Govt. or of my brother. Thus I continued helpless. I am guiltless and this will be found to be the case on enquiry. If you send a reply, I will come to you, and relate everything. It is in your power to do with me as you wish, you can imprison or kill or hang me. Whatever may happen I will be freed from my present anxieties. If you are not for me, the world is not; whoever dies, dies alone, for thus it happens. According to your reply I will act.[1]

* * *

The Answer to Bala Rao's Communication.

Bala Rao! your representation, dated the 9th Buddee, Sumbut 1916, sent by the hand of the Brahmin, reached me last evening. I have perused it, and in return send you a copy of the Proclamation of the Queen of England written in Nagri and bearing Her Majesty's royal seal. The terms of this Proclamation are such as could only be by a great and good Queen. Read it carefully and having done so, give me your answer. If do you not understand it, I will, on your informing me, explain as far as I can or if you like to send me a trustworthy man whom I guarantee to pass free to and fro, I will explain to him that which you do not understand. Mistake not the Proclamation of England's Queen. You mention that you have a Christian child with you. Recollect you are a man, and as such, it is your duty to protect that child from harm. Terms beyond those of the *Ishtihar* of Her Majesty I have not the power to offer you. As I have no person who can well read Sanscrit (Sanskrit), I have had difficulty in reading your representations; it will be better if you (write) in Oordoo (Urdu) or Nagri.[2]

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859, Nos. 63-69. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ibid.*

TERMS OFFERED TO NANA SAHEB

Service Message from Lieutenant-Governor, N. W. P., Allahabad, to the Governor General, Calcutta, dated 30th April 1859.

The Nana has sent in to Colonel Pinkney's Camp a definnat (defiant) remonstrance. He has been told by Major Richardson in reply that the same terms under which the Nawab of Furruckhabad and Nawab of Banda surrendered are open to him, and that if as he says he has not murdered women and children he should come in without fear. I beg for Your Lordship's early instructions. Major Richardson's reply is dated 23rd but the papers have only just reached me. Copies will be despatched as soon as possible.[1]

* * *

Service Message from Beadon, Calcutta, to Lieutenant-Governor, Allahabad, dated 2nd May 1859.

The Governor General in Council has received your message of the 30th. He has also received a copy of the Nana's letter and of Major Richardson's reply. He does not approve of that reply, all overtures from the Nana or from any other rebel who has been proscribed or who stands suspected of taking part in murder are to be answered by a simple reference to the Queen's proclamation and by nothing more. Inform Major Richardson by Telegraph that he is not to reply to any further letters from the Nana without taking instructions upon them, and that if any are received by him he is to send copies immediately to the local Govt. and to the Govt. of India.[2]

* * *

Service Message No. 65 of 1859 *from E. C. Bailey, Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the N. W. P., Allahabad, to C. Beadon, Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Department, Fort William, dated Allahabad the...May* 1859.

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor to forward copies of a letter from the Offg. Commissioner of

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859, Nos. 63-69. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *Ibid.*

Goruckpoor, and of its enclosed translations of communications that have passed between Major Richardson and the Nana, and to solicit the instructions of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council as to the course now to be pursued.

2*nd* His Honor is of opinion that Major Richardson's reply should have been more qualified, and should have intimated distinctly to the Nana that he would be tried, and if acquitted of murder, would be exempt from capital punishment and nothing more.

3*rd* The reply as it stands is calculated to mislead the recipient, who may infer from its terms that, if the guilt of murder be not brought home to him he will be free from all punishment, notwithstanding his persistence in rebellion. In the case of the Nana at least, no officer of the Govt. should, His Honor thinks, have allowed himself to depart from the strict and literal terms of Her Majesty's Proclamation.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 2675 of 1859 from Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of N. W. P., dated Fort William, 13th May 1859.

In continuation of my letter No. 2371 of the 2nd instant I am directed to forward for the information of the Lieutenant-Governor copy of a letter from Brigadier Rowcroft No. 883 of the 7th instant enclosing further correspondence between the Nana and Bala Rao on one side and Major Richardson on the other.

2*nd* As the Nana has failed to avail himself of the terms of the Royal Proclamation, I am now desired to state that those terms will no longer be extended to him, and that as regards this person the Proclamation has ceased to have effect.

3*rd* –Whether he be taken (captive) or whether he surrenders he will be tried for the crimes of which he stood charged without reference to the Proclamation; and if he again offers to surrender he must be told that he will have a fair trial and nothing more.

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859, Nos. 63-69. National Archives, New Delhi.

4th—With regard to all other rebels the course indicated in para 3rd of my letter of the 2nd instant is to be followed.[1]

NANA REPORTED IN NEPAL

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated Aug. 5, 1858.

For the time attention has been drawn to the aspect of affairs in Nepal. The Nanah is reported to be in that Kingdom. An absurd rumour sends twenty thousand Nepaulese troops in aid of the Begum of Oude. And there is really a misunderstanding between the Court of Katmandoo (Kathmandu) and the British minister there.....[2]

NANA AND HIS FOLLOWERS NEAR DHORGARHI

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette' dated Aug. 26, 1858.

The Nana is still about 18 miles from Dhorghuree in his jungle of bamboos. His companions are stated to be Bala, Baba Bhut, Oodgir, Abha Dhanook Dharee, Rannoo Tantia, Gungadhur Tantia, Bapoo Khan Kuttay(Kankate), Shah Ally, Ahmedoola and Mahomed Ishak of Shajehappore. The number of his own adherents is much decreased since the defeat of the insurgents at Kazeegunge, but it is stated that he had about 2,200 *budmashes* hanging about him.[3]

REPORTED DEATH OF NANA SAHEB

News dated Thursday November 3, 1859.

The death of Nana Sahib continued to be reported. A correspondent of '*The Englishman*' reports that he died on the 24th September, o. fever at a place called "Tara Ghurrie" near to Dhang and Deokhur. He had suffered previously from repeated attacks and at one time was so ill that his attendants believed him to be dead, and the usual gifts were

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 27th May 1859, Nos. 63-69. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, August 5, 1858, p. 243. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, August 26, 1858, p. 196. National Library, Calcutta. (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, August 18).

distributed amongst the Brahmins; he however recovered partially and did not die till the 24th September. His dead body is said to have been seen by creditable witnesses, and to have been burnt in their presence with the usual Hindoo rites.[1]

* * *

News dated Tuesday November 22, 1859.

'*The Lucknow Herald*' reiterates the statement of the Nana's death: "A Brahmin priest named Budree who attended the Nana during his illness and was present when he died, has returned to Gondah. This man states that he received several Gold *Mohurs* for his services immediately the Nana's death was made known to his friends in the camp and he has produced these Gold *Mohurs* in proof of the truth of his statement. This man was employed as a spy in the Nana's camp, and there is every reason to believe his account of the ceremonies which took place before burning the body."[2]

FLIGHT OF BEGAM WITH BALA RAO'S AND NANA'S FAMILIES

News dated Saturday December 17, 1859.

'*The Oudh Gazette*' states that the Begum with the families of Bala Rao, the Nana and other leaders, has fled from Bootwal; but where she was gone is not known.[3]

ALLAHABAD DIVISION

HEAD QUARTERS AT PHAPHAMAU

1*st* There has been no material alteration in the state of this Division during the past week. The insurgent forces

[1] *The Friend of India*, November 10, 1859, p. 1063. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *The Friend of India*, November 24, 1859, p. 1112. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *The Friend of India*, December 22, 1859, p. 1207. National Library, Calcutta.

continue to occupy their former positions, and a strong outpost has been again placed by them at Papamhow (Phaphamau). Plundering of course goes on wherever the insurgents are collected, but the only occurrence of any gravity has been the destruction of a police post at Secundra in the western portion of the Cawnpoor district when the *Thannadar* and fifteen *Burkundazes* were killed; and although the temporary presence of a small British Column in that direction has compelled the band who perpetrated this outrage to return to their head-quarters at Calpee, yet it has now been proved by experience that it is impossible to maintain Civil Government unsupported by a strong Military force, in the west of the Cawnpoor district, so long as the town of Calpee continues to be held in force by the insurgents. It has therefore become necessary to withdraw the *tehseel* of Mungulpoor which had been re-established during the march of Colonel Walpole's Column towards Etawah.

2*nd*—In the northern part of Bundelkund also, Mr. Gubbins reports that the continued occupation of Calpee is producing very sinister effects; as it gives color to the assertions assiduously promulgated by his adherents, that the Nana still reigned at Cawnpoor....

4*th*—The Chourassee *zemindars* who had fled from the Khyragurh *pergunnah* to the Rewah jungles have re-entered it, and killed two Government *Sezawuls* employed in collecting revenue.

5*th*—The attempt to establish a post at Papamhow had failed; as the Sikh picquet was crossing the river on the morning of the 8th they were opposed by a considerable party of insurgents both Horse and Foot, who had come down to Papamhow the previous night. The Sikhs and the Police also who were proceeding under their protection, were compelled to fall back, and Papamhow still continues to be held by the rebels in greater strength than before Colonel Campbell's expedition.

6*th*—As reported in the last narrative Brigadier Campbell moved the Sikh detachment and Major Mathieson's Horse from Hunoomangunge to Phoolpoor. Mr. Mayne with the Lieutenant-Governor's permission, took advantage of this movement to proceed himself to that place, and to establish his head-quarters there. He now reports that the population seem unfeignedly pleased to see H. S. back again and Mr. Mayne is endeavouring to restore order and reassure those of

the *zemindars*, who have not openly and wilfully sided with the rebels, and who have not been guilty of any grievous offences of a heinous nature. There are but few insurgents in the *pergunnah*, and those mostly local rebels; the Oude invaders have nearly all withdrawn.

7th—The *Nazim* of Sooltanpur in Oude, finding his own forces deserting him, is endeavouring to form a coalition with the Allahabad *Nazim* Fuzzul Azeem, and had already sent him 2 guns, 50 sowars and 500 Foot to Soraon where the latter is still encamped.[1]

INCURSION OF KALPI REVOLUTIONARIES

1st—The general state of this Division continues much the same as described in the preceeding (*sic*,) Narrative. The incursions of the Calpee rebels repeated instantly on the withdrawal of Brigadier Carthew's Column render abortive all attempts to restore order in their vicinity. Futtehpoor remains undisturbed, the presence of the detachments of the rebel force at Dalamow, having been withdrawn and even their main body at Roy Bareilly is, it is believed, though numerous, by no means formidable.

2nd—Brigadier Franks has again attacked the rebels in the trans-Gangetic *pergunnahs* of the Allahabad district; it is known with some success, but no official report had been received upon the subject at the date when this narrative closes, and there has as yet been no time to ascertain the effect this movement has produced.....

MAJOR RYNES WOUNDED

4th—On the 22nd January Major Rynes[2] (Retired list) who holds an appointment on the Railway, endeavoured with a few Sikhs to apprehend a large party of armed men* who were crossing the line towards Oudh. On being pursued they

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 16th January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Can also be read as 'Ryves'.

*"Said to be 50 or 60 in number"—Marginal note in Original.

turned and fired, a skirmish ensued between them and Major Rynes' party who were very inferior in number. This resulted in four of the rebels being captured and brought in with their arms, but unfortunately Major Rynes was very severely wounded in the encounter.

21ST JANUARY 1858

5*th*—On the night of the 21st orders were suddenly issued by the Military Authorities for the despatch to Colonel Frank's left Column, of a party of Royal Horse Artillery, and of two squadrons Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards. Mr. Court the Magistrate, Colonel Wood Royal Horse Artillery, and several other officers who were out about midnight in connexion with this service, perceived three rockets fired, two from the city of Allahabad, and one from Daragunge evidently as signals to the rebels.

6*th*—The next morning stringent measures were by direction of the Lieutenant-Governor taken to detect the offenders. Several men have since been apprehended, against whom violent suspicion exists, and they are now under trial.

ENCOUNTER NEAR NUSRATPUR

7*th*—Brigadier Franks moved by permission of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief from Badshahpoor to Sekundra on the 22nd and being there joined the same evening by the reinforcement above mentioned from Allahabad, proceeded on the 23rd to attack the united force of the rebels who had left Soraon to oppose him, and had taken up a very strong position at an Indigo factory near Nuserutpoor (Nusratpur). It is known that the enemy were driven from their position in confusion, with loss, and that their standing camp and two guns were captured.[1]

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM SORAON

1*st*—The state of this Division calls for few remarks. The position of Soraon is still held by Mr. Mayne though the

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 23rd January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Sikh picquet has been recalled even from Phoolpore. The skirmish near Bhogneepore reported below was a decided success and its result will doubtless prove beneficial to the Civil Government of the Cawnpore district. In the trans-Jumna districts intestine struggles are yet going on in which the chiefs loyal to us appear to have hitherto held their ground. Revenue collections given in the margin (footnote).*

ALLAHABAD

2*nd*—The Right Hon'ble the Governor General arrived at this station on the 4th instant, and was received on the banks of the Ganges by all the Civil and Military Authorities of the place.

PHULPUR

3*rd*—The district remains quiet.

4*th*—In spite of the withdrawal of the Sikh garrison, Mr. Mayne (with his Asstt. Mr. C. A. Elliot) has remained at Soraon rightly thinking it due to the *zumeendars*, who confiding in his assurances of protection had rendered service to Government, to hold his post as long as practicable with his small escort of the 50th N. I. a few Police and some *zumeendars'* matchlockmen. He has visited Mhow, Colagurh, and other localities chiefly frequented by the rebels, has burned or levelled the houses of several notorious insurgents, leaders and has confiscated their grain and other property.

5*th*—This conduct has, as it deserved, met with success; the rebel *Nazims* remain at Dehra and Muharajpoor and in spite of repeated threats have not ventured to attack him.

On the other hand, confidence has gradually been restored among the population and the feelings of disaffection formerly described as existing in these *pergunnahs* have become less prominent. Revenue payments are more general and many petitions on stamped paper have been given in by the

* Marginal note in Original—

Allahabad—	41006-4-6
	29350-0-0
	68558-0-0
Total	1,38,914-4-6

people of neighbourhood asking for leases of the forfeited estates of fugitive rebels.[1]

AVADH REVOLUTIONARIES THREATEN NORTHERN PORTIONS OF ALLAHABAD DIVISION

The north-western portions of this Division have been brought into some degree of order by the actions of Bhogneepoor and Amirtram (in Etawah), the presence of a detachment at Akburpore(now moved to Sheolee[2])and also by the repeated small expeditions from Fattehpore. The extreme northern portions of the Division have, on the other hand, been threatened by large bodies of the Oudh rebels mentioned below. The military operations in which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is now engaged, will, it is to be hoped, soon destroy all organized rebellion in the provinces lying east of the Ganges.

ALLAHABAD

Nothing of importance has occurred connected with the immediate Civil Government of the district itself. The Right Hon'ble the Governor General assumed on the 9th instant the Government of the whole North-Western Provinces, and the Hon'ble Mr. Grant left for Calcutta on the 13th instant.

SORAON

Mr. Mayne remains at Soraon. The Allahabad *Nazim* having again advanced as far as Ahladgunge within a few miles of Mr. Mayne's position, a detachment of Sikh Infantry 150 strong under an European Officer was sent out to assist him. The *Nazim* has received a reinforcement also consisting of 700 to 800 mutineer sepoys, and about 200 sowars. His total force is now about 4,000 men with 9 guns.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 6th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently *Sheoli* in *Kanpur* District.

The *Naib Nazim* with one Regiment (new levies) and 2 guns is at Behar a few miles within the Oudh frontier and due north of Soraon, while the *Nazim* of Sooltanpore is still at Maharajgunge with 10 or 12 thousand men and 13 guns; besides these a regiment of mutineers with 4 guns, 2 horse and 2 bullock is stationed at Pertabgurh. A party sent out to collect revenue by the rebel Thakoorain of Shumspore, was surprised and captured by Mr. Mayne just across the Oudh border in the latter part of the week.[1]

SANGRAM SINGH'S ACTIVITIES

The state of this Division will be apparent from the remarks under the head of the separate District. Placed between the two strongholds of the insurgents in Oude and Bundelkund, the peace of the Division is naturally dependent on the military operations already undertaken, nor can any complete pacification of the country be expected until these are completed.

ALLAHABAD

Nothing has occurred in this district.

SORAON

This outpost is still held by Mr. Mayne with 150 Seikhs (Sikhs) Lieutenant Vandergneht's levy, and some matchlockmen. He has been reinforced by another Police Levy from Allahabad and expects to be able to hold his present position. No attack has been made upon him, nor is such apprehended, but detachments of the *Nazim's* forces occupy various small forts within the Oude frontier, the chief of which are at Dehrayan and Shumspoor and under cover of the protection thus afforded much injury has been done by Singram Sing and other dacoits to the peaceable inhabitants on our side of the border.[2]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract

Extract from the Narrative of Events.

ALLAHABAD, SORAON

These districts continue tranquil internally, but still suffer from the incursions of dacoits from Oude. On one occasion carts conveying timber for the new barracks at Allahabad were attacked, burned, and several of the drivers and guard killed or wounded by a party of Sungram Sing's men, within 3 miles of Soraon.[1]

NAZIM'S FORCES REINFORCED

The events in this Division call for no general remarks, the state of each district is reported below. The revenue collections for the week are given in the margin (footnote.)*

ALLAHABAD AND SORAON

The *Nazim's* forces have received some addition of late, but his position is otherwise unaltered. At the village of Banda near Gopeegunge, the Police were resisted and repulsed in the execution of their duty by a body of armed men. It has been considered advisable since to strengthen the post at Gopeegunge by a detachment (2 Companies) of H.M.'s 54th Foot.[2]

Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 21st February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 28th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

* Marginal note in Original—

Allahabad—	12974-8-11
Futtehpore—	5750-0- 0
Cawnpore—	47320-0- 0
Total	66044- 8-11

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 13th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

BRITISH REINFORCEMENTS AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARIES

ALLAHABAD AND SORAON

A boat proceeding down the river with two Europeans on board was fired at from the right bank of the Ganges in the Khyraghur *pergunnah*. Stringent measures have been taken to discover and punish the perpetrators of this outrage. Emboldened by the continued presence of the *Nazim*, some of Benee Bahadoor's men early in the week returned to his fortolice[1] of Kurnayepoor, and commenced collecting revenue in his *pergunnah*. Mr. Mayne applied for two guns which, with a squadron of the 6th Madras Light Cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Whistler, were sent to his assistance.

This force was joined at Phoolpore by the 2 Companies H.M.'s 54th, a party of the Ferozepore Seikhs, under Lieutenant Lee, 32nd N. I. and 200 of the Captain Dunbar's Levy, under that officer's command.

Before this force, the rebels quickly fell back, and Mr. Mayne, in contravention of instructions furnished to him by the Governor General, pursued them to Tirowl, a strong fort within the Oude frontier.

In this position the enemy were upon the 20th of March, attacked; it proved to be of such strength, as to render its capture by a *coup-de-main*, and by the force employed, impossible, except at an enormous sacrifice of life. Colonel Whistler therefore withdrew his men, not however until they had suffered considerable loss. Lieutenant Lee and seven of his Seikhs (Sikhs) were killed, and another officer and several men wounded.

The details of this unfortunate affair have been separately reported; and after its conclusion, the force fell back to Soraon.....[2]

[1] 'Fortress' is meant here.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REWARD FOR THE ARREST OF HANUMAN

ALLAHABAD

The *pergunnahs* on the Jumna towards Banda are in an unsettled state principally owing to the machinations of the escaped convict Hunooman, a Brahmin of Koren[1] for whose apprehension 1,000 Rs. reward has been offered.[2]

SANGRAM SINGH ATTACKS NAWABGANJ

ALLAHABAD

The Authurbun *pergunnah* has been somehow disturbed by rebels whose estates have been confiscated; and this portion of the district has been also threatened from Banda. The detachment of the 12th N. I. has been sent to this quarter, as also a party of Seikhs under Lieutenant Thomas.

SORAON

The presence of the considerable force now at Soraon, has somewhat diminished the excitement in the immediate neighbourhood of that place. Nevertheless on the borders dacoities are still frequent; and on the 2nd March Singram Sing, the notorious rebel, attacked the village of Nawabgunge with the object of carrying off the crops of some of his forfeited villages which were stored there; in this he did not succeed; for though he burned the *thanah* and part of the village the Police maintained their position at the other end of the village, and eventually beat his party off.

The Headquarters of the rebel *Nazim* continue at Alladgunge (Ahladganj), but his outpost (is) at Dehiyan, which latter fort is very strong and well manned. The

[1] Apparently *Kuraon*, Pargana *Khairagarh*, Tahsil *Meja*, District *Allahabad*—The village of Kuraon stands in 24° 59′ N. and 82° 4′ E., at a distance of 11 miles south from Meja and 35 from Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 264).

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

general strength of the *Nazim* is however now diminished for he has been compelled to detach a considerable party to hold Salone in his rear, and the mutineer sepoys who formed part of his force are said to have gone westward, taking two guns with them. Golab Singh at Tirole has 900 men and 3 guns; and about 3 or 4 miles further north, is a *foujdar* from Purtabgurh, who has come to Golab Singh's assistance with some 800 men more.[1]

WESTERN CORNER OF SORAON STILL DISTURBED

No change in the general aspect of this Division has occurred since last Narrative. The revenue collections are given in the margin (footnote).*

SORAON

No change of importance has taken place since the last report; the rebels do not now cross the frontier to plunder, except at the extreme western corner.[2]

INCURSIONS ALONG THE AVADH FRONTIER

SORAON

Dacoities continue as usual along the Oudh frontier; but nothing of importance has occurred during the week under review.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

* Marginal note in Original –

Allahabad—	17,958-8-11
Futtehpore—	1,40,150-0- 0
Cawnpore—	66,875-0- 0
Rs.	3,24,910-8-11

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstrac Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 12th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

ALLAHABAD AND FATEHPUR

These districts are in the same state as usual; a few villages on the borders of the Jumna are still disaffected. The collections were for Allahabad Rs. 11,142-5-6 and for Futtehpore Rs. 1,91,430-0-0 during the past week.[1]

LIAQAT ALI VISITS NAZIM'S CAMP

ALLAHABAD AND SORAON

Matters continue much as usual in the quarter; a rebel of some note from Banda named Vilayut Hoseín has taken refuge at Dherowul on the Jumna.* At Ahladgunge, the Allahabad Moulvie "Leakut Alee" (Liaqat Ali) made his appearance for a couple of days in the camp of the *Nazim* and tried to draw the surrounding population to the *Nazim's* standard. Finding his presence created no excitement he went away dispirited. Collections Rs. 21822-0-0.[2]

FAZAL AZIM HOLDS THE FORT AT DEHIYAN

ALLAHABAD AND SORAON

The rebels on the Oudh frontier are certainly diminished in numbers, and the fort of Ahladgunge has been altogether evacuated, that at Dehiyan is still held by the *Nazim* Fuzl Azeem but with a garrison not exceeding 300 men. Dacoities too had been less frequent. No other occurrences of importance are reported.[3]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 25th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

*"This and some surrounding villages are yet in open rebellion; until their retreat across the Jumna be cut off, it is vain to attack them".—Note in Original.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 2nd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 9th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

DEHIYAN REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE

ALLAHABAD AND SORAON

The country about Soraon still continues disturbed by the Dehiyan rebels, who had the audacity to attack a village lying on the direct road from Soraon to Allahabad. In another, seven persons were carried off. The rebels extort ransoms from their prisoners, and so raise funds for their subsistence. The overseer in charge of the huts for the European soldiers hopes to have them ready by the rains.[1]

FAZAL AZIM'S RETREAT TO SALONE

Rumours of an increase to the rebel forces at Dehiyan and Tirowl prevailed during the early part of the week but they do not appear to have much foundation. Goolab Sing has however cast another gun at the latter place. The *Nazim* Fuzl Azeem, who is hard pressed for money and it is said declining in influence, has fallen back with some 3,000 men on Salone; thence our spies report he is to go after the Eede (Id) a few miles north to Pursideypore which has been fixed upon as a rendezvous by the whole of the rebel leaders of that part of Oudh. Early in the week, Jhoory Sing, the leader of the band who murdered Mr. Moore, came into this district through the Badshahpore *pergunnah* at Jounpore. The Collector of Mirzapore immediately strengthened Gopeegunge which was threatened with some of the Catania's Levy and proceeded thither in person.

From Allahabad H.M.'s 32nd and 3 Horse Artillery guns with a few Police Horse were sent under command of Colonel Berkeley C. B. but the object of the rebels is to plunder, not to fight and long ere the troops approached they had decamped into Oudh plundering the large bazar of Muchlee Shehur or Ghiswa, and some other villages; about 300 of this party were sepoys, it is said of some *Nujeeb* regiment, the

[1] Foreign Department, North.-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

remainder a floating body of plunderers partly from Oudh partly from our own territories.

There have been two dacoities near Soraon and two on the Jumna side of the district, of the latter one was perpetrated under the guidance of Hunooman Sing the notorious dacoit. Collections Rs. 83,945-0-0.[1]

SORAON STILL INFESTED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Dacoities still are frequent in the neighbourhood of Soraon and also towards Athurbun[2]; in the former neighbourhood two sepoys who had been arrested by the Police were rescued by villagers. Nothing else had occurred of importance. A shower of rain which fell at Soraon had sensibly improved the health of the troops stationed there. A good many armed men in small parties have crossed from Banda towards Oudh. They did no mischief, but behaved on the contrary quite peaceably. They are believed to be deserters from Narain Rao's troops at Kirwee. Collections 52,492-3-1.[3]

BENI BAHADUR SINGH ACTIVE

The *pergunnahs* bordering on Oude have become more disordered lately, and Beni Buhadoor Sing having with some 500 men, reoccupied his village of Kurnaipore and driven away the Police, commenced burning and plundering the surrounding villages. Colonel Whistler, therefore, on the night of the 10th, sent against him a party consisting of 80 Benares Police Levy, 30 Sikhs and 60 Troopers of the 6th

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Atharban*, Pargana, Tahsil *Manjhanpur*, District *Allahabad*—This pargana comprises the western portion of the Manjhanpur tahsil and lies to the west of Karari and to the south of Kara. It is bounded on the west for a few miles by the Fatehpur district, while on the south-west and south the Jumna separates it from the Banda district. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 220).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 7th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Madras Light Cavalry under command of Lieutenant Aynsley of the latter corps. The enemy was discovered at day-break on the 11th in a strong position amongst some gardens, which they evacuated immediately the advance of our troops was perceived. The Infantry were therefore unable to overtake them, but the Cavalry charged them and killed 31 besides taking 11 prisoners.

On the morning of the 13th Sung Ram Sing (Sangram Singh) of Singraur, who has given much trouble in the Nawabgunge *pergunnah*, came down against one Baij Nath the loyal *zemindar* of the village of Tickoree a little to the N.W. (North-West) of Papamhow on the left bank of the Ganges.

The *zemindar* with his followers and two or three Police defended his fortified house with success, beating off the assailants (who however carried off their killed and wounded) with some loss.

MURATGANJ THANA ATTACKED

That night a party of some 100 to 150 men crossed the Ganges in boats from Oude and attacked the *thanah* of Moorutgunge[1] about 25 miles above Allahabad and between the river and the Grand Trunk Road. The Police about 30 strong repulsed this party also, who left 3 of their number dead and being pursued a fourth was killed; as they re-embarked several among them were observed to be wounded. Collections Rs. 76,064-3-9.[2]

HOUSES OF ZAMINDARS DESTROYED

On the 16th Pearee Mohun Banerjee (Piarey Mohan Banerji), the Deputy Magistrate at Munjhunpoor[3], hearing

[1] *Muratganj*, Pargana *Chail*, Tahsil *Allahabad*, District *Allahabad*—Muratganj is the name of a roadside bazar standing on the Grand Trunk Road in 25° 33′ N. and 80° 33′ E., at a distance of 21 miles north-west from Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 282).

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Manjhanpur*, Pargana *Karari*, Tahsil *Manjhanpur*, District *Allahabad*—The small town of Manjhanpur stands in 25° 32′ N. and 81° 22′ E., at a

that the rebels were evacuating their stronghold of Dherawul on the Jumna, advanced upon that place; the remaining inhabitants fled at his approach, and he occupied it without resistance. The fortified houses of the principal *zemindars* were destroyed, and the village itself was shortly after accidentally burnt.

Captain Dennehy with 150 Horse and 200 Foot of the Police battalion has proceeded towards Kurra[1] to watch the *ghats* of the Ganges, and to restore by his presence, confidence in the western *pergunnahs*. On the Soraon side the rebels though they continue assembled in considerable numbers across the Oudh frontier have not made any hostile movement.[2]

NAẒIM THREATENS ATTACK ON ALLAHABAD DISTRICT

The s. (south) west frontier of this Division was disturbed by a party of 400 or 500 men from Rewah under Punjab Sing and Khundun Sing[3] rebel chiefs of that State who occupied the fort of Chowkundee[4] on the border.

It appeared however that it was mainly their object to sell grain and other property plundered in Rewah, and they did not molest our district while on the other hand the force of Police available was insufficient for offensive measures.

On the Oudh frontier the rebels are still in their old positions; the *Nazim* is said to be still besieging the Raja of

distance of 31 miles west from Allahabad and about 8 miles south-west from Bharwari station, with which it is connected by a metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 266).

[1] Apparently *Kara*, Pargana *Kara*, Tahsil *Sirathu*, Distri t *Allahabad*—The capital of the Kara pargana stands in 25° 42′ N. and 81 22′ E. at a distance of five miles north-east from Sirathu and 41 miles from Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 247).

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 20th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Apparently spelt for 'Kundan Singh'.

[4] *Chaukhandi*, Pargana and Tahsil *Bara*, District *Allahabad*—The two villages of Chaukhandi and Khoha stand in 24° 59′ N. and 81° 25′ E., well within the Rewah State, about 12 miles west from the borders of Bara. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 231).

Tilloee[1], and to threaten an attack on the Allahabad district as soon as successful in his present enterprise.

The Moulvee Leakut Alli was expecting guns and reinforcement when he too intended, according to his own report, to assist. "A *Shahzadah*" has also joined the *Nazim*. Collections 34,030-2-8.[2]

TILOI RAJA YIELDS TO THE ATTACKS OF THE NAZIM

The Raja of Tilloee in Oudh has been compelled to yield to the attacks of the *Nazim*, and has compounded for his own safety by the surrender of two guns, and giving the services of two hundred of his fighting men to the rebels. The *Nazim* is said to be coming to Ahladgunge near our frontier, there to arrange, with the Moulvee further offensive measures. Rajahs Hunwunt Singh of Kalikunkur, and Goolab Singh of Terowl, Oude *talookdars*, who have been negotiating with the British authorities, have visited the Moulvee in his camp at Dehyanjon[3]—the latter continuing there, the former making only a short stay. Dacoities on the frontier still continue, and the ex-zemindars of Basnee Baretha took possession of the village of Ogapoor, but fled after two or three days, on hearing of the approach of a Madras regiment which was passing to Jounpore. The collections amounted to 62,470-11-0.[4]

NAZIM AND LIAQAT ALI ACTING IN CONCERT

The offensive operations of the *Nazim* and Moulvie Liyakut Ali commenced on the morning of the 7th July with an attack undertaken by the latter rebel, with 500 men and

[1] *Tiloi*—In *Mohanlalganj* Pargana of *Rai Bareli* District about a mile in the northwest of the aforesaid pargana.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 27th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Spelt, apparently, for *Dehiyan*.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 3rd July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

two guns, against the village of Anapoor the proprietor of which has been strictly loyal throughout the disturbances.

A patrol of Madras Cavalry chanced to be within a short distance of Anapoor, but being too weak to effect anything retired, and as the distance to Soraon was considerable, the rebels succeeded without hindrance in breaching the fortified house of the proprietor, whom they carried off prisoner to Dehyaiyan[1] with his agent.

They followed up their success on the subsequent day by plundering the village of Nusseerpoor, and openly announced their intention of attacking Surowan, Nawabgunge, Tikree and other rich or loyal villages.

H. M.'s 32nd the Lahore Light Horse (Head Quarters) with a party of Artillery and some heavy guns and mortars have been ordered across to check these inroads.

The Busnee Buretha rebels have also plundered the village of Bureytee. The remainder of the district is quiet. Collections 11,267-11-8.[2]

SORAON--HEAD QUARTERS OF LIAQAT ALI

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated July 15, 1858.

Close to Allahabad, on the other side of the river, the Moulvie Leakut Ali is posted with some thousands of rebels. A force under Colonel Berkeley crossed over some days ago, and attacked a fort which was taken, the garrison being nearly all killed. Soraon, the headquarters of the Moulvie, within six miles of Allahabad is still untouched.....[3]

SANGRAM SINGH KILLED

Colonel Berkeley's force having crossed the river arrived before Dehyaiyan, a village on the Oudh side of the frontier at daybreak on the 14th. The rebels boldly came out of

[1] This has been spelt differently at different places; pp. 793-98.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 11th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *The Hindoo Patriot,* July 15, 1858, p. 227. National Library, Calcutta.

the village and attacked our men, but were at once driven into the village by the fire of the Royal H. A. (Horse Artillery) and the village itself was shortly afterwards carried by the 7th Punjaub N. I. From the village the enemy retired into a *Ghurri* (*Garhi*) or small fort surrounded by two ditches with an impervious hedge of bamboo and prickly pear between them.

The village affording cover to within 800 yds. of the only entrance of the fort, the heavy guns were brought up and opened at that distance, while the Horse Artillery and Cavalry were sent round the fort to intercept the retreat of the garrison. After a severe fire from the heavy Artillery had been maintained for some time, the Infantry advanced to storm. The enemy at the same moment attempted to escape but the hedge proved to be as effective to prevent egress as ingress, except by the one on that, which was commanded by our guns.

Our troops therefore met the enemy as they rushed out and a horse load of ammunition which accompanied the rebels having exploded, they were thrown into confusion; the fort was carried, and the major part of the garrison killed, with very slight loss on our side.

The Horse Artillery and Cavalry cut up a good many of the fugitives, and the total loss of the enemy was certainly in killed alone above 600.

It included Singram Singh, ex-zemindar of Singrour, his son Biseshur Buksh (Bisheshwar Bakhsh)—one Miran Buksh, and other leaders of more or less note who have had a share more or less active, in the disturbances along that frontier ever since the Outbreak in June 1857.

The hedge has been cut down and the fort levelled, and on the 17th the force moved against Terowl.

This fort from which Lieutenant-Colonel Whistler's detachment was repulsed in April last, was found to be so formidable and so strongly held, that Colonel Berkeley considered it inexpedient to attempt a *coup-de-main*, and applied for further reinforcements of Infantry and Artillery-men. H.M.'s 54th Regiment and 50 Artillery-men were accordingly sent from Allahabad on the night of the 17th.

The following morning, however, it was discovered that the heavy fire of the Artillery opened upon the place had induced the garrison to evacuate it in the night not, it was reported by our spies, without considerable loss—3 good guns

(nine pounders) and a *goordab* (*goordah*) were found in the fort, the destruction of which was committed to the Civil Authorities.

The Moulvee Leyakut Allee (Liaqat Ali) escaped from Dehyaiyan it is believed before the attack, and went towards the camp of the *Nazim*, who is at or near Ahladgunge, with a force of 2 mutinied regiments, 5 regiments of *Nujeebs*, 12 guns, and sufficient matchlockmen and rabble to make up a nominal force of from 8000 to 10,000 men.[1]

BENI MADHO RETIRES TOWARDS KALA KANKAR

Colonel Berkeley's force remains at Soraon. It has been found necessary to detach the 7th Punjab N. I. to Azimgurh. An expedition was undertaken against the fort of Byspoor. It was found to be strong, but empty. Pertabgurh also is said to be evacuated. Byspoor will be levelled. Dehyaiyan is in process of destruction. Terhoul (Tiraul) will be temporarily retained and is held by a small detachment, but the surrounding jungle is being cleared away.

The movements of this force have, it is said, alarmed Beni Madho who with a force numerically considerable and seventeen guns of sorts, is said to have fallen back from his advanced position in the direction of Lucknow and to have retired towards Kala Kunkur.[2]

KALA KANKAR STRONGLY HELD BY REVOLUTIONARIES

The Fort of Byspoor was found evacuated by Colonel Berkeley's force. It is in progress of destruction, and a gun has been found in the wall. The destruction of Tiraol has been resumed at Colonel Berkeley's request.

The steamer "Berhampooter" having been placed at the disposal of the Magistrate by the Military Authorities,

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 18th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 25th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

and furnished with two 12 lb. howitzers, and a detail of Artillery Mr. Thompson with Captain Dennehy and Lieutenant Shaw, and 130 organized Police proceeded on the 28th up the river to search for boats in the hand of the rebels. Kali Kunkur was known to be strongly held by the rebels, and was found to be so well defended by heavy batteries, that it was not deemed expedient to make any attempt upon the boats collected (about 16 in number) at that point. Below this point but within reach of it, the steamer was fired upon from two light field guns while searching for boats said to be in a creek at "Maniekpoor". To enable the search to be carried out, Captain Dennehy landed a little below, and under the fire of the steamer's howitzers drove the enemy out of the fort, and three neighbouring villages, as well as out of a strong garden about ½ a mile to the N. W. (North-West). The desired object being effected, the force re-embarked having seven men wounded (2 severely). The enemy were commanded by Benee Madho's brother and are believed to have numbered 800 men (200 of whom were sepoys) with two guns, either six or nine pounders. Trustworthy intelligence reports their loss to have been 29 killed, and a considerable number wounded.

The rest of the river between Manickpoor and Allahabad was carefully searched without opposition, 5 boats were brought away, and 16 others burned.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE ON REWA FRONTIER

There is no event of importance recorded in the Narrative from this Division. In Banda the rebels on the Rewah frontier at Surbunga Kotee and Suhawul commit occasional dacoities. The numbers of these men are considerable and Mr. Mayne considers the Rewah auxiliaries scarcely fit for offensive operations against them.....[2]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 1st August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 8th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

FALL OF SULTANPUR

No information of importance has come in either from Cawnpoor or Futtehpoor. From Allahabad the occupation of Sultanpoor at the close of the week has been reported. The rebels are still in force on this side (of) the Goomtee, under the chief guidance of the Rajah of Onaethie[1], and the hostile landholders from Kali Kunkur to Pertabgurh are collecting to assist him. On the other hand many *zemindars* of that neighbourhood have made overtures to Mr. Willock, some in person; in most cases the tender of their submission has been accepted; in one or two instances of some doubt, the applicants have been desired to remain quiet in their homes, pending the decision of the Chief Commissioner in Oude upon their cases. In Banda the rebels have been increasing in boldness. They have plundered many villages in the S. E. (south-east) corner of the district, and have been threatening the road between Kirwee and Banda. The bulk of these men are sheltered beyond our frontier not above 400 being within our own territory. The others are at least tenfold that number.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER PANJAB SINGH AND DHIR SINGH

Continued tranquillity in these districts is reported.

On the 13th the rebels under Runmust Sing and Dheer[3] Sing descended into the plain at Nyagaon near Kirwee and were atonce met (and) discomfited by Brigadier Carpenter. They are said to have lost near 100 killed, our loss consisted of the Seikh sowar mortally wounded and three Europeans who died of sunstroke.

[1] Apparently spelt for '*Amethi*'.

Amethi, Pargana, Tahsil in *Sultanpur* District—'This pargana occupies the south-western corner of the district, being bounded on the south by the district of Partabgarh, on the east by Asal and Mirzapur, on the north by Musafirkhana and Gaura Jamun, and on the west by the Rai Bareli district. (*District Gazetteers*, Sultanpur, 1903, p. 156).

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 14th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Can be read as 'Dhur Singh' also, though the name as given elsewhere occurs as 'Dheer Singh'.

Punjab Sing and Dheer Sing however emerged again towards the close of the week, from the hills at the southern extremity and threatened the *tehsil* of Mhow. General Whitlock is marching from Banda towards Humeerpoor.[1]

REPORTED DEATH OF PANJAB SINGH

The Soraon side of the district has been comparatively quiet. The rebels have, after a little desultory fighting, permitted our troops, composing Sir H. Grant's Column, to cross the Gomtee and occupy the cantonments of Sultanpore, while the Soraon Force marching on Pertabgurh, will be in communication with it and so effectually protect the trans-Gangetic frontier of this district.

On the other side of Jumna the *perguna* of Baroh (Bara) has been the scene of a successful affair. The detachment of rebels under *Sirdars* Punjab Sing and Dheer Sing who attacked Mhow, as narrated last week, when driven thence entered and plundered the Allahabad Frontier villages. At day-break on the 27th however by a well concerted movement Captain Dennehy with 150 sowars and as many Foot of the Allahabad Police, surprised this party who, though full 1200 strong, fled after a faint resistance and were charged and pursued by the Cavalry till some 200 were killed including their leader Punjab Sing.[2] The camp plunder and correspondence of the rebels fell into Captain Dennehy's hands; our loss was one sowar killed and 10 wounded.

The rebels fled into Rewah and the next day a sowar of Captain Dennehy's part (*sic*,)[3] was shot close to the walls of a fort in that territory. Captain Dennehy and his *Woordee* Major on hearing of this event rode up to the spot and under the eyes of the garrison carried off the body and then procuring reinforcements proceeded to attack the fort, which the enemy however had, in the interim, abandoned. There

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 22nd August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *cf.* – Narrative of Events for the week ending 2nd Oct. 1858; (p. 807).

[3] It should have been 'party'.

is nothing of importance from any of the other districts of the Division.....[1]

BRIGADIER CARPENTER MOVES AGAINST RADHA GOVIND

There has been nothing worth reporting from this Division. Brigadier Carpenter has moved from Kirwee into the hills against Radha Govind but the latter retired before him without fighting.[2]

INCURSIONS INTO ALLAHABAD DIVISION BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Two incursions of rebels have occurred in this district during this week, one on the extreme south of the district, on the Rewah frontier, the other on the Oude Frontier near the borders of the Jounpoor district. Both however partook rather of the nature of dacoities than of regular hostile expeditions; the former was successful. The latter party was opposed by a small guard of sepoys under a *Havildar*, and some by men in the service of Chatoonissa Bebee, the proprietress of the neighbouring lands and one of the rebels was killed and 8 were captured. Two of Chatoonissa's men were wounded.

RADHA GOVIND AND RANMAST SINGH ACTIVE

Cawnpore and Futtehpoor remain tranquil.

From Banda the Magistrate writes that Brigadier Carpenter was opposed at Punguttea Pass by the rebels under Radha Govind and Ranmust Sing, who had taken up a very strong position; they were however attacked on the morning of the 6th and driven away after suffering some loss from

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 28th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 5th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

our Cavalry and the Enfield Rifles of the 43rd. Radha Gobind's tents were taken, he and Runmust Sing are said to have fled towards Kallingur Kalinjar .

Captain Griffin, with the Chutturpore Levies, patrols the country about Mow, which is disturbed by broken bands—fragments of the force defeated by Captain Dennehy; on one occasion Captain Griffin came accidently on one of these parties.....some 60 or 80 in number, cooking in a ravine, and though he had but 3 sowars with him, instantly attacked and dispersed them, killing three and capturing an elephant and *howdah* belonging to their Chief.....[1]

RANMAST SINGH WOUNDED, FARZAND ALI SURRENDERS

Nothing of importance is reported from Allahabad Futtehpore, or Cawnpore. An employee of the Railway, while on the Ganges in a boat near Asnee[2], in the Futtehpore district, about six miles from Bithoora Ghat, was fired at, but without effect, from the other side.

In Banda Brigadier Carpenter after having, as related in the preceding narrative, driven Radha Gobind's force on the 8th, from Dogbree, pursued them towards Nagode, but found to be marching at a rate he could not equal, towards the Bawais[3] hills south of Punnah.

Of this gang Runmust Sing is said to be lying concealed and unable to move from wounds, in the Nurroo Hills, Furzand Alli has begged to be permitted to surrender.

For the present therefore the Banda frontier is in a more peaceful and promising state than it has been since the reoccupation of the district.....[4]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 12th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Asni*, Pargana and Tahsil *Fatehpur*, District *Fatehpur*—This village lies on the banks of the Ganges in the north of the pargana, in 26° 3′ N. and 80° 57′ E., at a distance of 11 miles from the district headquarters, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road leading to Husainganj on the main road to Rai Bareli. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 168).

[3] Not clearly decipherable.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE ALONG THE AVADH FRONTIER

No event of much importance has transpired. The Oude rebels are anxiously watching the banks of the Ganges, and one party crossed over to the number of about 200, and carried off two boats which the Magistrate was sending up to Cawnpore, for the bridge of boats. With this slight exception the Doab may be called perfectly tranquil, and so may the districts, trans-Jumna. Along the Oude frontier trans-Ganges, the rebels are mustering strongly, but have exhibited no signs of active hostility.

Mr. Sherer has succeeded at Cawnpoor in seizing one of the chief persons concerned in the arrest and betrayal of the unfortunate fugitives from Futtehgurh, and the murder of some of the party.....[1]

RENEWED ACTIVITY OF PANJAB SINGH

In Banda the rebel Punjab Sing has again shown himself—his nephew and not himself having fallen in the encounter with Captain Dennehy's Police in the Allahabad district.[2] No mischief of importance has however yet been effected by this band who have been kept in check by the vigilance of Captain Griffin with the Chutterpore Levies.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES THREATEN TO ADVANCE ON ALLAHABAD

From the Doab nothing is new. At Scindwah on the Gwalior, Agra, and Bombay Road, Captain Keating has

Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 19th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 25th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *cf.*—Narrative of events for the week ending 28th August 1858; (pp. 804-5).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending the 2nd October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

defeated a small rebel band under a notorious free-booter named Seeba Ram who was killed. On the Allahabad frontier, a rebel force threatened to advance but retired on the formation of Colonel Wetherall's Column at Soraon. On the Rewah frontier the forts held by the rebels who were defeated by Captain Dennehy in the end of August, have been levelled by the Rewah authorities.[1]

DESHPAT AND HIS MEN ACTIVE

A servant of the Banda (Nawab) was captured in the pursuit and admitted heavy losses on the part of the rebels, whose forces in Cavalry and Irregular Infantry be represented as large, their Regular Infantry as few, and that they had no guns, and little ammunition left. The Banda Nawab's palanquin stained with blood was captured on the field on the 19th but his servant says he was unhurt. The force carries anarchy with it wherever it goes, but as remarked in the last week's narrative the country generally is not much affected. The sole exception is in the south of Humeerpoor, where the Desput and his cognate rebel predatory bands have overrun the *pergunnahs* of Jeitpoor, Punwaree and Raat (Rath), and driven out the Government Establishments. The Military Police destined for this district have been detained elsewhere in various places to assist in checking Tantia Topee's advance, and no sufficient Military force is just now available for the punishment of these marauders.[2]

BANDA NAWAB'S FOLLOWERS' BID TO JOIN NANA

A party of the Nuwab of Banda's servants have surrendered themselves at Saugor; they do not give much important intelligence, except that they aver the original object of the

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 9th October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 23rd October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

rebels to have been to cross the Ganges and to join the Nana in Oude.[1]

VILLAGES ON DISTRICT BORDERS PLUNDERED

The operations in Oude have effectually relieved the borders of the Agra and Allahabad Divisions. One party indeed collected in the rear of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's army and plundered a few villages on the borders of the Allahabad district, but they dispersed on the mere rumour of an expedition against them without doing any serious harm.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER TATYA TOPE ENGAGED

The Baitool district has been visited by a detachment of Tantia Topee's forces, who appear to have been left behind the main body; they consisted of some 500 Horse under command of one Rohimdad Khan (Rahimdad Khan), late a *Resaldar* of the 5th Irregular Cavalry. This party followed first by long marches in the track of Tantia Topee, but subsequently appear to have halted near Mooltye, it is said to be awaiting a further body behind them. A party of Nagpoor Irregular Horse has been sent to prevent any junction between them.

Of Tantia Topee's movements, since he passed out of the jurisdiction of the N. W. Provinces, no regular reports have been received by this Government; but it is known that they have cut the Telegraph wire and stopped several mails, and that on the 2nd or 3rd December Brigadier Paske surprised one of his Columns at Coloundepoor[3], killing 300. Further particulars have not been received.[4]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 30th October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad District for the week ending 20th November 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Not clearly decipherable.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract

FATEHPUR

REPORT OF DAILY OCCURRENCES IN FATEHPUR DISTRICT

Diary from Jan. 4, 1858 *to Jan.* 10, 1858.

DASAULI MEN ATTACK CHAPRASIS

January 4th, 1858—Received information that the inhabitants of Dussowlee had fired at some *Chupprassies* who had gone there for the collection of Government revenue.

BINDAUR BAZAR PLUNDERED

January 8th, 1858—Received information of some Banda men, having crossed the Jumna and plundered the bazar of Bindour, *pergunnah* Tuppeh Jur.

KALYANPUR TAHSIL CHAPRASIS TAKEN PRISONER

January 10th, 1858—Received information that the *Chupprassies* of the Kulleanpore *tuhseelee* who had been deputed to collect revenue were taken prisoner and conveyed across Jumna by the men of Chundwara *zillah* Banda.[1]

* * *

Diary from 11th January to 22nd January 1858.

January 11th, 1858—The three men alluded to in yesterday's *roznamcha*, have been released; they were servants of a *zemindar*, and not Govt. *Chupprassies;* though at the time of their seizure they were accompanying the *Tuhseeldar.*

Proceedings). Narrative of events for Allahabad Division for the week ending 4th December 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[1] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of W. G. Probyn, Officiating Magistrate and Collector, Fatehpur. State Arohives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

ARRIVAL OF BANDA REVOLUTIONARIES AT CHILLA TARA

January 12*th*, 1858—Information received from Beda Khan, *Lumberdar* of Lalloulee that five hundred of the Nawab of Bandah's *Nujeebs*, five hundred sowars, and two hundred mutinous sepoys with four guns arrived at Chilla Tara on the eleventh instant. This information has to day been corroborated by a letter addressed to the *Thanahdar* of Ghazeepore by the *Jemadar* of Lalloulee; the *Jemadar* mentions the number of mutinous sepoys as five hundred. The remainder of the information he gives coincides with that furnished by Beda Khan.

January 22*nd*, 1858—Three and a half lakhs of rupees were made over to the force under Brigadier Campbell, which started this morning for Cawnpore.[1]

* * *

Diary from 24*th January* 1858 *to* 1*st June* 1858.

ACTIVITIES OF MAHARAJ SINGH

January 24*th*, 1858—Brigadier Carthew's force returned to the station this morning.

Received information that two *Chupprassies* of the Jehanabad *tuhseelee* who had been deputed to Konh[2] to collect revenue had been attacked by Maharaj Singh from Chandpore; one of the *Chupprassies* was killed and the other severely wounded. The district will never be brought into order until Chandpore and some of the other bad villages on the Jumna are punished severely by a Military force.

SULTANGARH RAIDED

January 25*th*, 1858—Received information that Maharaj Singh assisted by the Chandpore men had committed a dacoity in *mouzah* Sooltangurh, killed the *Chokeedar*, wounded several people and plundered a large amount of property. I must again record the necessity of sending a force to Chandpore.

[1] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of G. Macnaughten, Assistant Magistrate In-charge, Fatehpur. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Not clearly decipherable; perhaps *Korh*.

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS OVER TO CHANDPUR

January 28th, 1858—Received information that one of the Sikhs belonging to the detachment at Bhairampore (Bahrampur) had been murdered, it is supposed by one of his comrades. Received information that about fifty sepoys and forty sowars have crossed over to Chandpore. The punishment of this village is absolutely necessary.

January 29th, 1858—The *budmashas* at Chandpore are increasing both in numbers and insolence.

INTENDED ATTACK ON JAHANABAD TAHSIL

February 3rd, 1858—Received information that some *budmashas* crossed the Jumna, *mouzah* Gurrah *pergunnah* Ekadulla; they were eventually driven back but one man of a friendly *zemindar* was wounded on our side. Received information that more *budmashas* are collecting opposite Chandpore and it is said intend crossing over and attacking the Jehanabad *tuhseelee* headed by the famous Jodha Singh. Received information that an entrenchment is being constructed by the rebels at Chilla Tara Ghat in the Banda district.

SHIV DAYAL SINGH APPREHENDED

February 4th, 1858—G. Macnaghton with a company of Madras N. I. under Major Middleton went to Jumrawun and apprehended the *zemindar* Shoodeeal Singh (Shiv Dayal Singh) who was concerned in plundering the Government treasury.

JAHANABAD THREATENED

February 5th, 1858—Received information that Jodha Singh with two or three hundred men and two guns had crossed over to Chandpore and it was supposed intended attacking Jehanabad.

Received information that two hundred men of Narain Rao's (the Tirowun Rajah) with two guns are at Lukunpore and threaten to cross the Jumna.

BRITISH ATROCITIES IN THE VILLAGE OF CHANDPUR

February 7th, 1858—Brigadier Carthew's force consisting of about 250 sepoys and two guns accompanied by G. Macnaghton started for Bindkee, about 3 A. M. A detachment from the Pandoi of 150 sepoys with two guns was expected to meet the force at Bindkee. The object of the expedition is to punish the refractory village of Chandpore.

DESTRUCTION OF CHANDPUR VILLAGE

February 10th, 1858—Brigadier Carthew's force returned to the station having destroyed the village of Chandpore; no opposition was offered.

STRENGTHENING OF THE ENTRENCHMENT AT CHILLA TARA

February 16th, 1858—Received information that 18 sowars had crossed at Chandpore. Received information that the entrenchment at Chilla Tara is being much strengthened.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT SIRAULI

February 17th, 1858—Received information that a large rebel force have (*sic*,-has) collected at Serowlee opposite Chandpore and that Maharaj Singh had crossed over to Mowaee and made a prisoner of a *Karinduh* named Laljee.

REVOLUTIONARIES CONGREGATING AT ICHAWAR

February 19th, 1858—Received information that a number of rebels had crossed the Jumna near Chandpore and that an attack on Jehanabad is being contemplated. The rebels are congregating in large numbers in the neighbourhood of the Jumna.. At Eechawar (opposite Bindour) there are 700 rebels with five guns said to be commanded by the Tanteea.

February 21st, 1858—Rebels are still hanging about the neighbourhood of the Jumna.

February 24th, 1858—Rebels are still collecting in the neighbourhood of the Jumna. A bad murder took place in *pergunnah* Ghazeepore.

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS INTO KANPUR DISTRICT

February 28th, 1858—Received information of one thousand rebels having crossed into the Cawnpore district at Humeerpore.

March 1st, 1858—A party of H. M.'s 80th Regiment and 17th N. I. amounting to about 500 men with two guns under Colonel Christie left for the south-western part of the district. Mr. Johnston accompanied the force.

March 2nd, 1858—I note that in the diary of yesterday I omitted to mention that about 70 sowars Irregular Cavalry accompanied Colonel Christie's force.

March 3rd, 1858—A bad murder took place in *pergunnah* Huswa.

EXCHANGE OF FIRE

March 6th, 1858—Rebels are said to be congregating across the Jumna. Colonel Christie's force exchanged a few shots with the rebels opposite Dheonee[1]; a separate report on the subject has been submitted.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT CHILLA TARA GHAT

March 8th, 1858—Rebels are congregating in the neighbourhood of Chilla Tara Ghat; they are said to have four guns with them but of this I am not quite certain yet.

March 9th, 1858—Satisfactory information obtained that the rebels have four guns at Chilla Tara Ghat.

March 10th, 1858—An attack on the Jehanabad *tuhseelee* by the Bundelcund rebels is by no means improbable.

March 14th, 1858—The rebels have now one gun at Chilla Tara and two opposite to Koora Kurnuck. They have also at each place about one hundred sepoys, thirty sowars and six or seven hundred villagers.

March 17th, 1858—Six guns with a number of sepoys came to Chilla Tara Ghat on 15th last but returned to Bundee on the evening of the same day.

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

March 21*st*, 1858—A bad murder took place in the Ghazeepore *illaka*.

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS OVER AT PARSENDA

March 24*th*, 1858—Some rebels crossed over at Pursendah on the Jumna and took prisoner a *Chokeedar* in that village. They also plundered some property : the *Chokeedar* managed to effect his escape.

March 25*th*, 1858—Some Banda rebels crossed over at Dussowlee and made a *Burkundauz* prisoner; his fate has not yet been ascertained.

GHATAMPUR PLUNDERED

March 26*th*, 1858—Information received that the *tuhseelee* and *thannah* at Ghatumpore, *zillah* Cawnpore had been burnt and plundered by rebels from Humeerpore.

NARAIN RAO INTENDS TO CROSS INTO THE DOAB

March 28*th*, 1858—Narain Rao Rajah with his force is said to be at Bindkee in Banda three *coss* from Kotee : it is reported that he intends crossing into the Doab at Rajapore but this is improbable.

REVOLUTIONARIES COLLECTING AT RAJAPUR

March 31*st*, 1858—H. H. Maharajah Jung Bahadoor arrived here with one Brigade. Rebels said to be collecting in force at Rajapore.

April 9*th*, 1858—A man murdered in the city by an European soldier vide letter No. 53 dated....[1]

April 15*th*, 1858—Futtehpore was visited by a severe hurricane, great damage done.

April 17*th*, 1858—About one hundred of the Banda rebels crossed the Jumna at Dheonee[2] and having plundered three or four houses returned.

[1] Date not given in the Original.
[2] Not clearly decipherable.

April 18*th*, 1858—Four guns have arrived at Dulam.

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL WHITLOCK AT BANDA

April 19*th*, 1858—Received information of the near approach of General Whitlock to Banda.

BANDA OCCUPIED BY GENERAL WHITLOCK

April 20*th*, 1858—Received information of Banda being in possession of General Whitlock and of the rebels having left Chilla Tara etc.

JODHA SINGH EXECUTED

April 30*th*, 1858—The notorious dacoit Jodha Singh with several of the followers were captured two days ago by some of the Cavalry with Colonel Christie's force. Jodha Singh has been hung by Mr. Glyun at Khujooa (Khajuha).

APPREHENSION OF BANDA REVOLUTIONARIES

May 1*st*, 1858—Several rebels have been apprehended in attempting to cross the Doab from Banda into Oudh.

May 2*nd*, 1858—Mr. Glyun returned to the station and Mr. Macnaghton went out in his place.

May 3*rd*, 1858—Several rebels are said to have crossed over from Bundelcund and plundered the *zemindar's* house at Eatmadpore, *pergunnah* Korah.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT DALMAU

May 5*th*, 1858—A number of rebels have again collected at Dalamow but with what intention is not clear; they have six boats.

May 6*th*, 1858—The rebels at Dalamow alluded to in yesterday's diary have retired about five miles in land.

May 14*th*, 1858—Three hundred sepoys crossed over from Oudh between Kootea and Gooneer[1].

[1] Not clearly decipherable in the Original; *Kutia* and *Gunir* are perhaps meant.

May 15*th*, 1858—The sepoys alluded to in yesterday's diary recrossed the Ganges the same evening.

May 17*th*, 1858—A highway robbery took place during the night on Grand Trunk Road near Kullcanpore. No one wounded and a very small amount of property stolen.

MAHARAJ SINGH IN SHEORAJPUR

May 18*th*, 1858—The notorious dacoit Maharaj Singh crossed the Doab from Bundelcund to Shoorajpore on the night of the 17th instant. He has from one to three thousand men with him. They plundered one or two *garrees*, several travellers on the Grand Trunk Road. They also took several of the Police prisoner and drove off some of the *dak* horses.

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS OVER TO AVADH

May 19*th*, 1858—The rebels alluded to in yesterday's diary crossed the Ganges during the day into Oudh.

May 25*th*, 1858—It is expected that the Humeerpore rebels will attempt to get across the Doab into Oudh.

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE AT SHEORAJPUR AND AONG

May 26*th*, 1858—A party of rebels consisting of about 800 Foot and 200 Horse crossed the Doab and reached Shoorajpore on the morning of the 26th. A second party of about one thousand Horse and Foot (supposed to be the Humeerpore rebels) with four guns crossed the Doab and reached Aong, on the Grand Trunk Road shortly before midnight. Both parties plundered several villages and travellers; they also cut the telegraph wire and burnt some villages etc. etc.

May 27*th*, 1858—Received information that the rebels alluded to in yesterday's diary had murdered two and wounded several people in *mouzah* Goura, *pergunnah* Korah. The rebels all crossed the Ganges this morning and are encamped on a *Kuttree* or rather island on the other side of the main stream.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT BHAUPUR

May 28*th* 1858—The rebels alluded to in yesterday's diary still maintain their position on the Bhaoopore Kuttree.

A few are said to be on this side of the stream. Shortly before midnight another large body of rebels of between one and two thousand reached the neighbourhood of Khujooa from Bundelcund.

REVOLUTIONARIES REACH KHAJUHA

May 29th, 1858—The rebels with four guns (alluded to in the diary of 24th instant) crossed over into Oudh about 9 A. M. and this large band of between one and two thousand Horse and Foot with four guns reached Khujooa from Bundelcund about 2 A. M.; they passed within two miles of the town and proceeded onwards to Aong on the Grand Trunk Road which place they reached at 8 A. M. They cut and took away with them a piece of the telegraph wire and went on towards the Bhaoopore Kuttree.

BRITISH FORCES MARCH TO BHAUPUR

May 30th, 1858—A force of between two and three hundred Foot with a few Horse and two guns under the command of Brigadier Carthew left the station soon after midnight for Mowhur at which place they were to meet Major Middleton's Column and some Europeans from Cawnpore; they reached Mowhur at 7 A. M.; they proceeded onwards at 2 P. M. to Bhaoopore 4 miles distant but on arriving there found that the enemy had all crossed.

June 1st, 1858—Brigadier Carthew's force returned to the station early in the morning.[1]

* * *

Diary from 5th June 1858 to 22nd June 1858.

JODHA SINGH'S BODY REMOVED

June 5th, 1858—Received information from the *Jemadar* of Dholi that 900 armed men, refugees from Kirwee, crossed into the Doab on the 3rd instant. One thousand more were

[1] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of W. G. Probyn, Officiating Magistrate and Collector, Fatehpur. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

said to be on the right bank of the Jumna on that date ready to cross. The *Tuhseeldar* of Khukhreroo in his report doubted the number of men mentioned by the *Jemadar*.

The *Tuhseeldar* and *Thanahdar* of Jehanabad report that there are at present no rebels in the vicinity of Serowlee on the right bank of the Jumna opposite Chandpore.

The body or rather the skeleton of Jodha Sing is said to have been removed from the tree on which it was suspended on the night of the 3rd or morning of the 4th of June.

NANA'S RISALDAR APPREHENDED

June 7th, 1858—A man said to have been formerly in the Kotah Contingent, and since then a *Ressaldar* of the Nana's has been apprehended near Mowhur by some Madrassees of Major Middleton's Column.

June 8th 1858—The *Tuhseeldar* of Khukhreroo reports in an *urzee* dated the 7th instant that no more fugitives from Kirwee had crossed into the Doab since the 3rd. And he believed that they had dispersed from the right bank of the Jumna.

June 10th, 1858—The corpses of two murdered travellers were found this morning near *mouzah* Barhooyan in the *pergunnah* of Ghazeepore. The murderers have not yet been traced.

REVOLUTIONARIES ENCAMPED OPPOSITE KUTIA

June 19th, 1858—Received information that a large body of rebels was collected on the left bank of the Ganges opposite to Kootea.

June 22nd, 1858—Two letters from Rajah Durgvijye Sing of Morar Mow to Burjore Sing of Kootea have been sent in by the litter—one dated the 20th instant mentions that there is a large collection of rebels opposite Kootea; in the other dated the 21st Burjore Sing is warned to be on the alert. The report in the bazaar is that the rebels are collecting boats and that they have succeeded in getting two up the river, one from opposite Bhithoura, and the other from opposite Lukhpoora.[1]

* * *

[1] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of G. Macnaughten, Assistant Magistrate In-charge, Fatehpur. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Diary from 24th June 1858 to 9th July 1858.

REVOLUTIONARIES JOIN BENI MADHO

June 24th, 1858—The rebels opposite Kootea[1] at Doondeeakhera watched by Major Middleton are reported to have left and joined Beenee Madhoo who has proceeded in the direction of Lucknow.

July 9th, 1858—The *Tuhseeldar* and *Thanahdar* of Kalleanpore report that some rebels have appeared on the Ganges oppt. (opposite) Kootea from whence the sound of guns were *(sic)*,-was heard last evening. Information had been sent to Major Middleton at Aong. The report has not been confirmed today.[2]

* * *

Diary from 24th July 1858 to 26th July 1858.

STEAMER BRAHMPUTRA FIRED AT

July 24th, 1858—Received intelligence that the steamer Burhampooter was fired on from the Oudh side of the river while taking in wood at Bhithoura Ghat. About 80 Madrassees crossed the river, and burnt the villages of Thakoorraneepoora (Thakuranipurwa) and Aheerpoorwa. Hurpurshad a son of Ram Buksh of Doondeea Khera is supposed to have been the leader of the party of rebels. Their number is estimated at 800 with 3 guns; and it is said that they were sent by Ram Buksh at the request of a *Karinduh* of Beenee Madhoo.

July 25th, 1858—Bazaar reports state that the steamer reached the Asnee Ghat unmolested.

July 26th, 1858—Received information that the steamer 'Burhampooter' was fired on while passing the fort[3] of Kalee Kunkur.[4]

* * *

[1] Can be read as '*Kootra*' also, though *Kootea* is correct.

[2] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of J. Power Officiating Magistrate, Fatehpur. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[3] Can be read as 'port' also, though 'fort' is correct.

[4] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of G. Macnaughten, Assistant Magistrate In-charge, Fatehpur. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Diary from 13th September 1858 to 26th September 1858.

September 13th, 1858—Information received that on the 11th instant Mr. Theophilus who, accompanied by the *Tuhseeldar*, was proceeding down the river in a boat in search of railway materials, was fired upon from the Oudh side of the river when near Asnee six miles from the Bhithoura Ghat.

REVOLUTIONARIES SEIZE TWO BOATS BOUND FOR BHITAURA

September 27th, 1858—Report of important occurrences for the past week:—2 boats proceeding to Bhithoura from Akree were seized yesterday 26 September by the rebels who came over from Dalamow to the number of 150 or 200. They also seized 2 *Burkundauzes* in charge of the boats and about 19 boatmen. The boats were also fired at at several places below Dalamow.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ON THE RIGHT BANK OF YAMUNA

8th—400 of Her Majesty's Rifle Brigade (3rd Battalion), 2 Companies 17th Madras Native Infantry and 2 guns moved out on the 12th in the direction of Jehanabad under Brigadier Carthew; the subsequent march of this Column will be noticed under the head of Cawnpoor.

9th—There are several large detachments of rebels on the right bank of the Jumna, and the presence of these men, and of a detachment at Dalamhow, on the left bank of the Ganges, gave rise to an apprehension that a combined attempt was contemplated by the insurgents from Banda and from Roy Bareilly (Rai Bareli) (at which latter place there is a considerable force of mutineers and others) to interrupt our communications between Cawnpoor and Allahabad. It is now believed, however, that no such intention exists; and that the movements of the rebels have purely defensive objects.[2]

[1] *Fatehpur Mutiny Diary* of J. Power, Officiating Magistrate, Fatehpur. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 16th January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

CARTHEW'S COLUMN NEAR JAHANABAD

8th—Nothing has occurred deserving report during the past week in this district, which appears to be tranquil. Even in the neighbourhood of Jehanabad revenue is now being paid, consequent on the demonstration made by Brigadier Carthew's Column in that direction.[1]

JODHA SINGH'S ACTIVITIES

6th—A notorious rebel named Jodha Sing crossed from Humeerpore to Chandpore in the Futtehpore district on the 4th instant, with a considerable amount of rabble and two small guns and was supposed to intend attacking the Jehanabad *tehseel*. Brigadier Carthew proposed attacking him.[2]

BRITISH EXPEDITION AGAINST REVOLUTIONARIES

Mr. Macnaughten who accompanied Brigadier Carthew's Column to Chandpoor, has reported the result of the expedition. The village which had been abandoned by the enemy was destroyed and some property was found concealed in the neighbouring ravines. The rebels who must have received timely notice of the advance of the detachment were seen in great force on the other side of the river carefully guarding 8 or 10 boats in which they had crossed.

The Brigadier has organized a series of military demonstrations among the refractory villages about Jehanabad, which, however, cannot have their full effect until supported by a body of Military Police at that place itself, which must be furnished from the levies now raising when they are fit for service.

The Commissioner has submitted Mr. Probyn's report upon Colonel Barber's expedition in December last against the

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 23rd January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 6th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

villages of Khukreroo[1] Koth, Surkundee[2], Gurha, Nurrowlee, Raree[3], Chourianee, Saton-turf Peeth, and Saton-turf Purub[4]. All these villages were occupied by declared rebels and the last named was regularly entrenched. As soon however as the strength for Colonel Barber's Column became apparent, the insurgents fled and only a few stragglers were cut up. The villages were destroyed, a good deal of plunder recovered and some rebels' property confiscated.[5]

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS YAMUNA AT CHANDPUR

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Carthew to Brigadier Bradford, dated Fatehpur, February 19, 1858.

Four or five hundred sepoys are reported to have crossed the Jumna at Chundpore[6], and 700 sepoys, with five guns,

[1] *Khakreru*, Pargana *Ekdala*, Tahsil *Khaga*, District *Fatehpur*—A small village standing in 25° 37′ N. and 81° 8′ E., on the west side of the unmetalled road leading from Khaga to the Salempur ferry over the Jumna at a distance of 11 miles from the former. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, pp. 248-49).

[2] *Sarkandi*, Pargana and Tahsil *Ghazipur*, District *Fatehpur*—A large village in the south-east corner of the pargana, situated in 25° 42′ N. and 80° 56′ E. at a distance of some five miles south-east of Asothar, 15 miles from Fatehpur and 13 miles from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 281).

[3] *Rari*, Pargana *Ekdala*, Tahsil *Khaga*, District *Fatehpur*—A village situated in 25° 37′ N. and 81° 4′ E., at a distance of some two miles east of Ekdala and four miles west from Khakreru, between the Jumna and the Bari Nadi. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 278).

[4] *Saton*, Pargana *Haswa*, Tahsil *Fatehpur*, District *Fatehpur*—This large village lies in the south-east corner of the tahsil, in 25° 46′ N. and 80° 59′ E., on the road from Bahrampur station to Naraini, at a distance of 15 miles from the district headquarters. The village consists of a large collection of houses forming the main abadi of the four mauzas of Dharampur Saton, Sultanpur Saton, Saton Pit and Saton Joga. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 281).

[5] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[6] *Chandpur*, Pargana *Kora*, Tahsil *Khajuha*, District *Fatehpur*—A large and scattered village in the south of the pargana, situated in 25° 56′ N. and 80° 24′ E., on the high land above the junction of the Nun and

are reported to have been at Echewur, opposite Bindoor, yesterday, trying the fordable parts of the river. Two hundred and fifty Sikh Cavalry, *en route* to Allahabad, arrived here this morning, so I have sent on the sick and wounded to Khaga under their escort, and, retained the escort of the 17th Madras Native Infantry.[1]

CONCENTRATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES ALONG THE YAMUNA BANK

Large bodies of rebels are now collected on the right bank of the Jumna—from Calpee downwards, throughout the extent of this district. At Chandpoor they even crossed in small numbers headed by the outlaw Maharaj Sing, but returned to the opposite side after a brief stay, finding, Mr. Probyn believes, the people no longer willing to assist them. All the *ghats* are however strongly occupied, and at Chilla Tara a formidable entrenchment has been thrown up. Some fear is entertained for the safety of Jehanabad and arrangements for its protection are under consideration by the Military Authorities. More recently however Mr. Probyn mentions in a demi-official letter, that the enemy have been in some places destroying their boats—a fact which seems hardly to indicate aggressive intentions.[2]

* * *

Extract from the Narrative of Events.

This district had not been materially disturbed during the past week though the rebels at the *ghats* on the right bank of the Jumna are in much force.[3]

Jumna, at a distance of 11 miles from Jahanabad and 30 miles from Fatehpur (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 187).

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 28 in No. 6, p. 108.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 21st February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 28th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

EXCHANGE OF FIRE ALONG THE YAMUNA BANK

In consequence of the presence of the rebels above mentioned it was considered advisable to detach towards the north-western angle of the district, a party of H. M.'s 80th under Colonel Christie. On their arrival upon the 5th March they found the rebels had recrossed, but they were visible in large numbers on the opposite bank and some firing took place which resulted in a loss of one killed and 3 wounded on our side.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT HAMIRPUR GHAT

The gatherings on the right bank of the Jumna especially about Chilla Tara Ghat were so numerous and threatening, that it has been deemed advisable to send on the remainder of H. M.'s 80th Regiment and two guns.

The *Ghats* of the Ganges have been once or twice threatened during the past week, but the rebels who are believed to be the followers of one or two fugitive Oudh Chieftains endeavouring to escape on every occasion retired after showing themselves for a brief period only on the banks of the river.

On the Jumna side of the district Captain Berry's Regiment of Sikh Police has replaced Colonel Maxwell's Column which was required in Oudh, but towards the close of the week *the enemy at Humeerpoor Ghat were in such force* that Captain Berry thought it advisable to fall back from Akberpoor on Suchendee[2]. The rebels however seem to be acting only on the defensive with the exception of the party in the Oreyh *pergunnah* of the Etawah district whose movements are watched by the Tewanah Horse.

The *Tehseeldar* of Sarh Salempoor was forcibly opposed in endeavouring to reinstate an ousted *zemindar*. Three of

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Sachendi*, Tahsil *Cawnpore*, District *Cawnpore*— Sachendi or Chachendi is a small town standing in 26° 25′ N. and 80° 10′ E., on the south side of the metalled road to Kalpi, at a distance of thirteen miles west from Cawnpore. (*District Gazetteers*, Cawnpore, 1909, p. 330).

his followers were wounded and four of the opposite party killed.[1]

NANA ALONG WITH TROOPS CROSSES RAMGANGA

Telegraphic Message from Ross to Muir, dated Fatehpur, March 19, 1858.

Yesterday the rebels crossed the Ramgunga in great force, bringing four guns with them; they retired, however, to Bangaon. Their bridge is finished across the Ramgunga. The Column from Murno-ka-Serai is called in. Information that can be relied on has been brought in to-day to Mr. Power, that the Nana is at Allygunge, across the Ramgunga, about fourteen miles off, at Simirree[2]. *The rebels remain in the same force.*[3]

GHATS ALONG THE YAMUNA BEING WATCHED

Nothing of any importance has occurred in this district since the date of the last Narrative. The rebels watch all the *ghats* of the Jumna, in considerable force; the revenue collections during the week were 2,700 Rs.[4]

FATEHPUR REPORTED TRANQUIL

This district remains tranquil, the revenue has been now all paid up, the only balances due are those on confiscated villages.[5]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 13th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Simri*, Pargana *Dhaurahra*, Tahsil *Nighasan*, District *Kheri*—A very large village situated in north latitude 28° 6′ and east longitude 81° 2′ on the road from Dhaurahra to Kardhaiya, where it joins that from Matera to Nighasan at a distance of eight miles north-west of the town of Dhaurahra. (*District Gazetteers*, Kheri, 1905, p. 246).

[3] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 43 in No. 9, p. 126.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract

INCURSIONS FROM ACROSS THE YAMUNA

Nothing of importance has occurred in this district; a few raids have been made by small parties from across the Jumna, who after plundering a Seikh (Sikh) precipitately retreated. On one of these occasions, a *Burkundaz* was carried off whose fate has not been ascertained.[1]

JODHA SINGH CAPTURED AND HANGED

In the Futtehpore district some of the rebels ousted from Banda had been captured, among them one Jodha Sing, a notorious dacoit who after trial and conviction was hanged.....[2]

ATTACK ON FATEHPUR GHARETA

A dacoity took place this week in *pergunnah* Korah; the robbers came.....[3] from Bundelcund; the Ganges side of the district was also threatened by a party at Dalamow, who collected boats, but subsequently retired. On the 9th the Futtehpore Moveable Column under Major Middleton attacked the village of Futtehpore Ghareta, in which the rebels who attacked the Lallpoor *thanna* and *tehseel* had been sheltered, and in which many rebels and plunderers were harboured. Little resistance was offered; but the garrison overtaken in their flight across the river, lost from 150 to 200 killed; one man was slightly wounded on our side.....[4]

Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 9th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. See p. 818 also.

[3] Space left blank in Original.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER MAHARAJ SINGH ACTIVE

Parties of men from Bundlecund have entered this district between Cawnpore and Futtehpore; except plundering some carts on the road, and robbing a few native travellers they have done no harm. Their aggregate numbers are large probably from 3000 to 4000 and their object is said to be (to) escape into Oudh. They were making for Sheorajpore Ghat which is near the northern edge of the Futtehpore district. The major part if not all of them are under the command of Maharaj Sing a noted dacoit and the lieutenant of the still more notorious Jodha Sing recently executed at Futtehpore; they have carried off some of the Police as prisoners and took away some *dak* horses.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS OVER TO SHEORAJPUR GHAT

Telegraphic Message from the Judge of Fatehpur to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Fatehpur, May 30, 1858.

Some thousands of rebels, Horse and Foot, with eight guns, in three divisions, have crossed from Humeerpore side of Jumna, to Sheorajpore Ghaut, on Ganges. Last division came yesterday morning. They have crossed, and are crossing into Oude, Middleton's division is at Mohur on Trunk Road, this morning. Brigadier Carthew, with some Sikhs, 100 Madrassies, and two guns, started for Mohur at midnight. Eighty Europeans on camels, some Cavalry, and two Horse Artillery guns, sent from Cawnpore to meet him.[2]

BUNDELKHAND REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS INTO FATEHPUR

The Bundlecund rebels have crossed through this district during the week having evaded Major Middleton's party which

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 11 in No. 17, p. 164.

had been pushed up towards Humeerpoor. On the 26th the first party said to have consisted of 800 Foot and 200 Horse without guns, crossed the Jumna and reached the Ganges the following day, but finding the river unfordable, retired a little way in land and then made for a point in the river near the N. E. (north-east) extremity of the Futtehpoor district, where an island named "Kutrie Bhowpoor" divides the stream off. At this point the water was sufficiently low to enable them to cross, and they accordingly encamped on the island for the night.

On the following day they were joined by nearly 4000 more men with 4 guns, who marched in two divisions by Khujooa[1] and Aoung on the Grand Trunk Road at which latter place they committed some excesses and cut off and took away a portion of the telegraph wire.

On the evening of that day, Brigadier Carthew marched from Futtehpore to co-operate with a detachment from Cawnpoor; they met at Mowhar[2] on the following morning, where they halted till 2 P. M. They then resumed their march but found on their arrival at the river side that the enemy had all got clear away; it has been ascertained these troops formed the rebel garrison of Humeerpoor and its outposts.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES' MOVEMENTS ACROSS THE GANGES

There is nothing new from this district except reports of the proceedings of the rebels across the Ganges. Benee Madho

[1] *Khajuha*, Pargana *Kora*, Tahsil *Khajuha*, District *Fatehpur*—The present headquarters of the tahsil are located in a small town standing in 26° 3′ N. and 80° 32′ E., on the old Mughal road between Bindki and Kora, at a distance of four miles west from the former and 21 miles from Fatehpur. (*District Gazetteers*. Fatehpur, 1906, p. 243).

[2] *Mauhar*, Pargana *Bindki*, Tahsil *Khajuha*, District *Fatehpur*—A large and straggling village situated in 26° 5′ N. and 80° 38′ E., between the Grand Trunk Road and the Railway, at a distance of 20 miles from Fatehpur six miles from Bindki, and a mile to the east of the station known as Bindki Road which lies within the village of Harsinghpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 272).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

is the chief of these, and, besides the garrisons of several outposts, has with him 6000 or 7000 men and 10 or 12 guns. In addition to this force Baboo Ram Baksh and a Delhie *Shahzada* were each moving about with 1000 to 1200 men and 2 guns.[1]

AVADH TALUQDARS' REPORTED MOVE TO RECONCILE WITH THE BRITISH

The Kirwee fugitives have continued to cross into Oude, in considerable numbers but peaceably as before.

Rugonauth Sing (Raghunath Singh) and Dirj Bijae Singh (Drig Vijai Singh) rebel *talookdars* in Oude, have applied through Mr. Glyun the Dy. Collector to be admitted to terms. The former has sent his family across the river into our territories as a proof of his sincerity.[2]

* * *

Extract from the Narrative of Events.

The Humeerpore rebels who crossed to Oude and one or two other bands are said to be threatening raids. Major Middleton is at Aoung watching for them. Shunkur Bux and Bish Nath Sing sons of Rugonath Sing of Khujaoagaon, Raja Dirjeya Sing[3] of Morar and other minor *talookdars* of Oude, have requested permission through Major Barrow to send their families to this side of the Ganges. This request has been granted. Rugonath Sing and his sons have also paid in 20,000 Rs. to the Futtehpore treasury.....[4]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 7th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Name appears wrongly spelt for 'Raja Drig Vijai Singh'.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 27th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER BENI MADHO MOVE TOWARDS LUCKNOW

From the Futtehpore district nothing is reported, except that the rebels who were at Doondea Khera (Daundia Khera) and Kooteea[1], have disappeared, and are said to have joined themselves to Beni Madho and to have gone with him in the direction of Lucknow.[2]

EXCHANGE OF FIRE OPPOSITE KUTIA

Except the renewed presence of rebels and the firing of Artillery on the Oude bank of the Ganges opposite Kootea, there is nothing to report from this district. No collections have been made during the week in this district.[3]

'BRAHMPUTRA' FIRED AT BY REVOLUTIONARIES

The steamer "Berhampooter" on her way down the river from Cawnpoor (where she has been during the dry season) to Allahabad, was twice fired upon, once at Bhitoura Ghat[4], and once at Kali Kunkur[5]. A party of Madras Sepoys crossed, and burned the villages of Thakooraneepoorwa and

[1] *Kutia*, Pargana *Kutia Gunir*, Tahsil *Khajuha*, District *Fatehpur*—The capital of the pargana is a large village situated in 26° 2′ N. and 80° 45′ E., on the high bank of the Ganges at a distance of three miles to the north-west of Malwa and 11 miles from Fatehpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 260).

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 3rd July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 18th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *Bhitaura*, Pargana and Tahsil *Fatehpur*, District *Fatehpur*—A village lying in 26° 2′ N. and 80′ 53° E., at a distance of eight miles north from Fatehpur, with which it is connected by a good unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Fatehpur, 1906, p. 178).

[5] *Kalakankar*, Pargana *Manikpur*, Tahsil *Kunda*, District *Partabgarh*—A village standing on the bank of the Ganges, at a distance of four miles from Manikpur and 44 miles by road from Partabgarh, in latitude 25° 47′ north and longitude 81° 22′ east. (*District Gazetteers*, Partabgarh, 1904, p. 186).

Aheerpoorwa, from which the shots were fired on the first named occasion.[1]

BANDA, KARWI

NARAIN RAO'S AND MADHO RAO'S PROPERTY CONFISCATED

News dated Saturday, the 9th January 1858.

Government Securities to the amount of 25,55,000 rupees, the property of Narain Rao and Madho Rao, now in open rebellion against the State, have been confiscated. These Raos are the adopted sons of the late Benaik Vinayak Rao, and are cousins to Nanajee. Securities to the amount of 1,17,400 rupees, the property of Surjoopersaud (Sarju Prasad) Thakoor of Bijeeragogurh (Bijairaghogarh), are similary confiscated.[2]

NARAIN RAO'S FOLLOWERS OPPOSE THE BRITISH

12*th*—Narayen Rao's followers have coalesced with those of the Banda Nawab, and are acting in every way as if their master was an open enemy of the British Government. Lieutenant Remington is said to have reoccupied the Fort of Kalinger with 400 of the Punnah (Panna) Raja's men.[3]

BANDA NAWAB ALARMED

12*th*—The rebel Nawab is reported to have been much alarmed by the movements of the Futtehpoor Column, as

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Fatehpur for the week ending 1st August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, January 14, 1858, p. 10. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 16th January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

were also his army, many of whom deserted in consequence; the 5th Irregular Cavalry are still at Banda.[1]

NAWAB OF BANDA AND NARAIN RAO COLLECT REVENUE

10*th*—The rebel Nawab and the *Tehseeldars* of Narayen Rao are reported to have divided the revenue they have collected. The troops of the former had been skirmishing with those of the Adjigurh[2] Ranee and were worsted losing two guns. The Rajah of Chirkaree's forces have been twice attacked, once by a part of the Gwalior Contingent under the Nanah's Agent and also on a second occasion by the Jaloun rebels. Conflicting accounts of the results have been received. The latest are favourable to our ally.[3]

BANDA IN NAWAB'S HANDS

This district is still held by the rebel Nawab who is supported by a rabble army and the 5th Irregular Cavalry. The collections of the southern *pergunnahs* are carried on jointly by the Nawab and Narayan Rao. The Fort of Kallinger is held by Lieutenant Remington.[4]

REVOLUTIONARIES GAINING STRENGTH

This district is still in the hands of the rebels who are reported to be in greater strength than ever. Narayan Rao of Kunee[5] has written to the Magistrate of Allahabad reporting

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 23rd January 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Apparently spelt for *Ajaigarh*.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 6th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] *Koni* is in *Karwi* subdivision, District *Banda*.

that he has apprehended some dacoits believed to be prisoners escaped from Allahabad Jail and offering to deliver them up.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ENTRENCHED NEAR KALPI

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 Chirkaree (Charkhari) 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 materials.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTING IN CONCERT AGAINST AJAIGARH RANI

The troops of the Banda Nawab and of Narain Rao of Kirwee are said to be acting in concert against the troops of the Adjigurh Ranee.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS TIROHAN

From these districts the only report is, that a body of 400 sepoys had gone from Banda towards Tirohan; they were at first opposed by Narain Rao's men, but subsequently allowed

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 21st February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 28th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 13th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

to pass on showing a *perwanah* from the Nana. Their ultimate destination is not stated.[1]

PLANS TO SEIZE TATYA TOPE

Great alarm and dissension is said to exist among the rebels in these two districts. Plans have been even discussed by some of the Gwalior mutineers for seizing Tantia Topey and other Marhatta Chiefs with those concerned in the murders of Europeans and for bringing them into Cawnpore in the hope of securing their own indemnity.[2]

AJAIGARH FORCES DEFEATED

Narain Rao's men, and those of the Ranee of Adjigurh, have had a skirmish, in which the latter were forced to retire. The Nowab's troops are said to be threatening Kallinger.[3]

KALINJAR THREATENED

Reports from these districts mention that the Nowab of Banda and Narain Rao are threatening Kullinger.[4]

KALPI—THE RENDEZVOUS OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Colonel Maxwell's Column is at Akberpore.

Calpee is rapidly becoming the rallying place for all the rebels of northern Bundlecund. Their troops moved on to meet Sir H. Rose, but shortly after returned. After this

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 4th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings).. Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 11th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Tantia Topey, the rumour of whose death proved unfounded, again advanced with such forces as he could collect.

The Nawab of Banda's troops made an attempt to get possession of the Fort of Kallinger by collusion with a portion of the garrison, it was prevented only by the betrayal of the plot, and the timely activity of Lieutenant Remington.

Narain Rao is said to have some 5,000 men, and to be collecting supplies.[1]

FALL OF BANDA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 23rd April, Friday.

It is reported on reliable authority that Banda was occupied by General Whitlock's force on the 19th. The Banda Nawab has fled but accounts differ as to where he has gone.....[2]

NAWAB'S ARMY ENGAGED WITH WHITLOCK'S FORCE

This district is again partially ours. On the 19th General Whitlock's force engaged the Nowab's army outside Banda, and drove them from three positions successively across the Kane river, capturing four guns, and killing 600 to 700 men. Our loss was also somewhat heavy, including Lieutenant Colbeck 3rd Madras Europeans, mortally wounded, Lieutenant Colonel Miller, Madras Artillery, severely; and Lieutenant Jones, 12th Lancers, slightly wounded. Major Daleas was at once detached with a light moveable Column to open the road to Futtehpore by Chilla Tara Ghat, which he did successfully on the 23rd. The majority of the population appear friendly but one or two villages, which were refractory, have been punished. Three or four of the chief rebel leaders have been hanged.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 18th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Mr. Mayne, the Magistrate, has rejoined and is assisted by Mr. Carne from Chirkari (Charkhari) in restoring Civil Government.[1]

WHITLOCK OCCUPIES BANDA

Consequent on the receipt of a creditable native report of the reoccupation of the Banda district by the forces under the command of General Whitlock on the 26th April, Mr. F. O. Mayne, the Magistrate and Collector, was directed to proceed to that district and open communications with that force as he might find opportunity. Mr. Johnston, the Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Allahabad, was instructed to take Mr. Mayne's position at Soraon in that district.[2]

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT BANDA

Letter No. 1 *of* 1858 *from F. O. Mayne, Magistrate and Collector of Banda, to C. B. Thornhill, Commissioner of the* 4*th or Allahabad Division, dated Banda, the* 1*st of May* 1858.

I have the honor to submit for your information a copy of my diary from the day on which I reached Banda up to this date.

Diary of events from 29*th April to* 1*st May* 1858.

(*From Banda Diary*)

DESTRUCTION BY REVOLUTIONARIES AT BANDA

Thursday 29*th*—I arrived at Banda at 1/2 past 9 A. M., found that *ghat* clear, ordered the entrenchments to be destroyed. Chilla people were glad to see me. Muddinpoor people also pretended gladness but they were the worst of the bad in the commencement of this rebellion. Both villages have suffered much since, from the Johunpore and Banda dacoits. The road is almost deserted, but traffic just commencing. I visited every village on the road, called up *zemindars*

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 25th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Agra Narrative (1853-60), No. 2 of 1858. Proceedings April 1859, Nos. 107 and 108.

and *Chowkeedars*, and warned them of the consequence which would follow any attempt at disorder on the road or otherwise. Banda half deserted—no *Omla*, no clerks; called on General Whitlock and learnt his views. Town is quiet and guarded by the Gouriar troops. Major Ellis keeping a large irregular force close about him. Station most wantonly destroyed, trees cut down and burnt, church roof taken off, and the building undermined, grave-yard destroyed, and all tomb stones torn up and smashed into little bits. Every house entirely destroyed, except the large *pucca* house in which the Judge usually resided, which has still a roof but no doors or frames, and the bungalows belonging to the Rajah of Jaloun and Mahomed Bada Khan late Deputy Collector. These two men are rebels and preserved their homes for their own use. Three rooms in the Collector's *cutcherries* have still roofs but there are no doors etc. Judge's *cutcherry* completely destroyed. The flag stones all torn up and removed in all the *cutcherries*. Jail destroyed. The residents of Banda proper almost all present and delighted to see us back, but those of the old Nawab's *Lushkur* have almost absconded, enemy reported to be at Calpee, Jelalpoor and Mowdah.

BANDA NAWAB'S BUILDINGS TO BE CONFISCATED

Friday 30th—Visited Nawab Alli Bahadoor's buildings in company with General Whitlock. It was determined to appropriate the said buildings as a place of safety, for the supplies, magazines, sick and wounded soldiers etc. in case of any portion of the force being detached in the field, and to clear the houses within 200 yards all round, and to place the buildings in a state of defence. Recovered the settlement records and last *Huftgana* papers and the English correspondence of the past five years, which had been placed by me in the Nawab's palace before the mutiny, recovered also postage stamps as per margin (given in footnote)‡. Private property which had been either

‡ Marginal note in Original—

Value of each paper	No. of Sheets	Total Value
8 Annas.	1	40
4 Annas.	50	510
1 Anna.	143	858
1/2 Anna.	380	1840
*3248		*3828

stored in the Nawab's house or subsequently collected by him from those who had plundered it, is lying all about the buildings and yards in the greatest state of confusion. The boxes had all been broken open, and the contents of different cases mixed up together. Most of the property is either destroyed or rendered useless. I am sorry to say this wanton destruction of private property was committed by some of our own troops and followers. I regret to say that the ladies of Dhowed and 2 others, leaders of the Adjy Gurh Ranee's troops were found lying within the palace. They had been made prisoners by the Nawab some months previously, and after the fight of the 19th, they were brutally murdered by the Nawab's order. I am told a large quantity of property belonging to the Nawab and his followers and relations had fallen to the lot of the prize agents who have been most anxious and zealous in endeavouring to collect and restore private and Government property. I today appointed Mr. Lisle, Acting *Cutwall* (*Kotwal*) of the city, and Mr. Quingly to be *Jamadar* of sowars, and issued orders for raising a levy of Foot (*Khangari* and *Bhungees* and urracks[1], all good fighting men) and Horse. Major Ellis left this evening for Chircaree (Charkhari) leaving the Governor and the Chutturpoor troops for service in the Banda district. A proclamation has been issued to call on all servants of Government to attend and give an account of themselves; a letter from Narain Row of Kirwee was received today by Major Ellis, expressing his willingness to surrender in ten days hence and to dismiss his forces. I shall write* again to hurry his movements and explain more particularly the terms on which he will be allowed to surrender viz., as a prisoner with his younger brother Madooe Row (Madho Rao) and his headman Radha Govind, and all their guns, to stand their trial on the charge of rebellion and subversion of the British authority. I shall also warn his army to disperse to their own homes. Sir Hugh Rose left Jhansee for Calpee on the 25th instant. The fugitives from Banda are scattered east and west, many have gone to their own homes. The Nawab is at Calpee, a deputation of the leading merchants and *Bunyas* waited on me

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

* "With the General Whitlock's Consent" – Marginal note in the Original.

to express their intense satisfaction of the defeat of the Nawab and the dispersion of his rabble force who had so long oppressed them.

Saturday May 1st—Proclamation issued to the town people to return and resume their usual avocations under penalty of otherwise being regarded as rebels and their property confiscated. Nawab Alli Bahadoor is stated to have sent a force of 500 men to Mowdha. I am anxious to send out my *Tehseeldars* in the *pergunnahs* neighbouring on Banda but like not to do so without support. The Rajah of Chutturpoor is unwilling that his men should be so used and General Whitlock cannot detach any force until the Brigade now at Chircaree (Charkhari) returned to him. I intend therefore to employ matchlockmen for the support of the *Mufussil* Police until our new levies are sufficiently organized.

If some of the Sikh and Jat Police, Foot and Horse can be spared for Banda, the restoration of order will be much facilitated and quickened. I have appointed Mr. Carne to be Post Master at Banda and requested the Post Master General's confirmation. The Jounpoor people in *pergunnah* Simonee punished by Major Daleas are said to have returned and to be threatening Chilla and Muddinpoor. Mrs. Loyd and her daughter and son have been found in the city in great distress, also Mrs. Groves. The husband of the former was murdered at Banda and of the latter at Cawnpoor, they are all dark-coloured. I am very much tired for want of hands of the *Omla* and clerks not having yet returned.

Sunday 2nd—All quiet. No news.[1]

RETREAT TOWARDS KALPI

No details have been received from these districts, but the knowledge of our re-occupation of the former district has caused several of the rebel garrisons in Humeerpore to retreat towards Calpee.[2]

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 69. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 2nd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

BANDA IN TOTALLY DESTROYED STATE

The population is generally in our favor, though for the most part withheld from any active demonstration of support, by the bands of rebels which still infest the district. General Whitlock is still unable to spare a moveable Column.

Narain Rao has considerable army, but the men he recruited in Oudh are deserting him and he has abstained from active hostility since our troops entered the district; he at one period permitted his men however to join those of the Banda Nuwab, in an attack on the troops of the Ranee of Adjigurh, which was unsuccessful.

The station of Banda itself is totally destroyed.[1]

MADHO RAO AND NARAIN RAO PERSIST IN HOSTILITY

The reorganization of Civil Government in this district had been much hindered by the proximity of the rebel detachments at Humeerpore, and the very strong force kept up by the brothers Madho Rao and Narain Rao of Kirwee. These men have been repeatedly summoned to surrender, but have not yet shewn any signs of submission.

Several villages in various directions still remain in open hostility, and Brigadier Whitlock is as yet unable to detach a force to punish them.

Under these circumstances, the revenue is scarcely at all collected, Rs. 1,263-7-6 having alone been received during the week.

The remains of the unfortunate persons murdered at Banda have been recovered, and have received Christian burial.[2]

* * *

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 9th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Extract from the Narrative of Events.

The Kirwee Raos still remain in a hostile attitude. A Mahratta long resident at Benares and of high character having offered to visit Narain Rao and expostulate with him in person, Mr. Mayne accepted the offer. An attempt was made to waylay this emissary on the road and four of his party were actually murdered, he and his immediate companion having fallen behind, the rest escaped and reached Kirwee in safety.

From the reports received thence there is reason to believe this outrage was perpetrated by order of Radha Gobind, the Agent and adviser of the Rao's who is bitterly hostile to the British and whose counsels sway the elder brother Narain Rao completely. The younger brother Madho Rao still a mere boy inclines to the other side under the advice of a *Jemadar* who has been long a servant of the family and is much respected by them.

Meanwhile the brothers keep up their army and indeed will probably find in any case some difficulty in disbanding it.

Under these circumstances and with hostile operations in Calpee and Humeerpore Mr. Mayne has not yet been able materially to extend his authority in the district.[1]

NARAIN RAO HOLDS OUT AT TIROHAN

Pergunnah Pylanee (Pailani)[2] has been occupied by a party of Chutturpoor troops commanded by Lieutenant Griffin; another party of these is to garrison the Fort of Mowdha in the Humeerpoor district which was evacuated at the approach of a small detachment sent against it by General Whitlock. Mr. Mayne has also deputed a *Tehseeldar* to Mowdha as there are yet no Civil Officers at Humeerpoor. Lieutenant Griffin has punished several refractory villages in Pylanee

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative(Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Pailani*, Tahsil *Pailani*, District *Banda*—The headquarters of the tahsil lie in 21° 46′ N. and 80° 28′ E., distant 23 miles from Banda. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, 1909, p. 278).

and Lieutenant Metge by Mr. Mayne's desire punished the village of Puchugee on his march with two *Resalahs* of Police Horse from Futtehpoor to Banda.

The *pergunnahs* of Mow and Dursendah[1] were still held by rebels styling themselves the Nana's troops, but when Mr. Mayne was writing Brigadier Macduff's force having joined .....[2] General Whitlock was preparing to move the following day towards Tirohan where Narain Rao still held out, and the neighbouring country would be subsequently reduced to order. The only other event to be recorded is an outrage perpetrated on the night of the 30th. The vault containing the remains of the unfortunate Christians murdered at Banda was broken open, the coffin destroyed, and the bones scattered. The perpetrators of this outrage had not been discovered.[3]

KARWI FORT OCCUPIED BY WHITLOCK

Mr. Mayne was on the point of moving out with General Whitlock's force against Narain Rao and Madho Rao of Kirwee, but just as the force started, these Chiefs wrote to promise that they would come out to meet the force and would surrender themselves prisoners. It is known that this promise was fulfilled, and that the fort of Kirwee containing 800 stand of arms, 38 fine brass guns, one million sterling in cash and other valuable property, was occupied by General Whitlock on the 6th of June.

The details of Civil Administration have not been carried out so fully as could be wished for. Mr. Mayne has temporarily been deprived of the services of Lieutenant Metge's Police, whom General Whitlock required for military purposes. The collections for the week were 16,849-10-9.[4]

[1] *Darsenda*, Tahsil *Kamasin*, District *Banda*—A large village lying in 25° 27′ N. and 81° 0′ E., with a population of 1,280 persons and an area of 2, 596 acres. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, 1909, p. 225).

[2] Space left blank in Original.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative(Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 7th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

FALL OF KARWI

Extract from the Statement of the Prosecution.

ARRANGEMENTS AT KARWI

.....At last when the British force did march from Banda guns and men were posted on the Banda side of the Pysoonee (Paisuni) river and entrenchments raised to oppose our entering into Kirwee and the men and guns were only withdrawn when they heard of the great superiority of our force, and when the hopelessness of resistance became apparent. The rebel army under Radhagobind, the executor and guardian of Madho Rao, fled to the hills taking with them all the records and a large amount of treasure and ammunition. Narain Rao also made preparations to fly to the hills but was persuaded by the Govt. native agent to stop. The next day Narain Rao seeing himself deserted by the only man in whom he had confidence, drew his guns into his palace, and came out with Madho Rao to meet the British force and they surrendered themselves for trial.

The enlistment of men from Oude and other places and the gun and powder manufactures were carried on up to the date of our force reaching Kirwee. Many sepoys of our mutinied regiments were enlisted in Narain Rao's service, and instead of our finding only 200 sepoys—Cavalry and 4 small guns as allowed at Kirwee, we found upwards of 42 guns, nearly 2,000 muskets, a large quantity of new English made belts and cross belts from the Cawnpoor magazine and an immense quantity of ammunition, and a great many kits of sepoys of mutinied regiments, the new levies amounting to some 15,000 men having fled a day or two before we arrived.

ARMS AND AMMUNITION AT KARWI

Guns and gun bullocks, horses, elephants, and camels were also found in their possession belonging to the rebel Nawab of Banda. An asylum had been found at Kirwee for a large number of fugitives from the Banda battle-field. N. R. (Narain Rao) has been able to give no account of his collections of Govt. Revenue.[1]

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the case *Government vs Narain Rao and Madho Rao of Karwi, Mukund Rao Jamadar, Executor and Guardian of Madho Rao and*

REPORTED SURRENDER OF NARAIN RAO AND MADHO RAO

The surrender of Narain Rao and Madho Rao was reported in the last Narrative. 40 guns and 2000 stand of arms (muskets) have been collected from them and the fort of Tirohan will be blown up. Their chief advisers Rada Govind (Radha Govind) and Golab Rao had taken refuge in the hills.

The usual Revenue and Police Estbt. (establishment) had been appointed and the district appears to be quieted. Collections Rs. 18,971-15-9.[1]

RADHA GOVIND AT KALYANPUR

Mr. Mayne reported General Whitlock as still at Kirwee. Radha Govind was at Kullianpoor 38 miles from Kirwee on the 10th of June; he had about 1,000 men with him, but no guns, and talks of going towards Shahgurh (Shahgarh). Lieutenant Griffin was doing good service with the Chutterpoor Levies in the Pylanee *pergunnah*. The Revenue collections are beginning to assume some regularity. The amount for the week was 23,742-14-10.[2]

VILLAGE MARKA STILL HOSTILE

The *zemindars* of Mhow were disposed to give trouble, but Mr. Mayne supported by a small though effective Column was marching towards them. Radha Gobind was still at Kullianpore, and the village of Murka in *pergunnah* Ougasee has been since the outbreak in open rebellion, otherwise the district was quiet, and collections had been made to the amount of 34,201-13-7.[3]

Govind Rao, son of Mukund Rao". Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII--36, Part II. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 20th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract

PLUNDER OF SIGWAN AND KALYANPUR

Letter No. 109 *of* 1858 *from F. O. Mayne, Magistrate and Collector of Banda, to the Political Agent at Rewa, dated 2nd July* 1858.

I have the honor to enclose three copies of vernacular applications from the *Thanadar* of Manickpoor and the Officer of Police of Mow informing that the rebels Punjab Sing, Gooman Sing, Dheer Sing and Runmust Sing with 5 (500) or 600 men have plundered *mowzahs* Sigwan, Kullyanpoor (Kalyanpur) and their surrounding villages, and taken refuge in a *gurhee* in *mouzah* Lupaon *ellaqua* Punnah and to request that you will be good enough to order the Rajah of Rewan (Rewa) to adopt proper means for their apprehension.[1]

VILLAGES IN REVOLT PUNISHED

The three villages of Mhow, Munkwara and Doorut Puttun which set the example of rebellion in June 1857 and took the lead in expelling the Government functionaries, have been punished. Mr. Mayne's movement at the right bank of the Jumna in concert with Captain Dennehy's on the left bank has resulted in the apprehension of several rebels of notoriety.

The Kullianpore gathering under Radha Gobind, was assuming in the early part of the week a somewhat formidable appearance but the arrival of a small body of the Rewah troops caused the flight of the rebels who have since quite evacuated the Banda district. A small party however of fugitives had occupied the frontier village of Gooman in the Rewah territory, and were threatening to give trouble. Mr. Mayne has been in communication with the Political Agent on the subject. The collections in Banda were 18, 727-13-2.[2]

Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 27th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII-20. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 3rd July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES ON REWA BORDER

Letter No. 115 *of* 1858 *from F. O. Mayne, Magistrate and Collector of Banda, to Captain Osborne, Political Agent at Rewa, dated Banda, the 5th July* 1858.

I have the honor to enclose copies of two vernacular applications from the Officer of Police of Mow and the *Thanadar* of Kirwee and of a *perwanah* from Brigadier Carpenter commanding detachment at Kirwee, informing me that the rebels Radha Gobind, Goolab Rao, Runmust Sing etc. with nearly 5,000 men are now on the borders of Manickpoor and of *ellaqua* Rewan, and are threatening and plundering all the surrounding villages, and to request the favor of your issuing necessary orders on the Rajah of Rewan to adopt means for their immediate apprehension as danger is expected by the increase of their numbers.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE IN BIRSINGHPUR

Letter No. 1024 *from Captain W. Osborne, Political Agent at Rewa, to F. O. Mayne, Collector of Banda, dated Rewa, the 8th July* 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 109 dated 2nd instant forwarding copies of vernacular papers regarding the rebels under Runmust Singh, and in reply to inform you that the rebels mustering say 5,000 men with 5 guns and 2 (200) or 300 mutineers under Runmust Singh, Dheer Singh and Punjab Sing and Chutterdharee (Chhatradhari Singh) (all Rewah *Sirdars*) and Radhagobind are at present in the Birsingpoor district laying waste the country around them. Owing to there being so many Rewah men with them I am unable to take any steps to attack them. I have urged on Government the necessity of exterminating this horde of rebels—the only band of any importance now remaining in Bundlecund.[2]

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII-20. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Ibid.*

BRITISHERS HELPLESS TO ATTACK REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter No. 1045 *from Captain W. Osborne, Political Agent at Rewa, to F. O. Mayne, Magistrate of Banda, dated Rewa, the 9th July* 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 115 dated 5th instant forwarding vernacular applications from the Officer of Police at Mhow and others regarding the rebels under Radhagobind and others, and in reply beg to inform you, that I have not the means to attack such a large body of rebels (mustering about 6000 men with a few hundred mutineers among them) especially as many of them are Rewah men held by Rewah *Sirdars*. This may be portion of an organized plan; as, a prisoner taken at Futtehpoor who fled from Gwalior, declared that Bundlecund was to be the rendezvous of the rebels, (who) were driven out of Gwalior. Nothing can be done to this horde of scoundrels without Europeans and native regular troops. They have 3 small guns with them, and their presence is productive of the greatest mischief; they have already commenced plundering my districts.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE IN CHIBU PARGANA

Thirty two of the inhabitants of the notorious village of Murka, which behaved with such cruel hostility to the unfortunate fugitives from Nowgong, have been arrested by Lieutenant Griffin with a party of the Chutterpore Levies, and a few Sikh Mounted Police.

There is not any other event of importance to narrate in this quarter, except that a few dacoities have been perpetrated in *pergunnah* Cheboo on its S. E. (South-East) frontier by detachments from a considerable body of rebels, partly from Banda and partly from independent states, congregated within the Rewah territories, regarding whom Mr. Mayne is in correspondence with the Political Agent at Rewah.[2]

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII-20. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 11th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES IN REWA

Large bands of rebels are still collected in the Rewah territory, on the Tirohan border, but the presence of a detachment of Rewah troops keeps them in check. Mr. Carne has gone out to Kirwee to take up his duties there. The district is generally quiet, but in many of the villages the entire population has fled and settled in the independent state, whence though no criminal charges are made against them, they will not now return. The collections amount to Rs. 22,949-9-11.[1]

ATROCITIES ON BANDA VILLAGES

Letter from C. B. Thornhill, officiating Commissioner, 4th Division, to F. O. Mayne, Magistrate of Banda, dated Allahabad, the 31st July 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 166 dated 26th July and enclosures, regarding the expedition undertaken by Lieutenant Metge for the punishment of 5 villages, whose inhabitants had become obnoxious to justice, by their barbarous treatment of European officers and ladies during the disturbances; and in reply to sanction the distribution of Rs. 70/- to the 12 Seikhs (Sikhs) who distinguished themselves by swimming across the river and seizing 14 villagers, who were endeavouring to escape by boat.[2]

BUNDELKHAND CHIEFS AID THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter No. 200 *of* 1858 *from F. O. Mayne, Magistrate of Banda, to Captain W. Osborne, Political Agent at Rewa, dated zillah Banda, the 7th August* 1858.

I have the honor to bring to your notice the culpable impunity with which small bands of rebels are allowed, not only to encamp in the *illaquas* of the Bundlecund Chieftains, but also to traverse their *illaquas* in pursuit of their plundering and marauding expeditions into the districts. These rebel

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending 18th of July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII-20. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

bands, moreover are bountifully furnished with supplies from the bazars and grainstores, of these independent Rajahs, and I am told they occasionally interchange visits. Communications are, I know, kept up by them. If these Rajahs and Chieftains are loyal and friendly to the British Government, as they represent themselves to be, they would surely find no difficulty in dispersing the small bands which are now encamped in their territories, and are laying waste our frontier; or the least that could be expected from them would be to keep a strict watch, and send immediate information to the nearest British outposts of all intended expeditions and they might send and apprise the people of those villages which are about to be attacked. It would be very easy to send on a man ahead whenever a marauding expedition started towards our frontier. The rebels, moreover, constantly wander about in twos and threes stopping and plundering travellers, and carrying off cattle. The Rajah's people could surely apprehend them, and send them to the British authorities. The Chieftains to whom I more particularly allude are those of Kothee and Sohawul, and Puthar Kuchar, and the Chowbeys whose ancestors owned Kallinger.

RANMAST SINGH ACTIVE IN PATHAR KACHAR

I have just this moment received a report of Runmust Sing with a band of only 500 men having passed through the Rajah of Puthar Kuchar's dominions, and committed dacoities in the villages of Futtehgunje, Doorgha Munpoor, Alumgunj, and Kundowra, *pergunnah* Budowsa, and killed some of my Police. They are now encamped at Kundowra, 8 miles from Budowsa, and are threatening the Budowsa *tehseel*. The Rajah of Puthar Kuchar's people neither attempted to stop them, nor to give notice of the expedition having started. Both the Kothee, Sohawul people and Puthar Kuchar people aid and abet these rebel bands and such conduct, if persisted in, I think considerable (*sic*,-considerably) endangers their tenure of regal authority. Perhaps a warning from you will induce them to act in a manner which will better prove their loyalty.[1]

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII-20. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

PUNISHMENT INFLICTED ON VILLAGES HOSTILE TO BRITISH

The only noteworthy occurrence in this district for the week under review has been the punishment of five villages which were notorious for the hostile treatment of the European gentlemen and ladies who fled from Nowgong last year. But Mr. Mayne has caused it to be everywhere proclaimed that this punishment is on account of their specially infamous conduct.[1]

ENCOUNTER WITH BRITISH FORCES

Letter No. 245 from F. O. Mayne, Magistrate of Banda, to the Commissioner of Allahabad, dated Banda, the 19th August 1858.

RANMAST SINGH WOUNDED

I have the honor to resume my narrative of important events connected with the district of Banda. On the 13th instant the bands of Runmust Sing and Dheer Sing descended from the hills into the plains close to Nyagaon and Brigadier Carpenter moved out with a force from Kirwee to meet them. An action ensued in which the rebels were discomfited and driven back into the Hills with their leader Runmust Sing severely wounded and the loss of about 100 men. This successful movement from Kirwee will doubtless have a very good effect and prevent them coming again so close to Kirwee. They have returned to their old quarters at Kirkina[2] and Dudree[3], *pergunnah* Tirohan.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT DADRI AND RUKMA

Previously to this engagement Punjab Sing and Dheer Sing had come with their band from Surkunja and had

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings). Narrative of events for Banda for the week ending Ist August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Not clearly decipherable.

[3] Not clearly decipherable.

joined Runmust Sing, and Furzund Ally had also joined from Kirreereah. They are altogether now at Dudree and Rookma.

4*th*—Gooman Sing with his small band and a lot of villagers have (*sic*,-has) assembled at Sirmurdha and threatens to go more north. I have intimated this fact to Brigadier Carpenter.

5*th*—The rebel band of Desput having completely stopped the Saugor *dawk* and showing shown an inclination (to) extend their ravage further westward, Major General Whitlock has sent a small detachment under Captain Macintyre[1] of the Hyderabad Contingent towards Mahoba in order to check their advance and to give confidence to the people. He himself with a larger force is now crossing the river Kane to go to Chirkaree with the intention I believe of clearing the southern *pergunnahs* of Hummeerpore of the numerous rebel bands who are now laying waste that part of the country.[2]

KOTHEE CHIEF—A GREAT ALLY OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter No. 1228 *from Captain W. Osborne, Political Agent at Rewa, to F. O. Mayne, Magistrate of Banda, dated Rewa, the* 14*th August* 1858.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 200 dated 7th instant regarding the Bundlecund Chiefs and to inform you that I have addressed Major Ellis, Political Assistant for Bundlecund on the subject and have also forwarded a copy of it to Government; as it is absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken in the case of the Kottee Chief who has from the commencement of the outbreak harboured and assisted rebels.

The Chief of Sohawul is here and his district is under British management. Runmust Sing has several Rewah *Sirdars* with him and they have great influence over the Chowbeys whose ancestors owned Kallinger.[3]

[1] Not clearly decipherable, may have been spelt for 'Mackintosh.'

[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—37, pp. 15-16. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[3] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—20. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

ATTACK ON BARGARH

Letter No. 259 from F. O. Mayne, Magistrate of Banda, to the Commissioner of Allahabad, dated 25th August 1858.

ACTIVITIES OF PANJAB SINGH AND DHIR SINGH

I have the honor to report that on the 19th instant Punjab Sing, Dere Sing (Dhir Singh), and others, a band of about 1000 men including about 100 or 150 sepoys, attacked and plundered Burgurh[1], a *Jemadar Chokee* in *pergunnah* Cheeboo[2], and seizing two of the Police, who were there, cut off the right hand and nose of one and hanged the other. The *Jemadar* happened to be away at the time and hearing of the advance of the rebels without asking any questions fled across the Jumna to see a *Chickwa*. I have dismissed him for gross cowardice. The rebels then advanced on Mow and the *Tehsildar* and *Thandar* fled to Rajapore. At Rajapore they have been met by Captain Griffin whom I had sent down the river from Chilla Tara with 500 Chutterpore men and 2 guns to relieve them. They left Rajapore on the 21st instant for Mow and I hope soon to hear that the rebels have been driven back into the Agency States where they always find shelter and plenty of supplies.

REVOLUTIONARIES ACT IN THE NAME OF NANA

These rebels act in the name of Nana Peishwa, whose rule they proclaim wherever they go; and the cruelties they practise on all parties suspected of siding with the British Govt. cause the greatest terror even on Police who cannot be induced to face them even for an hour.

[1] *Bargarh*, Tahsil *Mau*, District *Banda*—A town lying in 25° 8′ N. and 81°29′ E., at a distance of 38 miles from Allahabad, 80 miles from Banda, 42 miles from Karwi and ten miles from Mau, with which it is connected by a fair unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, 1909, p. 219).

[2] Apparently *Chibun*, Tahsil *Mau*, District *Banda*—A large village lying in 25° 18′ N. and 81° 14′ E., situated on the Gandanala, a small tributary of the Jumna, distant 50 miles from Banda, 18 miles from Karwi, and 12 miles from Mau. (*District Gazetteers*, Banda, 1909, p. 222).

STRONG POSITION OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES AT MAU

Brigadier Carpenter at Kirwee expressed his inability to send assistance to Mow owing to the large band of rebels still encamped to the south of *pergunnah* Tirohan. I have however urged upon him the absolute necessity of clearing out the country bordering on the Jumna and have proposed to him to march to Mow and thence via Burgurh to Manikpur and Tikuria to Koresi and Kothee and Birsingpore. This will thoroughly clear out all their haunts and I hope will induce them to leave us in peace for a time. To enable us to be quite free from the predatory hordes, however, the independent Rajas of Bundle Khund and their troops must act very differently to what they now do.

5*th*—It was to prevent the new disturbances in this district that I so repeatedly urged the expediency of placing the Sikh Horse at my disposal. With them I would have manned the various important frontier posts of *pergunnah* Cheeboo and Tirohan and these rebel bands would never have got into Mow. No sooner however were the Sikhs placed at my disposal than they were ordered away to Calpee and I have no means of my own to prevent these small incursions of the enemy and unless these disturbances are checked at once they will naturally spread further both in the district and in *pergunnahs* Bara[1] and Khyragurh. One hundred of the Allahabad Sikh Infantry with their headquarters at Mow would amply suffice to keep all that part of the country quiet.[2]

FALL OF MAU

Letter No. 264 *from F. O. Mayne, Magistrate of Banda, to the Commissioner of Allahabad, dated Banda, the* 26*th August* 1858.

In continuation of my letter of yesterday's date No. 259 I have the honor to enclose in original a demi-official report

[1] *Bara*, Pargana and Tahsil *Bara*, District *Allahabad*—The headquarters of the tahsil are located in a mere village which stands in 25° 15′ N. and 81° 43′ E., on the metalled branch of the Jubbulpore road leading to Sheorajpur, at a distance of 18 miles south-west from Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 222).

[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—37. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

received last night from Captain Griffin in command of the Chutterpore Levies reporting a successful attack made by him on the rebel bands of Punjab Sing and Dheer Sing and his re-occupation of the *tehseeldari* and village of Mow. . . .

4*th*—I am sending 100 of the Banda Military Police Infantry fully equipped to Kirwee to assist Brigadier Carpenter in his intended expedition.

5*th*—Furzund Ally with a band of 1000 matchlockmen is hovering about Kallinjur, with the intention, it is said of attacking the *tehsrelee* of Bhudousa.[1]

BRITISH PLAN TO ATTACK KOTHEE

Copy of a letter No. 228 of 1858 from C. K. Coles, the Political Assistant at Nagode, to the Officer Commanding Detachment from Tirohan Camp, dated Myhar (Maihar), the 8th September 1858.

I have just received information from Nagode of your having come down to Kothee with the intention of attacking that place.

2*nd*—I shall myself proceed to Nagode this evening but in the meantime I write to inform you that my assistant Pundit Kalkapurshad has been instructed to afford you any assistance you may require.

3*rd*—He has about 400 matchlockmen with him but in case of a call from you, he will only be able to take out half the number, the remainder being required for the protection of the town.

4*th*—I would beg to suggest, as you are so near Nagode, that you march into the place, the object being, with such assistance as Captain Osborne and I can afford you, to expel the rebels from the position they have taken up in our neighbourhood.

RANMAST SINGH AND THE KOTHEE CHIEF

5*th*—My advices of their movements are as follows—

Furzund Ally with 1000 men is reported to be at Peharee Khera, 20 miles from Nagode on the road to Banda.

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—37. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Runmust Singh and other rebel leaders with 4000 men are reported to have gone up the *ghauts* from Deeah into the Kothee district.

The Kothee Chief with some 50 men is said to be in his fort, all his other followers having fled. One report of this Chief's intention is that he is going to give himself up to you, and a second report is that he is preparing to fly the place.

6*th* – I have sent a copy of this letter to Captain Osborne, Political Agent. If you give your answer to this to the bearer and also any letter you may wish to send to Captain Osborne, they will be delivered to us.

7*th* – I send you copy of my letter to Captain Osborne.

8*th*– My *Tahseeldar* of Sohawul, Moonshee Banee Purshad (Munshi Beni Prasad), has been directed to wait on you for orders for supplies etc. in case of your being near his district.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ROUTED

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Carpenter, Nagode, to G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 15th September 1858.

The rebels have been driven by my troops from every position they held in, and near, the Banda district. Runmust Sing has fled to the hills and jungles beyond Rewah; he is wounded and most of his followers are dispersed, I am told, in small parties. Furzund Ally and Radha Govind are *en route* to Mahoba, and were yesterday at Richooje, upwards of 30 miles from Nagode. I came in here from Kothee, hoping to surprise them by a night march, but they are much too far off. Furzund Ally has offered to come in, if terms are granted. Shall I promise him life and liberty, provided he does the good service? He says he will see, and it is just possible I may be able to capture Radha Gobind with his assistance. In this case what shall be done about Furzund Ally's followers? I am persuaded a discriminating clemency towards the *zemindary* rebels in this part of the country, who have not committed

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—20. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

any flagrant atrocities, would have a most beneficial effect in restoring order, by breaking up the confederacies. On the other hand, the system which, I fear, is too prevalent, of suspecting every land-holder of rebellion, and being always ready to burn his village, or confiscate his estate, even though he may perhaps have acted under compulsion, from inability to resist the rebels in his neighbourhood, must produce the worst results by creating rebels instead of reducing them. This is a most dangerous power, and should never be exercised by any individual without the express orders of the Governor General, on cause being shewn; for the victims, if innocent, can never have redress. I have saved Kothee with its belief (*sic*,)[1] and other places, from this fate. After due enquiry, if I am to carry out views, please do intimate to Major-General Whitlock that my services are required here for a season; otherwise I may receive conflicting orders. I trust you will give me a speedy reply.[2]

NARAIN RAO AND MADHO RAO

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot' dated 7th October 1858.

The ablest, best informed and—need we add ? the most rabidly obstreperous journalist in the North-West Provinces—evidently without much fore-thought—for else not all the world could have induced him to come out so openly and frankly—assures us that the brothers who are the subject of these observations, after having been judicially convicted and sentenced to transportation for life to expiate the crime of rebellion, have been recommended for mercy on the ground of the elder being next thing to an idiot, and the younger of too tender an age to have been capable of acting for himself; and we have no reason to doubt the accuracy of our contemporary's statement. The fact is certainly agreeable to the feelings of those who profess themselves to be the friends of peace and order, and bespeaks at least the good policy, if not the magnanimity, of the Government; and so long as Lord Canning continues to sit at the helm of public affairs,

[1] May have been wrongly spelt for 'Chief'.

[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File XVIII—20. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

no one need apprehend disappointment from the result. But without venturing to put in a word of commisseration for the elder brother, who, though an idiot, may in the year of grace 1857, have been blessed with lucid moments to meditate a conquest of the Moon, may not one be permitted, without staggering liegemen out of propriety to question the equitableness of a sentence which would, to all intents and purposes, blot out from the book of existence a mere child whose consciousness of right and wrong was about as clear as must have been that of the frolicsome boys who lately in the Moradabad district mimicked their rulers by hoisting, on the nearest tree, a little member of their mock body politic, who had been sentenced by their Archon Elect to suffer death as a *Baghy* on the gallows and then packed off to their homes in utter amazement and consternation when they found it was all over with their little culprit ? But, fortunately, neither the little Archon nor his pigmy lieges, had an estate bordering on a crore to attract the special attention of a Special Commissioner; else the affair would have ended somewhat more seriously than with the simple dismissal of the parents with an admonition to be a little more mindful of their charges for the future. How then will these two little incidents stand side by side on the page of history ? That Madho Rao's sentence will be remitted, we have already said we entertain not the shadow of a doubt; but is his estate, which has passed into the shark's belly, at all likely to be restored to him ? We wish we could reply to this question in the affirmative, but the very fact of conviction before a legally constituted tribunal will, notwithstanding the subsequent grant of a pardon and no considerations of justice or humanity induce to a relinquishment in these necessitous times of a million pounds sterling in hard silver and gold. And what would be the immediate consequence of such a measure ? Surely not sufficiently alluring to those chiefs, who are still holding out, to surrender themselves to take the chances of a trial.[1]

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 7th October 1858, p. 316. National Library, Calcutta.

RADHA GOVIND AGREES TO SURRENDER

Service Message from Brigadier Carpenter to G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated Nagode, 12th October 1858.

Radha Govind's *Vakeel* is in camp. He is anxious to surrender on the terms authorized by the Governor General, and is gradually disbanding his followers. Considerable delay must take place, especially in getting rid of the mutineers, but I am sanguine of ultimate success, and of restoring order, by breaking up these rebel bands.

The Governor General's amnesty is unknown in the rebel camp. I have sent copies for circulation. If it had been published at the proper time, I am of opinion that not one of these rebel bands would now be in existence.

Runmast Sing's followers, dispersed after the action at the Punghattee pass, have never rallied again, and none of them are now in the rebel camp at Bhindhore.

Runmast Sing still lies wounded in Rewah.[1]

KARWI RELIEVED

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 29th December 1858, (4-30 *P. M.*).

Mr. Power reports from Banda on the 27th instant that Kirwee has been relieved and that the General only awaits the arrival of Brigadier Carpenter in the rear of the rebels to make a combined attack on them.[2]

RANMAST SINGH AND FARZAND ALI AGAIN ACTIVE

Letter No. 142 *from F. O. Mayne, Magistrate of Banda, to the Commissioner of Allahabad, dated Banda, the 25th February* 1859.

I have the honor to report for your information that Furzund Allee and Runmust Singh with about 400 mutineers,

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—20. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

100 Cavalry and some 7 or 8 hundred matchlockmen have again invaded this district and plundered the bazar of Kurtul 8 miles west of Kallinjur, and are now encamped at Kora, 4 miles west of Kallinjur. I have reported the matter to both Major-General Whitlock at Nagode and Brigadier Carpenter commanding at Banda.[1]

Message from the Magistrate of Banda dated 4th March.

MURDER OF RAILWAY OFFICERS

Reports the murder of certain Railway officers by the rebels under Runmust Singh and Firzund Allie (Farzand Ali) and suggests measures for their capture or destruction.[2]

* * *

Message from Officiating Commissioner of Allahabad dated 4th March 1859.

Submits letter from Magistrate of Banda, regarding the incursion of rebels into the district, under Furzund Alee, and the circumstances connected with their attack on a party of Railway officers at Gentowa.[3]

* * *

Message dated 10th March 1859, *No.* 77.

Forwarding a copy of telegram, reporting the defeat, by Brigadier Faddy, of the rebels under Furzund Alee and Runmust Singh.[4]

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—38. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Vol. : Proceedings N. W. P. Govt., Political Department, 1859. Abstract of the Proceedings of G. F. Edmonstone, Lt. Governor of the N. W. P. and Oudh in the Foreign Deptt. ending the 7th March 1859.

[3] Vol. : Proceedings N. W. P. Govt., Political Department, 1859. Abstract of the Proceedings of G. F. Edmonstone, Lt. Governor of N. W. P. and Oudh in Foreign Department ending 31st March 1859, No. 216.

[4] Vol. : Proceedings N. W. P. Govt., Political Department, 1859. Abstract of the Proceedings of G. F. Edmonstone, Lt. Governor of the N. W. P. and Oudh in the Foreign Department ending 31st March 1859, No. 211.

PURSUIT OF FARZAND ALI

Intimating that Captain Chapman has been ordered to move with a body of Mounted Police in the direction of Mhow Ghat, to co-operate with the troops in pursuit of Furzund Alee.[1].....

Forwarding a letter from the Political Agent at Rewah, requesting that the Allahabad Police should be sent to the Sohage Pass, to intercept the movement of Furzund Alee.[2]

CLASH BETWEEN THE REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE BRITISH

From officiating Commissioner of Allahabad dated 10th March.

Forwards copy of a letter from the Political Agent Rewah, reporting an action with the rebel forces under Runmust Singh and Furzund Alee, in which the enemy lost 100 killed.[3]

ACTION AGAINST RANMAST SINGH AND FARZAND ALI

Message to Brigadier Carpenter, Commanding at Banda.

Intimating that Furzund Alee, Runmust Singh and their followers must be expelled from the Banda district, and desiring him to take measures to that effect.[4]

* * *

Message to Major-General Whitlock, Commanding Sagar Field Force, Nagode.

Forwarding a copy of the above orders addressed to Brigadier Carpenter, together with a copy of the telegram, and requesting him to take speedy measures to attack and

[1] Vol. : Proceedings N. W. P. Govt., Political Department, 1859. Abstract of the Proceedings of G. F. Edmonstone, Lt. Governor of N. W. P. and Oudh in Foreign Deptt. ending 31st March 1859, Nos. 119 and 120.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 158.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 112.

disperse the body of rebels, which, if left unmolested, will create mischief.[1]

ACTION AGAINST MUHAMMAD ABBAS

Letter No. 2005 *from C. E. W. Couper, Secretary to the Government, N. W. P., to C. B. Thornhill, officiating Commissioner, Allahabad, dated Allahabad, the* 2*nd June* 1859.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your docket No. 288, dated 5th ultimo, transmitting copy of proceedings of the Special Commissioner, Banda, in the case of Mohammed Abbas, Ex-Tehseeldar of *pergunnah* Mowdha *zillah* Humeerpore.

2*nd*—The Defendant was charged with rebellion, and during his absence in concealment, forfeiture of property was adjudged. He has, however, subsequently been released under the terms of the amnesty; but the Special Commissioner recommends, that the sentence of confiscation should hold good, and that he should be declared incapable of hereafter serving Government in any capacity.

3*rd*- The Lieutenant-Governor observes that the sentence of confiscation was passed on the 9th September 1858, under Act XXV of 1857. The Defendant has made his appearance within one year, but he has not been acquitted of the offence on conviction of which his property was declared forfeited nor has he proved to the satisfaction of the Court, that he did not keep out of the way, to evade justice, as required by section 8 of the Act cited. He is not therefore entitled to restitution of his property.

CHARGES AGAINST RANMAST SINGH

Letter No. 541 *from Dashwood, Magistrate of Banda, to the officiating Commissioner of Allahabad, dated Banda, the* 29*th June* 1860.

I have the honor to submit for confirmation the sentence passed by the Court of the Special Commissioner of Banda upon Runmust Singh son of Maheep Singh who has been brought to trial, under G. O. No. 1616 A dated the 22nd instant, upon the proceedings laid before Mr. Mayne on the following charges:-

First Count —Being a principal in dacoitee (dacoity) with plunder and murder of Messrs. Evans and Limnell of the Railway Deptt. and four native servants at *mouzah* Entowa *pargh.* (*pargana*) Tirohan *zillah* Banda on the 26th February 1859.

Second Count Rebellion and waging war against the British Govt. and being a leader and instigator in rebellion.....[1]

RANMAST SINGH SENTENCED TO DEATH

Extract from letter No. 2015 *A* (*Copy*) *from George Couper, Secretary to the Government, N. W. P., to the officiating Commissioner of Allahabad, dated Naini Tal the* 2*nd August* 1860.

3*rd*—It is satisfactorily proved that Runmust Singh, being at Jhurree with a considerable force of armed men, both Horse and Foot, on or about the 26th February 1859 received from a relative of his own a letter, informing him of the presence of the Railway Engineers Camp at Entooa, a village of the Banda district about 6 miles distant from Jhurree.....

5*th*—It is proved by the evidence of Sheoochurn (Shiv Charan) and others, residents of Jhurree that Runmust Singh, on receiving the letter above mentioned, forthwith directed the march of a large armed body on Entooa, and himself accompanied them, as their leader.

6*th*—Arrived near Entooa Runmust Singh appears to have obtained guides from the neighbouring village of Pundura; and it is proved by the evidence of Mr. Campbell, the servants

disperse the body of rebels, which, if left unmolested, will create mischief.[1]

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3*rd*—The Lieutenant-Governor observes that the sentence of confiscation was passed on the 9th September 1858, under Act XXV of 1857. The Defendant has made his appearance within one year, but he has not been acquitted of the offence on conviction of which his property was declared forfeited nor has he proved to the satisfaction of the Court, that he did not keep out of the way, to evade justice, as required by section 8 of the Act cited. He is not therefore entitled to restitution of his property.

4*th*—His Honor agrees in considering it quite proper, that Mohammed Abbas should be proscribed, and a Notification has accordingly been this day published in the Government Gazette, declaring him incapacitated from serving the Government in future, in any capacity whatever.[2]

[1] Vol:—Proceedings N. W. P. Govt., Political Department, 1859. Abstract of the Proceedings of G.F. Edmonstone, Lt. Governor of N. W. P. and Oudh in Foreign Department ending 31st March 1859, No. 216.

[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—31. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

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First Count—Being a principal in dacoitee (dacoity) with plunder and murder of Messrs. Evans and Linnell of the Railway Deptt. and four native servants at *mouzah* Entowa *pargh.* (*pargana*) Tirohan *zillah* Banda on the 26th February 1859.

Second Count—Rebellion and waging war against the British Govt. and being a leader and instigator in rebellion.....[1]

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6*th*—Arrived near Entooa Runmust Singh appears to have obtained guides from the neighbouring village of Pundura; and it is proved by the evidence of Mr. Campbell, the servants

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—38. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

of the Railway Engineers and the *zemindars* of Entooa (one of whom had warned Mr. Evans of the approach of the rebels) that the camp was attacked from two or more directions. There is no room for doubt that, in attempting to effect his escape Mr. Limnell was thrown from his horse, and being subsequently found concealed in the jungle was taken prisoner, and that Mr. Evans, whether in the attempt to assist Mr. Limnell, or otherwise, is not clear, was wounded with spears, and his head was afterwards severed from his body, some say by Runmust Singh's own hand.....

10*th*- The Second charge, viz. Rebellion and Waging war against the Government and being a leader in rebellion, I am to notice, is established by the depositions which are put up in packet E., by the statements recorded by the rebel sepoys who were taken wounded on the field of Keontee, that they joined him as a leader of note, and by public notoriety which is, the Lieutenant-Governor believes, admissible in a case of this kind, tried before a Special Commissioner. The presence of Runmust Singh at the fights of Keontee and also of Hunnooman Ghotee[1] and the fact of his being at the head of a band of rebels, who committed plunder, and burnt villages in Bundelkund, are fully substantiated. All these acts, I am to observe, constitute the offence described in the Second charge.....

14*th*—The Lieutenant-Governor repeats that he can see no circumstances of extenuation and therefore authorizes the Special Commissioner of Banda to give effect to the sentence of death which he has passed upon Runmust Singh.[2]

RANMAST SINGH EXECUTED

Letter No. 665 from Dashwood, Magistrate and Special Commissioner, Banda, to the officiating Commissioner, Allahabad, dated 15th August 1860.

The sentence of death having been carried out on Runmust Singh, I have the honor to solicit instructions as to the execution of that part of the Special Commissioner's

[1] Apparently spelt for *Hanuman Ghati* or *Hanuman Garhi*.

[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—38. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

sentence by which all the property of the prisoner of whatever description is confiscated to the State. My letter No. 591 dated the 16th July 1860 had reference of this subject.[1]

PANJAB SINGH APPREHENDED

Letter No. 14 from C. R. Coles, Assistant Political Agent at Nagode, to the Magistrate of Banda, dated Nagode, the 14th January 1863.

A Rewah *Sirdar*, of the name of Punjab Sing, has lately been apprehended by Mr. A. Money, at Bhaugulpoor (Bhagalpur). This name was talked of in 1857, and 1858, as a leader of band of rebels, and he was associated with one Dheer Sing, also a rebel *Sirdar* of Rewah, and he is said to have been with Tantia Topee, when he attacked Chirkaree (Charkhari), but what precise acts are laid to his charge, I have no present knowledge of.....[2]

LATER ACTIVITIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES IN BANDA

Extract from letter No. 262 A of 1863 from J. D. Sandford, Under Secretary to the Government N. W. P., to J. M. Erskine, officiating Deputy Auditor and Accountant General, N. W. P., dated Allahabad, the 23rd April 1863.

REWARD FOR THE CAPTURE OF DESHPAT

In reply to your letter No. 6005 dated 10th instant I am directed, as delay in the disbursement of such rewards is unadvisable, to authorize you to place the sum of Rs. 10,000 being the amount of reward sanctioned for the capture of the rebel Desput, at the disposal of Dr. Stratton, the Political Assistant in Bundlekhund who will distribute the same to the captors.....[3]

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records: File No. XVIII—38. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
[2] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records: File No. XVIII—37. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
[3] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records: File No. XVIII—29. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

WILAYAT HUSAIN SENTENCED TO TRANSPORTATION

Memo. by Thornhill, officating Magistrate of Banda, dated 3rd October 1871.

Willaiat Hossein, late *Kamdar* of the Nawab of Banda, was sentenced by the *Sudder Nizamut Adalat* to imprisonment with labor in transportation for fourteen years after conviction as a leader and instigator of rebellion and in waging war against the British Govt. during the disturbances in 1857/58. .....The warrant specifies that the term of sentence is from the 19th October 1860....[1]

[1] Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records : File No. XVIII—33. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

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GLOSSARY

Abkari—A tax on the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs.
Amla—Officials of the court.
Aya (Ayah)—A female attendant for children; nurse.
Baba Logue - A term of endearment; children of Europeans.
Baboo —A word used for a gentleman.
Badmash - See Budmash.
Bagghi (Buggy) Carriage drawn by horses.
Bagh—A garden.
Baghy—A rebel; a mutineer.
Bajra—Millet.
Bania—See Buniya.
Bara Saheb—Chief European officer of the district; now any head of an office.
Barqandazes (Barkandazes, Burkundauzes) —Soldiers wielding matchlock; watchmen.
Bazar—A market.
Beegah—See Beegha.
Beegha—A measure of a third of an acre.
Bhishti—One who carries water in a leather-bag.
Budmash—Wicked; immoral; a hooligan.
Buniya—Grocer.
Burra Sahib—See Bara Saheb.
Cabooliut—See Cabooliyat.
Cabooliyat—A written agreement; contract.
Canoongo—See Qanungo.
Chapati—A thin cake or bread.
Chaprasi—Peon.
Chaprassi—See Chaprasi.
Charpoy—Cot.
Chaukeedars—See Chowkidar.
Chauki (Chowkee)—A watch house; a guard's post; a custom house.
Chickwa—A butcher; one who sells meat; meat-seller.
Chowkidar (Chokidar) —A watchman; sentry; a guard.
Chukladar—Contractor or farmer of revenue in Oudh.
Chupper—A thatched roof.
Company - ke - neemuck - haram—Those who were treacherous to the Company.
Coss (koss) - A distance of two miles.
Cossid (Qasid) - A messenger; express courier.
Cotwal—See Kotwal.
Cutcherry—Courts of Justice.
Daghabazi—Treachery; imposture; Cheating; deception.
Dak—Post.
Dal—Pulse.
Darbar (Durbar) —A royal court; Hall of audience.
Deewan—A royal court; a court minister.
Doli (Dolee)—A kind of closed litter used for ladies.
Duffadar—an official in the Indian army.
Duffadar's urzee—Application of a *Dafedar*.
Durbar-Am—General audience.
Durbar-Khas—Special audience.
Elaqadar (Elakadar)—An officer of an *Ilaqa;* one who holds an *Ilaqa*.
Elaqua (Elaka)—A tenure of several villages; jurisdiction.
Fauj—Army.
Feringhee—A Frank; an European.
Firman—Royal patent.
Foorkan—The *Quran*.
Foujdary (Faujdari)—Breach of peace; fight.
Ghat—A ferry; ford.

Ghee—Butter clarified by boiling and straining.
Golundaze—A gunner; a marksman.
Gomashta—an agent.
Gurceb—Poor; meek; humble; penniless.
Havaldar (Havildar)—A petty officer in an Indian army or armed police.
Huftgana Probably weekly.
Hurkara - A runner; a fore-runner; a carrier; a post-man.
Huzoor—His Eminence.
Ilaqa -See Elaqua.
Inam—Prize; reward.
Ishtihar—Publication; notification; advertisement.
Ishtiharnamah—Petition; notification.
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.
Jamadar-Khana—A place where *Jamadars* sat for their work.
Jehad—Waging war (specially against infidels).
Jemadar—A petty official of an Indian army.
Jihad—See Jehad.
Jumma—Rent for land.
Jumma-Khirch Navis—A writer who keeps an account of income and expenditure.
Kafir—An infidel; Europeans in those days were generally called *kafirs* by Hindus and Muslims both.
Kamdar—A manager; an agent.
Kanungo—See Qanungo.
Karinda (Karindah)—One who works for another; an agent.
Khalifa—Chief.
Khareef (Kharif)—A crop which is reaped in autumn.
Khurreef—See Khareef.
Kotha—Roof; an extensive chamber.
Kotwal—Highest police officer of the city.
Lathis (Lathees)—Sticks.
Lotah (Lota)—A small metal pot.
Lushkur—An encampment; artillery-men; a host; tent-pitchers.
Mahajan—A money-dealer; a banker.
Mahout—An elephant driver.
Malgoozars—Land-holders; payers of revenue.
Malguzari—Land Revenue.
Mallah—A boat-man.
Mauza—Village.
Misls—Files.
Mochi—Shoe-maker, a cobler.
Moffassil—See Mofussil.
Mofussil—The suburb of a town.
Mohar (Mohur)—Seal; Gold coin.
Mohurrir—See Mohurrir.
Mohullah (Mohalla)—The part of a city; a ward.
Mohurir—See Mohurrir.
Mohurrir—A scribe; a clerk.
Mondha—A chair or stool which is made of reeds.
Mookhteear (Mookhtar)—An attorney; an agent.
Moonshee (Moonshi)—A scribe; a clerk.
Moontjim (Moontazim)—Manager.
Mowjah—See Mauza.
Mukhtyar—See Mookhteear.
Murid—A follower; a pupil; a disciple.
Naib—Deputy.
Naib Serishtehdar—Assistant to the superintendent of a vernacular office in Indian court.
Najeeb (Najib)—A militia man.
Nambardar—The *zamindar* of a village who helps the co-sharers in realizing rent.
Nawab—The Governor of a town; the title of a Muslim ruler.
Nawabee (Nawaby)—The office of a Nawab; the state of being a Nawab.
Nazim—Head of a district who had

very wide executive and judiciary powers.
Nazir—Supervisor; officer of scribes.
Nazrana—Present; gift.
Nullah (Nala)—A ravine; a canal; a rivulet.
Pagri—A turban.
Palkee—A palanquin; a litter.
Panchayat—Village assembly; arbitration.
Pargana—A unit composed of a number of villages.
Pergunnah—See Pargana.
Perwannah—See Purwanah.
Poorbea—Easterner; sepoys of Bengal army were generally called Poorbeas.
Pugree—See Pagri.
Pukka—Ripe; strong; full grown.
Punchayet—See Panchayat.
Purbia—See Poorbea.
Purwanah—A command; an order; a royal edict.
Qanungo—A superintendent of *Patwari's* village papers.
Qusbah—Town.
Races—A noble man; a grandee; a rich person.
Rais—See Raees.
Raj—Rule; administration; Government; kingdom.
Ressalah (Ressala)—A troop of horses.
Risalah—See Ressalah.
Roznamcha Navees—One who writes daily diary.
Roznamcha Navis—See Roznamcha Navees.
Russud—Provision; supplies.
Sadar—Chief; principal.
Sahibs—Masters; when used separately, a term applied to Europeans.
Sahib Logue—Europeans.
Salam—Salutation.
Sawars—See Sowars.
Sazawal—A land steward; a monthly revenue-collector.
Sezawul—See Sazawal.
Shastra—A code of law; institutes of religion; a sacred book.
Shiwala—A temple dedicated to Shiva.
Sipahees (Sipahis)—Soldiers.
Sirdar—Leader.
Soobedar—Governor of a province.
Sowars—Horsemen.
Subadar—See Soobedar.
Sudder—Chief; principal.
Sunnud—A grant; a charter; a certificate; a diploma.
Tahsil—The office or court of a *Tahsildar* or Collector of revenue.
Talookdar—See Talooqdar.
Talooqdar—Possessor of an estate.
Tehseeldar—Collector of revenue.
Telangas—Indian soldiers.
Telungas—See Telangas.
Thakoor—See Thakur.
Thakur—A land-lord; chief; a respected person; a title of Kshattriyas; idol.
Thannah (Thana)—A police station.
Tomandar—Commander of a *Tuman* or ten thousand soldiers.
Toshakhana—A store room; a wardrobe.
Tuhseeldar—See Tehseeldar.
Tulwar—Sword.
Umlah—See Amla.
Urzee—Petition.
Vakeel (Vakil)—Agent.
Vasil-bakee-Navis—A clerk who keeps the account of sum realised and due.
Vazir—See Wazir.
Wazir—Minister.
Woordee—Uniform; dress.
Zamindar—Landlord.
Zenana—Harem; wife; feminine.
Zilla—District.
Zillah—See Zilla.

IMPORTANT DATES

		Page No
February 1857		
12.	17th Regiment marches back to Azamgarh from Gorakhpur	86
18.	17th N. I. reaches Azamgarh	86
May 1857		
13.	17th N. I. ordered to reside in lines, and entry of strangers stopped	114
19.	Mahajans of Mirzapur warned to arrange for their protection	46-47
20.	Thana establishment of Shapoor removed to Bhutauli Ghat	47
21.	Europeans at Mirzapur alarmed to hear reports of guns from the east	47
24.	Forces at Azamgarh reject extra cartridges served out to them	21
25.	Nagri and Persian Proclamations issued in Mirzapur showing measures of British to suppress revolt	48-49
28.	Jail-guard at Gorakhpur increased	144
29.	Akorhi people contemplate an attack on Mirzapur	49
	Treasure from Gorkhpur sent to Azamgarh	144, 149
31.	Lines vacated by 67th N. I. at Banaras in flames	17
	Revolutionaries, marching on Gahmar, remain at Dewal	117
	Paina (Gorakhpur) *zamindars* revolt	144
June 1857		
1.	Regiment at Azamgarh conspire at a meeting	21
2.	Revolutionaries' effort to prevent Palisser from leaving Azamgarh with treasure	4
	Azamgarh forces attempt to tamper with 13th Irregulars	21
	2nd Cavalry at Kanpur informed by spies to be blown up by Europeans if they did not vacate the lines	503-504
	Two Companies of 84th Regiment arrive from Allahabad, at Kanpur	518
3.	6 Companies of 17th Native Infantry revolt at Azamgarh	4

June 1857		Page No.
	17th N. I. openly objects to sending of treasure to Banaras	22
	Uprising apprehended in Bhadohi	49-50
	Bhondu Singh leads 17th N. I. in the revolt	89, 94
	Soldiers break up in riot at Azamgarh	101, 102
3.	District officers at Azamgarh retire to Ghazipur	103
	Platoon Baqar in revolt, loots Government treasury at Azamgarh	103, 106
	Outbreak at Azamgarh by 17th N. I.	66, 111, 113
	Treasure at Kanpur shifted to British entrenchment	513
4.	37th N. I. to be disarmed	17
	37th N. I. at Banaras disarmed	43
	37th N. I. at Banaras revolts	44, 120
	Bhondu Singh with looted treasure marches the Regiment off at 1 A. M.	95
	Chiria Kot people confer	104
	Outbreak at *pargana* Kodih, Azamgarh	107
	Government treasury looted at Azamgarh	110
	Britishers driven out from Deogaon *pargana*	110
	Revolutionaries destroy factory at Gahmar	119
4.	A Cavalry Regiment revolts at Kanpur	499
	2nd Cavalry and Ist N. I. revolt at Kanpur	504
	Troops at Kanpur join Bithoor Raja and seize treasure etc.	520
	Troops at Kanpur revolt	524, 529
	Ist Regiment breaks into revolt at night	525
	Revolutionary troops at Kanpur march to Kalyanpur	528
	6th N. I. at Allahabad turn out disorderly from lines at midnight	547
5.	Troops at Jaunpur revolt	13
	Europeans at Jaunpur in flight	23
	Plunder of Mirzapur by Banaras revolutionaries feared	50
	Chiria Kot people revolt and loot Jahanganj and Barhal Bazar	104
	Factory at Bhadaura burnt	119
	Soldiers at Jaunpur demand 6 months' pay	124
	Outbreak at Jaunpur	130
	Nana proclaimed as leader at Kanpur	504
	Cavalry at Kanpur rise to arms	518
	Outbreak at Kanpur	519

June 1857

		Page No.
	Jail at Kanpur broken; treasury looted	524
	Nana brings back the troops from Kalyanpur to attack British entrenchments at Kanpur	525
	Revolutionary troops at Kanpur plunder treasury and march off to Kalyanpur	529
5.	Mewatis—initiators of revolt at Allahabad	549
6.	*Thanadar* of Bhutauli ordered not to allow armed men to cross	51
	Ghazipur district raging in civil war	115
	Band of Janki Singh attacks Bhitaura in Jaunpur	125, 136
	Narharpur Raja attacks town of Barhalganj	145
	British entrenchments at Kanpur attacked	505
	Revolutionaries' plan to attack British at Kanpur	514
	Nana heads the revolutionaries at Kanpur	524
	European officers at Allahabad fired at in the night	543
	Gwyn Paltan and Mewatis at Allahabad revolt	549
	6th Regiment revolts at Allahabad	552, 555
7.	Convicts in Gorakhpur Jail break open the jail	145, 150
	Firing at Kanpur entrenchments	506
	British at Kanpur receive letter from Raja of Bithoor, informing the latter's intention to attack the British	518
	Liaqat Ali moves to Allahabad, stays at Khusru Garden and appoints officers	549
8.	Government Proclamation dated 28th May/57 circulated in Mirzapur	51
	Treasure at Mirzapur shifted to Allahabad	59-60
	Infantry at Gorakhpur attempts to seize the treasure	150
	Commissioner of Patna communicates that revolt at Dinapur expected	404
	Bombardment at Kanpur still continues	506
	3 more guns brought against British at Kanpur	519
	A party of troopers at Kanpur sent to Najafgarh	524
9.	Commissioner of Banaras empowered by G. G. in Council to proclaim Martial Law	44
	Collector of Mirzapur promises to pay dues to the sepoys	60
	Aziz-uddin charged of corrupting treasury-guard at Gorakhpur	145
	Revolutionaries get *muharrir* of judge's court arrested	

June 1857		Page No.
	to enable him an access to prisoners at Gorakhpur to prepare for another outbreak	151
	Wheeler requests Nana to let British at Kanpur go to Calcutta	507
	Fatehpur treasury plundered	561
10.	Collector of Mirzapur disarms two villages	60-61
	Faizabad fugitives murdered by inhabitants of Mahua Dabar	151
	Firing continues at Kanpur; Europeans killed	507-508
11.	Mahajans petition against plunder of their boats in *zilla* Allahabad	53
	A *Jamadar's* party deserts from Basti Opium Agency and carries off Rs. 7000/-	112
	Cannonading at Kanpur continues	508
	Heavy firing continues day and night at Kanpur	519
	Neill arrives at Allahabad	546, 635
12.	Prisoners liberated from Allahabad Jail ordered to be arrested	53
	17th Regiment at Basti plunders treasury of Opium Agent	146
	Firing at Kanpur still continues; Europeans killed	509
	Revolutionaries fire carcases at Barrack of women and wounded at Kanpur	519
13.	Disarmament of 47th N. I. intended	29
	Deputy Collector of Mirzapur proclaims Act XIV of 1857	54
14.	4 Rajputs in Gaura surrender	61
	All able-bodied pensioners in Gorakhpur summoned to aid the British	147
	Nawab of Banda issues proclamation	566
	Banda Nawab sends cryers to proclaim his rule	567
14.	Europeans at Banda obliged to leave for Kalinjar	577
	Outbreak at Banda	579
	Cockerell murdered at Banda	567, 582
	Entire city of Allahabad in Arms against the British	638-639
15.	Ten Gaura prisoners sent to Agori to prevent disaffection in jail	55
	Peppe sent to crush disorder in Nagar and Amorha *parganas* in Gorakhpur	147

June 1857		Page No.
	Revolutionaries at Banda burn bungalows and set prisoners free	567
	Followers of Banda Nawab murder Europeans	577
	Ist N. I. release jail prisoners at Banda	578
	Revolutionary village of Daryabad in Allahabad district attacked	639
16.	3 men hanged at Gopiganj after Court Martial	55
	Liaqat Ali in flight; villagers do not disclose his whereabouts	551
	Maulvi reported to have fled from Allahabad	640
	Three revolutionaries hanged by Neill at Allahabad	641-642
	Sepoys from Delhi take active part against Neill at Allahabad	642
17.	Pennywell orders for Martial Law to be enforced	105
18.	*Thanadar* of Bhutauli reports arrival of sepoys of 37th N. I. on opposite bank	56
	Mewati and Pathan villages in Allahabad district attacked and destroyed by British	642
	Martial Law proclaimed throughout Gorakhpur Division	148
21.	Villagers of Chaura in Ghazipur attack Matthew's factory	116
	Proclamations for apprehension of escaped prisoners from Allahabad and Bareilly etc. issued	57
24.	Manda Raja again asked to restore peace in his estates	58
	Nana's orders to the *Kotwal* of Kanpur	600
25.	News of expected arrival of China force at Calcutta widely circulated in Mirzapur	58
	Azimullah meets Wheeler for a compromise	516
26.	Act XVII of 1857 proclaimed in Mirzapur	58
	Parwana addressed to Bhondu Singh of 17th N. I.	681
27.	Raja Bijaipur ordered to dismiss the force allowed him at Government expense	58
	Nana sends carts, *dolis* and elephants to British at Kanpur, for women, sick and children to proceed to the river side	517
	nawab of Banda summons treasury of Maudha and Banda *tahsils*	579
	Nana reviews troops; guns fired in his honour	587

June 1857		Page No.
	Letter from Nana to officers of 41st. N. I. and Walidad Khan	601
	Europeans in boats fired at Satichaura Ghat	667
	Kanpur Magazine in possession of revolutionaries	674
	Massacre at Kanpur	686
28.	Muzaffar Jahan takes possession of *tahsildary* and *thana* of Mahowl in Azamgarh district	247
29.	Gorkha troops from Palpa arrive at Gorakhpur	148
30.	Chapman returns after crushing Dobhi people	25
	Fugitives from Fatehpur, Banda etc. cause alarm in Mirzapur	58
	A *Havildar* and 2 sepoys of 10th N. I. captured by British near Sikriganj	148
	Gorakhpur district under Martial Law	152
July 1857		
1.	Proclamation issued by Nana	602
2.	Escaped prisoners from Allahabad and Bareilly caught in Mirzapur	63
3.	Success of British forces at Delhi proclaimed at Mirzapur	63
	Thanedar of Gopiganj reports murder of Moore	63
	Letter from Nana to *Taluqdar*, Daundia Khera	603
4.	Jhuri Singh attacks Indigo Factory at Pali	30
5.	Revolutionaries at Saddoopur open fire at the Collector of Mirzapur	64
	Madad Ali injured at Saddoopur	249
	Order issued by Nana to the *Kotwal* of Kanpur	603
6.	Proclamation printed by the order of Peshwa Bahadur	604
	Proclamation (of Revolutionary Government at Kanpur) outlining the organization of troops	605
	Proclamation of Nana Saheb	607, 608
7.	Encounter at Abholi	64-65
	Bax destroys village of Chaura in Ghazipur	116
	Hadi and Faizullah plunder Pura Mufti *tahsil* and *thana*	557
	Nana's message to the officers of the Army	608
8.	Europeans leave Ujh for Mirzapur, Banaras and Allahabad	65
9.	Exasperated state of Dobhi people in Banaras reported	65
	Letter from Nana to Kalka Prasad	609

July 1857

10.	Nana's advance on Grand Trunk Road to crush Renaud's detachment reported	723
11.	Additional guard sent to Mirzapur Jail	65
12.	Unsuccessful attack by Venables on Palwars at Koelsa	27
	Makkhan Lal transferred to Bhadohi to apprehend Moore's murderers	65-66
	Fatehpur falls into British hands after an encounter in the morning	729-730
13.	Dobhi people at Banaras reported getting quieter	66
	Thakur Dayal deposes regarding the murder of Moore	82
	Nana's orders to *Thanedar* of Sirsaul	609
14.	Kunwar Singh reported to be in intimate correspondence with sepoys at Dinapur	116
	Spies at Kanpur beheaded by Nana	532, 684
15.	Two engagements between Havelock and revolutionaries	715
	Action at Aong; Renaud killed	717
	Action at Aong and Pandu Nadi	730
16.	Nana orders to apprehend all Bengali *Babus*	532, 684
	Message from Nana to officers of Cavalry, Artillery and Infantry at Lucknow	610
	First Battle of Kanpur	686
18.	Palwars strongly posted at 2 miles from Azamgarh	27
	Madho Prasad Palwar and Muzaffar Jahan attack Azamgarh	247
19.	Ram Lal, Deputy Collector at Kanpur, sentenced to death	594-595
20.	Tucker requests Man Singh to take possession of Madho Prasad Singh's estates	182
21.	Expected plunder of Mirzapur by Pindara horsemen rumoured	66
28.	Evacuation of Azamgarh by British	29
29.	Wroughton enters Gorakhpur to disarm the remnant of 17th N. I.	153

August 1857

1.	Remnant of 17th N. I. at Gorakhpur disarmed	153
	Attack on Kanpur by Gwalior and Fatehgarh revolutionaries apprehended	695
4.	Steps for defence of Mirzapur taken by British	66

August 1857		Page No.
	Thanedar Lalganj reports presence of revolutionaries at Khairi in Allahabad district	71
5.	Kunwar Singh reported to have proclaimed himself king of Shahabad	404
6.	Liberated convicts from Allahabad seized in Mirzapur; sent back to Allahabad	66
	Letter from Abbas Ali to Muhammad Hasan	382
7.	Advance of Dinapur revolutionaries reported	66
8.	Rewards on murderers of Moore proclaimed	67
	Revolutionaries' powder factory in Delhi blown up	697-698
10.	*Tahsil* of Khalilabad plundered by revolutionaries	153
11.	Dinapur revolutionaries reach Mirzapur	31
12.	Sawars posted to report advance of Dinapur revolutionaries	67
	Ahraura bazar plundered by revolutionaries	69
	Letter from Bali Singh to Muhammad Hasan	379
	Avadh revolutionaries loose third battle of Bashiratganj	616
13.	Plunder of Ahraura by Dinapur revolutionaries reported	67
	Sookrit plundered by revolutionaries	69
	Gorkha force marches out of Gorakhpur and encamps on road to Azamgarh	154
	British abandon Gorakhpur	293, 294
14.	Hazaribagh revolutionaries enter *pargana* south of the river Son	31
	Robertsganj plundered	69
	Letter from Bali Singh to Muhammad Hasan	378
	Kunwar Singh plunders Robertsganj	407
	Dinapur revolutionaries plunder Robertsganj treasury	408
	Kunwar Singh arrives at Sasaram	411
	400 revolutionaries plunder Dudhi	417
	Tahsil Mansurganj of District Gorakhpur plundered by revolutionaries	155
16.	Revolutionaries plunder Shahganj	69
	Letter from Riasat Ali to Muhammad Hasan	382
	Sagar troops at Bithoor defeated by Havelock	696
17.	Letter from Raja Udit Narain Singh to Muhammad Hasan	379

August 1857		Page No.
18.	Muhammad Hasan attacks Gorkha force encamped at Ghagra	155
	Muhammad Hasan's palanquin captured by Gorkhas	155
19.	Jhuri Singh at Suriawan	69-70
	Iradat Jahan issues a proclamation	242
	Dinapur revolutionaries encamped at Amoi	251
	Kunwar Singh at Akbarpur, close to Rohtasgarh	412
	Amar Singh threatens to burn Dehri	471
20.	Dinapur revolutionaries' encounter with 5th Regiment	31
	Jhuri Singh reported to be at Bibipur	70
	Two accomplices of Pott captured by Jhuri Singh	249
	Encounter near Amoi	251
	Kunwar Singh at Rohtasgarh	413
21.	Jhuri Singh plunders Bisauli	70-71
	Dinapur revolutionaries reported to be at Lalganj	253
21.	Revolutionaries encamped at Khairwa	416
23.	Jhuri Singh reported to have plundered the village of Korigaon	71
24.	Government Property at Ghorawal reported to be plundered	71
	Tahsildar Robertsganj reports expected arrival of Kunwar Singh at Pannuganj	71
	Kunwar Singh's advance guard arrives at Ramgarh	414
25.	Dinapur revolutionaries enter Allahabad district	31
	Plunder of Baddoopur by Jhuri Singh reported by *Thanedar* of Gopiganj	72
	Tahsildar of Robertsganj reports that Chandels of Barhar assist Kunwar Singh to their best	414
26.	Proclamation of reward of Rs. 50,000/- for capture of Nana circulated in Mirzapur	71-72
	Revolutionaries burn records at Robertsganj	415
27.	Dinapur revolutionaries plunder Sheorajpur	413
	Oran and Bagrehi in Banda district plundered	417-418
29.	Kunwar Singh arrives at Ramgarh	414
	Kunwar Singh plunders Ghorawal	415
30.	Kunwar Singh evacuates Ghorawal	415
September 1857		
1.	Kunwar Singh encamped at Niwari in Banda district	418
2.	Kunwar Singh enters Tappa Upraudh in Mirzapur	419
3.	Kunwar Singh said to have encamped at Naon	419

September 1857		Page No.
4.	Kunwar Singh encamped at Bhaisound	419
5.	Kunwar Singh encamped at Drummondganj	419
6.	*Thanedar* Lalganj reports Kunwar Singh has recrossed Belan river and encamped at Baraundha	416
	Kunwar Singh encamped at Baraundha	419
7.	*Thanedar* of Lalganj reports Kunwar Singh encamped at Kudar	417
	Kunwar Singh at Kudar near Manda	421
	Kunwar Singh closes road to Rewa	421
8.	Gorkhas arrive at Jaunpur	24
	March of Kunwar Singh through Mirzapur	32
	Osborne reports Kunwar Singh to be in Rewa	243
10.	Brien reports entry of Kunwar Singh into Rewa by Heulta Pass	424
12.	Kunwar Singh's nephew leaves Rohtasgarh	419
	Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh reported to be in the vicinity of Rohtasgarh and Sasaram	426
14.	*Thanedar* of Jalalpur reports on Merchants' Role in uprising	45
15.	Phalad (Prahlad) Singh reports revolutionaries to be at Pipra	419
17.	*Muharrir* of Ahraura reports that revolutionaries are crossing Son at Dehri Ghat	420
19.	British troops at Kanpur advance on Lucknow	702
20.	Raja of Sattasi welcomes Muhammad Hasan	156
	Avadh revolutionaries attack Phaphamau	661
21.	Muhammad Hasan enters into Gorakhpur	156
22.	*Muharrir* of Ahraura reports that revolutionaries have reached Sasaram	420
	Firing of Artillery at Dehri; Amar Singh escapes to Hills	420
23.	*Muharrir* of Ahraura reports that revolutionaries reached Jahanabad	420
	Tahsildar of Robertsganj reports revolutionaries encamped 8 *kos* east from Ahraura	420
	Letter from Nawab Ali Bahadur to Muhammad Wazir Khan	623
24.	Gorakhpur still occupied by Muhammad Hasan	355
28.	*Thana* of Bithoor attacked by 42nd N. I, aided by Raja of Sheorajpur	703

September 1857 *Page No.*

Mewatis of Jahanabad, District Fatehpur inflict injuries on *Thanedar* and *Barqandazes* 734

29. *Thanedar* of Robertsganj reports a body of revolutionaries at Bilkab in Agori 254

Plunder of Bijaigarh reported by *Jamadar* 254

Kunwar Singh reaches Banda 430

Mayne reports murder of Mohan Singh of Hetapatti 661

Presence of 1800 of the Dinapur revolutionaries at Banda reported 733

A sawar of 2nd Bengal Cavalry sent by *Tahsildar* of Ghazipur hanged in Fatehpur 734

30. *Thanedar* of Robertsganj reports that revolutionaries are proceeding to Ghorawal 254

Avadh revolutionaries attack Sooram 661

30. Phaphamau reported by O' Brien, to have been seized by *Nazim* of Allahabad 662

Inhabitants of Banda capture two guns, sent by Banda Nawab, off Chilla Tara Ghat 734

October 1857

1. *Thanedar* of Robertsganj reports revolutionaries having left Ghorawal and gone to Sirsain 254

Thanedar of Agori reports plunder of 3 villages by revolutionaries 256

Letter from Nawab Ali Bahadur to Raja of Shahgarh 624

2. Muzaffar Jahan still in possession of Mahowl in Azamgarh district 247

A Muhammedan Governor still rules Gorakhpur for Emperor of Delhi 295

Continuance of fighting between the Nawab and Ajaigarh people at Banda reported by Probyn 733

3. *Thanedar* of Lalganj reports revolutionaries to be at Tilso in Rewa 254

Kunwar Singh still at Banda 432

5. *Thanedar* of Robertsganj reports a body of revolutionaries to be at Salkun in Agori 255

Jamadar of Halia reports plunder of Halia bazar and villages of Purwa and Baida by the revolutionaries 255

6. *Thanedar* of Lalganj reports movement of revolutionaries to Ramgarh 255-256

October 1857		Page No.
	Scindhia reports assembly of Dinapur and other revolutionaries at Banda	748
7.	Revolutionaries at Ramgarh reported to have gone to Khairagarh	256
	Villages in revolt gathering at the *pargana* Ekdala	735
8.	Nawab of Banda attacks the fortress of Ajaigarh	431
	Kunwar Singh still at Banda	433
	A *Nazim* reported encamped at Hasanpur Bandori	663
10.	*Thanedar* of Agori reports expected coming of revolutionaries eastward	257
	Mehdi Hasan reported to be enlisting men at Hasanpur	663
11.	Raja Jai Lal arrives at Bagamganj	217-218
	A portion of Madras Regiment arrives at Mirzapur	256
	Jamadar Ghorawal reports revolutionaries at Sesee, 8 *kos* south of Bijaigarh	256
	Report of *thana* Agori of expected arrival of revolutionaries from eastward	257
12.	Madras troops at Mirzapur move out to Bhagwan Talao on Rewa Road	256
	Villagers from Sarhondi attack Kusumbhi	735
10.	Jageshwar Bakhsh reported to have taken possession of *thana* of Badlapur	216
	Judgement of committing judge in the case against Bhairon Prasad etc.	236
	Revolutionaries reported to have entered Gorakhpur near Faizabad and passed on to Sikiaganj	295
15.	Madras troops at Mirzapur remain encamped at Drummondganj	257
	5th Irregular Cavalry reaches Banda from Bhagalpur	431
	Delhi revolutionaries at Urewal	703-704
16.	Bhairon Prasad etc. sentenced to death	237
	Bhairon Prasad etc. hanged	238
	Thanedar Robertsganj reports revolutionaries at Purwa in *pargana* Bijaigarh	257
17.	Kunwar Singh reported to be at Rohtasgarh	257
	Delhi revolutionaries within 20 miles of Kanpur station	704
18.	Kunwar Singh towards Kalpi	432
	Encounter between Kanpur revolutionaries and Wilson at Sheorajpur	705

October 1857 *Page No*

19. Kunwar Singh and 40th N. I. reach Kalpi via Banda 435

20. Zulfiqar Beg reported to have wounded *Jamadar* and *Chaprasi* of *tahsil* Kalyanpur 735

Maharaj Singh of Rampur burns *chauki* Bakewa *thana* Khajuha 736

22. *Thanedar* Robertsganj reports defiance of Rani Bijaigarh by Purwa *ilaqadars* 258

25. 7th and 8th Native Infantry march for Chilla Tara 432

26. Clash between *Thanedar* Kalyanpur and Maharaj Singh 736

Jodha Singh attacks *Thanedar* of Khajuha in village Muhammadpur 736

28. Information received that Kunera was attacked and burnt by revolutionaries 737

29. *Tahsildar* Robertsganj reports Ishwari Singh interfering with collections of the Rani of Bijaigarh 258

Tatya Tope arrives at Jalaun 435

30. Banda revolutionaries reported to be at Salondi 737

31. Information of the arrival of advance guard of Banda revolutionaries at Boora received 737

Revolutionaries encamped at Jhoonean 738

November 1857

1. A severe action fought between Banda revolutionaries and Powell at Khajuha 738

2. Letter from Rana Sarju Prasad to Nawab Ali Bahadur 625

3. An attack by Banda revolutionaries apprehended by *Thanedar* of Khajuha 739

4. Report from Robertsganj of arrival of revolutionary forces from the east in Tappa Jasauli 258-259

6. *Thanedar* of Robertsganj reports burning of bazar and school etc. by the revolutionaries 259

Revolutionaries reported to be encamped at Ghorawal and plundering *chauki Barqandazes* 259

7. *Dafedar* of Rajowan reports advance of revolutionaries on Baghar 259

Jamadar of Ghorawal reports seizure of *Barqandazes* by revolutionaries 259

Gwalior revolutionaries coalesce with Kunwar Singh and 40th N. I. at Kalpi 435

November 1857		Page No.
8.	Maharaj Singh reported to be lurking about the neighbourhood of Khajuha	740
9.	*Dafedar* of Rajowan reports return of revolutionaries who had left Ghorawal for Rewa	259
10.	*Dafedar* of Rajowan reports advance of revolutionaries in the direction of Rewa	259
	Revolutionaries who were at Chirora reach Babura	259
11.	Revolutionaries reported to have marched into the district of Allahabad	259-260
13.	Villagers of Ilauli reported to have attacked and wounded *Barqandazes*	741
10.	*Thanedar* of Lalganj reports that revolutionaries had crossed Belan in Allahabad district	260
	Attack on *Barqandazes* of Satna by villagers reported	741
15.	*Tahsildar* Robertsganj reports entry of revolutionaries into Tappa Jasauli	260
17.	*Tahsildar* Robertsganj reports that the revolutionaries were at Kinoli in Bijaigarh	260
18.	Letter from Maharaja Gwalior to Nawab Ali Bahadur	626
20.	Maharaj Singh reported to have cut off nose and hands of Waris Ali, a Government servant, at Kisaria	741
22.	Longden returns after destroying Atraulia in Azamgarh	35
26.	Sharp fight between Gwalior Contingent and Windham at above eight miles from Kanpur	705
27.	Gwalior Contingent attacks Nawabganj and forces the British to retire into entrenchments	705, 706
	Revolutionaries attack and take Kanpur in possession	706
	Maharaj Singh reported to have been killed in *pargana* Korah	742
28.	Muhammad Hasan still holds Gorakhpur	296
	Gwalior Contingent attacks British entrenchments	705, 706
	Campbell arrives at Kanpur	706
30.	Information received of the plunder of the *tahsil* and *thana* of Kalyanpur	742
December 1857		
3.	Letter from Raja Bakht Bali to Nawab Ali Bahadur	627
	Campbell sends ladies and sick at Kanpur to Allahabad	710
	Mewatis attack and burn *tahsil* of Jahanabad	742

December 1857 *Page No.*

6. Encounter between Campbell and revolutionaries at Kanpur 714

7. Jodha Singh reported to have crossed over from Avadh and attacked the *chauki* of Ranipur 742

10. Narain Rao's men reported to have burnt village Sirsain in *zilla* Banda 743

22. Letter fom Nawab Ali Bahadur to Raja of Shahgarh 628

23. Maharaj Singh reported to be in the neighbourhood of Khajuha 743

20. Makhdum Bakhsh, agent of Iradat Jahan attacks Pandit Kishan Narain at Tighra 35

27. British burn the house of Narain Dayal *Qanungo*, who had assisted revolutionaries at 2 miles from Salimpur 300

28. Wilayat Hasan reported to have plundered carts laden with guns 744

30. Madho and Sadhoo of Sadhaura reported to have been killed in a combat 744

January 1858

3. Letter irom Nawab Ali Bahadur to Raja of Rewa 630

4. Dasauli men reported to have attacked collection *Chaprasis* 10

8. Revolutionaries still hold Phaphamau 783

Bindaur Bazar reported to have been plundered by Banda men 810

9. Tucker attacks Lachhman Singh and revolutionaries from Shahabad 36

10. Kalyanpur *Tahsil Chaprasis* reported to be taken prisoner 810

11. Khuda Bakhsh fires salute of 7 guns 226

Revolutionaries under Raja Bhau and Madho Singh attack *thana* and *tahsil* at Sikandra 753

17. Attempt to destroy Badlapur *thana* foiled 227

23. Encounter at Nusratpur between revolutionaries and Colonel Frank 785

25. Maharaj Singh plunders Sultangarh 811

February 1858

4. Macnaughten apprehends Shiv Dayal Singh 812

Jodha Singh crosses over from Hamirpur to Chandpur in Fatehpur district 822

February 1858		*Page No.*
5.	Avadh revolutionaries at Shahganj near Nawabganj attacked	308
	Action with Gorkhas opposite to the town of Ayodhya	308
7.	Some Sepoys of Harkishan Singh reported to have joined Gonda Raja	310
10.	Thirty one prisoners including 27 revolutionary sepoys rise upon Jail-guard at Banaras and capture muskets	175-176
	Baba Bhat destroys a police post on Grand Trunk Road	756
12.	Gonda news-writer reports arrival of Kunwar Singh at Ayodhya	436
17.	Maharaj Singh reported to have crossed over to Mowai	813
18.	Advance guard of Menhdi Hasan encounters the British forces	228
19.	700 revolutionaries under Tatya reported to be at Ichawar	813
27.	Encounter between revolutionaries and Yeomanry Cavalry near Bilwa	314
March 1858		
2.	Revolutionaries at Bilwa entrenchment muster strong	315
	Sangram Singh attacks Nawabganj	791
4.	Revolutionaries at Bilwa advance	315
5.	Engagement between revolutionaries at Bilwa and Rowcroft	315
14.	2000 revolutionaries from Hamirpur cross Yamuna	758
17.	Battle of Atraulia	108-109
	Bali Singh attacks Gopalpur Raja's men	318
18.	Shaikh Mamnoon becomes *Tahsildar* of Sikandarpur for the period of Kunwar Singh's stay there	109
20.	Advance guard of Kunwar Singh plunders Atraulia	437
	Revolutionaries at Tiraul force British to withdraw	790
21.	Revolutionaries reinforced by Kunwar Singh at Sohra	194-195
	Kunwar Singh fights at Maniar	446
22.	Palwars attack Gopalpur Raja's men at Chandepur Ghat	320
23.	Advance guard of Kunwar Singh at Mandree	195
	Madho Prasad's men attack Police at village Subya	319
	Revolutionaries attack, plunder and burn Gai Ghat *thana*	320

		Page No.
March 1858		
20.	Advance guard of Kunwar Singh within 4 miles of Azamgarh	195
26.	Jhansi fort reported to be strongly beleaguered	193
	Kunwar Singh occupies the city of Azamgarh	195
	Revolutionaries from Hamirpur reported to have burnt Ghatampur *thana*	815
27.	Davies forced to retire after a sortie at Azamgarh	139
31.	Kunwar Singh surrounds Azamgarh	197
April 1858		
5.	Revolutionaries at Azamgarh endeavour to break down bridge on Banaras road	197-198
6.	Obstinate resistance offered by revolutionaries at Azamgarh to an attacking British party	198
9.	Nawab of Banda defeated	430
12.	Lugard marches to attack Ghulam Hasan	230
	Kunwar Singh plans to retire from Azamgarh	437
13.	(April 13 & 14) Revolutionaries under Nishan Singh retire from Azamgarh to Azmatgarh	200
14.	Revolutionaries reported to have gone towards Ghazipur	268
	Kunwar Singh expects help from Beni Madho	437-438
15.	Encounter with Lugard at Azamgarh	139
16.	Revolutionaries clash with E. Lugard on the west side of Azamgarh	201
	Revolutionaries retreat on Barhal Road	444
	Kunwar Singh retires from Nughai near Ghosi Road	445
	Sharp encounter between Kunwar Singh and Lugard at Azamgarh	466
17.	Kunwar Singh goes to Bharauli	445
	Revolutionaries expelled out of Azamgarh city by Douglas	300
	Azamgarh revolutionaries retreat to Nughai	201
	Action between Muhammad Hasan and Rowcroft at Amorha	322
	Kunwar Singh attacked by Douglas near Azmatgarh	449
	Encounter between revolutionaries and Rowcroft near Bilwa	452
	Clash between Douglas and revolutionaries at Nughai	435

April 1858		Page No.
	Kunwar Singh strongly posted at Nughai	466
18.	Revolutionaries take up their position at Nagra thence retire towards Sikandarpur	454
	Encounter at the village of Nughai	452
19.	Kunwar Singh goes to Molanpur	445
	Shaikh Mamnoon (Revolutionary *Tahsildar*) enters Sikandarpur	109
	Kunwar Singh burns *thana* at Sikandarpur and moves to Maniar	445
20.	Action between Kunwar Singh and Douglas near Maniar Khas	449, 450
	Revolutionaries encamped at Maniar attacked by Douglas	454
	Kunwar Singh holds Taintwar	455
	Revolutionaries from Azamgarh attacked by Douglas near Bansdih	457, 458, 461
	Rear guard of Kunwar Singh attacked at Maniar by Douglas	458
	Kunwar Singh pushes on to Maniar in Ghazipur	467
21.	Kunwar Singh effects his passage of river in boats at Sheopur	450
	Kunwar Singh crosses Ganga at Sheopur Ghat	457, 460
	Douglas attacks Kunwar Singh at Maniar	467
22.	Kunwar Singh reported to be at Jagdishpur	461
	Revolutionaries in Ghazipur defy Cumberlege and march to Chit Baragaon	461
	Kunwar Singh having lost his arm and wounded in thigh reported to be at Jagdishpur	462
	Kunwar Singh returns to Jagdishpur	468
23.	Kunwar Singh reported to be feasted by Sheopur *Babus* and the news of his being wounded contradicted	463
	Le Grand defeated and chased up to Benu Nala by Kunwar Singh's men	469
24.	Maharaja Jang Bahadur arrives at Gorakhpur	329
	Shiv Ghulam Singh of Rudauli plans a combined attack on Basti	330
25.	Jhuri Singh apprehended at Betia	81
	Revolutionaries at Bilwa move in 3 Columns to attack Rowcroft	323

April 1858

		Page No.
	Shiv Ghulam Singh at Panera, 6 miles north of Basti, attacked by Clerk	324
	A band of 400 revolutionaries arrives at Purwa but returns	326
	Shiv Ghulam Singh attacked and killed by Clerk	330-331
	Revolutionaries' determined attack on Rowcroft's position at Amorha	331
26.	Afraid of Muhammad Hnsan's expected attack, the British evacuate Basti and reach Captainganj	325
	Karinda of Raja of Nagar leads revolutionaries to regain his master's confiscated estates and residence	326
	Jang Bahadur leaves Gorakhpur for Butwal	329
	Karinda of Raja of Nagar crosses Ghagra from Tanda	331
	Kunwar Singh reported to be entrenching into villages	464
27.	*Karinda* of Raja of Nagar captures Richardson's property and kills his men	326
	Karinda of Raja of Nagar occupies the fort of Nagar	332
28.	Gorkha Army reaches Faizabad and Ayodhya	326
	Jodha Singh captured	816
29.	Encounter at Nagar, 6 miles south-east of Captainganj	327
	Niddhoo Singh attacks Dumri	333
May 1858		
5.	Kunwar Singh reported to be dead	465
9.	Lugard attacks Jagdishpur; revolutionaries escape into jungles	475
	Lugard attacks (the late) Kunwar Singh's men at Dilowa	475
10.	Revolutionaries cross at Salona Ghat, west of Tanda	334
	Lugard occupies Jagdishpur	475
11.	Revolutionaries kill the *Thanedar* of Gai Ghat	334
	Revolutionary *zamindar* of Ojie near Tanda plunders a village near Captainganj	334
	Amar Singh defeated by Corfield near Piru but manages to escape	475
12.	Lugard attacks revolutionaries at Hatimpur	476
13.	Revolutionaries attack British position at Jagdishpur	478
14.	*Jamadar* Jauhar Ali's letter to Naimat Ali Khan, *Thanedar* of Gopiganj	231

		Page No.
May 1858		
	Jhuri Singh with 1000 men at Sumri	232
	Babus of Dumri attack a train of grain carts coming into Dumri	334
16.	Jhuri Singh moves from Sumri to Bazar Jhangoi, District Allahabad	233
17.	Jhuri Singh still on the borders of Jaunpur and Allahabad	233
	Maharaj Singh crosses Doab from Bundelkhand to Sheorajpur	817
18.	Khakreru treasury looted by Azim	565
21.	Dumri *Babus* harass Europeans	336
	Nichlaul Raja and *Taluqdar* of Atraulia in Avadh attack Peppe at Birdpur	336
26.	Bansi *tahsil*, *thana* and town sacked by revolutionaries from Avadh	355
27.	Muhammad Hasan attacks Man Singh	355
31.	Captainganj attacked by revolutionaries from Amorha	339
June 1858		
1.	Bansi evacuated by revolutionaries	339
	Madho Singh taken captive by Hugh Rose near Kalpi	763
2.	Lugard attacks revolutionaries in the neighbourhood of Akurwah	478
3.	Meghar Rai burns bungalows on the bank of Karamnasa river	281
	Jodha Singh reported hanged	819
5.	Barar Rajputs from Avadh attack British near Captainganj	340
7.	Meghar Rai staying at village Gahmar	281
	Commissioner of Banaras reports burning of bungalows and Indigo factories in Ghazipur	481
9.	Revolutionaries dislodged from Amorha	340
	Amar Singh at Gahmar	482, 483, 484
	Edmonstone reports that Nishan Singh has been blown from a gun at Sasaram	483
11.	Amar Singh dislodged from Gahmar	485
	Amar Singh crosses Ganges into Bhitri	486
	Amar Singh reported, after crossing Ganges, gone towards Rasra	486-487
	Tej Singh, Raja of Mainpuri, surrenders	488
12,	Amar Singh returns to Baxar	487

		Page No.
June 1858		
	Barrack used at Hospital as Sasaram burnt	487
13.	*Thanas* and *tahsildaris* in Ghazipur burnt	487
	Sangram Singh of Singraur attacks the village of Tikori	796
	Thana of Muratganj attacked	796
10.	Sangram Singh of Singraur killed	800
	Meghar Rai in village Deotha of *pargana* Zamania	282
17.	Amar Singh leaves jungles for Gaya	488
18.	300 revolutionaries stationed at Dildarnagar	282
	Muhammad Hasan attacked by Byng	341-342
	Revolutionaries' village of Paina attacked by Sikhs	342
19.	Village of Niwalwan reported to have been attacked by Meghar Rai	283
24.	Daundia Khera revolutionaries reported to have joined Beni Madho	820
July 1858		
5.	Chhapra revolutionaries reported to be halting at Chandauli in Banaras district	274
7.	Engagement between Amar Singh and Walter at the village of Samtha	490
	Liaqat Ali attacks Anapur	798-799
12.	Captain McMullin reaches Byreeah to assist Probyn's party	276
13.	Revolutionaries at Byreeah open heavy fire on Probyn's party	275
15.	Revolutionaries at Byreeah dislodged	275-276
	Revolutionaries at Byreeah march towards Balia	276
16.	British abandon *tahsil* of Koelsa	205
	Revolutionaries holding a bank of Balia retire to Reoti	276
23.	Revolutionaries on the frontier of Amorha dislodged	347
27.	Force besieging Shahganj breaks up	249
29.	Followers of Amar Singh move to village Karisath, 6 miles west of Arrah	491
30.	Amar Singh confronts Walter at Mahauli	491
31.	Muhammad Hasan reported to have crossed Ghagra	349
August 1858		
8.	A party of revolutionary sepoys coming down to Maharajganj	207
10.	Revolutionary sepoys attack *tahsil* of Ghosi	207

August 1858		Page No.
11.	A detached party of revolutionaries attacks police post at Bibipur	207
12.	Report of Menhdi Hasan's presence at Hasanpur	352
13.	Report of Sultanpur being in the hands of British, and defeat of revolutionaries	352
	Ranmast Singh and Dhir Singh in clash with Carpenter at Nayagaon	803, 851
	Ranmast Singh wounded in an action	851
18.	Revolutionaries' post near Dumariaganj attacked by Sikhs	352
	Revolutionaries re-occupy Dumariaganj	352
19.	Panjab Singh and Dhir Singh plunder Bargarh	853
20.	Revolutionaries' escape out of Rasra fort	207-208
27.	Reported death of Panjab Singh in an action	804
28.	Panjab Singh killed by Dennehy	279
29.	Outposts at Amorha and Hurryah sharply attacked by revolutionaries	353
	Revolutionaries move against Bansi	354
30.	Muhammad Hasan appoints Mehndoo Khan as *Tahsildar* of country east of Bansi, and orders to kill *Firanghis*	397
September 1858		
3.	Revolutionaries' attack the fort of Bansi	354
5.	Muhammad Hasan orders Mehndoo Khan to punish Peppe	397
6.	Ranmast Singh and Radha Govind attacked by Carpenter	805
7.	Revolutionaries' besieging Bansi, retire	355
22.	Revolutionaries collect to attack Palace of Bansi Raja	357
26.	Revolutionaries from Dalmau seize 2 boats bound for Bhitaura	821
27.	Bali Singh and Balkaran Singh kill *zamindars* loyal to British	357
October 1858		
1.	British post at Amorha attacked	357
15.	Azamgarh revolutionaries in flight towards Banda	110
19.	Encounter at Kudwa	211
	Banda Nawab's palanquin, stained with blood, captured on field by the British	808

		Page No.
October 1858		
23.	Judgement by H. G. Astell in case 'Magistrate vs. Gunun Misr and others', delivered	239
30.	Fight between revolutionaries and English at Chanda	213
November 1858		
4.	Menhdi Hasan crosses Ghagra at Bahramghat	361
10.	Revolutionaries near Tulsipur attacked by Lumsden	362
11.	Action at Bhanpur	362
12.	Bala Rao joins Menhdi Hasan	361
13.	Menhdi Hasan and Bala Rao move on to Hurryah	361
	Letter from Khairuddin to Muhammad Hasan	386
20.	Jageshwar and Arjun with the *Nazim*	213
	Bala Rao moves towards Bhanpur	363-364
22.	Jageshwar and Arjun with the *Nazim*	213
24.	A party of Bihar revolutionaries defeated at Salia Dahar by Douglas	493
	Amar Singh at Kharaundha (Palamau district)	494
26.	Skirmish between Bala Rao and Rowcroft on the banks of Rapti	366
27.	Meghar Rai's deposition	283
28.	Letter from Khairuddin to Muhammad Hasan	391
December 1858		
2.	Muhammad Hasan reported to have arrived near Dumariaganj	368
3.	Muhammad Hasan attacked by Rowcroft while crossing Rapti	366-367
	Bala Rao retires on the Tulsipur bank of Rapti	368
7.	News received of Bala Rao's retiring across Avadh frontier	370
18.	Jageshwar Bakhsh and Arjun Singh come down on Koeripur and burn Indigo factory	213
January 1859		
2.	Commissioner of Gorakhpur reports presence of Muhammad Hasan at Tulsipur with Bala Rao	369
6.	Bala Rao enters into Nepal	769
March 1859		
28.	Nana and Begam reported to be at Butwal	770
April 1859		
20.	Nana sends *Ishtiharnama* to the Queen	772
	Reply sent by Richardson to Nana's *Ishtiharnama*	774
25.	Letter from Nana from Deogarh	776

		Page No.
April 1859		
	Reply to the above letter transmitted from Dhukhri Camp	776
	Petition to the English from Bala Rao	777
September 1859		
24.	A correspondent of '*The Englishman*' reports death of Nana	781
January 1860		
3.	Amar Singh admitted to Hospital	494
February 1860		
5.	Amar Singh's death in Hospital	494

INDEX

A History of the Sepoy War in India ; See Kaye, J. W.
A Turning Point in the Indian Mutiny ; 404.
Abbas Ali; See Raja Abbas Ali.
Abdhut Singh; 340.
Abdool Ajeej; See Abdul Aziz.
Abdool Hukem; See Abdul Hakim.
Abdoolpore; See Abdulpur.
Abdul Aziz; 609.
Abdul Hakim; 618.
Abdul Mansur Khan; 155.
Abdul Rahman, Moulvie; 600
Abdulpur; 655.
Abha; 533.
Abha Dhanook Dharee; 781.
Abhaoli; See Abholee.
Abhay Singh; 284.
Abholee; 65, 82, 83.
Achal Singh; 74.
Achhnera; 533.
Achraj Roy; 118.
Ackberpore; See Akbarpur.
Adampur; 32, 124, 132, 473.
Adhumpore; 130.
Adjygurh; See Ajaigarh.
Adulgunge; 69.
Adumpoor; See Adampur.
Adumpore; See Adampur.
Agha Azim Ali Khan; 654.
Agha Meer; 506, 600.
Agoree; See Agori.
Agoree Burhur; 250.
Agori; 32, 58, 65, 257, 416, 417.
Agra; 3, 86, 194, 268, 269, 337, 349, 452, 457, 458, 460, 462, 463, 464, 465, 474, 481, 483, 484, 486, 487, 488, 510, 675, 698, 757, 807, 809, 836, 859.
Agra Government Gazette; 223, 225.
Agra Narrative; 837.
Ahbaran Sing; 240.
Ahburn Sing; 212.
Aheerpoorwa; 820, 832.
Aherwa; 685.
Ahirinian; 28.
Ahladganj; 787, 791, 793, 798, 801.
Ahladgunge; See Ahladganj.
Ahmad Ali; 526, 598, 599.
Ahmad Ali Khan; 600.
Ahmad Ally; See Ahmad Ali.
Ahmad Ullah; 594, 725, 781.
Ahmed Ali; See Ahmad Ali.
Ahmed Ali, Maulvi Saiyid; 648.
Ahmed Ali Khan; See Ahmad Ali Khan.
Ahmed Khan; 165.
Ahmed Khan, Resaldar; 372.
Ahmed Oolah; See Ahmad Ullah.
Ahmed Ullah; See Ahmad Ullah.
Ahmud Sah; 384.
Ahraula; 101.
Ahraura; 54, 65, 67, 68, 69, 261, 414.
Ahrowra; See Ahraura.
Ajab Sing; 739.
Ajaigarh; 331, 575, 580, 616, 617, 642, 733, 743, 833, 835.
Ajeet Singh; 655.
Ajmat Rai; 284.
Ajoodhea; See Ayodhya.
Ajoodhia; See Ayodhya.
Ajoodhia Pershaud; See Ayodhya Prasad.
Ajudhia; See Ayodhya.
Ajudhya Prasad; See Ayodhya Prasad.
Akbari Mahal; 592
Akbarpore; See Akbarpur.
Akbarpur; 217, 472, 473, 593, 597, 599, 754, 755, 756, 758, 760, 825, 835.
Akberpoor; See Akbarpur.
Akburabad; 598
Akburpoor; See Akbarpur.
Akherpur; 411, 412.

Akorhee; 49.
Akouna; 370.
Akounda; See Akouna.
Akree; 739, 821.
Akurwah; 478.
Alahsah; 741.
Alapay; 232.
Albe, A. C.; 121
Aldamow; See Aldemau.
Aldemau; 35, 212, 217.
Alee; 523.
Alee Buksh; See Ali Bakhsh.
Alexander, Captain; 540, 544, 548.
Alexandria; 605.
Ali Bahadur; See Nawab Ali Bahadur.
Ali Bakhsh; 26.
Ali Hoosein, Shah; See Shah Ali Hoosein.
Ali Husain; 104, 105, 106, 379.
Ali Karim (Ally Qurreem); 205.
Ali Reza Beg; 609.
Aliganj; 421, 826.
Aligarh; 91.
Allah Din; 566.
Allahabad; 3, 4, 6, 13, 24, 29, 31, 32, 33, 42, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, 65, 66, 71, 74, 76, 77, 78, 137, 169, 173, 183, 185, 189, 191, 225, 231, 233, 241, 251, 256, 259, 260, 266, 268, 270, 274, 278, 279, 302, 314, 332, 337, 349, 351, 385, 386, 396, 398, 404, 413, 418, 419, 424, 425, 430, 434, 436, 437, 452, 458, 460, 461, 463, 465, 474, 475, 476, 478, 479, 483, 484, 486, 487, 488, 489, 492, 500, 502, 516, 517, 518, 519, 534, 538, 539, 540, 541, 546, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 555, 556, 557, 558, 560, 561, 564, 569, 571, 572, 577, 593, 594, 596, 597, 599, 603, 609, 610, 612, 615, 620, 622, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 642, 646, 647, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 657, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 667, 668, 670, 671, 673, 674, 681, 687, 693, 695, 696, 698, 699, 700, 706, 710, 711, 713, 719, 722, 723, 725, 727, 729, 733, 737, 741, 745, 747, 748, 756, 759, 765, 779, 782, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 793, 794, 798, 799, 800, 802, 804, 807, 808, 821, 824, 831, 833, 834, 836, 837, 849, 851, 853, 854, 856, 859, 860, 862, 863, 864.
Allahabad Collectorate Mutiny Basta; 552.
Allahabad District Gazetteer; 549, 550, 552, 557, 558, 655, 656, 657, 659, 791, 795, 796, 797, 854.
Allahabad University Library; 42, 43, 115.
Allygunge; See Aliganj.
Almora Mutiny Basta; 83, 84, 232, 233.
Almorah; 398.
Alopee Bagh; 542.
Alum Chund; 557.
Alumbagh; 314, 714, 754, 850.
Alwar; 489.
Amar Singh; 32, 130, 132, 134, 136, 205, 272, 280, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 405, 407, 412, 413, 420, 426, 427, 430, 447, 465, 471, 472, 473, 475, 476, 478, 481, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 489, 490, 491, 494.
Amaree; 70.
Amauli; 757.
Ambar; 74.
Ambika Prasad; 618.
Amerah; See Amorha.
Amethi; 803.
Amirtram; 787.
Amoi; 251.
Amorah; See Amorha.
Amorey; 70.
Amorha; 147, 151, 152, 197, 307, 313, 315, 317, 318, 322, 323, 325, 328, 329, 331, 335, 336, 338, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 347, 350, 353, 355, 356, 357, 365, 369, 372, 380, 668.

Amoulee; 740.
Amraoti; 550.
Anandi Din Mishra; 668.
Anapoor; 799.
Ancha; 46.
Anderson; 738.
Andhirai; 373.
Andra; 379.
Angnu Singh; 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 135.
Anirudh Singh; 284.
Annundeedeen Misur; See Anandi Din Mishra.
Anrup Sing; 284.
Aong; See Aung.
Apoorb Singh; 284.
Appa Jee Punth; See Appaji Pant.
Appa Ji Shastri; 532, 534, 583, 693.
Appa Shastree; See Appa Ji Shastri.
Appahghur; 568.
Appaji Pant; 586, 693.
Argarh; 72.
Arjoon Sing; See Arjun Singh.
Arjun Singh; 214, 239, 241, 284.
Arrah; 31, 116, 172, 177, 178, 179, 180, 277, 278, 374, 403, 404, 405, 430, 438, 439, 440, 441, 444, 447, 448, 458, 459, 462, 465, 468, 469, 470, 474, 475, 476, 490.
Asal; 803.
Asapal Sing; 663.
Asghar Ali Khan; 218, 506.
Ashe, Lieutenant; 518.
Ashraf Bakhsh Khan; 125, 348, 362, 363.
Ashraf Bux Khan; See Ashraf Bakhsh Khan.
Asjun Ali Khan; See Asghar Ali Khan.
Asnee; 820, 821.
Asni; 806.
Asothar; 735, 823.
Asothur; See Asothar.
Asrawan; 557.
Astell; 5, 6, 214, 215.
Atarra; 417.
Athurbun; 795.
Atrail; 177.
Atraith; 177.
Atraulia; 27, 28, 35, 108, 109, 139, 194, 437, 438.
Atraulia Fort; 33.
Atrowlia; See Atraulia
Augasi; 749, 845.
Aughrim; 729.
Augustine; 330.
Auj; 233.
Aulad Ahmed; 596.
Aung; 715, 716, 717, 718, 817, 818, 820, 829, 830.
Aunrihar; 25.
Auraiya; 761.
Auraiyah; See Ooreah.
Ausiya; 285.
Austar; 482.
Authurbun; 791.
Avadh; 3, 4, 13, 24, 86, 102, 106, 111, 124, 136, 138, 139, 141, 144, 151, 152, 153, 154, 165, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 178, 181, 182, 183, 184, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 203, 204, 214, 215, 225, 298, 229, 231, 232, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 247, 271, 272, 278, 303, 305, 308, 317, 318, 319, 321, 323, 324, 327, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 346, 348, 350, 353, 355, 356, 358, 364, 368, 370, 371, 372, 383, 386, 388, 389, 390, 391, 394, 395, 396, 398, 399, 408, 413, 425, 431, 441, 445, 449, 482, 486, 489, 493, 506, 517, 532, 538, 539, 540, 543, 546, 548, 552, 593, 598, 603, 609, 630, 650, 653, 656, 657, 659, 660, 661, 662, 664, 671, 676, 681, 696, 698, 703, 704, 707, 712, 713, 739, 742, 757, 760, 764, 765, 774, 781, 784, 787, 788, 789, 792, 793, 794, 795, 803, 807, 809, 816, 817, 818, 820, 821, 825, 828, 830, 831, 841, 844.
Avadh Horse Battery, 3rd; 513.
Aynsley, Lieutenant; 796.
Ayodhya; 237, 238, 308, 309, 310, 312, 320, 326, 329, 332, 337, 355, 436.

Ayodhya Prasad; 214, 215, 243, 527, 599.
Ayodhya Singh; 120.
Ayoodhia Pershad; See Ayodhya Prasad.
Ayton, Lieutenant; 732.
Azam; 105.
Azamgarh; 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 34, 73, 84, 86, 89, 90, 94, 95, 96, 98, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 115, 116, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 149, 150, 151, 154, 155, 158, 161, 162, 163, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 183, 184, 186, 187, 190, 193, 197, 201, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 216, 217, 218, 220, 221, 225, 226, 242, 243, 244, 245, 265, 267, 268, 271, 273, 294, 295, 296, 302, 304, 307, 314, 315, 320, 321, 354, 356, 360, 373, 378, 381, 382, 383, 437, 438, 439, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 448, 449, 450, 451, 453, 456, 457, 459, 460, 466, 467, 477, 488, 489, 516, 662, 749, 801.
Azamgarh Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records; 102, 103, 106, 107, 110, 111.
Azamgarh District Gazetteer; 27, 28, 33, 73, 101, 102, 104, 109, 111, 143, 177, 448, 453.
Azeemoollah; 521, 522, 537, 538, 590.
Azeez-ood-deen; 145, 593.
Azim Ali Khan; 506, 600.
Azim-oollah; See Azeem oollah
Azim-oollah Khan; 501, 529.
Azimabad; 287.
Azimgurh; See Azamgarh.
Azin utoolla Khan; See Azim-oollah Khan.
Azizan (Asseesun); 521, 522, 523, 524, 530, 600.
Azmatgarh; 200, 448, 453.
Azmutgurh; See Azmatgarh.
Baba Bhu.; 525, 529, 781.
Baberu; 417, 569, 749.
Babni; 324, 326, 346, 352, 353, 366.
Baboo Rao Kaith; 597.
Baboo Singh; 534.
Baburi; 274.
Bachman; 270.
Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta; 647.
Badausa; 417, 571.
Badlapur; 209, 226, 227, 228, 230.
Badrak Rai; 284.
Badri (Budri); 526.
Badri Narsingh, General; 778.
Badshahpoor; See Badshahpur.
Badshahpur; 143, 231, 232, 785.
Baee; See Baee Sahib.
Baee Sahib; 586, 694.
Bagain; 571.
Baghara; 549, 550.
Baghelkhand; 32.
Baghi; 418,
Baghi Dour; 444.
Bagrehi; 418.
Bahaura; 240.
Baholy; 552.
Bahraich; 311, 316, 323, 345, 358, 370 392, 396.
Bahraich District Gazetteer; 312, 316, 396.
Bahramghat; 308, 361.
Bahrampur; 812, 823.
Bahriabad; 273.
Baij Nath Singh; 91.
Bailley Guard; 46, 382, 610.
Bailey, Lieutenant; 639, 640, 779.
Bair; 343.
Baiswara; 610.
Baitool; 428.
Bajee Rao Peishwa; See Baji Rao.
Bajee Row; See Baji Rao.
Baji Rao; 502, 670, 684.
Bak Koiri; 105.
Baker Ali; See Baqar Ali.
Bakhra; 381.
Bakht Bulee, Raja; See Raja Bakht Bali.
Bakhtiara; 549.
Bakhtvari; 549.

Baksar (Unnao Dist.); 675, 681.
Bakur Ali; See Baqar Ali.
Bakur Ali Khan; See Baqar Ali Khan, Nawab.
Bal Govind; 134.
Bala; 522, 534, 537, 590.
Bala Bhut; 525.
Bala Rao; See Raja Bala Rao.
Bala Singh; 583.
Balawar; 492.
Balbhadra Singh; 67, 81, 374, 375, 376.
Baleepar; 380.
Bali Singh; 341, 350, 352, 354, 357, 365, 369, 378, 379, 383.
Baljor Singh; 284.
Balkaran Singh; 357.
Balkrishna Bahadur, Maharaja; See Maharaja Balkrishna Bahadur.
Balla Sahib; See Raja Bala Rao.
Balleeguard; See Bailley Guard.
Ballia; 36, 106, 142, 143, 263, 268, 270, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 278, 446, 449, 450, 452, 455, 457, 459, 461, 462, 468, 487, 488.
Ballia District Gazetteer; 449.
Balrampoor; See Balrampur.
Balrampur; 312, 314, 317, 348, 361, 364, 370, 398.
Balwa; 329.
Balwant Rao; 586, 693, 694.
Balwant Singh; 34, 284.
Bamhrauli; See Bamrauli.
Bamnia Hill; 425.
Bamrauli; 550.
Banaras; See Varanasi.
Banda; 32, 33, 58, 72, 105, 413, 417, 418, 430, 431, 433, 434, 463, 465, 521, 532, 564, 566, 567, 568, 569, 572, 573, 574, 576, 577, 578, 579, 581, 582, 615, 620, 623, 631, 650, 668, 733, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 789, 791, 793, 795, 802, 803, 804, 807, 808, 810, 811, 812, 815, 816, 821, 827, 833, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 842, 843, 844, 846, 847, 848, 849, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 859, 861, 862, 863, 865, 866.
Banda Collectorate Mutiny Records; 581, 582, 616, 617, 621, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 748, 749, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 852, 854, 855, 856, 857, 859, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866.
Banda District Gazetteer; 417, 418, 533, 569, 571, 573, 749, 842, 843, 853.
Bandah; See Banda.
Bandhi, Kurmi; 45.
Bandhogarh; 425.
Bandhora; 737.
Bandipur; 28.
Banee Bahadoor Sing; 655, 657.
Banee Madho; See Baini Madho.
Banee Purshad Moonshee; See Beni Prasad Munshi.
Banee Singh; 308.
Banerji, Piarey Mohan; 796.
Banett, Major; 67, 70.
Bangaon; 826.
Bangarmau; 763.
Bangarmow; See Bangarmau.
Bannish, Major; 274.
Bansdeh; See Bansdih.
Bansdih; 106, 269, 449, 455, 457, 459, 461, 467, 468.
Bansee; 154, 308, 316, 320, 321, 328, 333, 336, 337, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 362, 364, 367, 378, 379, 397, 798.
Bansgaon; 378.
Bansgawan; 352.
Barsi; 152, 303, 305, 339, 342, 346, 353, 356, 364, 374, 383.
Bansighat; 383.
Banwarilal; 415.
Bapoo Datar; 583.
Bapoo Khan Kutta, Maharatta (Bapu Kan Katey Mahratta); 535, 781.
Baqar Ali; 505, 527, 600.
Baqar Husain; 381, 383.

Bara; 121, 122, 284, 433, 482, 483, 845.
Bara Banki; 308, 361.
Bara Banki District Gazetteer; 308, 361.
Baradeha; See Baraundha.
Baragaon; 140, 179, 270, 446, 550.
Barah; 141, 279, 280, 281, 282, 285, 593.
Baraitch; See Bahraich.
Barat Ram; 419.
Baraundha; 416, 419.
Barber, Colonel; 822.
Bardora; 232.
Baree; 462.
Bareilly; 57, 63, 289, 756, 760, 771.
Baretha; 798.
Bargarh; 853.
Barhaj; 52, 144, 150, 295, 304.
Barhal Road; 444.
Barhalganj; 139, 150, 295, 379.
Barhar; 54, 65, 69, 105, 108, 161, 162, 295, 414, 419.
Barhooyan; 819.
Baring, Captain; 94.
Baripal; 757.
Barkeley, Colonel; 794.
Barker; 481, 743.
Baroh; 804.
Barondha; See Baraundha.
Barrackpur; 85.
Barrow; 377, 398, 689, 730, 830.
Bartholomew, st.; 672.
Barton; 405.
Barwan; 491.
Basant Singh; 739.
Base, F.; 120, 122.
Basharatpur; 127, 128, 129, 131.
Baska; 284.
Basnee Baretha; 656, 659, 798, 799.
Basti; 112, 147, 151, 152, 158, 303, 304, 306, 307, 311, 314, 324, 325, 326, 328, 330, 333, 337, 356, 363, 364, 369, 372, 374, 380, 382, 394.
Basti District Gazetteer; 364, 374, 380.
Basu Diha; 162.
Basunt Singh; See Basant Singh.
Batt, Lieutenant; 439, 442.
Battan; 763.
Bawais; 806.
Bax; 116, 142, 273.
Bayley, E. C.; 430.
Bazar Jhangoi; 233.
Beadon; See Cecil Beadon.
Bean, M., Captain; 732, 733.
Beatson; 716, 728, 732.
Beaumont; 637.
Bebeepoor; 207.
Beda Khan; 811.
Bedford, Captain; 193, 196.
Beehia; 476.
Beer Bunjun Sing, Captain; See Bir Bhanjan Singh, Captain.
Begamganj; 97, 218, 660.
Beghar; 108.
Begumgunge; See Begamganj.
Behar; 3, 31, 34, 171, 225, 272, 278, 286, 303, 404, 405, 430, 443, 474, 475, 493, 788.
Behree; 619.
Bejai Singh; 555.
Belan; 254, 260, 416, 418.
Belanda; 726.
Belas Roy; See Bilas rai.
Belautee; See Belauti.
Belauti; 490.
Belgaon; 550.
Belha; 103.
Beli; 549.
Belkur; 663.
Bell, Major; 47, 59.
Beluwah; See Belwah.
Belwa; See Belwah.
Belwah; 197, 309, 310, 316, 330, 335, 346, 355, 771.
Benaik (Vinayak) Rao; 832.
Benares; See Varanasi.
Benares District Gazetteer; 19, 20.
Bengal; 3, 20, 36, 54, 103, 156, 238, 265, 293, 294, 403, 405, 409, 411, 421, 429, 436, 462, 463, 468, 478, 484, 488, 490, 492, 494, 540, 687, 693, 766.
Bengal European Cavalry, 2nd; 275.
Bengal Native Infantry Regiment

6th; See Native Infantry Bengal Regiment 6th.
Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry; 365, 366, 772, 774.
Beni Bahadur; 263, 790.
Beni Madho; See Raja Beni Madho Singh.
Beni Madho Singh : See Raja Beni Madho Singh.
Beni Prasad, Munshi; 856.
Benjamin, Captain; 567, 581.
Benjamine; 575, 577.
Bennett, Lieutenant; 572, 575, 576.
Bennetts, Mrs.; 641, 645.
Benu Nala; 469.
Beprenda; 465.
Berar Rajputs; 340.
Berarce; 312.
Bergreah; 458.
Berhampooter; See Brahamputra.
Berkeley, Colonel; 799, 800.
Berry; 273, 758, 825.
Bessumbhur Ghose, Baboo; 708.
Beteeah; 81.
Bettiah; 293, 300, 383.
Beuha; 741.
Beylun; See Belan.
Beyreah; 450, 455, 457, 461.
Bhada Buksh, Sheikh; 217.
Bhadoee; See Bhadohi;
Bhadohi; 24, 29, 30, 42, 49, 72, 74, 84, 233, 248, 252, 266, 409, 410.
Bhadona; 757.
Bhagalpur; 405, 431, 493, 865.
Bhagatpur; 104, 105.
Bhagirathi, Pandey; 90.
Bhagwan Bakhsh; 739.
Bhagwan Buksh; See Bhagwan Bakhsh.
Bhagwan Talau; 416.
Bhagwat; 65, 414.
Bhairon Chowbey; 45.
Bhairon Prasad; 237, 239.
Bhaisound; 419.
Bhajan Singh; 284.
Bhakt Singh; 329, 332.
Bhamapar; 160.
Bhameri; 232.
Bhanpoor; See Bhanpur.
Bhanpur; 362, 364, 365, 367, 368, 369.
Bhaoo Biswas Rao; 435.
Bhaoopoor Kuttree; See Bhaupur Kuttree.
Bhar; 36, 74.
Bharlai; 276.
Bharut Sing; 556.
Bharwari; 557, 558.
Bhauapar; 160, 161, 378
Bhaugulpore; See Bhagalpur.
Bhaupur; 817, 818.
Bhaupur Kuttree; 817, 818, 829.
Bhawani Bhik; 45.
Bhawani Prasad; 499, 596.
Bhawani Singh; 601.
Bhawapar; 379, 380.
Bheekha, Shaikh; 381.
Bheekum Singh; 87, 90.
Bhewur; 52.
Bhikhpur Medora; 551.
Bhikha; 557, 559.
Bhikpur; 550.
Bhinda; 53, 313.
Bhindhore; 859.
Bhinga; 289, 311, 316, 370, 396.
Bhithaura; 819, 820, 831.
Bhithoura; See Bhithaura.
Bhithoura Ghat; 821.
Bhogaon; 596.
Bhogneepoor; See Bhognipur.
Bhognipur; 593, 753, 760, 786, 787.
Bhogown; 499.
Bhojpur; 296, 321, 413, 438, 442.
Bhola Nath Chandra; 665.
Bhola Singh; 79, 83.
Bhola Upadhya, Subadar; 88, 89, 93.
Bholanauth Chunder; See Bhola Nauth Chandra.
Bhondu Singh; 85, 86, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 99, 100, 681, 683.
Bhoomhar; 284.
Bhoondoo Sing; See Bhondu Singh.
Bhoorkey; 82.
Bhopal Singh; 284.
Bhowany Pershad; See Bhawani Prasad.
Bhrigunath Singh; 713.

Bhuddoee; 72.
Bhuddowra; 119.
Bhudohey; 51, 53, 63, 65, 67.
Bhudour; 493.
Bhugonath Sing; 713.
Bhugwan Das; 530.
Bhugwan Deen Kaith; 597.
Bhuili; 414.
Bhukkoo Singh; 244.
Bhukt Sing, General; See Bukht Singh.
Bhunda; 75, 260.
Bhurdohee; 79.
Bhurowlee; 445.
Bhurwari; See Bharwari.
Bhut; 590.
Bhutowley; 47, 48, 50, 51, 56, 63.
Bhutowra; 118.
Bhutwal; 289.
Bhuwan Bheek; 237, 238.
Bickerumgunge; See Bikramganj.
Bidi Gunga Pershad; 526.
Bihar; See Behar.
Bijaigarh; 54, 65, 72, 257, 258, 262, 264, 265, 410, 414, 418, 420.
Bijaipore (Bijaipoor); See Bijaipur.
Bijaipur; 49, 58, 62, 67.
Bijairaghogarh; 625, 832.
Bijapur; 135.
Bijee Bahadoor Sing, Raja; See Raja Bijee Bahadoor Sing.
Bijeeragogurh; See Bijairaghogarh.
Bijeigurh; See Bijaigarh.
Bijeyee-ka-poora; 80.
Bikramganj; 476, 481.
Bikrumgunge; See Bikramganj.
Bilas Rai; 499, 529, 595, 596, 598.
Bilhaur; 594, 758, 764.
Bilhour; See Bilhaur.
Bille; 259.
Billore; 755.
Bilwa; 306, 307, 308, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 319, 320, 322, 323, 326, 328, 336, 337, 343, 350, 452.
Binapore; See Binapur.
Binayakpur; 152.
Binda Din; 91, 99.
Bindaur; See Bindour.
Bindeshwari Prasad; 215.
Bindeshwari Singh; 83.
Bindesri Buksh Singh; 239.
Bindhachal; 47, 52, 53.
Bindkee; See Bindki.
Bindki; 715, 735, 738, 813, 815.
Bindki Road; 715.
Bindoor; See Bindour.
Bindour; 810, 813, 824.
Bindwari; 580.
Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh; 404, 444, 469, 471.
Biposi; 524.
Bir Bhanjan Singh; 374.
Biranji; 285.
Birch; 185, 187, 189, 267, 302, 353, 652, 667, 775.
Bird; 149, 151, 154, 156, 158, 159, 160, 165, 293, 294, 319, 321, 333, 334, 336, 338, 357, 358, 362, 363, 364, 365, 369, 372, 380, 383.
Birdpore; 336.
Birhar; 102.
Birhun; 247.
Birjee; 52.
Birjis Quadar; See Brijis Qadar.
Birsinghpur; 847.
Bisauli; 70.
Biseohur; 359.
Biseshur Buksh; See Bisheshwar Bakhsh.
Bishan Prasad; 244.
Bishanpur; 104, 109.
Bisheshwar Bakhsh; 800.
Bisheshwar Dayal; 231, 232.
Bisheshwar Misra; 107.
Bishnath Bhutt; See Vishwanath Bhat.
Bishnath Singh; 830.
Bishun Nath; 100.
Biskohar; 374.
Bissessur; See Vishweshwar.
Bistohur; See Biskohar.
Bithoor; 435, 499, 503, 510, 512, 521, 523, 524, 525, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 583, 586, 587, 615, 685, 691, 693, 696, 698, 701, 703, 704, 705, 722, 746, 753, 755, 762, 763, 772,

Bithoura Ghat; 821.
Bithur; See Bithoor.
Blake, Colonel; 48.
Blunt; 758.
Bodee Rov; 118.
Boileau, Captain; 151.
Bombay; 428, 647.
Bombay Road; 807.
Bondee; 316.
Boolundshahur; 701.
Boora; 737.
Boorea ke Chowkee; 698.
Boorg Rajahs; 7.
Bootwul; See Butwal.
Boudousa; See Badausa.
Bowha; See Beuha.
Boyle; 463, 470.
Boyne; 729.
Bradford Brigadier; 823.
Brahmputra; 122, 801.
Brandreth; 120, 195, 267.
Brasyer, Major; 560, 638, 643.
Brazier, Captain; 545.
Brereton; 304, 306, 307, 311, 314.
Brien, Lieutenant Colonel C.; 253, 413, 424, 662.
Brij Narain Bahadur; 258.
Brijees Kuder; See Brijis Qadar.
Brijees Kudur Mirza; See Brijis Qadar.
Brijindura Bahadoor Singh, Baboo; 53.
Brijis Qadar; 283, 289, 613, 614, 679.
Broome, Captain; 456.
Brown, Lieutenant; 674.
Brown, W.; 120, 122.
Bruce; 567, 577, 581, 701, 712.
Brusyer; 76.
Buberoo; 570.
Bubnee; See Babni.
Buchea; 372.
Buckley; Lieutenant; 33.
Buddoopoor; 72.
Budget Bond, Mrs.; 645.
Budho; 83.
Budlapur; 217.
Budluheysurrai; 56.
Budowsa; 850.
Budree Nur Sing, General; See Badri Nar Singh.
Budri; See Badri.
Buchea; 372.
Buggan; 179.
Bugharee; 556.
Buhara; See Bahaura.
Bukewa; 736.
Bukht Singh; See Bhakt Singh.
Bukhura; 330.
Bukra; 153, 324, 382.
Buksee; 556.
Bulhoor; 594.
Bulkaran Singh; 341, 354, 358, 368, 369.
Bulkarrun; See Bulkaran Singh.
Bulkarsee Singh; 354.
Bulkishon Buhadur, Maharaja; See Maharaja Balkrishna Bahadur.
Bulkurun Singh; See Bulkaran Singh.
Bullee; See Bali Singh.
Bullee Sing; See Bali Singh.
Bulleeah; See Ballia.
Bulwant Rao; See Balwant Rao.
Bunde Hussun; 228.
Bunde Mata Ghaut; 534.
Bundel Khand; 86, 433, 566, 602, 625, 650, 748, 749, 756, 783, 788, 814, 816, 817, 818, 827, 828, 835, 847, 848, 849, 852, 864, 865,
Bundelcund; See Bundelkhand.
Bundipur; 28.
Bundlekund; See Bundelkhand.
Bundogur; See Bandhogarh.
Bundwa; 45.
Bungaon; 362, 363, 365, 366, 368, 373.
Bunjaori; 369.
Buratwa; 734.
Burgurh; See Bargarh.
Burha; 282.
Burhal; 303.
Burhdeo; 28.
Burhee; 472, 740.
Burhuj; 307.
Burhul; 337, 352, 356, 437.
Burhulganj; 145.
Burhulgunge; See Burhulganj.

Burjee; 54.
Burjore Sing; 819.
Burlton, Lieutenant; 298.
Burmhar; 550.
Burnighat; 187, 188.
Burragaon; See Baragaon.
Burriapal; See Baripal.
Burroughs, Major; 21, 90.
Burroughs, F. W.; 85, 115.
Burrowlee; 212.
Burruk Gorkha Regiment; 313.
Burrupar; 129.
Buruj Ghat; 172.
Busea; 121.
Bush, Colonel; 137.
Busharutpoor; See Basharatpur.
Busna Burreetha; See Basnee Baretha.
Busnee Buretha; See Basnee Baretha.
Busserutgunge; 698.
Bussohey; 51.
Bustee; See Basti.
Buttonshaw; 68, 69, 250, 251.
Buttoura; 123, 128.
Butwal; 329, 374, 375, 770, 782.
Buxar (Baksar); 118, 121, 142, 179, 271, 275, 280, 286, 439, 440, 441, 442, 452, 462, 481, 483, 484, 487, 488, 492, 676, 679, 680.
Buxar (Baksar) Road; 474, 490.
Byjapoor; See Bijapur.
Byng, Colonel; 342.
Byreeah; 140, 273, 275, 276.
Byriah; 446.
Bysapoor; 134, 801,
Byspoor; See Bysapoor.

Cadell, Captain; 366, 473.
Calcutta; 3, 6, 8, 10, 25, 58, 60, 74, 78, 137, 179, 180, 193, 196, 225, 226, 278, 287, 288, 302, 313, 397, 404, 409, 412, 413, 421, 433, 442, 444, 462, 463, 471, 478, 480, 488, 507, 508, 541, 545, 546, 547, 566, 572, 604, 605, 649, 663, 664, 673, 683, 700, 703, 715, 748, 775, 779, 787.
Calinger; See Kalinjar.
Calpee; See Kalpi.
Calpee Road; See Kalpi Road.
Campbell; 225, 706, 710, 764, 811, 863.
Campbell, Colin, Sir; See Campell.
Campierganj; 324.
Canning, Lord; 837.
Captainganj; 109, 153, 159, 304, 307, 309, 324, 325, 327, 328, 331, 333, 334, 337, 339, 341, 348, 356, 362, 363, 382.
Captaingunge; See Captainganj.
Carew; 465.
Carnatic; 589.
Carne; 837, 840, 849.
Carnegy, G.; 209, 217, 224, 225, 241.
Carpenter, Brigadier; 805, 851, 852, 854, 856, 859, 860, 861,
Carr, Major; 438.
Carthew, Brigadier; 258, 708, 759, 784, 811, 813, 818, 821, 822, 828, 829.
Cary, Major; 641.
Catani; 412.
Catania, Captain; 26, 256, 263, 265, 662, 794.
Caulfield; 20.
Cavy., B. Y.; 775.
Cawnpore; See Kanpur.
Cawnpore District Gazetteer; 504, 520, 524, 533, 593, 594, 597, 609, 685, 755, 757, 758, 760, 764, 825.
Cawnpore Road; See Kanpur Road.
Cecil Beadon; 74, 164, 371, 398, 421, 456, 493, 774, 779, 780.
Central India; 32, 470, 566, 650.
Central Provinces; 137, 169, 171, 172, 186, 188, 208, 220, 223, 250, 260, 294, 302, 377, 425, 433, 650, 660, 661, 733.
Chail; 549, 550, 556, 557, 558, 559.
Chainpur; 283, 284, 286.
Chait Das; 285.
Chak; 550.
Chak Bachcha; 105.
Chakia; 31, 71.

Chamberlain, J. H.; 85, 90, 598, 683.
Champain, Lieutenant; 277.
Champaran; 156, 293, 295, 436, 472, 493.
Chanda; 215, 217, 222, 223.
Chandapoora; 656, 659.
Chandauli; 19, 20, 141, 274.
Chandeepoor Ghat; 320.
Chandel Rajputs; 36, 265, 410.
Chandepoor; See Chandepur.
Chandepur; 190, 319, 333, 343, 345, 346, 351, 738, 769, 811, 812, 813, 819, 822, 824.
Chanderi; 193.
Chandpur (Chandpore); 819.
Chandresh Singh; 174.
Chapara; See Chhapra.
Chapman; 13, 25, 30, 59, 64, 65, 79, 861.
Charda; 316, 320.
Charkhari; 839, 840, 852, 865.
Charkhari, Raja of; See Raja of Charkhari.
Chatoonissa Bebee; 805.
Chaube Jagir; 533.
Chaubepur; 533, 534, 755, 756.
Chaugain; 491, 492.
Chauka; 361.
Chaukhandi; 797.
Chauki; 216.
Chaura; 116.
Chaurasi; 36, 54, 65, 419, 783.
Chauri Chaura; 354.
Chausa; 280, 281, 285, 482.
Cheeboo; See Chibu.
Cheeloopar; See Chillupar.
Cheet; 446.
Cheet Burragaon; See Chit Baragaon.
Chester; 418, 425, 569, 660, 695, 697, 710, 733.
Chhangu; 550.
Chhapra; 90, 150, 204, 299, 304, 345, 436, 439, 442, 457, 463, 468, 481, 489, 491, 493.
Chhatar Koni; 283.
Chhatar Singh; 284.
Chhatarpur; 433, 806, 807, 839, 840, 842, 848, 853, 855.
Chhatarpur; Raja of; See Raja of Chhatarpur.
Chhatra Pal Singl ; 655, 657.
Chhatradhari Singh; 847.
Chhatturjit Singh; 261.
Chhetpur; 550.
Chhiyanve; 36, 47, 49, 419.
Chhoti Sarju; 109, 111, 177.
Chibu; 848, 854.
Chilayan; 593.
Chilla; 574, 837, 840.
Chilla Tara; 811, 813, 816, 824, 853.
Chilla Tara Ghat; 434, 465, 575, 574, 733, 734, 812, 814, 824, 836.
Chilla Tara Ghaut; See Chilla Tara Ghat.
Chillupar; 319, 378.
China; 58.
Chircaree; See Charkhari.
Chiria Kot; 103, 104, 105, 106.
Chit Baragaon; 269, 457, 459.
Chitowra; 479.
Chitrakot; 532.
Chitrapur; 101.
Chittona; 373.
Chitturkote; See Chitrakot.
Chockukpore Ghat; 486, 488.
Chooncha; 130.
Choonee Sing; See Chunni Singh.
Chooree Chouree; See Chauri Chaura.
Chota Gundah; 296.
Chota Nagpur; 32.
Chouk; 648.
Chourassee; See Chaurasi.
Chowbapore; See Chaubepur.
Chowbeypoor; See Chaubepur.
Chowgoin; 480.
Chowkundee; See Chaukhandi.
Chowsa; 117, 119, 121.
Christian, C. 78.
Christie, Colonel; 440, 441, 443, 759, 814, 816, 825.
Christie, J.; 113.
Chubulupoor; 126.
Chuckea; See Chakia.
Chuk Rujor; 735.
Chukeewa; 734.
Chumbul; 194.

Chumparun; See Champaran.
Chunar; 8, 19, 35, 41, 48, 63, 66, 72, 75, 77, 80, 407, 414, 452, 540, 664.
Chundeepore; 329.
Chundernugger; 773.
Chundwara; 801.
Chunna Mull; 512.
Chunni Singh; 533, 534, 586.
Chupra; See Chhapra.
Chuprah; See Chhapra.
Churda; 368.
Chuttarjeet Pande; 61, 67.
Chutterdharee Singh; See Chhatradhari Singh.
Chutterpal Sing; See Chhatra Pal Singh.
Chuttra; 472.
Chutturpore; See Chhatarpur.
Clark, Lt; 225, 330.
Clarke, Doctor; 464.
Clerk, Captain; 325.
Coal; 76, 77.
Cockerell; 566, 567, 570, 577, 581, 582, 631.
Coer Singh; See Kunwar Singh.
Colagurh; 786.
Colbeck, Lieutenant; 836.
Colbec, Lieutenant; 463.
Coleman; 640, 642, 646.
Colengera; 219.
Coles; 855, 865.
Colonelganj; 549, 558, 560.
Coloundepoor; 809.
Cominpore; 461.
Cook; 382, 383,
Cooke, C.; 129, 314.
Coombs, Robert Smith; 117, 119, 479.
Corfield, Brigadier; 441, 474, 475, 476, 477, 480.
Cosserat; 125, 130, 132.
Costley, Mr.; 411, 412.
Cotter, Major; 426, 448, 453, 454, 455, 456.
Couper; 93, 398, 494, 862.
Court, Mr.; 643, 654, 656, 659, 785.
Court of Directors; 189, 239, 293, 294, 704.
Coxe, Major; 320, 340.
Crump, Miss; 645.
Cumberlege, Colonel; 130, 140, 141, 269, 270, 271, 428, 446, 450, 452, 468, 481, 488.
Cuppage; 23.
Cutra Pass; 63.

Dabee Bux; See Raja of Gonda.
Dabee Singh; See Debi Singh.
Dabeedeen; See Devi Din.
Dacca; 484.
Dada Saheb; 532, 533.
Dadar; 28.
Dadri; 851.
Dais Raj; See Des Raj.
Dala Nulla; 526.
Dalamau; 784, 816, 821, 827.
Dalamow; See Dalamau.
Daleas, Major; 836.
Dalgojan Singh; 284.
Dalhousie, Lord; 519.
Dalipur; 233.
Daljeet Singh; 125, 128, 131, 132, 133, 134.
Dalton, E. T.; 494.
Daman Singh; 161.
Damman Khan; 345, 347, 350, 351.
Danapoor; 746.
Dang; See Dhang.
Daoodpoor; 361.
Daraganj; 346, 560, 635, 785.
Darajeet; 746.
Dariabad; 383, 639, 642.
Darowlee Ghat; 489.
Darsenda; 569, 843.
Darshan Lal, Munshi; 30, 65, 73, 79, 83.
Daryabad; See Dariabad.
Dasauli; 810, 815.
Dashwood; 863, 864.
Dasmi; 232.
Dasrathpur; 82.
Datta, K. K.; 404, 444, 466, 467, 469, 471, 492, 493.
Daundia Khera; 603, 673, 678, 679, 820, 831.
Davies; 194, 198, 203, 444, 451, 456, 458, 459, 467.
Davies, R. A.; See Davies.

De La Fosse, H. G.; 517, 667, 676, 680.
Debee Roy; 118.
Debi Bakhsh, Raja; See Raja of Gonda.
Debi Singh; 553, 554.
Decastro, Mr.; 645.
Decastro, Mrs.; 645.
Deeah; 856.
Deedarbuxsh; See Didar Bakhsh.
Dehiyan; 791, 793, 798.
Dehra; 786.
Dehrayan; 788.
Dehree; See Dehri.
Dehri; 413, 420, 439, 440, 441, 471, 472, 480.
Dehuirah; 353.
Dehwah; 239.
Dehyaiyan; 799, 801.
Delwara, 476.
Delchayt; 619.
Delhi; 4, 7, 9, 17, 47, 56, 63, 86, 96, 107, 289, 295, 360, 382, 489, 499, 504, 505, 511, 514, 539, 541, 561, 590, 602, 608, 627, 642, 644, 650, 687, 698, 700, 703, 704, 763, 766.
Delhi Gazette; 781.
Delhie; See Delhi.
Demomet; 20.
Denison, C. B.; 408.
Dennehy, Captain; 279, 802, 804, 807, 808, 846.
Deo Narain Singh, Rao; 12.
Deogaon; 73, 101, 110, 111.
Deohat; 255.
Deokhur; 781.
Deolee; 655.
Deoree; 55.
Deoria; 112, 150, 164, 284, 304, 354.
Deosallah; 95.
Deotha; 282.
Dera; 210, 226, 349.
Deragunj; See Daraganj.
Derapoor; See Derapur.
Derapur; 520, 593, 758.
Des Raj; 677.
Deshpat; 808, 865.
Deverinne; 60.
Devi Bakhsh; See Raja of Gonda.
Devi Din; 87, 97, 98, 130, 380.
Dewal; 117, 285, 286.
Dewinson, Mr.; 108.
Dewkur; 374.
Dhakum; 749.
Dhanawli; 163.
Dhang; 287, 289, 781.
Dhang Valley; 360.
Dharauli; 274.
Dharwar; 590.
Dhatu; 744.
Dhawanmal; 101.
Dheer Sing; See Dhir Singh.
Dheonee; 814, 815.
Dherawul; 797.
Dhir Singh; 803, 804, 846, 847, 851, 853, 855.
Dholi; 818.
Dhondo Punt Nana, Peishwa; See Nana Dhondo Pant.
Dhoom; 566.
Dhowan Singh; 80, 81.
Dhowed; 839.
Dhungaon; 481.
Dhur Singh; See Dhir Singh.
Dhuriapur; 295, 378.
Diary of P. Walker, Mirzapur; 58, 66, 68, 420.
Dick; 60.
Dickens, Captain; 411.
Didar Bakhsh; 741.
Digdowur; 164, 371.
Dildar Hasan; 551.
Dildarnagar; 277, 280, 282, 287.
Dildarnuggur; See Dildarnagar.
Dilowa; 475.
Dinapore; See Dinapur.
Dinapur; 9, 31, 113, 116, 146, 147, 248, 250, 278, 315, 403, 404, 408, 412, 413, 422, 423, 424, 430, 432, 433, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 464, 492, 520, 622, 651, 683, 733, 770.
Dirj Bijae Singh; See Drig Vijai Singh.
Dirop; 107.
Doab; 3, 409, 439, 650, 652, 664, 769, 815, 817, 818, 819.
Dobbins, Lieutenant; 441.

Dobee; 73.
Dobhee; See Dobhi.
Dobhey; 65, 66.
Dobhi; 25.
Dodgson, Captain; 10, 11.
Dodsworth; 26.
Doerhee Ghat; See Dohrighat.
Dohrighat; 6, 111, 307, 352, 448.
Domanzari; 284.
Domariaganj; 325, 328, 337, 339, 340, 341, 348, 352, 353, 354, 358, 369, 374.
Domoh; See Dumoh.
Dooab; See Doab.
Doobar; 251.
Doodhee; Dee Dudhi.
Dookul; 135.
Doomdree; 736.
Doomraon; See Dumraon.
Doomreagunge; See Domariaganj.
Doomree; See Dumri.
Doomurriagunge; See Domariaganj.
Doondea Khera; See Daundia Khera.
Doondhar; 472.
Dooree Ghat; See Dohrighat.
Doorga Singh; 663.
Doorgah Persaud Missur; See Durga Prasad Mishra.
Doorie Ghat; See Dohrighat.
Dorea; 53.
Dorounda; 90.
Douglas, Brigadier; 140, 142, 179, 180, 269, 273, 276, 278, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 453, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 466, 467, 469, 484, 485, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493.
Doundia Khera; See Daundia Khera.
Doweans, A. M.; 238.
Dowlut Ali; 382.
Drig Vijai Rai; 284.
Drig Vijai Singh; 830.
Drummondgunge; 257, 259, 419.
Dudhi; 32, 54, 70, 72, 364, 410, 416, 417.
Dudree; 451, 852.
Dufferin Bridge; 19.
Duhan, Mrs.; 307.
Dulam; 816.
Duleepore; 477, 478.
Duljeet Singh; See Daljeet Singh.
Dulputpore; See Dulputpur.
Dulputpur; 164, 371.
Dulsoura; See Dulsourah.
Dulsourah; 737, 739.
Dumdum; 738.
Dummun Khan; See Damman Khan.
Dummur; See 553, 554.
Dumoh; 423, 425.
Dumraon; 479, 480.
Dumri; 333, 334, 336, 338, 341, 343, 346, 347, 354, 361, 362, 364, 366.
Dumura; 76.
Dunbar, Captain; 790.
Dunne; 26, 115, 276.
Dunvers, Lieutenant; 70.
Durand; 748.
Durga Prasad Mishra; 668.
Durriao Singh; 97.
Dursenda; See Darsenda.
Dursendah; See Darsenda.
Dusruthpoor; 80.
Dussowlee; See Dasauli.
Dylall; 438.

East India Company; 169, 294, 390, 412, 453, 456, 643, 647, 704, 705, 710, 714.
East India Railway; 142, 274, 275, 557.
Eatmadpoor; 816.
Echawar; See Ichawar.
Eddulla; See Ekdulla and Ekdilla.
Edlabad; 428.
Edmonstone, G. F.; 182, 194, 198, 268, 270, 274, 278, 337, 351, 385, 386, 394, 396, 433, 458, 462, 463, 465, 473, 476, 479, 481, 483, 484, 486, 487, 502, 769, 836, 856, 859, 862.
Egypt; 604.
Ehmud-oolah; See Ahmadullah.
Ehrora; 420
Ekadulla; See Ekdulla.
Edulla (Ekdilla); 734, 714, 812.
Ekora; 274.
Ellenborough, Lord; 539.

Elliott; 33, 63, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 252, 420, 786.
Ellis, Major; R. R. W. 433, 566, 580, 740, 838, 852.
Eloea; 337.
Elowlee; 741.
Emdad Ally Beg; See Imdad Ali.
Emperor of Delhi; 590.
Endespore; See Jagdishpur.
England; 502, 510 556, 594, 604, 670, 777.
English, Major; 473.
Ensign Check; 640, 645, 646.
Ensign Clerk; 576.
Ensign Donald; 40.
Entooa; 863, 864.
Erskin; 422, 423, 424, 428, 429, 566, 865.
Etawah; 499, 520, 594, 754, 761, 825.
Etawrah; 454.
Eutwa; 341, 367, 368.
Evans; 68, 214, 215, 242, 864.
Eveleigh, Brigadier; 226.
Even; See Evans.
Eyre, Major; 116.
Eyre Vincent; 653.

Faddy, Brigadier; 860.
Faiz Ali Khan; 101.
Faizganj; 501.
Faizullah; 557.
Faizullah Khan; 550.
Fane; 14, 23, 72, 127, 129, 131.
Faqir Allah; 281.
Farhat Ali; 618.
Farid Chak; 273.
Farrid-uz-zaman; 593.
Farruckabad; 95, 524, 525, 536, 537, 621, 699, 765, 772, 775.
Farzand Ali; 747, 806, 852, 855, 856, 859, 861.
Fasahat Jahan; 101, 102.
Fatehgarh; 85, 518, 534, 669, 670, 695, 755, 807.
Fatehpur; 58, 90, 93, 308, 361, 432, 434, 465, 501, 502, 533, 550, 557, 561, 565, 573, 574, 575, 577, 583, 603, 613, 650, 651, 662, 664, 668, 669, 674, 675, 683, 696, 698, 711, 712, 715, 716, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 729, 730, 734, 737, 738, 740, 748, 757, 762, 764, 769, 777, 784, 787, 789, 792, 793, 805, 806, 810, 811, 815, 822, 823, 824, 826, 827, 829, 830, 831, 832, 836, 848.
Fatehpur Bichhua; 549, 556.
Fatehpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta; 566.
Fatehpur District Gazetteer; 675, 715, 722, 726, 806, 823, 824, 829, 831.
Fatehpur Ghareta; 827.
Fatehpur Mutiny Diary; 737, 740, 743, 744, 810, 818, 819, 820, 821.
Faujdar Singh; 284.
Fazal Azim; 612, 793, 794.
Fazal Husain; 280.
Fergusson; 493, 494.
Ferozeshuhur; 688.
Ferozpoor Regiment of Sikhs; 47, 53.
Ferozpore; See Ferozpur.
Ferozpur; 76, 538, 731, 744, 790.
Firoz Shah; 289, 764.
Fischer, Colonel; 471.
Forbes; 214, 240, 242, 304, 309.
Foreign Department Abstract Proceedings Year 1859, Vol. 33; 772.
Foreign Department Consultations, 216, 240, 241, 242.
Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) of 1858; 175, 176, 177 178, 179, 181, 182, 197, 204, 207 208, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233 234, 236, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275 277, 278, 279, 305, 307, 309, 312, 313, 314, 317, 318, 319, 320, 322, 332, 334, 337, 338, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 362, 363, 366, 367, 370, 437, 460, 462, 486, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 784, 785, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 899, 802, 802, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 840,

841, 842, 843, 845, 846, 848, 849, 851.
Foreign Political Consultations; 239, 386, 387, 391, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 437, 448, 463, 771, 774,775,776,777,778, 779,780, 781.
Foreign Political Proceedings; 165, 206.
Foreign Secret Consultations; 182, 184, 185, 193, 226, 253, 278, 303, 366, 370, 377, 421, 434, 438, 460, 461, 467, 519, 569, 667, 681, 840.
Foreign Secret Proceedings; 510, 605, 607.
Forrest; 493, 520, 594, 673, 674, 675, 723.
Forsyth, T. D.; 164, 371.
Fort William; 77, 184, 267, 355, 398, 502, 662, 774, 779, 780.
Franks; 171, 188, 226, 227, 228, 761, 784, 785.
Fraser, Lieutenant; 576.
Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh; 272, 615, 617.
Freeman, Lieutenant; 489.
Fulford, Lieutenant; 456.
Fulloch, Captain I. S. D. ; 93.
Furredoozzuman; See Farid-uz-zaman.
Furruckabad; See Farrukhabad.
Further Papers relative to The Mutinies in the East Indies; 638, 642, 643.
Further Papers (No. 4) relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies; 412, 413, 421, 423, 424, 425, 426, 429, 471, 472, 473, 517, 588, 602, 605, 607, 660, 664, 682, 685, 691, 692, 693, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 715, 716.
Further Papers (No. 5) relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies; 293, 295, 405, 406, 407, 413, 427, 430, 433.
Further Papers (No. 6) relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies; 171, 704, 705, 706, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714.
Further Papers (No. 7) relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies; 170, 186, 187, 209, 220, 226, 296, 378, 384, 385, 432, 433, 434, 476, 612, 613, 659, 663, 703.
Further Papers (No. 8) relative to the Insurrection in the East Indies; 301, 302, 315, 437, 438, 458, 475, 467, 755, 756, 826, 828.
Furzand Ali; See Farzand Ali.
Furzend Ally; See Farzand Ali.
Fusiliers, 5th: 68, 734.
Futehurgeer; 53.
Futtah Alee Sheikh; 648.
Futtamow; 488.
Futteh Ali, Mirza; 379, 384.
Futteh Buhadur Singh; 258.
Futteh-Gurh; See Fatehgarh.
Futtehpore; See Fatehpur.
Futtehpore Chowrassee; 704, 757, 759, 763.
Futtehgunje; 850.
Futtypoor; See Fatehpur.
Fuzil Azeem; See Fazal Azim.
Fuzzul Azeem; 784, 793.
Fyz Ali; See Bheekha Shaikh.
Fyzabad; 21, 28, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 146, 147, 158, 178, 203, 207, 234, 247, 276, 295, 307, 308, 310, 312, 315, 318, 320, 321, 323, 325, 326, 329, 340, 347, 349, 351, 365, 371, 373, 380, 437, 532, 591.
Fyzabad Distrct Gazetteer; 178.
Fyzabad Road; 764.

Gada Husain; 526.
Gahmar; 117, 118, 119, 121, 271, 275, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 487, 488.
Gahrwar; 411.
Gaighat; 307, 320, 334, 352.
Gaipura; 49.
Gaj Singh; 74.
Gajadhar; 523.
Gandak; 296, 299, 300, 374, 436.
Gandanala; 853.
Ganesh Prasad Singh; 82.
Ganeshpur; 326, 331.
Ganga; 482.
Ganga Din; 566.
Ganga Din Mishra; 669.

Ganga Dutta, 379.
Ganga Prasad, Lala; 528.
Ganga Saran; 45.
Ganges; 4, 6, 19, 25, 29, 33, 36, 53, 121, 139, 140, 141, 142,, 171, 172, 178, 225, 258, 271, 275, 277, 280, 286, 409, 425, 436, 439, 442 447, 452, 456, 457, 459, 463, 464, 465, 468, 470, 480, 481, 482, 485, 486, 487, 492, 521, 524, 538, 601, 608, 610, 630, 635, 636, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 656, 657, 660, 662, 663, 666, 671, 674, 676, 678, 683, 687, 702, 711, 714, 754, 755, 756, 757, 759, 760, 762, 763, 764, 769, 786, 787, 790, 797, 807, 809, 817, 819, 820, 825, 827, 829, 830, 831.
Gangua; 565.
Ganj Hazari Lal; 105.
Garwara; 34.
Gaura; 29, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 61, 62, 76, 126, 130, 131, 558, 817.
Gaura Jamun; 803.
Gauri Shankar Trivedi; 39.
Gaya; 36, 287, 406, 439, 443, 464, 465, 488.
Gaya Prasad; 55.
Gaya Prasad Chaubey; 619.
Geda Hossein; See Gada Husain.
Geerpore; 121.
Gemene; 462.
Gentowa; 860.
Ghagha; 161, 162.
Ghagra; 34, 106, 109, 139, 140, 142, 144, 150, 163, 164, 172, 183, 187, 200, 263, 269, 275, 295, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 315, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 331, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 349, 350, 351, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 361, 365, 371, 378, 436, 441, 449, 454, 455, 457, 459, 468, 481, 489.
Ghalib Jang; 244.
Ghamunea; 122.
Ghanshyam Ahir; 523.
Ghanshyam Das; 57.
Ghasitan; 126, 134.
Ghatampur; 740, 753, 754, 758, 759, 760, 761, 815.
Ghazipur; 3, 4, 5, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 36, 89, 90, 105, 106, 107, 110, 111, 112, 115, 116, 117, 120, 121, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 152, 169, 171, 172, 178, 179, 180, 181, 184, 188, 193, 195, 196, 206, 262, 266, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 277, 278, 279, 280, 284, 285, 288, 315, 353, 378, 404, 437, 438, 441, 442, 445, 449, 450, 452, 454, 457, 458, 459, 461, 462, 463, 468, 479, 481, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 492, 493, 650, 734, 735, 743, 744, 811, 813, 815, 819, 823.
Ghazipur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records; 120, 122, 123.
Ghazipur Collectorate Misc. Correspondence; 122.
Ghazipur Collectorate Mutiny Basta; 119, 281, 282, 283, 482, 483.
Ghazipur District Gazetteer; 117, 141, 142, 273, 275, 280, 438, 485, 486.
Ghaziuddin Nagar; 50.
Ghirance Gir; 535, 694.
Ghiswa; 794.
Gholam Hussein; See Ghulam Husain.
Gholam Ismael; 648.
Ghona; 103.
Ghorawal; 55, 69, 71.
Ghorawul; 255, 415, 417.
Ghosi; 102, 103, 142, 200, 207, 449, 468, 653.
Ghosi Road; 445, 466.
Ghulam Husain; 207, 230, 268, 329, 437, 449.
Ghulam Singh; 330.
Ghulur; See Gahmar.
Ghumur; See Gahmar.
Ghyas Uddin Pur; 550.
Gibbs; 373.
Giberne Sieveking, I.; 404
Gifford, Captain; 366.
Glyun; 816, 830.
Goali; 82.
Gobind; 806.
Gobind Singh; 553, 554.
Gogra; See Ghagra.
Gokul Chand, Pandit; 19.

Gola Bazar; 295.
Golab Rao; See Gulab Rao.
Golab Sing; See Gulab Singh.
Golam Hossun; See Ghulam Husain.
Golam Rasool; 596.
Gomti; 127, 128, 131, 133, 278, 303, 352, 802, 804.
Gonda; 151, 289, 306, 310, 311, 312, 313, 315, 316, 317, 320, 321, 322, 323, 330, 332, 335, 364, 365, 373, 376, 380, 382, 387, 392, 436, 782.
Gonda District Gazetteer; 364, 373, 380.
Gontiere; 146, 161, 162.
Goodadoss; 764.
Gooman; 747.
Gooman Singh, Raja; See Raja Gooman Singh.
Goomtee; See Gomti.
Gooneer; 816.
Goordeen; 583.
Goorkha Brigade; 312, 313.
Goorkha Regiment; 183.
Goorkha Regiment, Second; 300.
Goorsahai Kaith; 596.
Goorsurai; See Gursarai.
Gopal; 747.
Gopal Sing; 21, 521.
Gopalapoor; See Gopalpur.
Gopalpoor Golah; 187.
Gopalpore; See Gopalpur.
Gopalpur; 102, 109, 146, 154, 155, 156, 158, 162, 187, 295, 296, 318, 319, 320, 329, 333, 338, 379.
Gopi Nath; 645.
Gopiganj; 24, 30, 33, 42, 53, 57, 63, 64, 70, 71, 72, 75, 79, 80, 81, 82, 231, 232, 249, 250, 258, 412, 413, 418, 420, 661, 662, 663, 794.
Gorah; 744.
Gorakhpur; 1, 2, 4, 6, 21, 22, 27, 29, 62, 63, 86, 87, 111, 112, 138, 141, 142, 144, 146, 152, 153, 156, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 171, 172, 175, 177, 183, 185, 195, 197, 200, 201, 218, 228, 230, 288, 289, 291, 293, 294, 295, 296, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 309, 310, 312, 313, 314, 316, 319, 320, 321, 323, 324, 325, 329, 330, 331, 333, 334, 335, 336, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 375, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 391, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 426, 436, 438, 443, 445, 463, 466, 489, 491, 493, 494, 769, 770, 772, 775, 780.
Gorakhpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records; 148, 164, 311, 319.
Gorakhpur District Gazetters; 52, 112, 144, 146, 150, 154, 155, 159, 160, 161, 295, 304, 324, 352, 354, 378, 383, 445.
Gorawul; See Ghorawal.
Gordon; 8, 9, 13, 19, 113, 137, 226, 268, 273, 412, 423, 523, 524, 543, 545, 552, 555, 556, 683, 738.
Gorgon; 666.
Gorha Gorah; 743, 823,
Gorrard, Captain; 350.
Gortotwa; 69, 255.
Gorucknath Regiment; 297, 298, 299, 300.
Goruckpore; See Gorakhpur.
Gour; See Gaura.
Goura; See Gaura.
Gouriar, 574.
Gourie; 492.
Govind Bali Singh; 379.
Gowan, Captain; 93, 683.
Grand Trunk Road; 20, 25, 30, 33, 42, 65, 74, 77, 79, 180, 181, 249, 277, 406, 412, 413, 425, 477, 480, 481, 489, 491, 492, 533, 557, 609, 650, 661, 662, 675, 685, 687, 712, 720, 723, 724, 726, 731, 742, 796, 817, 818, 828, 829,
Grant; 368, 369, 700, 707.
Grant, Sir Hope; 278, 348, 349, 366, 368, 397, 398, 399, 433.
Great Britain; 765.
Great Indian Peninsula Railway; 269, 571.
Greatheds, Brigadier; 710.
Greenway, Thomas; 524.
Grenadier Halliday; 668,

Grey, Colonel; 110.
Griffin, Captain; 807, 842, 845, 848, 853, 855.
Groom; 639, 673, 697, 702, 730.
Groves, Mrs.; 840.
Gubbins; 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 17, 20, 25, 115, 120, 137, 444, 467, 701.
Gugha; 155, 379.
Guhurwar Rajpoots; 62.
Guise, Captain; 10, 17, 425.
Gujjadhur; See Gajadhar.
Gulab Rao; 845.
Gulab Singh; 536, 656, 657, 792, 798.
Gumbheer Singh, Lt.; 225.
Gumnur; 479.
Guna; 269.
Gunboat; 120, 122.
Gunduck; 341, 375.
Gumeresha; 566.
Gunesh Purshad; 67.
Gunesh Roy; 597.
Guneshpore; See Ganeshpur.
Gungadeen Missur; See Ganga Din Mishra.
Gungadhur Tantia; 781.
Gungun Sing; 119.
Gunir; 816, 831.
Gunnor Hills; 289.
Guppage; 13.
Gur Sarai; 284, 435, 596.
Gurait; 232.
Gurrah; 812.
Gwalior; 382, 418, 434, 435, 533, 555, 693, 695, 696, 698, 699, 701, 704, 705, 742, 754, 758, 768, 778, 807, 833, 835, 848.
Gwalior Artillery, 1st; 730.
Gwalior Artillery, 6th; 730.
Gwalior Artillery, 53rd; 730.
Gwalior State Gazetteer; 418.
Gwyn Paltan; 549.
Gya; See Gaya.
Gyanti; 288.
Gyer's Battery; 702.
Gyoutum Rajpoots; 152.

Hadee; See Hadi.
Hadi; 550.
Hafiz Rahmat Ullah; 551.
Haidergarh; 308,
Haig; 69, 251.
Hajipur; 493.
Haldawanee; 756.
Halia; 55, 254, 261, 415.
Halliday, Grenadier; 668.
Halls; 404.
Hameerpoor; See Hamirpur.
Hamilton, Robert; 438, 477.
Hamirpur; 432, 574, 577, 593, 560, 758, 759, 768, 804, 808, 814, 815, 817, 822, 825, 828, 829, 830, 840, 841, 842, 852, 862.
Hamirpur District Gazetteer; 577.
Hamirpur District Mutiny Records; 769.
Hamond, Lieutenant; 548.
Hampton; 90, 420
Handia; 659.
Hannah; 729.
Hanuman; 791.
Hanuman Garhi; 864.
Hanumanganj; 658, 783.
Har Das Rai, Raja; 287.
Har Datt Chowbey; 45.
Harchand Raj; 425.
Hardwa; 232.
Hare Krishna Singh; 490, 493.
Harford, Brigadier; 361.
Harha; 293.
Harkishen Singh; 109, 158, 286, 299.
Harkoli; 280.
Harkrishen; 258, 315.
Harnamdass Singh; 130, 134, 135.
Harpal Singh; 135.
Harpur; 105, 155.
Harris, Captain; 76, 641.
Harrison, Captain; 466.
Harry; 716.
Harsinghpur; 829.
Harwood, Lieutenant; 76, 693.
Hasan Ali; 107.
Hasan Para; 284.
Hasanpur; 245, 352, 380, 663.
Hasanpur Bandua; 45.
Hashmat Ali; 424, 425.
Haswa; 814, 823.
Hata; 154, 155, 304.
Hathgaon; 615, 726.
Havee Khan; 599,

Haveli; 41, 112, 155, 159, 324, 354.
Havelock, Henry; 142, 231, 492, 639, 654, 673, 674, 684, 691, 693, 695, 697, 698, 699, 700, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 723, 726, 728, 729, 730, 733, 766.
Hawkins, Lieutenant; 762, 763.
Hawla; 772.
Hazaribagh; 32, 411, 472,
Hazrat Mahal, Begam; 323, 337, 372.
Heetaputtee; See Hetapatti.
Helaputtee; See Hetapatti.
Hemmings, Mrs.; 703.
Her Majesty's Fusiliers, 5th; 69.
Her Majesty's Light Infantry, 13th; 335, 336, 450.
Her Majesty's Regiment, 5th; 31.
Her Majesty's Regiment, 10th; 115, 276.
Her Majesty's Regiment, 20th; 226.
Her Majesty's Regiment 37th; 195, 196, 453.
Her Majesty's Regiment, 54th; 268.
Her Majesty's Regiment 84th; 453.
Herbert Wilson; 321.
Herschel, W. J.; 493.
Hetapatti; 658, 661.
Heulta Pass; 424.
Hicks, Lieutenant; 548.
Highlanders, 2nd; 740.
Highlanders, 43rd; 738, 740.
Highlanders, 78th; 688.
Highlanders, 93rd; 736, 738, 740.
Hikmat-Oollah; 562, 563.
Hillersdon; 512.
Himayat-ullah Khan, Khwaja; 108.
Himkumal Bashnia, Soobadar; 298.
Hinde, Colonel; 420, 424.
Hindhur Sing; 758.
Hindoo Intelligencer; 119.
Hindustan; 386, 388, 389, 390, 391. 590, 604, 622, 749, 766, 772.
Hingun Loll, Rai; 14, 32.
Hinnaor; 482.
History of the Indian Mutiny; 493.
Holkar Singh; 284.
Hollard, Captain; 524.
Holland of Bengal Artillery; 308.
Holmes, Major; 153.
Homdev Sharma; 611.
Home Department Public Consultations; 239, 467.
Home Public Consultations; 491, 492, 493.
Hoolas Singh; See Hulas Singh.
Hoorungotta (Steamer); 358.
Hooshain; See Husain.
Horne; 5, 21, 22, 86, 88.
Horungotta (Steamer); 337, 342.
Hossein Ali; See Hussain Ali.
Hossein Khan; See Husain Khan.
Hosseinee Khanum; 536, 695.
Howard; 78.
Howlett, Captain; 358, 359, 364.
Howrah; 662.
Hukum Singh; 284.
Hulas Singh; 524, 526, 529, 530, 590, 591, 600, 602, 603, 725, 765.
Hullea; See Halia.
Hullodhur Bose; 708
Hulsoonee; 460.
Humeerassee; 568.
Humeerpore; See Hamirpur.
Hundeea; See Handia.
Hunnooman Ghotee; See Hanuman Garhi.
Hunnooman Sing; 658, 795.
Hunnoomangunge; See Hanumanganj.
Hunooman; 80.
Hunwunt Singh, Rajah; 798.
Hurchund Raj; See Harchand Raj.
Hurkishen; See Harkrishen.
Hurpal Singh; See Harpal Singh.
Hurpurshad; 820.
Hurreah; 342, 343, 353, 359, 361, 362, 363, 365, 370, 373.
Husain; 124.
Husain Ali; 381.
Husain Bakhsh; 107, 566.
Husain Khan; 648.
Husain Yar Khan; 246.
Husainganj; 806.
Hussanpur; See Hasanpur.
Hussun Yar; 219, 223.
Hussunpore Bundore; 663.
Huswa; See Haswa.
Hutchinson, Lieutenant; 5, 22, 87, 89, 95.

Hutteempore; 476.
Huttia Doobay; 619.
Hutwa; 297, 341.
Hyat Muhammud; 630.
Hydrabad; 428, 748.
Hyderghur; 99.

Ibrahim; See Ibrahim Khan.
Ibrahim Khan; 180, 284.
Ibrahimpur; 552.
Ichawar; 813, 824.
Ikauna; 311, 316, 346.
Ikowna; See Ikauna.
Imam Bakhsh; 521.
Imdad Ali; 280, 619.
Imdad Khan; 283.
Imperial Gazetteer of India; 32, 36, 53, 106, 152, 153, 157, 269, 293, 436, 459, 484,
India; 3, 4, 6, 7, 74, 77, 136, 169, 192, 198, 220, 238, 267, 293, 294, 296, 314, 349, 355, 371, 385, 391, 394, 396, 397, 398, 406, 411, 412, 413, 421, 425, 428, 433, 436, 470, 471, 480, 481, 502, 519, 520, 531, 539, 540, 544, 546, 566, 604, 605, 614, 618, 635, 639, 652, 665, 667, 674, 695, 699, 702, 704, 705, 706, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 755, 765, 768, 769, 774, 775, 779, 780.
India House; 486.
Indore; 284.
Indurjit Singh; 161, 445.
Indurpoor; 52.
Ingur; See Kathgaon.
Iradat Jahan, Raja; 35, 101, 102, 242, 244, 245, 437.
Irregular Cavalry; 162, 659.
Irregular Cavalry, 1st; 601.
Irregular Cavalry, 11th; 314.
Irregular Cavalry, 12th; 98, 112, 154.
Irregular Cavalry, 13th; 18, 22, 39, 40, 48, 683.
Irregular Cavalry, 80th; 113.
Isapoor; 52.
Ishree Prasad; 596, 735.
Ishree Sing; 657.
Ishwari Bakhsh; 677.
Ishwari Prasad; 45, 46, 236, 237, 674, 734.
Ishwari Singh; 258.
Ismailganj; 658.
Ismailgunge; See Ismailganj.
Isoo Khan; 284.
Isoree Pershad; See Ishwari Prasad.

Jabalpur; 398, 417, 418, 422, 423, 425, 426, 427, 428, 432.
Jaffer Ali; 383.
Jagan Nath; 96, 97, 287.
Jagan Nath Tewari; 87, 91, 92, 93.
Jagannath Dikshit; 586.
Jagat Rai; 483.
Jagat Singh; 677.
Jagatpur; 438.
Jagdishpur; 46, 140, 141, 177, 181, 285, 286, 289, 359, 362, 363, 365, 410, 426, 435, 458, 460, 462, 464, 468, 469, 470, 474, 475, 476, 477, 481, 482, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492.
Jageshwar Bakhsh; 210, 212, 214, 217, 219, 240, 241.
Jagesur Buksh; See Jageshwar Bakhsh.
Jaggat Raj; See Raja Jaggat Raj.
Jagmow; See Jajamau.
Jagraj Singh; 289.
Jahanabad; 420, 477, 481, 733, 737, 739, 740, 742, 744, 759, 811, 812, 819, 821, 822, 824.
Jahanganj; 104, 105.
Jahangir Khan; 501.
Jahangirabad; 612.
Jai Gopal, Lala; 246.
Jai Lal (Jyelal), Raja; See Raja Jai Lal.
Jaipal Singh; 135.
Jaipur; 74.
Jajamau; 536, 592, 593, 596, 757.
Jajmow; See Jajamau.
Jalalpur; 45.
Jalalpur Udhni; 551.
Jalaun; 434, 435, 833.
Jama Gubheera; 658.
Jamaria; 308.
James, Sir; 652.
James Hume, S. N.; 53.

Jámuna (river); 190, 263, 269, 279, 434, 441, 519, 538, 542, 544, 564, 569, 573, 577, 635, 650, 664, 696, 698, 739, 740, 743, 749, 753, 754, 657, 758, 759, 760, 762, 786, 791, 793, 795, 797, 804, 807, 810, 811, 812, 814, 815, 819, 821, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 829, 846, 853.
Jamuna (Steamer); 437, 442, 443, 457.
Jamuna ji Rao; 534.
Janabad; 412.
Jang Bahadur; See Maharaja Jang Bahadur.
Jankee Sing; 130, 132.
Janki, Thathera; 619.
Janki Prasad; 591.
Jao Khan; 741.
Jareearh; 738.
Jatan Singh; 124, 134, 135.
Jaulna; 428.
Jaunpore; See Jaunpur.
Jaunpur; 3, 4, 13, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 32, 33, 34, 35, 45, 46, 53, 78, 101, 107, 115, 123, 127, 128, 129, 133, 136, 137, 138, 157, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 192, 193, 208, 210, 211, 216, 216, 220, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 244, 248, 250, 262, 268, 276, 295, 303, 315, 381, 404, 413, 435, 438, 473, 662, 664, 749, 794, 798, 805, 837, 840.
Jaunpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta; 46, 135, 237, 238, 244, 245, 246, 248.
Jaunpur District Gazetteer; 34, 127, 143, 216, 235, 303.
Jawahar Singh; 287, 288.
Jawahir Singh; See Jawahar Singh.
Jawala Nath; 236.
Jawala Pershad; See Jwala Prasad.
Jeccole; 6.
Jeera Khun; 619.
Jehanabad; See Jahanabad.
Jehanger Khan; 372.
Jeitpoor; 808.
Jelalpore; 658, 659, 838.
Jenkinson; 20, 24, 25, 215, 223, 229, 234, 473.
Jennings; 275, 276, 456.
Jeoodhur Sing; 274.
Jerohun; 567.
Jetawara; 479.
Jewajee Scindia; 778.
Jhagru Dass; 286.
Jhagru Tewari; 319, 320.
Jhamoon; 748.
Jhansi; 569, 571, 703, 749, 760, 768.
Jheehangeerabad; See Jahangirabad.
Jhinjhak; 519, 758.
Jhinket, Captain; 555.
Jhonston; 837.
Jhoonean; 738.
Jhooree Singh; See Jhuri Singh.
Jhoosee; See Jhusi.
Jhreebe; 568.
Jhuri Singh; 30, 63, 64, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 248, 249, 266, 794.
Jhusi; 612, 613, 655, 658, 660.
Jianpur; 104, 109, 111, 448.
Jinnor; 287.
Jita Singh; 284,
Jiwan Misra; 101.
Jobulpore; See Jabalpur.
Jockei; 424.
Jodh Raj; 74.
Jodh Singh; See Raja of Charda.
Jodha Singh; 736, 742, 812, 816, 818, 819, 822, 827, 828.
Jodhapoor; 81.
Johunpore; See Jaunpur.
Johurpoor; 618.
Jones; 63, 65, 67, 79, 80, 81, 82, 198, 836.
Jonhol; 549.
Joodhur Singh; 491.
Jooee-ka-Mydan; 499.
Jounpoor; See Jaunpur.
Jaunraee; 536.
Jowahur Khan; 348.
Jowla Persad; See Jawala Prasad.
Juanpore; See Jaunpur.
Jubulpore; See Jabalpur.
Judicial Department Proceedings; 494.
Judnath Sing (Yadunath Singh); 676, 677, 678, 679, 680.

Judnauth Sing; See Judnath Sing.
Juffut Sing; 239.
Jugal Das, Mahant; 746.
Jugdyal; 237.
Jugessur Buksh; See Jageshwar Bakhsh.
Juggar Nath Buksh; 739.
Juggurnath Deechut; See Jagannath Dikshit.
Juggut Singh; See Jagat Singh.
Jugulkishor; 526.
Jugutpore; See Jagatpur.
Julotur; 552.
Jumna; See Jamuna;
Jumna Jee Rao; See Jamuna ji Rao.
Jumrawun; 812.
Jumuna; See Jamuna.
Jumwan; 479.
Jung Bahadoor; See Maharaja Jang Bahadur.
Junkie, Barqandaz; 741.
Jussa Singh; 586.
Juttun Singh; See Jatan Singh.
Jwala Nath; 45.
Jwala Prasad; 523, 529, 538, 583, 587, 590, 591, 592, 669, 722, 725, 765.
Jwalapersaud; See Jwala Prasad.
Jye Sing; 552.

Kabrai; 577.
Kaisarganj; 316.
Kala Kankar; 658, 671, 798, 801, 802, 803, 620, 831.
Kalakunkur; See Kala Kankar.
Kalan; 504.
Kalee Churn; 619.
Kaleshwar Rai; 118, 119.
Kalewa; 565.
Kalicharan; 284.
Kalinjar; 433, 577, 623, 624, 625, 745, 806, 832, 833, 835, 836, 850, 852, 855, 860.
Kalinjur; See Kalinjar.
Kalka Bux; 655, 657.
Kalka Prasad; 524, 629, 855.
Kalleanpore; See Kalyanpur.
Kallinger; See Kalinjar.
Kallu Mal; 530.
Kalpi; 250, 303, 432, 434, 435, 477, 595, 599, 696, 698, 701, 703, 714, 753, 754, 760, 761, 762, 763, 783, 784, 824, 825, 834, 835, 839, 854.
Kalpi Road; 593, 701.
Kalyanpur; 358, 504, 505, 514, 522, 524, 525, 528, 529, 597, 712, 718, 735, 736, 742, 810, 817, 820, 845
Kamal-ud-din; 741.
Kamasin; 417, 570, 632, 643.
Kamptee; 425, 426, 427, 428.
Kamptee Column; 423, 428.
Kamata Nath; 532.
Kamta Rajaola; 533.
Kandhai Singh; 70
Kanhai Prasad; 521.
Kanhaiya Prasad; 521.
Kanhar; 70
Kankan Singh; 284, 285, 286.
Kanpur; 3, 78, 86, 97, 98, 99, 200, 226, 303, 260, 383, 394, 422, 433, 434, 435, 464, 477, 499, 500, 501, 502, 504, 505, 508, 510, 511, 512, 514, 516, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 527, 528, 530, 531, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 539, 541, 542, 564, 568, 569, 572, 574, 577, 580, 585, 586, 587, 588, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 609, 610, 617, 620, 622, 624, 630, 637, 641, 644, 645, 647, 649, 652, 653, 667, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 678, 679, 681, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 710, 712, 713, 714, 715, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 726, 729, 734, 739, 740, 748, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 773, 777, 783, 786, 789, 792, 803, 805, 806, 807, 811, 814, 815, 818, 821, 825, 828, 831, 835, 840, 844.
Kanpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta; 533, 534.
Kanpur Road; 685.
Kantit; See Kuntit.
Kapil; 739.
Kara; 795, 797, 827.

Karam Singh; 284.
Karamat Khan; 553, 554.
Karamnasa; 20, 31, 117, 278, 281, 285, 480, 481, 482, 486, 587.
Karari; 795.
Kardhariya; 826.
Karepa; 483.
Karhna; 284.
Kari; 289.
Karimdad Khan; 725.
Karisath; 491, 492.
Karkar Singh; 284.
Karnal Ganj; See Colonelganj.
Karwi; 418, 532, 570, 571, 572, 577, 581, 582, 631, 632, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 795, 803, 818, 819, 832, 833, 834, 839, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 847, 849, 851, 853, 854, 855, 859.
Kashee Nauth; See Kashi Nath.
Kashi; 282, 287.
Kashi Nath; 764.
Kashia; See Kasia.
Kashna; 282.
Kashni; 282,
Kasia; 155, 304, 364, 383, 445, 550, 551, 558,
Kasiya; See Kasia.
Kaster; 373.
Kath Gaon; 550.
Kathmandu; 781.
Katoghan; 675.
Katra; 549, 560.
Kauria; 27, 34, 101.
Kaye: J. W.; 601, 602, 603, 609, 610, 611, 665, 666.
Kayestha, Nahmar Das; 285.
Kazeegunge; 781.
Kazeepoor; 557.
Kazi Wussicood-deen; See Wasiuddin, Kazi.
Keating, Captain; 807.
Kelly, Colonel; 143, 177, 178, 753, 770.
Kemp; 63, 67, 81, 82.
Ken; 573.
Keontee; 864.
Kera-Mangraur; 31, 54, 414.
Kerr, Lord M.; 369.
Kesho Rao; 435, 534.
Kesho Rao Bhunkeer; See Kesho Rao.
Kewai; See Kiwai.
Khaga; 675, 726, 742, 743, 823, 824.
Khairagarh; 656, 791.
Khairuddin, Shaikh Maulvi; 369, 370, 385, 386, 387, 391, 393, 395.
Khairwa; 414, 417.
Khairwah; See Khairwa.
Khajooa; 738, 739, 740, 742, 743, 816, 823, 829, 831.
Khajra; 482.
Khajuha; See Khajooa.
Khakreru; 565, 566, 734, 819, 823.
Khalilabad; 153, 304, 380, 382.
Khan Bahadur Khan; 771.
Khanum, Haji; 526.
Kharaundha; 494.
Khareba; 285.
Kharha; 285.
Kharid; 459.
Kheatie Ram 725.
Kherai; 286.
Kheri; 280, 316, 826.
Kheri District Gazetteer; 826.
Kheta-Sarai; 157, 227, 303.
Khiranee Gir; 535.
Khoda Bux; See Khuda Bakhsh.
Khodabuksh Khan; See Khuda Bakhsh Khan.
Khoha; 797.
Khoolda (Khuldabad); 644.
Khooldabad Seraie; 644.
Khooshial Tewarry; See Khushial Tewari.
Khorasen; 243.
Khuda Bakhsh; 217, 226, 227, 632.
Khuda Bakhsh Khan; 384.
Khujooa Gaon; 830.
Khujooa; 736, 816, 818.
Khukhreroo: See Khakreru.
Khulleelabad; See Khalilabad.
Khundun Sing; 797.
Khuranee Gir; 586, 694.
Khurd, Kalyanpur; 504.
Khursal; 537.
Khursun; 656.
Khushal Tewari; See Khushial Tewari.

Khushi Lal Tiwari; 555.
Khushial Tewari; 555.
Khusru Bagh; 549.
Khutahan; 34, 303.
Khutahan Road; 227.
Khwaja Husain Bakhsh; 218.
Khwajepur; 273.
Khyragurh; 783, 790, 854.
Khyrooddeen Sheikh; See Khairuddin Shaikh.
Kifait Ali; 597.
Kin, Colonel; 364.
Kirkina; 851.
Kirreereah; 852.
Kirwee; See Karwi.
Kirwee Raos; 571.
Kisereea; 741.
Kishan Deyal Tewari; 245.
Kishan Rai Pande; 397.
Kishan Sahai; 379.
Kishen Kishore, Baboo; 619.
Kishen Narain Pundit; 35.
Kishni; 233.
Kishwa; 479, 480.
Kiwai; 656, 658, 659.
Kodih; 107.
Kochak, Sultan; 289.
Koelha; 550.
Koelsa; 27, 33, 106, 107, 109, 141, 195, 203, 437, 449.
Koelser; See Koelsa.
Koelwar-Dehri-Road; 491.
Koer Singh; See Kunwar Singh.
Koilra; 491.
Koladyne (Steamer); 356.
Kolapur; 52.
Kolessur Roy; See Kaleshwar Rai.
Kolheya, Raja of; See Raja of Kolheya.
Kon Bazar; 257.
Koni; 258, 833.
Konrh; 79.
Kooaree; 364.
Koodia; 765.
Kooer Singh; See Kunwar Singh.
Koolpurshaud Sing, Captain; 299.
Koonch; 477.
Koondoo Punth; 586, 694.
Koora Kurnuck; See Koorra Kurrnuk.
Koorra Kurrnuk; 741, 814.
Koosaba Khiranee-gir; See Khuranee Gir.
Koosaba Khurance-gir; See Koosaba Khiranee-gir.
Koosombhee; See Kusmbhi.
Kootea; See Kutia.
Kootra; 820.
Kootwa; 656.
Koour Singh; See Kunwar Singh.
Kopaganj; 103.
Kora; See Korah.
Korab; 269.
Korah; 742, 744, 757, 816, 817, 823, 828, 829.
Korantadih; 270.
Koree; 58, 257.
Koree Gaon; 71.
Koren; See Kuraon.
Koresi; 854.
Korh; 24, 36, 42, 65, 71, 811.
Kori; 257.
Korunta Dhee; 487.
Kosaba Ghirance Gir; 535.
Koshee; 415.
Kosi; 257.
Kotah; 32, 819.
Kotee; 734, 815.
Koth; 823.
Kothee; 817, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857.
Kothi Sohawal, Raja; See Raja of Kothi Sohawal.
Kothra Misran Ghat; 52.
Kotwa; 68.
Kowri Romr Road; 161.
Kuchar; 162.
Kudar; 421.
Kudir, Mirza; 346.
Kudjooa; 432.
Kudwa; 211, 222.
Kukhreroo; See Khakreru.
Kulakunkur; See Kala Kankar.
Kullawan; 747.
Kullianpore; See Kalyanpur.
Kulloo Mirdaha; 579.
Kulpahar; 577.
Kumaloodeen; 741.
Kumaon; 313.
Kumasin; See Kamasin.
Kumdah Kote; 374.

Kumsor; 367, 368.
Kunda; 552, 557, 831.
Kundhai Aheer; 319.
Kundowra; 850.
Kunehur; 656, 658.
Kunera; 737.
Kunolee; 260.
Kuntit; 36, 52, 53, 61, 250, 263, 419.
Kunwar Singh; 32, 33, 71, 107, 109, 111, 116, 158, 172, 187, 188, 189, 194, 197, 257, 266, 267, 269, 289, 299, 312, 315, 321, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 412, 414, 417, 418, 420, 421, 422, 424, 425, 426, 427, 429, 430, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 440, 442, 443, 444, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 452, 455, 457, 458, 460, 461, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 472, 474, 475, 476, 651, 652, 749.
Kuraon; 791.
Kurm Shere Khan; 648.
Kurmah; 274.
Kurmnassa; See Karamnasa.
Kurnaipore; 790, 795.
Kurnayepoor; See Kurnaipore.
Kurra; See Kara.
Kurramut Khan; See Karâmat Khan.
Kurreemnassa; See Karamnasa.
Kurruntadhee; 487.
Kurtul; 860.
Kussia; See Kasia.
Kusumbhi; 735.
Kutara; See Kutera.
Kuteah; 819.
Kutera; 309, 623, 634.
Kutia; 816, 819, 820, 831, 852.
Kutinjhey; 67.
Kuronghun; See Ka oghan.
Kutra Pass; 249, 419, 420, 422, 427,
Kuttra; 558.
Kuttree; 817.
Kutwaroo Singh; 129.
Kydganj; 560, 620, 636, 639.
Kydgunge; See Kydganj.

Lachhman Rai; 284.
Lachhman Singh; See Lakshman Singh.
Lafout, Colonel; 78.
Lahore; 488.
Lahore Light Horse; 799.
Lahuar; 142.
Lakshman Prasad; 679.
Lakshmi Narain Singh, B.; 107.
Lal Brahman; 565.
Lal Durwazah; 212.
Lal Prithipal Singh; 383.
Lala Durga Prasad; 619.
Lala Jaduram; 618.
Lala Jai Copal; 246.
Lala Nanak Chand; 694.
Lala Ram ; 533.
Lalganj; 71, 240, 249, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 260, 261, 415, 416, 417, 418, 657.
Lalia; 380.
Lall Chund Kaith; 596,
Lalla Nanuck Chund; See Lala Nanak Chand.
Lalla Ram; 586.
Lallgunge; See Lalgunge.
Lalloulee; 811.
Lalpur; 595, 827.
Laon; 289.
Lar; 150.
Lat Khat; See Latghut.
Latghat; 111.
Lauri; 577.
Lawrence, Henry; 147, 671, 729.
Lawrence, John; 486, 488.
Le Grand Captain; 461, 464, 469.
Lean, J.; 51.
Lecrole; 13.
Lee, Lieutenant; 790.
Leeakut Alee; See Liaqat Ali, Maulvi.
Legge; 26.
Lekha; 553, 554.
Lennox, Colonel; 148, 151, 164, 296, 371, 377, 385, 386, 393, 394, 395, 397, 398.
Leooda; 568.
Lewis; 22, 84, 85, 94.
Liaqat Ali, Maulvi; 538, 548, 549, 550, 613, 615, 643, 646, 647, 725, 793, 798, 799, 801.
Life of Havelock; 718.
Light Cavalry; 201.
Light Cavalry, 2nd; 587, 691, 730.

Light Cavalry, 4th; 426.
Light Field Battery; 335.
Light Infantry, 13th; 332, 335.
Light Infantry, 52nd; 733.
Limnell; 863, 864.
Lind; 8, 11, 20, 25, 32, 210, 214, 222, 227, 228.
Lindsay; 769.
Lisle, Mr.; 839.
Lloyd, Major-General; 520.
Lockhart, Captain; 64.
Lodhi Singh; 285.
Lohra; 28, 550.
Londi; 289.
London; 404, 604, 605, 688, 695, 697, 718, 719.
Longden, Colonel; 34, 35, 136, 137, 173, 180, 189, 225, 478, 749,
Loodhiana Regiment of Sikhs; See Sikh Regiment of Loodhiana.
Loodhianah Corps of Sikhs; See Sikh Regiment of Loodhiana.
Lotan; 232.
Loyal Sixth Volunteers; 548.
Loyd; 577, 581.
Loyd, Mrs.; 840.
Luchmun Bhakree; 586.
Luchmun Pershad; 593, 597.
Luckhinarain Mitter; 708.
Lucknow; 8, 21, 22, 46, 86, 93, 95, 109, 111, 113, 114, 139, 143, 147, 164, 169, 174, 183, 187, 188, 193, 196, 217, 230, 243, 245, 246, 247, 289, 296, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 315, 317, 346, 347, 351, 355, 371, 372, 373, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 482 506, 513, 517, 518, 587, 598, 599, 600, 608, 609, 610, 612, 614, 639, 643, 654, 660, 661, 664, 671, 673, 677, 679, 683, 698, 701, 702, 704, 706, 710, 712, 713, 723, 729, 759, 761, 766, 801, 820.
Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta; 93, 94, 99, 101, 500, 502, 555, 556, 585, 598, 669, 671, 683.
Ludhiana; 85, 91.
Lugard; 139, 143, 193, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 230, 269, 270, 271, 331, 438, 448, 453, 457, 462, 463, 465, 468, 475, 476, 477, 478, 480, 481, 483,
Lukhpoora; 819.
Lukunpore; 812.
Lulowlee; 574.
Lumbroon Wufful; 373.
Lumsden, Mr.; 362.
Lutchmun Pershad; 385.
Lutehurgeer; 53.
Lutuf Alee, Sheikh; 648.
Lyakut Allie; See Liaqat Ali.
Lynch; 468.

Mabussiah (Mussammat); 81.
MacGregor, Brigadier General; 300, 301, 303.
MacMullan; See Mc. Mullin.
Macbeth; 540.
Macduff, Brigadier; 843.
Machhligaon; 373.
Machhlishahar; 115, 143, 210, 232, 234, 794,
Machli Shahr; See Machhlishahar.
Macintyre; 852.
Mackenzie; 493.
Mackintosh; 509.
Macnaghton; See Macnaughten.
Macnaughten; 562, 563, 811, 812, 816, 820, 822.
Madad Ali; 249, 521.
Madan Man Singh; 224.
Madan Mohan Singh; 224.
Madan Singh; 75.
Madanpur; 574.
Madaria; 295.
Madho Pershad Pulwar; 247.
Madho Prasad Singh; 108, 182.
Madho Rao; 483, 484, 570, 572, 615, 616, 631, 632, 745, 747, 832, 836, 839. 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 857, 858.
Madho Singh; 95, 100, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 135, 212, 753, 763.
Madhoo; 744.
Madhoo Baboo; 52.
Madhoo Pershad; 174, 189, 190, 247, 319.
Madhoo Ram; 89,

Madhopersaud; See Madhoo Pershad.
Madhopoor; 483.
Madras; 47, 485, 708, 748, 798, 831, 836.
Madras Artillery; 454, 456, 458, 463, 836.
Madras Athenaeum; 767.
Madras Brigade; 169.
Madras Cavalry; 193, 194, 195, 196, 206, 315, 456, 468, 480, 489.
Madras Cavalry, 4th; 422.
Madras Column; 421, 428, 429,
Madras Fusiliers; 10, 635, 667, 717, 719, 720, 735.
Madras Fusiliers, Ist; 18, 29, 76, 673, 686, 689, 690, 695, 697, 702, 716, 730.
Madras Light Cavalry; 341, 796,
Madras Light Cavalry, 4th Regiment; 191, 195, 330, 437.
Madras Light Cavalry, 6th Regiment; 332, 335, 342, 790.
Madras Native Infantry; 427, 697, 812, 821,
Madras Native Infantry, 17th; 824,
Madras Native Infantry, 27th; 343, 345.
Madras Regiment; 256, 257, 425, 430, 628.
Madras Regiment, 17th; 169-170.
Madras Rifles; 139, 175, 190, 191, 195, 198, 199, 475.
Madras Rifles, 60th; 193.
Madras Royal Fusiliers, Ist; 639.
Madras Sappers; 740.
Maghai; 452.
Maghar; 146, 153, 380.
Maghar Rai; 482.
Mah; 656, 658, 659.
Maha Rao; 194.
Mahadpuri; 549.
Mahagaon; 550.
Mahal (Noi); 101.
Mahammad Abbas (Mohammad Abbas); 862.
Mahammad Hossein; See Mahomed Hussun.
Mahammadabad; 143.
Maharaj Buksh; 592.
Maharaj Kumar Lal Avadhut Singh (Avadhoot Singh); 630, 631.
Maharaj Singh; 736, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 811, 817, 824, 828.
Maharaja Balkrishan Bahadur; 682.
Maharaja of Bithoor; 774.
Maharaja of Gwalior; See Scindia, Maharaja.
Maharajah Jang Bahadur; 138, 209, 286, 287, 288, 289, 295, 296, 297, 300, 302, 311, 323, 328, 348, 374, 375, 494, 759, 772, 815.
Maharajah of Kashmir; 483.
Maharajah Panna; 433.
Maharajah Sreemunt, Nana Saheb; 624.
Maharajganj; 27, 104, 109, 141, 157, 178, 204, 206, 207, 324, 788.
Maharajgunge; See Maharajganj.
Maharajpur; 593, 609, 685, 687, 688, 786.
Mahdee Husun; 612.
Mahdi-ul-zama; 107.
Maheep Singh; 863.
Mahendra Pal; 106.
Mehindee Hoosein Khan; See Mendhi Hasan.
Mahoba; 577, 852, 854.
Mahomed Abbas; 579.
Mahomed Bada Khan; 838.
Mahomed Bux; 153.
Mahomed Havee; 596.
Mahomed Hossein Bux; 379.
Mahomed Hussun (Muhammad Hasan); 138, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 164, 171, 187, 189, 190, 197, 293, 294, 296, 302, 305, 310, 311, 315, 317, 319, 322, 325, 326, 328, 330, 336, 337, 338, 339, 341, 343, 344, 345, 349, 351, 352, 353, 355, 359, 362, 363, 365, 366, 368, 370, 371, 372, 373, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 391, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 648, 770, 771.
Mahomed Irr Badhure (?); 568.
Mahomed Ishak; 781.

Mahomed Newaz; 379, 382.
Mahomed Nuzur Khan; 594.
Mahomed Sirdar Khan; See Sardar Khan.
Mahomed Summee; See Muhamad Sami.
Mahooa Daber; 151.
Mahonjha; 107.
Mahowl; 196, 206, 247.
Mahtab Rai; 244, 245.
Mahul; 33, 101, 102, 177.
Mahuli; 153.
Mahumdabad; 95, 270.
Mahummud Hussun; See Mahomed Hussun.
Mahuthwa; 458, 461.
Maihar; 32.
Maiku; 566.
Mainpuri; 499.
Majhauli; 296, 302, 491.
Majhgawan; 570, 592.
Majhowlee; See Majhauli.
Majhwar; 274.
Makhdum; 238.
Makhdum Bakhsh; 35, 239, 473.
Makkam Chowrah; 654.
Makkhan Lall; 65, 67, 82.
Malak Harhar; 552.
Malcolm, John; 670.
Malik Hidayat Husain; 247.
Malik Mehndi Bakhsh; 35.
Malk, Mr.; 108.
Mamnoon, Shaikh; 109.
Man Sing; See Raja Man Singh.
Manahar; 468.
Manaore; 557.
Manchester; 409.
Mandah; 56, 67, 250, 251, 256, 417.
Mandree; 195.
Mandund; 54.
Mangalpur; 519, 783.
Mangles; 540.
Maniar; 215, 445, 446, 458, 467.
Manik Chund; 656, 657, 661.
Manikpur; 284, 570, 571, 802, 831, 846, 847, 854.
Manjhanpur; 795, 796.
Mankapur; 373.
Mankari; 373.
Manharganj; 557.
Mansab Ali; 218.
Manseta; 655.
Mansfield; 170, 385.
Mansurabad; 657.
Mansurganj; 155, 190, 205.
Maoo; See Mau.
Mara, Lieutenant; 13, 421.
Mariahu; 228, 234, 235, 236.
Mark Kerr, Lord; 139, 361.
Marka; 569, 845, 848.
Markoondi Talao; 254.
Marshman, J. C.; 688, 691, 718, 721, 733.
Masnad Ali; 551.
Maswanpur; 597.
Mata Din; 565.
Matabaksh; 83.
Matabheek; 64.
Matabuksh Singh; 64.
Matera; 826.
Mathieson; 662, 783.
Mathura Prasad; 596, 678.
Matthews, Mr.; 116, 123, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 715.
Mattoopur Khas; 105.
Mau; 103, 418, 550, 632, 657, 746, 747, 806, 819, 843, 846, 847, 853, 854, 855.
Mauda; See Manda.
Maude,; 692, 716, 719, 720, 727, 728, 729, 731, 732.
Mauhar; See Mowhar.
Maulvi Liaqat Ali; See Liaqat Ali, Maulvi.
Maulvi Shaikh Khairuddin; See Khairuddin, Shaikh, Maulvi.
Maun Singh, Rajah; See Raja Man Singh.
Mauris, Lieutenant; 485.
Maxwell, Colonel; 711, 754, 755, 757, 758, 759, 760, 825, 835.
Mayne; 33, 413, 430, 596, 579, 580, 581, 653, 661, 662, 769, 783, 785, 786, 787, 788, 790, 837, 842, 843, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 851, 852, 853, 854, 859, 863,
Mc.Mullin; 273, 274, 275, 276, 278, 279, 308, 362, 368, 369.
Medhee; See Menhdi Hasan.
Medhee Hussun; See Menhdi Hasan

Meer Dost Ali; 383.
Meer Fushn Ali; 568.
Meer Mahomed Hossain Khan; 398.
Meer Punah Ali; See Mir Panah Ali.
Meeran Buksh, Choudhree; 648.
Meerchadpore; 239, 240.
Meershadpore; See Meerchadpore.
Meerut; 3, 4, 8, 37, 47, 95, 144, 149, 403, 487, 499, 521, 524, 528, 539.
Megh Baran Singh; 284, 285.
Megh Rai; See Meghar Rai.
Megha; 452.
Meghai; See Nughai.
Meghar Rai; 180, 277, 280, 281, 282, 283, 483.
Meghar Singh; 283, 284, 491, 492, 493.
Meghur Singh; See Meghar Singh.
Megna (Steamer); 140, 442, 459, 460, 462.
Meh; See Mah.
Meharban; 566.
Mehdi Hasan; See Menhdi Hasan.
Mehendee Hoosein; See Menhdi Hasan.
Mehndee Buksh Mullik; See Menhdi Bakhsh, Malik.
Mehndee Hossein; See Menhdi Hasan.
Mehndie Hussein; See Menhdi Hasan.
Mehndoo Khan; 397.
Mehson; 305.
Meja; 256.
Mejhowlee; 297, 299, 300.
Mejowlee; See Mejhowlee.
Memoirs of Major General Sir Henry Havelock; 688, 691, 718, 721, 733.
Mendha; 46.
Mendhi; 237, 238, 482.
Mendhoo Khan; 359.
Mendi; See Mendhi.
Mendwan; 550.
Menhdi; 45, 46.
Menhdi Bakhsh, Malik; 35.
Menhdi Hasan; 138, 143, 173, 174, 186, 187, 202, 205, 218, 219, 221, 223, 224, 228, 231, 237, 238, 271, 272, 326, 327, 329, 333, 337, 340, 352, 361, 372, 373, 374, 377, 382, 489, 654, 663.
Menhdi Khan; 397.
Metge, Lieutenant; 843, 849.
Mewatis; 561, 642.
Mhanj; 285, 286.
Mhow; 698, 748, 786, 804, 845, 846, 848, 861.
Michell, Brigadier; 440.
Middleton, Major; 812, 818, 819, 820, 827, 828, 830.
Military Consultations, 25th June, 1858 No. 437; 481, 488.
Miller, Brigadier; 463, 836.
Milman, Colonel; 139, 192, 194, 195, 437.
Mina Bai; 533.
Minhajpur; 549, 550, 556, 635.
Mir Modan; 281.
Mir Muzaffar; 383.
Mir Panah Ali; 601.
Miran Buksh; 800.
Mirza Ali Husain; 151.
Mirza Futteh Ali Beg; 384.
Mirza Imdad Ali Beg; 579, 619.
Mirza Imdad Allee Baig; See Mirza Imdad Ali Beg.
Mirza Oomrao Jan; See Mirza Umrao Jan.
Mirza Ullee Hoosein; See Mirza Ali Husain.
Mirza Umrao Jan; 372.
Mirza Villayut Hoossein; See Vilayat Husain, Mirza.
Mirzapur; 8, 24, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 44, 46, 47, 49, 52, 54, 55, 64, 65, 67, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 115, 138, 143, 170, 175, 178, 181, 235, 236, 248, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 279, 280, 378, 407, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 416, 419, 420, 421, 423, 430, 433, 566, 570, 642, 651, 655, 656, 657, 794, 803, 834.
Mirzapur Collectorate Mutiny Records; 58, 62, 66, 68, 72, 82, 260, 261.
Mirzapur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny

Records; 44, 74, 75, 77, 78, 251, 252, 253, 262, 408, 411.
Mirzapur District Gazetteer; 24, 31, 32, 36, 41, 42, 47, 49, 54, 55, 65, 68, 69, 70, 72, 75, 414, 419.
Mithridates; 672.
Mizarainedid; 568.
Moahgunge; 639.
Modha; 579.
Mohammad Nasir Khan; 619, 621.
Mohammad Wazir Khan; 623.
Mohan; 482.
Mohan Rai; 284.
Mohan Singh; 90, 661,
Mohanlalganj; 798.
Mohaoi; See Menhdi.
Mohena; 411.
Mohomed Zahoor; 214.
Mohummud Hossein; See Mahomed Hussun.
Mohummud Takee; See Muhammad Taqi.
Mohun Sing; See Mohan Singh.
Mohuniah; 471.
Mohunt Joogul Doss; See Mahant Jugal Das.
Mohur; 828.
Monas; See Monus.
Monckton, H; 240.
Money, Mr.; 493, 865.
Monghyr; 405.
Mongir; 232.
Montagu; 59, 76.
Montgomery, Martin; 718, 722, 725.
Monus; 73, 79, 80, 82, 83, 410.
Moobaruckpore; See Mubarakpur.
Mooltan; 193.
Mooltye; 809.
Moonshi Rehmtoolah; See Rahmat Ullah, Munshi.
Moore, W. R.; 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 73, 74, 75, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 249, 250, 252, 253, 413, 418.
Moora; 748.
Moore, C. S.; 24, 30, 61, 232, 235, 519, 794.
Moorsom, Lieutenant; 733.
Moortzabuksh; 213.
Moorutgunge; See Muratganj.
Mooshurruf Khan; See Musharraf; Khan.
Mootiharee (Moteeharee); See Motihari.
Moozuffur Jehan; See Muzaffar Jahan.
Moradabad; 501, 858.
Morar; 555, 819, 830.
Moree Tola; 765.
Moreland, Lieutenant; 733.
Mortar, Brigade; 651.
Mosam Shah; 565.
Mossanugger; See Musanagar.
Mosuffer Jehan; See Muzaffar Jahan.
Mothoorapersaud; See Mathura Prasad.
Moti Lal (Motee Lall); 668.
Moti Ram (Motie Ram); 725.
Motihari; 156, 384.
Moulvee Syud Ahmed Alee; See Ahmed Ali, Maulvi, Saiyid.
Moulvie Salamut Oollah; See Salamut Oollah Moulvie.
Moulvie Ubdul Ruhman; See Abdul Rahman Moulvie.
Moutiwa; 655.
Mow; See Mau.
Mowdah; 838, 840, 842, 862.
Mowgunge; 419.
Mowhur; 818, 819, 829.
Mozuffer Jehan; See Muzaffar Jahan.
Mubarakpore; 102, 124, 219, 220, 243, 473.
Muc'ilee Shahar; See Machhlishahar
Muckdoom Buksh; 35.
Muddinpoor; 837, 840.
Muddud Ali; See Madad Ali.
Muddun Maun Singh; See Madan Man Singh.
Muddunpoor; See Madanpur.
Muddut Ulli; See Madad Ali.
Mufti-ka-pura; See Pura Mufti.
Mughal Road; 829.
Mughal Sarai 188.
Mughur; See Maghar.
Muhammad Hasan; See Mahomed Hussun.
Muhammad Hasan, Saiyid; 217, 384, 393.
Muhammad Mubarak Khan, Raja; 106.

Muhammad Sami; 378, 379.
Muhammad Taqi; 646.
Muhammadabad; 102, 103, 104, 270, 282, 483, 485.
Muharajpoor; See Maharajpur.
Muhiuddin Pur Ghaus; 550.
Muhmoodpoor; 736.
Muhooa Dabar; 146.
Muir, William; 17, 115, 148, 241, 324, 363, 367, 762, 826.
Mujl owlee; 158, 160.
Mukhan Lal; 418.
Mukhdoom Buksh; See Makhdum Bukhsh.
Mukoom; 237.
Mukund Rao; 845.
Mulick Heedaet Hussain; See Malik Hidayat Husain.
Mumer; 467.
Mummoo Khan; 374, 376, 772.
Munai, Chamar; 83.
Munda; 421.
Mundalah; 424.
Mundary; 109.
Mundauri; See Mundary.
Mundeea; 612.
Mundeo; 596.
Mundipore; 269.
Muneerahur; See Maniar.
Muneer Khass; 419.
Mungapoor; 753.
Mungra; 143.
Mungulpoor; See Mangalpur.
Munjhunpoor, See Manjhanpur.
Munkwara; 846.
Munniar; See Maniar.
Munnoolal; 56.
Munsa Pandey; 70.
Munsab Ali; 756.
Munsoorgungee; See Mansurganj.
Munsub Allee; See Munsab Ali.
Munua; 565.
Munuhur; 454.
Muratganj; 796.
Murdheer Singh; 222.
Murdun Sing; 739.
Murelsha Abbas; 568.
Murka; See Marka.
Murno-ka-Serai; 826.
Murphy, Captain; 705, 710.
Murriahoo; 143, 229, 230, 234, 235.
Murtaza Khan; 108.
Musai Singh; 84.
Musanagar; 760.
Musharraf Khan; 157, 159, 299, 372, 384.
Mushurruf Khan; See Musharraf Khan.
Musra Ghat; 333.
Musseehoz-Zuman; 599.
Mustafabad; 557.
Mutchleegaon; See Machhligaon.
Muthrapershad Kaith; See Mathura Pershad Kaith.
Mutiny Narrative, N. W. P.; 36, 117, 144, 160, 362, 525, 527, 528, 530, 531, 535, 536, 538, 564, 578, 587, 590, 600, 650, 695, 726.
Mutwar; 254.
Muzaffar Jahan; 35, 101, 102, 138, 187, 189, 217, 246, 247, 248.
My Indian Mutiny Diary; 1957, 673.
Myghur Rai; See Meghar Rai.
Mygra; 454.
Myndawal; 324.
Mynde Bai; 534.
Mynpoorie; See Mainpuri.
Myrwa; 159, 297.

Nabob Ally Bahadoor; See Nawab of Banda.
Naboo Khan; 281.
Nadepur; 273.
Naghai Nughai; 201, 445, 452, 453, 466.
Nagod; See Nagode.
Nagode; 32, 52, 63, 417, 418, 419, 420, 423, 424, 428, 429, 432, 433, 566, 572, 577, 578, 580, 622, 623, 624, 626, 662, 746, 806, 855, 856, 859, 860, 861, 865.
Nagpore : See Nagpur.
Nagpore; 417, 418, 422, 425, 426, 427, 429, 470, 628, 809.
Nagra; 278, 467.
Nagwan Tikar; 304.
Nahmar Das Kayestha; 285.
Naimat Ali Khan; 231.
Naini Tal; 509, 756.
Naini Tal Road; 756.
Naipal Singh; See Nepal Singh.

Najafgarh; 524, 680.
Najai Singh; 84.
Najiara; 550.
Najmuddin, Maulvi; 106, 108.
Nakha; 474.
Nana Dhoondoo Punt; See Nana Sahib.
Nana Rao; 394, 649, 669.
Nana Saheb; 71, 72, 97, 98, 101, 288, 345, 359, 360, 374, 392, 430, 433, 435, 494, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 516, 517, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 564, 579, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 598, 599, 601, 602, 603, 607, 608, 609, 610, 615, 616, 617, 620, 624, 629, 644, 651, 668, 669, 670, 671, 673, 674, 675, 677, 678, 679, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 690, 691, 693, 694, 700, 704, 705, 715, 722, 723, 728, 746, 748, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 775, 776, 777, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 808, 809, 819, 826, 832, 833, 834, 835, 843, 853.
Nana Ubbhunkeer (Abhyankar); 534.
Nanamau; 763, 764.
Nanamhow; See Nanamau.
Nandaur Tal; 161.
Nanemau : See Nanamau.
Nanha; See Nana Saheb.
Nanpara; 316, 395.
Naoli; 282, 284, 483.
Naon; 419.
Napier, Sir Charles; 539.
Nar Singh Rai; 284.
Narain Das; 237.
Narain Dayal; 55, 300.
Narain Rao; 483, 484, 570, 572, 581, 582, 631, 632, 693, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 795, 812, 815, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 839, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 857.
Naraini; 823.
Narayan Rao; See Narain Rao.
Narayanpur; 67.
Narbuddah; 409, 428 429, 432, 589.
Nareicho; 740.
Narghat; 48.
Narharpur, Raja; 287, 333.
Narmada; See Narbuddah.
Narwal; 524, 592, 595, 609, 685.
Narwan; 20, 285, 286.
Nasirganj; 489, 491.
Nasratpur; See Nusrutpore.
Nasreegunj; See Nasirganj.
Nasseergunge; See Nasirganj.
Nath Baba; 484.
Nathupur; 143, 453, 466.
Nation, Captain; 439.
National Archives, New Delhi; 165, 182, 184, 185, 188, 189, 192, 193, 216, 226, 239, 240, 241, 242, 253, 267, 278, 280, 303, 330, 355, 366, 370, 377, 386, 387, 391, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 414, 421, 429, 430, 434, 437, 438, 448, 460, 461, 463, 481, 510, 511, 519, 569, 590, 607, 608, 653, 667, 671, 681, 702, 708, 722, 748, 771, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 840.
National Library, Calcutta; 44, 45, 85, 119, 176, 197, 295, 296, 302, 360, 405, 435, 436, 475, 476, 484, 489, 532, 548, 664, 674, 684, 701, 749, 766, 767, 768, 770, 772, 782, 799, 832, 858.
Native Cavalry; 697.
Native Infantry; 298, 572.
Native Infantry, Ist Regiment; 572, 574, 575, 576, 578, 669.
Native Infantry, 6th Regiment; 587, 741.
Native Infantry, 7th; 63, 70.
Native Infantry, 10th; 587.
Native Infantry, 11th; 85.
Native Infantry, 17th; 4, 5, 9, 21, 22, 84, 85, 86, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 111, 113, 114, 115, 124, 149, 150, 151, 153, 164, 296, 371, 420, 587, 683.
Native Infantry, 17th, Company 8th; 97.
Native Infantry, 19th; 21, 113, 114.
Native Infantry, 22nd; 99.

Native Infantry, 32nd; 90, 754, 790.
Native Infantry, 34th; 21, 37, 41, 43, 113.
Native Infantry, 37th Regiment; 6, 9, 10, 11, 17, 18, 37, 38, 39, 51, 56, 90.
Native Infantry, 40th; 426, 430, 434, 435, 651, 754.
Native Infantry, 42nd; 328, 703.
Native Infantry, 47th; 30, 54, 63, 64, 73, 76, 77, 252.
Native Infantry, 50th; 52, 61, 90, 433, 662, 786.
Native Infantry, 53rd; 520, 574, 576.
Native Infantry, 56th; 572, 587.
Native Infantry, 65th; 115, 116.
Native Infantry, 66th; 231.
Native Infantry, 67th; 17.
Native Infantry, 73th; 313, 314.
Native Infantry, 74th; 360.
Native Infantry, Bengal, 6th Regiment; 555, 643.
Native Infantry, Bengal, 28th Regiment; 455
Native Infantry, Bengal 42nd Regiment; 696.
Native Infantry, Bombay, 16th Regiment; 366.
Native Infantry Calcutta, 22nd Regiment; 398.
Naubat Singh; 284.
Naubatpur; 20, 31.
Naugarh; 71.
Nauli; 275.
Naval Brigade; 190, 297, 299, 300, 301, 425, 464, 660, 663, 664.
Nawab Agha Meer; 505, 508, 525.
Nawab Ali Bahadur; See Nawab of Banda.
Nawab Alli Bahadoor; See Nawab of Banda.
Nawab Ally Bahadoor; See Nawab of Banda.
Nawab Baqar Ali Khan; 526, 527.
Nawab of Banda; 566, 567, 568, 573, 579, 615, 616, 618, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 525, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 733, 734, 745, 771, 774, 775, 779, 808, 811, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 840, 866.
Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Second; 155.
Nawab Wazirs of Oudh; 173.
Nawab Zoolficar Ally Sahib Bahadur; See Nawab Zulfiqar Ali.
Nawab Zulfiqar Ali; 629.
Nawabganj; 110, 308, 310, 312, 313, 361, 500, 513, 525, 552, 597, 612, 654, 655, 656, 659, 658, 695, 705, 706, 711, 764, 791, 796, 799.
Nawabgunge; See Nawabganj.
Nawabgunj; See Nawabganj.
Nazar Husain; See Nuzzar Husein.
Neemuch; 321, 698.
Nehpal Singh; See Nepal Singh.
Neill; 9, 11, 13, 18, 39, 41, 546, 635, 639, 642, 667, 671, 674, 695, 697, 701, 722, 729.
Nena; See Nana Saheb.
Nepal; 4, 7, 148, 152, 286, 287, 288, 289, 295, 311, 313, 316, 332, 351, 356, 363, 365, 370, 375, 376, 381, 493, 494, 769, 770, 781.
Nepal Singh; 135, 240.
Nepal Tarai; 343, 347, 350, 354.
Nepal Terai; See Nepal Tarai.
Nepalese; 374, 376, 380, 781.
Nepalese Terai; See Nepal Tarai.
Nepaul; See Nepal.
Nepaul Terai; See Nepal Tarai.
Neraj Sing; See Niraj Singh.
Nerbudda; See Narbuddah.
Newadeh; 72.
Newary; See Niwari.
Newhar; 284.
Newneelall; 568.
Niamat Ashraf; 550.
Niamut Ali Khan; 80.
Neaz Muhammad; 647.
Niblett; 26.
Nichlaul; 155, 157, 304, 306, 307.
Nichloul; See Nichlaul.
Niddhoo Singh; 333.
Nierie; 566.
Nighasan; 826.
Nihim; 238.

Nimi Bagh; 550.
Nimneepar; 431.
Niraj Singh; 668.
Nishan Sing; 200, 413, 445, 483.
Nishun Khan; 122.
Niwalwan; 283.
Niwari; 418.
Nixon, Captain; 698.
Niyazpur; 280.
Nizamabad; 34, 101, 102.
Nizamood-Dowlah; 505, 508.
Nizamut Ashruf, Sheikh; 648.
Nohari Ahir; 45.
Nohim; 237.
Nokkee Loll; 618.
Nolan, Sergeant; 439.
Nondaga; 568.
North, Major; 725.
North-West Provinces; 4, 17, 48, 50, 115, 148, 150, 210, 215, 239, 324, 363, 367, 398, 436, 572, 651, 774, 779, 780, 787.
North-Western Provinces; See North-west Provinces.
North-Western Provinces, Govt. Gazette; 451, 454, 457, 458, 478.
North Western Railway; 103.
Nowdega; 590.
Nowgong; 569, 577, 580, 587, 730, 848, 851.
Nuddeeapara; 128, 133.
Nudoosa; 619.
Nugerthi; 239.
Nugger; See Nuggur.
Nuggra; 452.
Nuggur; 147, 151, 152, 155, 156, 157, 207, 273, 305, 306, 307, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 331, 332, 333, 336, 445, 452.
Nuggur Rai; 180.
Nughai; See Naghai.
Nugra; 142, 204, 273, 449, 454.
Nuguhtee; 473.
Nujjufghur; See Najafgarh.
Nujufghur; See Najafgarh.
Nukee; 613.
Nullah; 339.
Nun; 823.
Nund Kishore Kaith; 597.
Nunney Nawab; 525, 526, 527, 528, 530, 600.
Nurharpore; See Nurhurpore.
Nurhurpore; 152, 157, 195, 336, 372.
Nurput Singh; 372, 464, 555, 760, 763.
Nurraindeal; See Narain Dayal.
Nurroo Hills; 806.
Nurrowlee; 823.
Nuseerabad; 335, 337, 340, 352, 355, 356, 361, 374, 375, 376, 698, 731.
Nusrutpore; 655, 656, 657, 658, 785.
Nusseerpoor; 799.
Nutgaon; 739.
Nuthoopoor; See Nathupur.
Nuwab of Banda; See Nawab Banda.
Nuzuf Alee Sheikh (Najaf Ali); 648.
Nuzuf Khan (Najaf Khan); 648.
Nuzzur Hussein; 243, 246.
Nyakot; 376.
Nyagaon; 746, 803, 851.
Nynee Tal; See Naini Tal.
Nyneejoo; 445, 449.

O'Brien; 253.
Ochhini; 551.
Odaipur, Halen of; 470.
Ogapoor; 798.
Ojie; 334.
Olpherts, Captain; 18.
Onha; 755.
Oodani; 550.
Ooddraise Singh; See Udresh Singh.
Oodey Kurun Sett; See Udai Karan Seth.
Oodgir; 781.
Oodres Sing; See Udresh Singh.
Oodwunt Singh; See Udwant Singh.
Oomrao Begum; See Umrao Begum.

Oońao; See Unao.
Oonaw; See Unao.
Oonoo; See Unnao.
Ooprowputtee; 656.
Oorai; See Orai.
Ooreah; 200, 761.
Ooriya; 754.
Oosia; 281.
Oosman Khan; See Usman Khan.
Oosmanpore; 759.
Ootrowla; See Utraula.
Ootrowlee; See Utraula.
Opera, Mr.; 111.
Orai; 86, 110, 477.
Oran; 417.
Ordros; 283.
Oreyah; 759.
Oreyeh; 825.
Original Consultations; 671.
Original Military Consultations; 185, 267, 355, 702, 748.
Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade; 194, 199, 200, 268, 269, 274, 279, 482, 484, 486, 487, 488, 489.
Orr, Major; 428.
Osborne, Lieutenant; 146, 264, 422, 423, 424, 429, 432, 578, 847, 848, 849, 852, 855, 856.
Othran; 659.
Otrowla; See Utraula.
Oude; See Avadh.
Oudh; See Avadh.
Oudh Irregular; See Avadh Irregular.
Ougasee; See Augasi.
Oula; 536.
Oulad Ahmed; See Aulad Ahmed.
Outhes, Sergeant; 63.
Outram, James; 185, 209, 651, 660, 700, 702, 754.
Owen; 313.

Pachokar; 142.
Pachotar; 438.
Padrauna; 153, 154, 352, 383, 445.
Pahari; 417.
Pahlad Singh; 53.
Pahlwan Singh, Colonel; 413.
Pailani; 570, 573, 842, 845.
Paina; 144, 150, 152, 342.
Paisuni (Pysoonee); 844.
Palamau; 54, 472, 492, 494.
Palamoo; See Palamau.
Palee; See Pali.
Pali; 30, 63, 79, 80, 81, 82, 249.
Palipur; 83.
Palisser; 4, 13, 21, 24, 30, 675, 728, 732.
Pallee; See Pali.
Pallisar; See Palisser.
Palliser; See Palisser.
Palmer; 529, 560.
Palpa; 148, 152.
Palwar-ka-Poora (Pulwar-ka-poora); 80.
Palwars (Pulwars); 29, 33, 81, 102, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 139, 174, 182, 187, 190, 191, 195, 197, 320, 343, 410.
Pamra; See Panera.
Pandeepoor; See Pandepur.
Pandepar; 152, 157, 161, 362.
Pandepur; 362, 366, 378.
Pandeypore; See Pandepur.
Pandoi; 813.
Pandoo Nuddee; See Pandu Nadi.
Pandoo Rung Row; See Pandu Rang Rao.
Pandra; 658, 863.
Pandu Nadi; 684, 715, 718, 719, 721, 730.
Pandu Rang Rao; 533.
Panera; 324.
Panghati Pass; 805, 859.
Panjab Singh; See Punjab Sing.
Panna; 433, 896, 832, 846.
Pannugunge (Pannuganj); 71, 414.
Papa Mhow; See Phaphamau.
Papa Mhow; See Phaphamau.
Pappanah Paul Khan; 567.
Parao; 738.
Paras; 82.
Pargan Singh; 202.

Parkhauri; 155.
Parliamentary Papers relating to East India Mutiny 1859; 42, 43, 115.
Parroopur; 64.
Parsenda; 814, 815.
Parsons, Major; 645.
Partabgarh; See Pratapgarh.
Partabgarh District Gazetteer; 831.
Partap Singh; 162.
Partawal; 155.
Paryag; 482.
Paske, Assistant Surgeon; 225.
Paske, Brigadier; 809.
Passamow; See Phaphamau.
Passanah, G. 434.
Paterson, W. S.; 144, 149, 160, 164, 294, 372.
Pathar Kuchar; 850.
Patna; 36, 188, 274, 293, 294, 342, 404, 405, 430, 436, 438, 439, 452, 463, 464, 465, 467, 468, 469, 475, 478, 483, 488, 490, 491, 493, 494, 520, 570, 657, 770.
Patna (Steamer); 442, 462, 476.
Patna Moulvie; See Ali Karim (Ally Qurreem).
Patra Tappa; 159.
Pattarchar; 182.
Patti; 173.
Patuk-ke-Surai; 101.
Pauleypore; 379.
Pawan; 550.
Payne; 179.
Pearee Mohun Banerjee; See Piarey Mohan Banerji.
Pearse; 456.
Peel; 662, 738, 739, 740.
Peelkuchla Ghat; 226.
Peepra; 159, 419.
Peharee Khera; 855.
Pell Kuchla Ghat; 262.
Pennywell; 105, 108, 110.
Peppe; 147, 151, 313, 346, 347, 397.
Peppee, Mr.; See Peppe.
Pepra; 383.
Pergus Singh; 240.
Pernaum Singh; See Purman Singh.
Peroo; See Piru.
Peroomull; 55.
Pertabgarh; See Pratapgarh.
Pertaimpore; 659.
Pertap Singh; See Pratap Singh.
Pertaub Gurh; See Pratapgarh.
Phalad Singh; 419.
Phaphamau; 552, 640, 646, 657, 660, 661, 662, 664, 782, 783, 796.
Phaphamow; See Phaphamau.
Phaphund; 520.
Phenkoo Singh; 120.
Phoollaree; 419.
Phoolpoor; See Phulpur.
Phoolpore; See Phulpur.
Phoolpur; See Phulpur.
Phullee Sing; See Phulli Singh.
Phullee Singh; See Phulli Singh.
Phulli Singh; 211, 216, 217, 219, 234, 239.
Phullie Sing; See Phulli Singh.
Phulpur; 45, 191, 413, 655, 657, 658, 659, 661, 783, 786, 790.
Phumunar; 122.
Phupoond; 594.
Pili; 173.
Pilkichha; 303.
Pinah; 307.
Pinckney; See Pinkney.
Pindarah; 326.
Pindaree; 470.
Pinkney; 775, 779.
Pipraghat; 396.
Pipraich; 155, 159, 336, 364.
Pirtheepal Sing; See Prithvi Pal Singh.
Pirthi Pal Singh Sharma; See Prithvi Pal Singh.
Pirtipal Sing; See Prithvi Pal Singh.
Piru; 475, 476, 477, 478, 492.
Pitambar Das; 286.
Plowden, Captain; 308, 329, 330,
Pollock; 20, 66, 72, 643, 718, 719, 723.
Po..sonby, Brigadier; 10, 11, 18, 39.
Poon Poon; 406.
Poona; 470, 585, 602, 615.
Poonah; See Poona.
Poopoondee; 749.

Poóra Muftee; See Pura Mufti.
Poorba; 744, 745.
Poorkaree; 619.
Poorlia; 745.
Poornah; 257, 258.
Poorva; 326.
Poorwa; 255, 330, 331.
Poourbetwa; 367.
Pott, Colonel; 29, 54, 60, 63, 73, 249, 252, 642.
Powell, Colonel; 737, 738, 739, 748.
Power, Mr.; 193, 826, 859.
Prag Rai; 284.
Prakash (Pargas) Singh; 109.
Prasidh Narain; 703.
Praspoor; 72.
Pratabgarh; See Pratapgarh.
Pratap Singh; 629.
Pratapgarh; 173, 209, 213, 499, 552, 593, 595, 597, 663, 671, 788, 792, 801, 803, 804.
Prayag; 287.
Preethecpal Sing; See Prithvi Pal Singh.
Prithvi Pal Singh; 108, 187, 212, 383, 654, 655.
Probyn, Mr.; 142, 179, 180, 270, 275, 276, 723, 738, 810, 822, 824.
Puchdeorah; 657.
Puchugee; 843.
Puhlwan Singh, Colonel; 222, 224, 225.
Pukhrayan; 593.
Pulkubba; 303.
Pullan; 234, 342, 346, 347, 358, 362.
Pulpur; See Phulpur.
Pulwar; See Palwar.
Pundee; 619.
Pundura; See Pandra.
Punghattee Pass; See Panghati Pass.
Pungradeh; 618.
Punguttea Pass; See Panghati Pass.
Punjab; 483, 699.
Punjab Cavalry; Ist; 370.
Punjab Infantry, 7th; 207, 370.
Punjab Sappers; 448, 453, 456.
Punjab Sing; 279, 797, 803, 804, 807, 846, 847, 851, 853, 855, 865.
Punna; See Panna.
Punna, Raja of; See Raja of Punna.
Punnah; See Panna.
Punth Sree Gurg Muhipal Singh; 631.
Punth Sree Rajdhur; 628.
Punwaree; 803.
Pur Bhadra; 232.
Pura Mufti; 557.
Purgan Singh; See Purgun Singh.
Purgun Singh; 141, 142, 177, 203, 204, 205, 445.
Purman Singh; 123, 125, 130, 134, 135.
Purnah; See Poornah.
Purneah; 442, 443.
Purroopoor; 64, 80.
Pursendah; See Parsenda.
Pursideypore; 794.
Pursidhnuraen; See Prasidh Narain.
Pursunee; 126.
Purtabghur; See Pratapgarh.
Purtunpore; 656.
Pusswan Singh; 560.
Pussewah; 23.
Putna; See Patna.
Puttun; 846.
Pylanee; See Pailani.
Pyna; See Paina.
Pynah; See Paina.

Qariat Mendha; 34, 173.
Qaryat-i-Mattoo; 105.
Qasim Ali Khan; 550.
Qazi Sarai; 45.
Qazipur; 467.
Queen Victoria; 604.
Quingly; 839.
Quinton; 485.

Raat; 803.
Rabath; 282.
Rachpal Sing; 239.
Rada Govind; See Radha Govind.
Radha Govind; 746, 805, 806, 839, 842, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 856, 859.
Radhagobind; See Radha Govind.
Radhey Rai; 284.
Rae Bareli; See Rai Bareli.

Raeepore; See Raipur.
Raghubar Singh; 80.
Raghunath Singh; 601, 713, 830.
Rah; 482.
Raheem Bux; 596.
Raheem Khan; 521, 600.
Rahimdad Khan; 809.
Rahmat Ullah, Hafiz; See Hafiz Rahmat Ullah.
Rahmat Ullah, Munshi; 579.
Rahonee Bai; 533.
Rai Bareli; 675, 784, 798, 803, 806, 821.
Rai Hingun Loll; See Hingun Loll, Rai.
Rai Pirtipal Sing; See Prithvi Pal Singh.
Rai Prithi Pal Singh; See Prithvi Pal Singh.
Raipur; 150, 428.
Raj Ghaut; 379, 426.
Raj Kumars; 174, 191, 227, 247.
Raja Abbas Ali; 329, 335, 379, 382.
Raja Abbas Ally; See Raja Abbas Ali.
Raja Bakht Bali; 627, 628.
Raja Bala Rao; 287, 289, 357, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 366, 367, 368, 370, 373, 376, 377, 392, 393, 394, 396, 521, 529, 583, 589, 669, 765, 769, 770, 771, 775, 777, 778, 780, 782, 834.
Raja Beni Madho Singh; 187, 226, 242, 244, 245, 286, 287, 289, 438, 801, 802, 820, 829, 831.
Raja Bhau (Bhow); 753.
Raja Bijee Bahadoor; See Raja Bijee Bahadoor Sing.
Raja Bijee Bahadoor Sing; 655, 656, 657, 658, 659.
Raja Bulrampore; See Raja of Balrampur.
Raja Deo Narain; 237.
Raja Dirjeya Sing; 830.
Raja Gooman Singh; 616, 852.
Raja Har Das Rai; 287.
Raja Hatwa; 442.
Raja Hindooput; 626.
Raja Hussun Ully Khan; 243.
Raja Iradut Jehan; 219, 246, 247.
Raja Jaggat Raj; 629.
Raja Jai Lal; 217, 381, 382.
Raja Jang Bahadur; See Maharaja Jang Bahadur.
Raja Jylall Sing; See Raja Jai Lal.
Raja Kishan Kishore Chand; 380.
Raja Lakshman Singh; 35, 36, 284.
Raja Mahesh Narain, Rai; 212, 214, 215, 234, 240.
Raja Man Singh; 46, 139, 147, 182, 219, 306, 307, 309, 312, 323, 330, 337, 340, 342, 344, 345, 346, 348, 351, 381, 436.
Raja Maun Sing; See Raja Man Singh
Raja Mohesh Narain; See Raja Mohesh Narain.
Raja Muhesh Narain; See Raja Mahesh Narain.
Raja Nana Rao; 287, 289.
Raja Narharpur; 287.
Raja Nichloul; 336, 344, 346, 347.
Raja of Akuouna; 345.
Raja of Amethi; 803.
Raja of Amorha; 350.
Raja of Balrampur; 346, 347, 348. 350, 359, 360, 361, 397.
Raja of Bansee; 322, 328, 333, 339, 340, 343, 352, 356, 382.
Raja of Bithoor; 517, 518, 520.
Raja of Barriahpore; 372.
Raja of Charda (Churda); 345, 346, 368, 370.
Raja of Charkhari; 623, 650.
Raja of Chhatarpur; 629.
Raja of Churkaree; See Raja of Charkhari.
Raja of Dumraon; 479.
Raja of Etawah; 754.
Raja of Gonda; 286, 287, 322, 323, 330, 332, 337, 345, 346, 350, 359, 361, 366, 370, 373, 376, 436, 771.
Raja of Kolheya; 655.
Raja of Gopalpur; 382.
Raja of Kothi Sohawal; 630, 631.
Raja of Kupoorthala; 762.
Raja of Lahore; 389.
Raja of Mainpuri (Mynpoorie); 488, 771.

Raja of Manda; 418, 650.
Raja of Nancejor; 449.
Raja of Nugger; See Raja of Nuggur.
Raja of Nuggur; 325, 326, 331, 336, 379, 380, 382.
Raja of Nurhurpore; 145, 162, 205, 305, 336, 436, 449.
Raja of Onaethie; See Raja of Amethi.
Raja of Punna; 625, 626.
Raja of Rewa; 421, 422, 424, 426, 625, 630, 846.
Raja of Seesee, 384.
Raja of Shahgarh; 624, 628.
Raja of Sheorajpore; 703.
Raja of Sumpthur; 703.
Raja of Sutaoree; 358.
Raja of Suttasee; 384.
Raja of Tirohan; 620, 812.
Raja of Tirowun; See Raja of Tirohan.
Raja Ooditnarain Sing; See Raja Udit Narain Singh.
Raja Pritheepal Sing; See Prithvi Pal Singh.
Raja Rughoober Sing; 381.
Raja Salamat Shah; 110, 111.
Raja Shiv Ghulam Dubey; 23.
Raja Udit Narain Singh; 379.
Rajagaon; 455.
Rajapoor; See Rajpur.
Rajapore; See Rajpur.
Rajapur; See Rajpur.
Rajcoomars; See Raj Kumars.
Rajeewan; 369.
Rajghar; 28, 67, 68.
Rajghat; 25, 170.
Rajghaut; See Rajghat.
Rajiwan Singh; 365.
Rajpore; See Rajpur.
Rajpoor; See Rajpur.
Rajpur; 117, 288, 354, 550, 570, 746, 853.
Ralhupur; 19.
Raluk Roy; 118.
Ram Bahadur Singh; 493
Ram Bakhsh, Babu; 565, 603, 675, 677, 678, 679, 680, 711, 713, 820.
Ram Bakhsh Singh; 83.
Ram Buksh; See Ram Bakhsh, Babu.
Ram Chandra Pant; 585.
Ramchunder Punth; See Ram Chandra Pant.
Ram Din (Ram Deen); 82, 95, 523, 527, 599.
Ram Dut; 395.
Ram Jeawan Rai Bhoomhar; 284.
Ram Loll; See Ramlal.
Ram Niwas Singh; 107.
Ram Pahal Singh; 284.
Ram Pershad; See Ram Prasad.
Ram Phal; 104, 285.
Ram Prasad; 244, 372.
Ram Pratab Rai; 284.
Ram Saran; 284.
Ram Saran Singh; 284.
Ram Singh; 525, 590, 765.
Ram Tahal; 89.
Rama Nand; 591.
Rambuksh; See Ram Bakhsh, Babu.
Rambuksh, Baboo; See Ram Bakhsh, Babu.
Ramdul Goorkha Regiment; 279, 298.
Rameshwar Sing; 125, 134.
Ramesur Singh; See Rameshwar Sing.
Ramganga; 826.
Ramgarh; See Ramghur.
Ramghur; 170, 255, 256, 260, 414, 423, 424, 472, 473, 491.
Ramjeet Sing; See Ramjeet Singh.
Ramjeet Singh; 123, 125, 134.
Ramlal; 54, 500, 523, 590, 591, 594, 595, 596, 598.
Ramlall; See Ramlal.
Ramnagar; 19, 361, 425.
Ramnagar Sikri; 55, 57, 58, 61, 63.
Ramnaggur Sikree; See Ramnagar Sikri.
Ramnuggur; See Ramnagar.
Rampoor Ghat; 55.
Rampore; See Rampur.
Rampur; 445, 509, 736, 757.
Ramsahai; 746.
Ramsay, Major; 148.
Ramtahal Goala; 491.
Ramzan Qalandar; 565.
Rana Sarju Prasad; See Sarju Prasad, Rana.

Rana Soorjoo Prasad; See Sarju Prasad, Rana.
Randhir Singh; 210, 211, 212, 216, 219, 263, 654, 655, 657.
Raneegunge; 471.
Rance of Adjigurh (Ajaigarh); See Rani of Adjigurh.
Raneepore; 742.
Rani Digambar Kunwar; 381.
Rani of Adjigurh (Ajaigarh); 834, 841.
Rani of Toolseepoor; 364.
Ranipur; 742.
Ranmast Singh; See Runmust Singh.
Rannoo Tantia; 781.
Rao, Calpee; 703.
Rao Punt Prudhan; 590.
Rao Saheb; 532, 533, 534, 535.
Raptee; See Rapti.
Rapti; 144, 155, 156, 159, 161, 172, 305, 316, 328, 339, 363, 364, 366, 367, 368, 370, 378, 396.
Rari; 127, 216, 823.
Rari-Badlapur; 34, 173.
Rasra; 207, 272, 273, 279, 352, 484, 487, 489.
Rasrah; See Rasra.
Rasul Bakhsh; 550.
Rasulabad; 519, 593, 755, 758, 760. 761, 764.
Rasulpur; 364, 549, 550, 556, 642, 648.
Rasulpur Noabad; 551.
Ratan Singh; 261.
Ratanpur; 376.
Rattray, Captain; 274, 297, 404, 439, 440, 472, 473, 480, 481, 488.
Rauzagaon; 361.
Ravi(Ravee); 483.
Rawatpur; 596, 597.
Rawutpore; See Rawatpur.
Reade, E. A.; 193, 194, 198, 199, 200, 274, 278, 337, 338, 349, 351, 352, 452, 458, 460, 463, 464, 465, 474, 476, 477, 479, 481, 483, 484, 486, 487, 488, 836, 859.
Red Pamphlet; See *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army.*
Redowlee; See Rudaoli.
Reeaz Alie; 600.
Regiment, 5th; 700.
Regiment, 17th; 144, 146.
Regiment, 20th; 228.
Regiment, 28th; 228.
Regiment, 40th; 298.
Regiment, 41st; 221.
Regiment, 48th; 228.
Regiment, 64th; 735.
Regiment, 71st; 228.
Regiment, 90th; 700, 734.
Regiment Gwalior, 5th; 316.
Regiment Infantry, 7th; 278.
Regiment of Native Infantry, 1st; 316.
Regiment of Native Infantry, 10th; 148.
Regiment of Native Infantry, 53rd; 316.
Regiment of Native Infantry, 56th; 316
Regiment of Native Infantry, 65th; 172.
Rehand; 54.
Rehmtoolah, Moonshi; See Rahmat Ullah, Munshi.
Remington, Lieutenant; 433, 832, 833, 836.
Renaud, Major; 667, 673, 674, 675, 716, 717, 721, 722, 723, 724, 726, 728, 730, 731, 732.
Reotee; See Reotipur.
Reotipur; 274, 276, 248, 279, 284, 285, 556.
Residency; 723.
Resteepore; 122.
Reuz Ali; See Riaz Ali.
Rewa (Rewah); 49, 54, 56, 65, 170, 178, 249, 254, 256, 257, 259, 260, 265, 279, 409, 410, 413, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 429, 430, 432, 433, 566, 578, 651, 652, 746, 747, 783, 797, 802, 804, 805, 808, 846, 847, 848, 849, 852, 856, 859, 861, 865.
Rewa, Raja of; See Raja of Rewa.
Rewah State Gazeetteer; 425.
Rewan; See Rewa.
Rhath; 280, 281, 282.
Rhoneeban; 119.

Rhoneeban Factory; 117.
Rhotas; 263, 471.
Rhotasgarh; See Rohtasgarh.
Rhudowlee; See Rudaoli.
Riasat Ali; 382.
Riaz Ali; 527, 600.
Richardson; 123, 125, 127, 130, 131, 132, 134, 136, 326, 327, 452, 491, 774, 775, 776, 779, 780.
Richooje; 856.
Riddell, Colonel; 456, 761.
Rihund; 416,
Rind; 757.
Rob Roy; 470.
Roberts; 258.
Robertsganj; 32, 35, 54, 58, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 407, 408, 414, 415, 416, 418, 419.
Robertsgunge; See Robertsganj.
Robertson, Lieutenant-Colonel; 478
Rodhowlee; See Rudauli.
Rohan; 482.
Rohan Rai; 284.
Rohi; 550.
Rohilcund; See Rohilkhand.
Rohilkhand; 3, 337, 756, 757.
Rohimdad Khan; See Rahimdad Khan.
Rohtas; 439, 441.
Rohtasgarh; 36, 71, 257, 413, 417, 418, 419, 426, 471.
Rohtasgur; See Rohtasgarh.
Romeen; 533.
Roodai; 417.
Roodhowlee; See Rudauli.
Roodowlee; See Rudauli.
Roodurpoor; See Rudarpur.
Rookma; 851, 852.
Rookunpoor; See Rukanpur.
Roolooar Rooroo; 760.
Roopan Singh; 284.
Rooppur; 287.
Roorkee; 514.
Roosehra; 418.
Roostum; 622.
Roostum Sah; See Roostum Sahai.
Roostum Sahai; 210, 216, 217, 349.
Roostum Sahi; See Roostum Sahai.
Rootahun; 130,
Rooya; 763.
Rose, H.; 477, 762, 763, 834, 835, 839.
Ross; 826.
Ross, H.; 191.
Ross Mangles; 404.
Rotasgurh; 412.
Rowcroft; 159, 175, 189, 190, 296, 304, 307, 313, 315, 316, 317, 320, 322, 323, 325, 326, 327, 328, 331, 332, 333, 335, 338, 340, 353, 362, 363, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 377, 398, 439, 442, 452, 774, 775, 780.
Rouree; 464.
Roy Bareilly; See Rai Bareli.
Royal Marines; 297.
Royal Welsh Fusiliers; 738.
Rudaoli; See Rudauli.
Rudai; 417.
Rudarpur; 304, 354, 381.
Rudauli; 155, 320, 324, 330, 362, 366.
Rudhowlie; See Rudauli.
Rugber Dyal; 351.
Rughbur Singh; 261.
Rugonath Sing; See Raghunath Singh.
Rugonauth Sing; See Raghunath Singh.
Ruiy; 488.
Rujowan (Rajowan); 259, 260, 266, 369.
Rukanpur; 126.
Rumbhopoor; 191.
Runder Singh; See Randhir Singh.
Rundheer Sing; See Randhir Singh.
Rundoolla; 369.
Runjeet Singh; 655.
Runjoor; 619.
Runmust Sing; 747, 803, 805, 806, 846, 847, 850, 851, 852, 855, 856, 859, 860, 861, 863, 864.
Rura; 755.
Rusoolpore; See Rasulpur.
Russolabad; See Rasulabad.
Rusrah; See Rasra.
Russell; 671, 673, 723.
Russerah; See Rasra.
Russoolabad; See Rasulabad.
Russorah; See Rasra.

Rustam Shah; 35, 226.
Rustum Sah Sing; See Rustam Shah.
Ruthunpore; See Ratanpur.
Ruttun Sing; See Ratan Singh.
Rynes; 784, 785.

Saadat Qalandar; 565.
Sabalgarh; 418.
Sabit Ali; 551.
Sachendi; 755, 825.
Sada Salimpur; 592, 596.
Saddoopur; 83.
Sadhoo; 744.
Sadhowra; 741, 744.
Sadullahanagar; 373.
Safdar Jang; 155, 552.
Safipur; 763.
Sagauli; 105, 107, 110.
Sagri; 34, 104, 109, 111, 448.
Sahasram (Sasaram); 188, 192, 265, 285, 287, 406, 411, 412, 420, 426, 439, 440, 441, 444, 464, 471, 472, 473, 474, 476, 480, 481, 483, 487, 491.
Sahib Rao; 756.
Sahsaram; See Sahasram.
Saidabad; 642, 659, 662.
Saidpur; 120, 141, 272, 273, 486, 557.
Saif Khan Mewati; 549.
Saifullah; 549.
Saintwar; 446, 455, 467, 478.
Saiyid Sarawan; See Sarawan Saiyid.
Sakaldiha; 274.
Sakrej; 755.
Saktesgarh; 54, 65.
Salamat Allie, Jemadar; 520.
Salamat Oollah, Moulvie; 530, 599, 600.
Salamat Shah, Raja; See Raja Salamat Shah.
Salar Buksh; 593.
Salia Dahar; 493,
Salig Ram Mishra; 37.
Saligram; 215.
Salik Singh; 284.
Salimpur; 144, 153, 154, 158, 159, 241, 378, 592, 823.
Salimpur Majhauli; 112, 144, 150, 300, 301, 304.
Salkun; 255.
Salona Ghat; 318, 334.
Salondi (Salondee); 737.
Salone; 209, 240, 241, 564, 612, 792, 794.
Saloree; 549, 556.
Samadabad; 549, 550, 556, 613, 648.
Sambal Singh; 284.
Sami Ullah; 565.
Samtha; 490.
Samuel; 283, 297.
Samur; 155.
Sandah; 373, 449.
Sandeman; 233, 234.
Sandford, F. D.; 865.
Sandys; 560.
Sangram Lal; 300.
Sangram Singh; 143, 177, 229, 230, 235, 236, 612, 788, 789, 791, 796, 799, 800.
Sangri; 102.
Sanitwar; See Saintwar.
Santeea Soopay; See Tatya Tope.
Santhals; 447.
Santiwar; 455, 467, 468.
Santoo; 284.
Sanwal Singh; 84.
Sarai Maijah; 550.
Sarai Mojah; See Sarai Maijah.
Sarai Rani; 106.
Sarai Salim; 550.
Saran; 36, 107, 159, 295, 430, 435, 436, 467.
Sarawan, Saiyid; 557.
Sarbdeen Singh; See Sarvdaman Singh.
Sarbjit Singh; 123, 134, 135, 266.
Sarfraz Ali; 347.
Sarguja; 32, 54.
Sarh; 593.
Sarh Salempoor; 825.
Sarju Prasad, Rana; 625, 626, 832.
Sarkandi; 823.
Sarman Singh; 80.
Sarnam Palwar; 82.
Sarnam Singh; 284.
Sarubjeet Sing; See Sarbjit Singh.
Sarun; See Saran.
Sarvdaman Singh; 659.
Sarvjit Singh; See Sarbjit Singh.

Saseram; See Sahasram.
Sasseram; See Sahasram.
Satichaura Ghat; 667.
Satna; 741, 744.
Satnee; 656.
Saton; 823.
Saton Joga; 823.
Saton Pit; 823.
Saton turf Peeth; 823.
Saton turf Purb; 823.
Sattara; 7.
Sattasi; 154, 156, 157, 358, 379.
Sattichaura Ghat; See Satichaura Ghat.
Sattoura; 132.
Saugor; 422, 423, 428, 429, 432, 691, 803, 852.
Saunders, Mr.; 127, 128, 129, 131, 234.
Savada House; See Sawada Kothi.
Savada Kotee; See Sawada Kothi.
Sawada; 587,
Sawada Kothi; 526, 537, 538.
Sawun; 420, 667.
Sayroopoor; 677.
Scindia; See Scindia, Maharaja.
Scindia Bahadur; See Scindia Maharaja.
Scindia, Maharaja; 193, 469, 626, 648, 748.
Scindiah; See Scindia Maharaja.
Scindwah; 807.
Scott, Captain; 580, 581.
Secretariat Records Room Lucknow; 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 189, 190, 191, 192, 194, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 277, 278, 279, 280, 305, 307, 309, 312, 313, 314, 317, 318, 319, 300, 322, 324, 332, 334, 335, 337, 338, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 362, 363, 366, 367, 370, 437, 452, 458, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 475, 477, 479, 482, 484, 486, 487, 488, 489, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 784, 785, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 840, 841, 842, 843, 845, 846, 848, 849, 850, 859.
Secrora; 151.
Secunderpoor; See Sikandarpur.
Secundra; See Sikandra.
Secah Deeh; 656, 659.
Seeba Ram; 803.
Seedha Singh; See Sidha Singh.
Seeladpoor; 179.
Seetabuldee; See Sitabaldi.
Seetaram; See Sita Ram.
Seetul Pershad; 190.
Seetuldan Singh; 135.
Segowlee; 152, 153, 154, 184, 297, 329, 336, 372, 383.
Sehunpore; 300.
Seikriguuge; See Sikriganj.
Sekundra; See Sikandra.
Selimghur; 661.
Seonda; 571.
Seonee; 424, 427, 428.
Seoraj Roy; 118.
Seorajpore; 692.
Seordha; 550.
Seounundun Singh; See Shiv Nandan Singh.
Sera Bassi; 239.
Serajghat; 714.
Serauli; 769, 813, 819.
Serowlee; See Serauli.
Setringee Mahal; See Shatranji Mahal.
Setul; See Sital.
Seurajpore; See Sheorajpur.
Sevnaith Singh; See Shiva Nath Singh.
Sewan; 297, 439.
Sewpoora; See Sheopur.
Sewra; 612.
Sewrie; 119.
Seymour, H. S.; 665.
Shadeeabad; See Shadiabad.

Shadiabad; 273, 549, 556.
Shah Ali Hoosein; 592, 781.
Shah Ali, Kotwal; 538.
Shah Ally; See Shah Ali Hoosein.
Shah Ghulam Husain; 277.
Shah Golam Hosen; See Shah Ghulam Husain.
Shah Sahib; 407.
Shah Sahobas; 406.
Shah Shuja (Shah Soojah); 770.
Shahabad; 54, 140, 141, 143, 172, 180, 181, 188, 205, 278, 284, 285, 420, 426, 430, 436, 438, 440, 441, 442, 443, 460, 468, 471, 475, 482, 486, 487, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494.
Shahganj; 103, 206, 254, 307, 308, 309, 340, 342, 343, 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, 351, 414.
Shahgarh(Shahgurh); 627, 845.
Shahgarh, Raja of; See Raja of Shahgarh.
Shahgunge; See Shahganj.
Shahjahan; 74.
Shahjehanabad; 649.
Shahpore; 157, 405.
Shahzadpore; 186, 187.
Shaick Delole; See Shaikh Dulah.
Shaikh Dullah; 85.
Shaikhpur; 550.
Shamshabad; 101.
Shamsher Khan Mewati; 551.
Shamshuddin Khan; 521, 522, 531.
Shangram Sing; See Sangram Singh.
Shankargarh; 256.
Shannon Naval Brigade; 464.
Shapoor; 47, 54.
Shatranji Mahal (Satrangi Mahal); 524.
Shaw, Asstt. Commr; 240, 602.
Sheeba Sing, Soobadar; 521.
Sheehy, Captain; 723.
Sheerapore; 704.
Sheikh Bhada Buksh; See Bhada Baksh, Sheikh.
Sheikh Futtah Alee; See Futtah Alee, Sheikh.
Sheikh Lutuf Alee; See Lutuf Alee Sheikh.
Sheikh Nujuf Alee; See Nujuf Alee, Sheikh.
Shajehanpore; 781.
Shao Diyal Singh; See Shiv Dayal Singh.
Sheo Golam Singh; See Shiv Ghulam Singh.
Sheo Jagat Rai; See Shiv Jagat Rai.
Sheo Prashad; See Shiv Prasad.
Sheobheek; 68.
Sheodeen Sing; See Shiv Din Singh.
Sheogholam Doobey Rajah; See Sheoghulam Dubey Raja.
Sheoli; 755, 756, 787
Sheolie; See Sheoli.
Sheololl Tewaree; See Shiv Lal Tewari.
Sheonundun Singh; 136.
Sheoochurn; See Shiv Charan.
Sheoodeen Singh; See Shiv Din Singh.
Sheopal; See Sheopal Singh.
Sheopal Singh; See Shivapal Singh.
Sheopoor; See Sheopur.
Sheopur; 276, 380, 418, 444, 446, 450, 453, 457, 460, 463, 466, 467.
Sheopur Ghat; 453.
Sheopura; See Sheopur.
Sheorajpore; See Sheorajpur.
Sheorajpur; 413, 533, 611, 703, 705, 711, 753, 755, 762, 817, 828, 854.
Sheorajpur Ghat; 828.
Sheoram Tanteea; 435.
Sheorutton Sing; See Shiv Ratan Singh.
Shepherd; 511, 587.
Sher Ali; 382.
Sher Pur; 284, 285, 460, 485.
Sher Singh; 536.
Shere Mull, Nazir; 598.
Shere Regiment; 223, 225.
Shere Sing; See Sher Singh.
Sherepore; See Sherpur.
Sherer; 434, 561, 595, 598, 683, 702, 703, 754, 761, 763, 807.
Sherghati; 411, 413, 421, 464, 471.
Sherghotty; See Sherghati.
Shergotty; See Sherghati.
Sherolee; 756.
Sherpur; 460, 485, 487.

Shevri; 549.
Shew Churn Lall; 596.
Shew Pershad; See Sheo Prashad.
Shewdeen Sing; See Shiv Din Singh.
Shewpershad Kaith; 597.
Shihabuddin, Chaudhry; 550.
Shionath Singh; See Shiv Nath Singh.
Shiv Ambar Lal; 52.
Shiv Charan; 863.
Shiv Dayal Singh; 80, 812.
Shiv Din Singh; 83, 552, 553, 555, 556.
Shiv Ghulam Dubey, Raja; See Raja Shiv Ghulam Dubey.
Shiv Ghulam Singh; 90, 322, 324, 326, 331, 378.
Shiv Jagat Rai; 281.
Shiv Lal Tewari; 431, 432.
Shiv Nandan Singh; 124, 132, 134.
Shiv Nath Singh; 124, 132, 135.
Shiv Pant; 100.
Shiv Prasad; 526.
Shiv Ratan Singh; 227.
Shiva; 20.
Shiva Bakhsh; 565.
Shiva Charan Rai Bhoomhar; 284.
Shiva Charan Singh; 288.
Shiva Pal; See Shivapal Singh.
Shiva Sahai; 566.
Shiva Singh; 521.
Shivapal Singh; 101, 130, 135, 284.
Shivpur; See Sheopur.
Shobha Singh; 521.
Shookuldeo Ghat; 535.
Shumberpoor; 205.
Shumdabad; See Samadabad.
Shummispore; See Summapore.
Shumspore; 788.
Shunkur Bux; 830.
Shurfood-Dowlah; 608-9.
Sidapore Bittree; 486.
Sidha Singh; 142, 207, 208, 288, 493.
Sidhua Jobna; 154, 352, 383, 445.
Sigwan; 846.
Sikandarpur; 106, 143, 445, 446, 449, 454, 459, 467.
Sikandra; 519, 593, 601, 612, 655, 656, 658, 663, 753, 754, 755, 783.
Sikh Infantry, 100; 207-208.
Sikh Regiment of Ferozpoor; 77.
Sikh Regiment of Loodhiana; 6, 13, 18, 23, 39.
Sikiagunj; 295.
Sikreegunge; See Sikriganj.
Sikriganj; 148, 150, 295, 341, 343, 354.
Silhat; 304, 378.
Silhera; 742.
Simirroe; See Simri.
Simlar; 770.
Simmons, Major; 68, 71, 250, 251, 252.
Simounee; See Simuni.
Simpson; 5, 254, 255, 256, 257, 540, 543, 545, 546.
Simri; 826.
Simson; 22, 27, 397, 349.
Simuni; 570, 840.
Singram Sing; See Sungram Singh.
Singramau; 34, 35, 173, 210, 216, 218, 219, 222, 223.
Singramow; See Singramau.
Singraulee; See Singrauli.
Singrauli; 32, 54, 70, 71, 262, 263, 264, 266, 410, 416.
Singraur; 552, 657, 796, 800.
Singrour; See Singraur.
Singrowlee; See Singrauli.
Siraj-ud-daula; 701.
Sirathu; 797.
Sirdar Golab Sing; 264.
Sirdar Khan; 564, 573, 579, 618.
Siris; 406.
Sirmurdha; 852.
Sirsa; 53, 55, 75, 76.
Sirsaen; 254, 743.
Sirsain; See Sirsaen.
Sirsaul; 609.
Sirsoul; See Sirsaul.
Sissowlee; 71.
Sita Ram; 532.
Sitabaldi; 427.
Sital; 46, 237, 238.
Sitapur; 601.
Sitla Bakhsh; 233.

Sitta Bux; 655, 657.
Sivnet Sing; 134.
Siwan; 493.
Skelly, Colonel; 196.
Sleeman, Colonel; 395, 423, 427, 429.
Smith, Vernon; 665.
Soan; See Soane.
Soane; See Son (Sone).
Sohage Pass; 861.
Sohagpur; 422, 424.
Sohak; 388.
Sohal; 285, 388.
Sohanpur; See Sohunpore.
Sohawal; 32, 850, 852, 856.
Sohawul; See Sohawal.
Sohra; 195.
Sohunlal; 56,
Sohunpore; 297, 298.
Soltanpur; See Sultanpur.
Son (Sone); 32, 36, 54, 70, 71, 180, 254, 406, 419, 420, 430, 471, 472.
Sonwal; 374.
Soobdaun Singh; See Soobhdan Singh.
Soobhan Sing; See Soobhdan Singh.
Soobhdan Singh; 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135.
Sooja-ood-dowla; See Sooja-ood-dowlah.
Sooja-ood-dowlah; 390, 391.
Soojan Rai; 284.
Sooka Singh; 349.
Sookha Mallah Ghat; 521.
Sookhdan; 135.
Sookhee Lall; See Sukh Lal.
Sooki Lol; See Sukh Lal.
Sookrit; 68, 69.
Sooltanpore; See Sultanpur.
Soomiree; 193.
Soondurghat; 48.
Sooraj-Poora; See Soorajpore.
Soorajnand; See Sooriynun Misser.
Soorajpore; 479, 676.
Sooram; 661.
Soorjoo Prasad, Rana; See Sarju Prasad, Rana.
Soorajmun Misser; See Soorujmund Misser.
Soorujmund Misser (Suraj Mand Mishra); 126, 131, 133, 134, 136.
Soorujnund (Surajnand); See Soorujmund Misser.
Soorut Singh; See Surat Singh.
Soowth Sing; 380.
Sopna; 284.
Soraon; 552, 655, 656, 657, 658, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 795, 797, 799, 801, 804, 808, 837.
Sotal Singh; 285.
Sothar Singh; 284.
Sotheby, Captain; 301.
Soubahdar's Tank; See Subedar's Tank.
Source Material for the History of Freedom Movement in India, Vol. I 1818-1884. (*Bombay*); 590, 612.
Spottiswoode, A. C.; 37, 43.
Spurgin, Captain; 675.
Sreemunt Maharajah Nana Sahib Bahadoor; See Nana Saheb.
Srinagar; 757.
Stack; 68, 69.
Stanton, Lieutenant; 413, 471.
State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad; 44, 74, 75, 77, 78, 102, 103, 106, 107, 110, 111, 120, 122, 123, 148, 164, 249, 251, 252, 253, 261, 262, 310, 311, 319, 408, 411, 520, 552, 561, 579, 582, 592, 595, 598, 599, 616, 617, 619, 621, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 737, 740, 743, 744, 748, 749, 810, 811, 818, 819, 820, 821, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 851, 852, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866.
State Papers, Vol. II; 723.
State Papers, Vol. III; 594.
State vs. Zamindars of Gahmar; 281.
Steel, Captain; 145, 149, 150, 225, 473.
Stephenson, Major; 635, 636, 637, 721.
Sterling; See Stirling.
Stevenson, Captain; 456.
Stewart; 78, 713, 770.

Stirling; 686, 690, 705, 706, 710, 732.
Strachey, Colonel; 187, 189, 223, 250, 260, 421, 661.
Stratton; 865.
Stulpee; 461.
Stuwart, Lieutenant; 555.
Subada; See Sawada.
Subedar's Tank; 505.
Subhani; 245.
Subhdan Singh (Soobhdan Singh); 125.
Subina White; 645.
Subya; 319.
Suchendee; See Sachendi.
Sudder; 408.
Suddoopoor; 64, 80, 249.
Sudhainan Sing; 603.
Suenundun Sing; See Shivnandan Singh.
Sugree; 438.
Sugrome; 656.
Suhawul; 802.
Sujokee; 658.
Sukh Lal; 618.
Sukh Rai; 549.
Sukkey Lal; See Sukh Lal.
Sukram; 284.
Sukrit; 68.
Sul Kynee; 701.
Suleimpore (Suleimpoor); See Salimpur.
Sulloct, Captain; I. S. D. 88.
Sultanat Bahadoor; 655.
Sultangarh; 811.
Sultanpoor; See Sultanpur.
Sultanpore; See Sultanpur.
Sultanpur; 48, 87, 101, 104, 173, 174, 177, 205, 206, 213, 215, 216, 221, 228, 242, 247, 278, 349, 351, 352, 356, 361, 373, 382, 489, 663, 784, 788, 803, 804.
Sultanpur Saton; 823.
Sultanpur District Gazetteer; 803.
Sumdabad; See Samadabad.
Summapore; 655, 657.
Summiho; 234.
Summookee; 618.
Summunpur; 247.
Sumpthur Rajah; See Rajah of Sumpthur.
Sumri; 232, 233.
Sung Ram Sing; See Sangram Singh.
Sungram Lall; 300.
Sungram Singh; See Sangram Singh.
Suraj Mand Misra; See Soorujmun Misser.
Surajah Dowlah; See Siraj-ud-daula.
Surat Singh; 11, 12, 19, 23, 44.
Surawur; 375, 376.
Surbdown Sing; See Sarvdaman Singh.
Surbunga Kotee; 802.
Surhondee; 735.
Surianwan; 69, 70.
Surjoo Pershad, Naib Nazir; 598.
Surjoopersuad; See Sarju Prasad, Rana.
Surkundee; See Sarkandi.
Surkunja; 851.
Surnam Singh; 72, 80, 81, 418.
Surneth Singh; See Shivnath Singh.
Surowan; 799.
Surra; 745.
Surrowur; See Surawur.
Surrubjeet Singh; See Sarbjit Singh.
Surubdeen; 655.
Surubjeet Sing; See Sarbjit Singh.
Sutassee; 152, 304, 305.
Sutchurgeer; 53, 55, 57.
Sutlej; 545.
Suttassee; See Sattasi.
Suttee Pershad; 703.
Suwawan; 364.
Swamee-Nullah; 339.
Sydabad; See Saidabad;
Sydpoor; See Saidpur.
Syed Sarawah; See Sarawan Saiyid.
Syedpore; See Saidpur.
Syud Ahmed Alee, Moulvee; See Ahmed Ali, Maulvi, Saiyid.
Syud Mahomed Hussun; See Muhammad Hasan, Saiyid.
Syud Muhumud Naseer; See Mohammad Nasir Khan.
Syudpore; See Saidpur.

Tab Groom, Lt. William; 639.
Taee Baee; 435.
Tahir Ali; 551.
Taintwar; 455, 467.
Tajpoor; 481.
Takrala; 565.
Talamund Khan; 243, 244, 245.
Talemand Khan; See Talamund Khan.
Tallayar Khan; 552.
Taloopra, Puttee Gora; 658.
Tambura; 173.
Tamkhuhi; 154, 445.
Tanda; See Tandah.
Tanda Khurd; 141.
Tanda Kalan; 141.
Tandah; 141, 159, 164, 178, 191, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 217, 218, 221, 310, 212, 315, 316, 317, 318, 320, 322, 325, 327, 329, 331, 333, 334, 335, 337, 349, 350, 355, 371.
Tanteea Topee; See Tantia Topee.
Tantia Topee; See Tatya Tope.
Tantia Topey; See Tatya Tope.
Tantia Topi; See Tatya Tope.
Tappa Banki; 324.
Tappa Bhanpur; 364.
Tappa Chhapia; 364.
Tappa Jhankaul; 445.
Tappa Keotali; 364.
Tappa Kot; 364.
Tappa Rampur Rogha; 352.
Tappa Upraudh; 419.
Tara Ghurrie; 781.
Tara Nath; 45, 236.
Tarahuwan; 571.
Tardhee; 656.
Tari; 104.
Tarighat; 142.
Tatya Tope; 100, 435, 474, 510, 529, 671, 722, 728, 748, 767, 807, 809, 813, 834, 835, 836, 865.
Tayler, Mr. W.; 404, 405.
Taylor, Robert; 17, 115, 137, 235, 263.
Teeka Jee Punth; 694.
Teekah Sing; See Tika Singh.
Teekapur Ghat; 693.
Teekaram; See Tikaram.
Tej Singh; See Rajah of Mainpuri.
Telha; 104.
Telha Bans; 105.
Telia Khas; 105.
Templer, Captain; 555.
Tendwa Bibipur; 105.
Teree; 346.
Terhoul; See Tirowl.
Ternan, A. H.; 434.
Terohan; See Tirohan.
Terowl; 655, 798, 800.
Tewana Horse; 757, 758, 825.
Tewanah Horse; See Tewana Horse.
Thacoor Doobay; See Thakur Dube.
Thakoorain; 788.
Thakoorraneepoora; See Thakuranipurwa.
Thakur Dayal; 82.
Thakur Din; 565.
Thakur Dube; 749.
Thakur Rustam Shah Singh; See Rustam Shah.
Thakuranipurwa; 820, 831.
The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette; 197, 769, 770, 781, 768.
The Devil's Wind; 169.
The Englishman; 44, 768.
The Friend of India; 44, 45, 85, 302, 548, 674, 700, 701, 782.
The Hindoo Patriot; 45, 176, 296, 405, 475, 476, 489, 531, 532, 664, 670, 671, 684, 706, 708, 749, 766, 767, 768, 781, 799, 832, 857, 858.
The Indian Empire; 718, 722, 725.
The Insurrection in the East Indies; 755, 762, 824, 828.
The Lucknow Herald; 782.
The Mutiny in Avadh; 701.
The Mutiny in Oudh; See The Mutiny in Avadh.
The Mutiny of the Bengal Army (Red Pamphlet); 3, 14, 546.
The ophilus; 821.
The Oudh Gazette; 782.
The Phoenix; 767.
The Probhakur; 708.
The Story of the Naval Brigade; 169.
Thomas, Lieutenant; 791.
Thompson; 662, 754, 802.

Thomson, Captain Mowveray; 59, 676.
Thornhill, C. B.; 849, 862.
Thornhill, L. B.; 598, 837.
Thornton; 703.
Thundie Ram; 528.
Thuroulee; 341.
Tickoree; 796.
Tigain; 755.
Tighra; 28, 35, 157, 190, 191, 227, 230, 449.
Tigra; See Tighra.
Tika Singh; 725.
Tikaram; 501.
Tikree; 799.
Tikuria; 854.
Tilak Rai; 284.
Tiljee; 306.
Tilloee; See Tiloi.
Tiloi; 798.
Tilok Sing; 249.
Tilpur; 155, 157.
Tilwary; 239.
Tirhoot; See Tirhut.
Tirhowan; 571.
Tirhut; 439, 491.
Tirohan; 463, 483, 484, 567, 571, 620, 622, 623, 632, 743, 746, 834, 842, 843, 845, 849, 851, 854, 855, 863.
Tirole; 792.
Tirowl; 790, 794, 801.
Tiwaripatti; 352.
Tolia; 287.
Tondah; See Tandah.
Tons; 101, 139, 413, 433, 466.
Tonse; See Tons.
Toolsee Ram Kaith; 597.
Toolseepoor; See Toolshepoor.
Toolshepoor; 71, 311, 313, 314, 328, 362, 364, 367, 368, 370, 373, 374, 396, 769.
Topee; See Tatya Tope.
Tore-Ke-Khan; 189.
Torsur; 525.
Tota; 419.
Tragear; 120.
Travels of a Hindoo; 665.
Tresor; 274.
Trevelyan, Sir George; 404, 741.
Trial of Tatya Tope; 511, 671, 672.
Trial Proceedings in the case Government vs. Babu Ram Buksh, Taluqdar of Daundia Khera; 677, 678, 679, 680.
Trial Proceedings in the case of Government vs. Bhairon Prasad and Ishwari Prasad; 46, 237, 238.
Trial Proceedings in the case Government vs. Bhondu Singh; 90, 99, 101, 683.
Trial Proceedings in the case Govt. vs. Daljit Singh; 130, 131.
Trial Proceedings in the case Govt. vs. Daljit Singh, Sheopal Singh etc.; 133, 135, 136.
Trial Proceedings in the case Government vs. Liaqat Ali; 551.
Trial Proceedings in the case Government vs. Mammoo Khan; 615.
Trial Proceedings in the case Government vs. Narain Rao and Madho Rao of Karwi, Mukund Rao Jamadar, Executor and Guardian of Madho Rao and Govind Rao son of Mukund Rao; 582, 632, 748, 844, 845.
Trial Proceedings in the case Government vs. Raja Iradat Jahan; 242, 244, 245, 246.
Trial Proceedings in the case Government vs. Rao Sahib; 533, 534.
Trial Proceedings in the case Govt. vs. Jhuri Singh and others; 42.
Troup, Cornet; 452.
Truman, Ensign; 207.
Trunk Road; See Grand Trunk Road.
Tucker; 561, 563, 564.
Tucker, C.; 254.
Tucker, G.; 6, 8, 9, 36, 44, 68, 69, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 88, 149, 182, 210, 212, 214, 240, 248, 250, 251, 253, 261, 407, 411.
Tucker, H. C.; 220, 248, 250, 251, 253, 255, 260, 261, 635.
Tuffchjar; 738.
Tukb Singh; 397.
Tulsipur; See Toolshepoor.

Tumkhoe; 154, 158, 160.
Tuppeh Jur; 810.
Turbee; 618.
Turner; 5, 144, 301, 456, 489, 492.
Tytler; 716, 717, 720, 724, 726, 728, 730, 732.

Ubdul Ruhman, Moulvie; See Abdul Rahman, Moulvie.
Udai Karan Seth; 745.
Udresh Singh; 138, 174, 189.
Udwant Singh; 30, 67, 79, 81.
Ugoree; 54.
Ugoree Fort; 55.
Ugra Pandey; 284.
Uhburn Sing; See Ahbaran Sing.
Ujagar Shukul; 97.
Ujahil Chamar; 83.
Ujh; 65.
Ujh Mungarha; 65.
Ujla; 36.
Ujoygurh; See Ajaigarh.
Ujudhia; See Ajudhia.
Ujudhia Pershad; See Ayodhya Prasad.
Ukburpore; See Akbarpur.
Uldemow; See Aldemau.
Ullee Oomoodeen (Alimuddin); 249.
Umar Pur Sawan; See Umarpur Niwan.
Umarganj; 142.
Umarpur Niwan; 550.
Umber Sing; See Ummur Singh.
Umbur Singh; See Amar Singh.
Umer Singh; See Amar Singh.
Ummer Singh; See Amar Singh
Ummur Singh; See Amar Singh.
Umr Sing; See Amar Singh.
Umrao Begum; 524.
Umrao Singh; 255.
Umur Sing; See Ummur Singh.
Unao; See Unnao.
Unaula; 160.
Ungil; 303.
Ungnoo Singh; See Angnu Singh.
United Provinces; See Uttar Pradesh.
Unnao; 99, 382, 596, 698, 764.
Unnao Collectorate Mutiny Basta; 677, 678, 679, 680.
Unnao District Gazetter; 763.
Upraudh; 36, 54, 254, 255.
Upraudh Tappa; See Tappa Upraudh.
Urewal; 704.
Urgun Sing; See Arjun Singh.
Urjoon Sing; See Arjun Singh.
Urwul; 762.
Ushruf Khan; 125, 130, 131, 133, 134, 136.
Ushruff Khan; See Ushruf Khan.
Usman Khan; 571.
Utbul Sing; 537.
Utranhi; 284.
Utraula; 316, 364, 368, 373, 380.
Uttar Pradesh; 32, 36, 53, 106, 152, 153, 459, 484.
Uzeezoodeen; See Azizuddin.

Vajee Row; 670.
Vandergneht; 788.
Varanasi; 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 31, 34, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 53, 60, 65, 66, 72, 74, 75, 77, 81, 86, 89, 94, 106, 110, 111, 113, 115, 117, 120 ,121, 122, 129, 131, 133, 136, 137, 138, 141, 142, 143, 150, 166, 169, 170, 171, 173, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 186, 187, 188, 192, 193, 195, 196, 198, 199, 208, 209, 219, 220, 225, 226, 235, 236, 237, 238, 241, 250, 251, 253, 256, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 274, 276, 278, 279, 280, 283, 285, 293, 355, 377, 378, 404, 406, 407, 411, 412, 418, 419, 420, 421, 425, 430, 437, 438, 439, 444, 449, 460, 461, 462, 467, 473, 476, 480, 481, 488, 538, 542, 553, 545, 613, 635, 636, 637, 654, 661, 663, 664, 700, 704, 712, 723, 795, 842.
Varanasi District Gazetteer; 141.
Vaughan; 464.
Venables; 5, 6, 26, 27, 60, 77, 85, 116, 139, 200, 201, 445, 466.
Verney, G. L.; 169.
Vijai Singh; 284, 830.

Vilayat Hosein; See Vilayat Husain, Mirza.
Vilayat Husain, Mirza; 579, 619, 793.
Villayut Hossein, Mirza; See Vilayat Husain Mirza.
Vindhyan Plateau; 54.
Vishwanath Bhat; 532.
Vishweshwar; 20.

Waheedoos-Zuman; 595.
Wahid Ali Khan; 601.
Waleski, C.; 123, 125, 130, 132, 134, 136, 225.
Wali Muhammad; 306.
Waliski, Mr. A.; 210, 214, 235.
Waliski, Mrs; 210.
Walker; 29, 46, 60, 61, 62, 73, 77, 250, 251, 252, 414, 416.
Wallee Niamat; 394.
Walpole : 464, 755, 756, 783.
Walsh; 438.
Walter; 490, 491, 493, 770.
Walton, Captain; 472, 473.
Waris Ali; 519, 593, 741.
Waris Allee; See Waris Ali.
Warris Ally; See Waris Ali.
Warwick; 60.
Wasecoodeen, Kazi; See Wasiuddin, Kazi.
Wasiuddin Kazi; 526, 599, 600.
Watson, Lieutenant; 87.
Way to Glory Life of Havelock; 717, 718, 723, 729.
Webster; 72, 577.
Weston, Captain; 190.
Wetherall; 803.
Wheeler, General Sir Hugh; 511, 517, 518, 519, 520, 542, 637, 644, 667, 666, 670, 671, 673, 674, 675, 683, 684.
Whistler; 790, 795, 800.
White, Mrs.; 645, 646.
White, Subina; See Subina White.
Whitlock, General; 463, 768, 804, 816, 836, 837, 838, 840, 841, 842, 843, 845, 852, 857, 860, 861.
Wigdowur; 371.
Wilayat Husain; 744, 866.
Willayat Hosein; See Wilayat Husain.
William; 591, 673, 695, 697, 702, 730, 765.
Williamson, Captain; 442.
Willer, Lieutenant; 464.
Willock, Henry; 595, 759, 803.
Wilson; 169, 324, 330, 703, 705, 706, 710.
Windham; 705, 713.
Wingfield, C.; 148, 182, 184, 294, 303, 305, 306, 308, 309, 310, 313, 314, 319, 321, 331, 332, 336, 338, 339, 340, 346, 348, 350, 351, 353, 354, 356, 358, 363, 394, 396, 397, 398, 399.
With Havelock from Allahabad to Luknow; 673, 695, 697, 702, 730.
Wood, Colonel; 785.
Woolhouse; 30, 73, 75.
Wroughton, Colonel; 153, 208, 223, 243, 473.
Wyatt, Captain; 456.
Wyndham; See Windham.
Wynyard, W.; 144, 147, 148, 150, 294, 377.

Yamuna; See Jamuna.
Yaqin Shah; 565.
Yeomanry Cavalry; 309, 313, 316, 322, 337, 452.
Yule, Mr.; 405.

Zahur Ali, Jamadar; 231.
Zaidpur; 308.
Zain-ul Abdin; 765.
Zamania; See Zamaniah.
Zamaniah; 117, 121, 142, 178, 272, 273, 275, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 284, 285, 483, 485, 486.
Zamin Daramadpur, 103.
Zammania; See Zamaniah.
Zorawar Singh; 74.
Zuffur Moobarick; 373.
Zuistee; 345.
Zumaniah; See Zamaniah.
Zunnia; See Zamaniah.