FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN UTTAR PRADESH

SOURCE- MATERIAL

VOLUME V

Western Districts and Rohikhand: 1857–59

edited by

S.A.A. Rizvi

and

M.L. Bhargava

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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 of the Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh 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, third and fourth volumes, on Freedom Struggle in Avadh, Bundelkhand and Eastern Districts were published on 15*th August* 1958, 26*th January* 1959, *and* 15*th August* 1959, *respectively. The volume relating to the Western Districts and Rohilkhand is being published now.*

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.

This volume being the last of the series on the source-material for Freedom Struggle in U. P. 1857-59, *completes the work on this important phase of the struggle in the State. The sixth volume of the series will comprise general index and chronology of all the five volumes. The study of other phases of the Freedom Movement has also been started and volumes of source-material relating to the subsequent phases of the Freedom Movement down to* 1947, *will be published in the course of next few years.*

To conclude, I am happy to put on record my deep sense of appreciation for the interest shown in the work by all the members of the Advisory Board. The eminent historians on the Board deserve my sincere thanks for their co-operation and valuable suggestions in speeding up the work on proper lines. Dr. B. P. Saksena of Allahabad University spared his precious time in going through the manuscripts of all the volumes before they were sent to the press and I thank him for this.

24*th January* 1960 —*Kamalapati Tripathi*

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INTRODUCTORY

The source materials relating to the Freedom Struggle of 1857-59 in U. P., as published already in four volumes have clearly established the fact that the Movement of 1857 was not a sporadic one and devoid of organizational bias. The material, incorporated in the present volume strengthens this contention all the more. Meerut set the spark aglow, though a bit prematurely, and it was picked up in quick succession at other places. The outbreaks at the different districts were immediately followed by the march of the revolutionary forces to Delhi. The British appeared to be caught a bit unawares but they came down with a ruthless hand to suppress the movement only to find themselves more and more engulfed in 'revolutionary currents'. Even with their vast resources and technical skill, with their hectic efforts to drive a wedge of difference between the Indian masses, it took them more than two years to suppress the movement. Pitched battles continued to be fought at all the important places and Rohilkhand maintained an independent Government for about a year and all the attempts of the British authorities to create disruption and communal hatred in Bareilly miserably failed. Rohilkhand remained a centre of the activities of many important leaders of the movement viz. Nana Saheb, Firoz Shah etc. who assembled there to liberate their mother-land from foreign yoke. They failed in their efforts not on account of their alleged selfish designs or lack of popular support but due to other extraneous circumstances, to the want of scientific and technological resources which their adversaries did possess.

An analysis of the activities, of the leaders as well ás 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. The documents published herein have been classified region, subject and topic-wise and have been arranged to the best in chronological order. The three divisions or regions covered are Rohilkhand, Agra and Meerut, the last two grouped together go by the name 'Western Districts'. The districts covered by Rohilkhand Division are Bareilly, Badaun, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Bijnaur, Pilibhit, Nainital and Kumaun. Meerut, Bulandshahr, Saharanpur, Dehradun, and Muzaffarnagar comprise the Meerut Division, while Etawah, Agra, Aligarh, Etah, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri and Mathura form the Agra Division. Chapter I deals with the district-wise outbreak in Meerut Region and the establishment of Revolutionary

ernment. Chapter II deals with Protracted Struggle in this region the documents have been arranged district-wise. Chapters Three to are devoted to Rohilkhand Division. Chapter III relates to districtwise reak while Chapter IV to the establishment of Revolutionary Governt in each district of this division. This Chapter includes, in the end, ction dealing with the 'communal problem in Rohilkhand'. Chapters and Six contain documents throwing light on the 'Struggle' and counters' in this division, and in these two chapters the documents have arranged, to the best, chronologically and not district-wise. Chapter ntains, at its end, documents to show how Nana influenced the course ents in Rohilkhand by his presence, before the fall of Bareilly. Chapter and VIII pertain to Agra Division, the former dealing with outbreak establishment of Revolutionary Government in each district, the latter ribing Protracted Struggle in each district of this region. The last pter goes by the heading 'Appendices', and contains documents to w light on the importance of Delhi as the centre of Revolutionary ement and the contribution of U. P. therein. The following sources in the main been drawn upon.

District Records of Uttar Pradesh

District Court records pertaining to the struggle of 1857, entitled as tiny Bastas', were lying in a somewhat neglected condition in almost the districts of Uttar Pradesh. These *Bastas* contain the proceedings he trials of the local participants of the Great Struggle. Many of these proceedings, drawn upon for this volume e. g., Trial proceedings nst Khan Bahadur Khan; Niaz Muhammad Khan, Nawab of Farabad; Makhdum Bakhsh; Shiv Charan, etc. have yielded valuable new rmation on this subject and deserve further close scrutiny for a detailed y of the various aspects of the movement. While studying these proings, this fact should not be lost sight of that the people who were known ave taken part in the struggle, were after their surrender summarily l for treason, for siding with Nana, Khan Bahadur or some other retionary leader, or for the murder of one or the other British subjects. he context of the circumstances leading to such trials, justice could not been expected to side with the accused persons. Naturally, the de- put up by them proceeded along very formal lines and they all generally ded not guilty. Prosecution witnesses were in most cases tutored. iously, no historical conclusions based on truth can be arrived at, ely on the defence of the accused or the prosecution witnesses alone. a close examination of the scores of evidence, cross-examinations and ments 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. Letters seized on the capture of Fasahat Ullah, Ahmad Yar Khan and Fazal Ahmad can be quoted as an instance. Fasahat Ullah Khan was said to have even acted as a correspondent to the Begam. 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 Western 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.

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 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

he English translations of the original Persian and Arabic texts know fully vell how often the real meanings were misunderstood by eminent translators s Elliot, Dowson and Beveridge. An effort has, however, been made to lecipher and translate into English all the relevant and important Urdu r Persian documents and every care has been taken to retain the true pirit and sense of the original.

Records in National Archives

Foreign Political and Secret Consultations preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, form a very important source of information nd some of the relevant documents, having a bearing on the subject, are eing reproduced in the present volume. Home and Military Consultaions too are historically very valuable. Photostat copies, of the statement f Pir Zahur Ali, of Foreign Political Proceedings of 27th May 1859 regardng Qutub Shah, of Foreign Proceedings of 2nd September 1859, No. 49 regarding the correspondence seized in connection with the capture of 'asahat Ullah and others, have been obtained from the National Archives nd incorporated in this volume along with many others obtained from the ame source.

U. P. Government Secretariat Records Room

The Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow, contains a *Basta* of original elegrams and bulletins dealing with the day-to-day activities of the revoutionaries throughout the then North-Western Provinces. Many of such elegrams have been incorporated in this volume with a view to tracking the evolutionary activities of the leaders. Due to faulty receipt of some messges, names of places have in many cases not been correctly indicated and his has rendered the task of identifying those places more difficult. Abstract roceedings running into several volumes are also a very important source f information for the students of contemporary history. Foreign Departnent, N. W. P. Abstract Proceedings for the year 1858 have yielded valuable riginal information for this volume.

Newspapers

Some of the activities of the revolutionaries were reported in contempoary English and Urdu Newspapers also and though the press was gagged, et their comments in a few cases are very revealing. National Library, alcutta, has got a good collection of these newspapers and cuttings. elevant excerpts from *Habib-ul-Akhbar* (Badaun), *The Hindu Intelligencer*, *The*

Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette, *The Hindoo Patriot*, *The Dacca News*, *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, and *The Friend of India* have been incorporated in this volume.

State Archives, Uttar Pradesh

Records on the 'struggle' as available in the State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad, are also very useful. Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Meerut Magistracy Mutiny Records, Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records have provided fairly useful and original material to be included in this volume, especially that relating to the revolutionary activities in Rohilkhand Division. File relating to the 'Narrative of Events in Bareilly, Badaun and Shahjahanpur Districts from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858', and the file on the trial proceedings of Khan Bahadur Khan are valuable acquisitions to the State Archives and relevant material has been included in this volume from these two files.

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. Diaries, memoirs and narratives of events by contemporary Civil and Military Officers and their relations and friends are also of great importance but it should not be ignored that they 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 '*Shohdas*', '*Badmashes*' and '*Pandies*' etc., were generally suppressed. Published contemporary works in 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

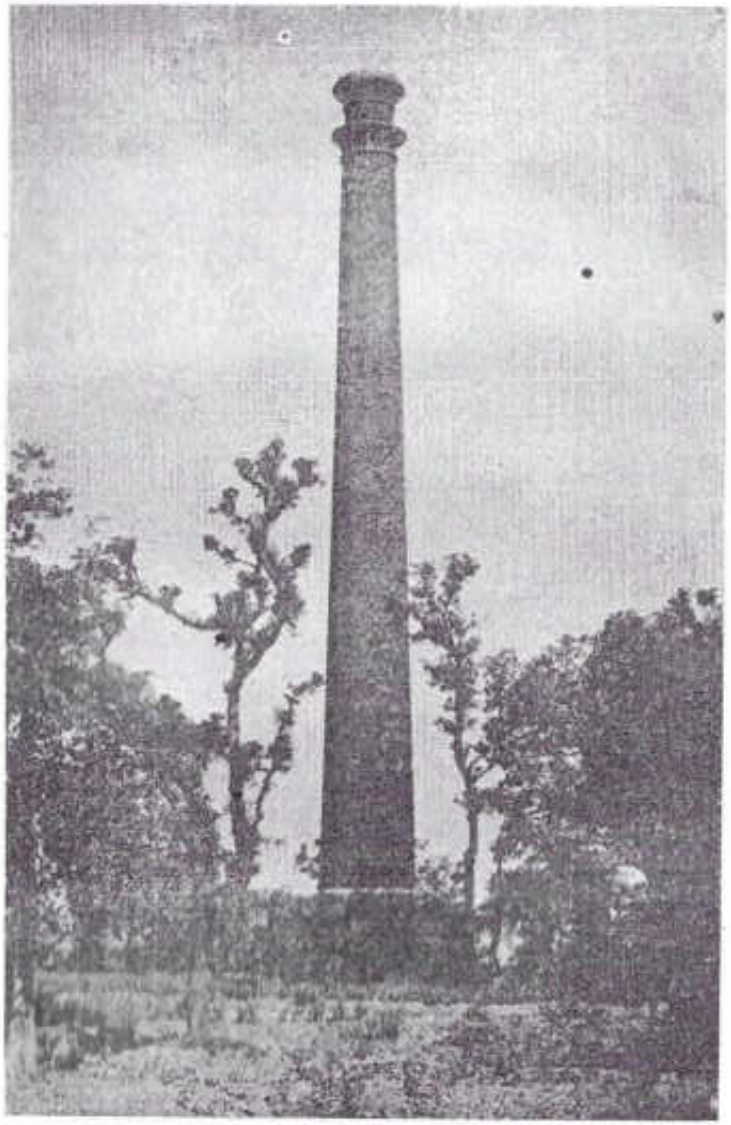
The editing of the excerpts, from the writings of different people, in a coherent form is very difficult. Proceedings were written and documents copied often in a most illegible hand by those, many of whom were half-baked in the rules of grammar and punctuation. Naturally some of them abound in mistakes 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 and identifying the places 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., Pawayan has been spelt as Powain, Powayne, Powaieen; Nabiganj as Nubbeegunje; Pilibhit as Pilleebheet, Phillеebheet, Pileebheet; Gulzari Lal as Goolzarrie Lall; Kabir Shah as Kubbeer Shah; Bilas Singh as Bylas Sing; Bannсy Mian as Bunnee Meean; Chandausi as Choundoussee; Katihar as Kuthair; Shobha Ram as Soba or Soobah Ram; Dulha as Doolla, Muhamdi as Mohomdee; Khanaut Nadi as Khunnout Nuddee; Maulvi as Molvee or Moulvie; Tahsil as Thesillee or Tuhseelee; Pargana as Pergunnah; Parwana as Purwannah; Terai as Terraie; Rasulpur as Russoolpoor; Kakrala as Kukraluh; Inayat Ullah as Enaitolla; Mainpuri as Mynpoorie; Bahraich as Bairraitch etc. etc. The list can be multiplied on. The names of even some Europeans have been spelt differently at different places e. g. Lowe and Low, Brown and Browne, Beecher and Becher, Daniel and Daniell, Holdich and Holditch. 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 generally 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 and apparently correct form of the name. Where footnote, as given in the original document, has 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 original narrative. Punctuation marks have been inserted where they were deemed

absolutely essential to bring out the full sense. In most cases, where a particular word or sentence has appeared 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. Wherever cross-references have been given, the page no. of this book has been indicated, in the footnote, within brackets. 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 relating to each of the three regions—Meerut, Agra and Rohilkhand—has been given in the volume in addition to the district maps of some districts for the convenience of the readers.

—S. A. A. Rizvi

CHAPTER ONE

OUTBREAK IN MEERUT DIVISION



Site where the Indian Troops assembled for consultation before the Outbreak at Meerut, now *"Gol Bhatta"*

MEERUT

CONSPIRACY SINCE 1853

The following from Allen's *Indian Mail* is going the round of the papers : "The Indian Government have obtained such information as leads to the belief that the rebellion was caused by a Mahomedan conspiracy. *The plot is said to have commenced in Delhi in* 1853, *and to have been set on foot by the King of Delhi and the adherents and friends of Mirza Jumma Buckt*[1], the youngest son of the King. Their first act was to get rid of the heir apparent, Mirza Fuqueerud-Deen (Faqir-ud-din), who died suddenly of cholera in 1856. The Court of Lucknow were gained over by the annexation of Oude and the deposition of Wajid Ali, but the conspiracy had not fully developed when the outbreak at Meerut occurred".[2]

DISAFFECTION IN THE 3RD REGIMENT, LIGHT CAVALRY

Memorandum from Colonel K. Young, Judge Advocate-General of the Army, to Colonel C. Chester, Adjutant-General of the Army, No. 389, *dated Head-quarters, Simla, 29th April* 1857.

A parade having been ordered by Colonel Smyth on Thursday, the 23rd April, for the following morning, to show all the men of the regiment who had carbines the new mode of loading without biting the cartridges, Captain Craigie of the regiment received intimation that the men of his troop objected to the cartridges, and a report was accordingly made to Colonel Smyth. The parade however took place as directed, when out of 90 men who were on the parade, with the exception of five, all of whom were non-commissioned officers, every man refused to receive the cartridges, saying

[1] Appears a misprint for 'Jawan Bakht'.
[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, August 5, 1858, p. 241. National Library, Calcutta.

they would get a bad name if they took them, but that if all the regiment would take the cartridges, they would do so. Previous to ordering the men to receive the cartridges, the Havildar-Major had shown them the new way of loading, and fired off his carbine; and Colonel Smyth called the notice of the men to this, and explained to them that there was nothing objectionable in the cartridges, but they still, with the exception of the five men as before mentioned, all refused to receive them, and the parade was dismissed, Colonel Smyth stating that the party was too large to send to the Guard. Though not so reported, these mutineers have not, I presume, been allowed to return to their duty. A Court of Inquiry having been ordered by the Major-General Commanding the Division to investigate the cause of the men's refusal to take the cartridges, and to ascertain whether by receiving and using them any scruple of religion, either of the Hindus or Mussulmans, would have been injuriously affected, the proceedings have now come up, with a request from the Major-General to be favoured with the Commander-in-Chief's orders on the case.

2*nd*—By the evidence taken before the Court of Inquiry, it is clearly shown that the cartridges are the same in every respect that have been in use in the regiment for many years; and the Court, which was formed of seven native officers, have unanimously recorded their opinion that there is nothing whatever objectionable in the cartridges. Their opinion is here embodied for easy reference:—

"The Court, having attentively weighed the evidence given before them, are of opinion that no adequate cause can be assigned for the disobedience of Colonel Smyth's orders by the men of the 3rd Regiment Light Cavalry, in refusing to receive and use the cartridges that were served out. The only conclusion the Court can arrive at in regard to this point is that a report seems to have got abroad which in some vague form attaches suspicion of impurity to the materials used for making these cartridges, but the Court are unanimously of opinion that there is nothing whatever objectionable in the cartridges of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, and that they may be freely received and used as heretofore without in the slightest degree affecting any religious scruple of either a Hindoo or Mussulman, and if any pretence contrary to this is urged, that it must be false."

3*rd*—This is a very unfortunate occurrence, the more

particularly as showing the deep feeling of uneasiness prevailing in the native army on the subject of the cartridges. There is absolutely no apparent reason whatever why the men of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, should have declined to use the cartridges served out to them, except the fear of being taunted by their comrades or the sepoys of other regiments, and it might be supposed that a sufficient answer to any taunt would have been that the cartridges were the same as had always been used. It would have been satisfactory to know the last occasion on which cartridges had been served out and fired by the men of the regiment who now object to them.

4*th*—The most fitting way it seems to me of dealing with this case will be to direct the Major-General to bring all the men to trial at once before a General Court-martial on the charge of which I submit a draft for the approval of the Commander-in-Chief. It is probable that the whole of the accused will be convicted and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labor, and I would suggest that such subsidiary orders as may appear necessary to his Excellency may be forwarded to Major-General Hewitt, as to the best mode of carrying out promptly this or any other sentence that may be awarded by the Court-martial.

P. S.—Major-General Hewitt might also be instructed to alter the charge now sent, or to prefer any additional charge he may consider expedient against any of the parties to be brought to trial, should either procedure, in his opinion, be requisite, with reference to information he may be in possession of, and which has not yet reached head-quarters.

DRAFT OF CHARGE

Mattadeen, No.—, *Havildar*, and Shaik Peer Ally, No.—, Ameer Koodrut Ally, No.—, Shaik Hussunoodeen, No.—, and Shaik Noor Mahomed, No.—, all *Naicks* of the 3rd Regiment Light Cavalry, placed in arrest; and Seetul Sing, No.—, and Jehangeer Khan, No.—, both rough riders; and Meer Mosim Ally, No.—, Ally Noor Khan, No. –, Meer Hoosain Bux, No.—, Muttra Sing, No.—, Narain Sing, No.—, Lall Sing, No.—, Sewdeen Sing, No.—, Shaik Hoosain Bux, No.—, Sahibdad Khan, No.—, Bishun Sing, No.—, Buldeo Sing, No.—, Shaik Nundoo, No.—, Nawab Khan, No.—, Shaik Ramjan Ally,

No.—, Ally Mahomed Khan, No.—, Maukun (Makkhan) Sing, No.—, Doorga Sing, 1st, No.—, Nusooroollah Beg, No.—, Meerahib Khan, No.—, Doorga Sing, 2nd, No.—, Nubbybux Khan, No.—, Jurakhan Sing, 1st, No.—, Nudjoo Khan, No.—, Jurakhan Sing, 2nd, No.—, Abdoollah Khan, No.—, Easain Khan, 1st, No.—, Jubberdust (Zabardast) Khan, No.—, Moortuzah Khan, No.—, Burjuar Sing, No.—, Azeemoollah Khan, (1st), No.—, Azeemoollah Khan, (2nd), No.—, Kalla Khan, No.—, Shaik Sadoolah, No.—, Salarbux Khan, No.—, Shaik Ruhut Ally, No.—, Dwarka Sing, No.—, Kalka Sing, No.—, Rugbeer Sing, No.—, Buldeo Sing, No.—, Dursun Sing, No.—, Imdad Hoossain, No.—, Peer Khan, 1st, No.—, Mootie (Moti) Sing, No.—, Shaik Fuzul Emaum, No.—, Heerah Sing, No.—, Sewah Sing, No.—, Morad Shere Khan, No.—, Shaik Aram Ally, No.—, Kassie (Kashi) Sing, No.—, Ussurruff (Ashraf) Ally Khan, No.—, Khadurdad (Qadardad) Khan, No.—, Shaik Rustum, No.—, Bugwan Sing, No.—, Meer Imdad Ally, No.—, Sewbux Sing, No.—, Lutchmun Sing, No.—, Shaik Emambux, No.—, Oosman Khan, No.—, Muxood (Maqsud) Ally Khan, No.—, Shaik Ghaseebux, No.—, Shaik Omaid Ally, No.—, Abdool Wahab Khan, No.—, Ramsahai Sing, No.—, Panah Ally Khan, No.—, Luchmun Dooby, No.—, Ramsawarun Sing, No.—, Shaik Ezad Ally, No.—, Sew Sing, No.—, Seetul Sing, No.—, Mohun Sing, No.—, Velaiat Ally Khan, No.—, Shaik Mahomed Ewas (Shaikh Muhammad Ewaz) No.—, Indar Sing, No.—, Futteh Khan, No.—, Mycoo Sin (Maiku Singh) No.—, Shaik Kassim Ally, No.—, Ramchurn Sing, No.—, and Durriow (Daryao) Sing No.—, all troopers of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, placed in confinement by order of the Officer Commanding the Meerut Division, on the following charge —

For having, at Meerut, on the 24th of April 1857, severally and individually disobeyed the lawful command of their superior officer, Brevet-Colonel G. M. C. Smyth, commanding the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, by not having taken the cartridges tendered to each of them individually for use that day on parade, when ordered by Colonel Smyth to take the said cartridges.[1]

[1] Forrest, G. W. : *State Papers*, Volume I, 1857-58, pp. 237-240.

CAVALRY HOSPITAL AT MEERUT SET ON FIRE

Monday 4th May—A letter from Meerut informs *The Hurkaru*[1] that the native troops at that place still continue so disaffected, that they have burnt down the 3rd Cavalry Hospital.[2]

ARTILLERY-MEN RELUCTANT TO USE GREASED CARTRIDGES

Saturday May 9—*The Mofussilite* publishes a letter from its correspondent at Meerut. The Native Artillery were paraded for the purpose of being served out with cartridges. When the *Subadar* handed the cartridges, they all, collectively and individually, refused. Immediately 25 men were then and there paid up and dismissed. The Native Cavalry who some six days since refused to receive the cartridges are to be again paraded. If they again refuse, they are all to be punished . . .[3]

THE OUTBREAK

From Major-General W. H. Hewitt, Commanding the Meerut Division, to Colonel C. Chester, Adjutant-General of the Army, Simla, No. 395, *dated Division Head-Quarters, Meerut, 11th May* 1857.

I regret to have to report that the native troops at Meerut broke out yesterday evening in open mutiny. About 6-30 P. M. the 20th Regiment, Native Infantry, turned out with arms. They were reasoned with by their officers, when they reluctantly returned to their Lines, but immediately after they rushed out again and began to fire. The 11th Regiment, Native Infantry, had turned out with their officers, who had perfect control over them, inasmuch as they persuaded them not to touch their arms till Colonel Finnis had reasoned with the mutineers, in doing which he was, I regret to say, shot dead. After which act, the 20th Regiment, Native Infantry, fired into the 11th Regiment, Native Infantry, who then desired their

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette.*
[2] *The Hindu Intelligencer*, May 11, 1857, p. 148. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *The Friend of India*, May 14, 1857, p. 462. National Library, Calcutta.

officers to leave them, and apparently joined the mutineers. The 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, at the commencement mounted a party and galloped down to the jail to rescue the 85 men of the corps who were sentenced by the native General Court-martial, in which they succeeded, and at the same time liberated all the other prisoners, about 1200 in number. The mutineers then fired nearly all the bungalows in rear of the centre lines south of the *nullah*, including Mr. Greathed's, the Commissioner's, and mine, together with the Government cattle-yard and commissariat officer's house and office. In this they were assisted by the population of the bazaar, the city, and the neighbouring villages. Every European man, woman, and child fallen in with was ruthlessly murdered. Amongst those who are known to have fallen are Colonel Finnis, 11th Regiment, Native Infantry; Captain Taylor and Captain MacDonald, 20th Regiment, Native Infantry, together with the wife and two children of the latter; Cornet MacNabb, Veterinary-Surgeons Phillips and Dawson, together with the wife of the latter. The above particulars I have learnt from different parties.

2*nd*—As soon as the alarm was given, the Artillery, Carabineers, and 60th Rifles were got under arms, but by the time we reached the Native Infantry parade ground it was too dark to act with efficiency in that direction, consequently the troops were retired to the north of the *nullah*, so as to cover the barracks and officers' lines of the Artillery, Carabineers, and 60th Rifles, which were, with the exception of one house, preserved, though the insurgents, for I believe the mutineers had at that time retired by the Aligarh and Delhi road, burnt the vacant Sappers and Miners' Lines. At break of day the force was divided,—one-half left on guard, and the other taken to reconnoitre and patrol the Native Lines. The Guard from the 20th Regiment, Native Infantry, at the Pension Pay Office and Cantonment Magistrate's remained at their posts. Five native officers and some twenty men of the 11th Regiment, Native Infantry, remained with their officers; also about fifty men of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, who came on with their respective troop officers, whom they had aided and preserved. I am led to think the outbreak was not premeditated, but the result of a rumour that a party was parading to seize their arms, which was strengthened by the fact of the 60th Rifles parading for evening church service. Efficient measures

are being taken to secure the treasure, ammunition, and barracks, and to place the females and European inhabitants in the greatest security attainable.

3*rd*—Nearly the whole of the cantonment and *zillah* Police have deserted.

4*th*—The electric (telegraph) wire having been destroyed, it was impossible to communicate the state of things except by express, which was done, to Delhi and Umballa (Ambala).

5*th*—His Excellency will be kept daily informed of the state of things, and a more detailed report will be furnished as soon as circumstances permit commanding officers to furnish the necessary reports.[1]

* * *

Extract from the Memorandum on the Mutiny and Outbreak at Meerut in May, 1857 by Major Williams, Commissioner of the Military Police, N. W. Provinces, dated Allahabad, 15th November 1858.

Whatever may have been the state of the Bengal Army in the beginning of 1857, an ill-feeling was evidenced at Meerut against the Government, by the incendiary fires that commenced there in April of that year.

The introduction of the new cartridges appears to have been frequently canvassed among the native population, and in some instances, (vide deposition No[2]. 1) in a spirit of bitter hostility against Europeans and their religion. Rumours of polluted food to be forced upon all were also very prevalent; and the reputed prophecy, that the British rule was to last 100 years (of which 1857 was the close), was called to mind. These idle rumours, acknowledged by native officials to have been prevalent in the Meerut District, were, we can imagine, circulated by evil-disposed men, ready to take advantage of any change that might arise. The circulation of *chuppatties* so shortly before the outbreak, though appearing to us most mysterious and suspicious, yet, if we may credit the statements of those I have questioned on the subject, both high and low, was not regarded by them as an ill omen, but supposed to have

[1] Forrest, G. W. : *State Papers*, Volume I, 1857-58, pp. 249-250.

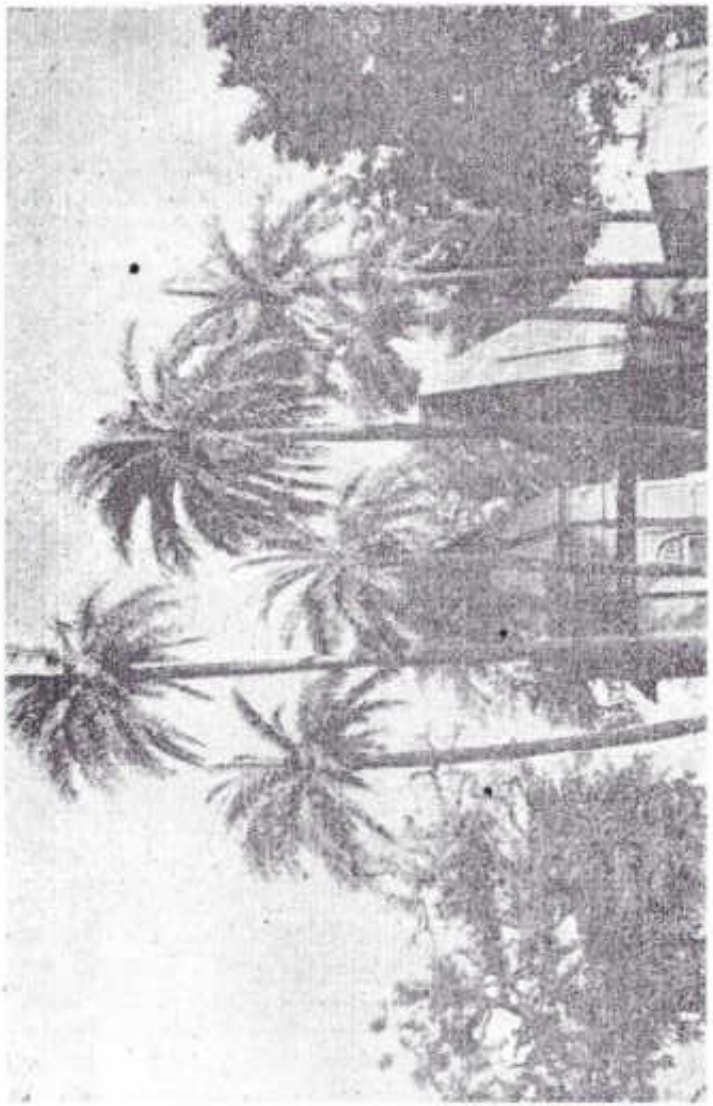
[2] For depositions see, *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Meerut District*, pp. 1-49 (Depositions).

originated in some vow. Many of those thus interrogated, I have no reason to doubt, being individuals who from the first, cast in their lot with ours, and perilled their lives for our cause; nor have I in consequence any just grounds for believing they concealed aught they knew. This mystery, notwithstanding every effort made to solve it, remains unravelled still.

In the beginning of this ever memorable year, being on special duty, as Joint Magistrate in four divisions, I passed through most of the districts, shortly afterwards, in open revolt. I had to deal with the worst of characters, being engaged in breaking up gangs of highway robbers; and though only attend ed by a small Guard of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, yet I found all as submissive and respectful as in former years, and witnessed not one sign nor symptom of the coming storm. I am aware that, however intimate Europeans may be with natives, however qualified by experience and long residence amongst them, to form some estimate of their character, but few thoroughly understand them : we float as it were on the surface, and if in official power, know even less than the Missionary and Planter, who mix more unreservedly amongst them. Yet surely if there had been a wideseated conspiracy, of which the *chuppatties* were a sign or symbol, some change in demeanour would have been apparent amongst the population of the many districts I passed through. Or, if the secret had been so carefully concealed from Europeans (save a few favored ones said to have received hints and warnings), that not a shade of suspicion crossed their minds, yet would it not have been detected by natives, even though clothed with official power ? whereas their evidence (if credible) proves that they, with ourselves, were alike ignorant of what was so shortly to be.

The *Fakeer's* appearance at the Umballa Depot, his residence at the Soorujkoond Tank, and in the Lines of the 20th Native Infantry, so shortly before the outbreak, and his great intimacy with sepoys, are certainly suspicious facts; but every endeavour to trace out his history, the object of his journeyings, and his ultimate fate, have failed; and nothing of a seditious nature has been elicited against him.

Taking for granted that the statements of the men of the 3rd Light Cavalry are correct, it would appear that the first act of open and decided mutiny in their Corps took place on the 22nd of April 1857, when the men were sworn in, on the Ganges (water) and the *Koran*, to refuse the cartridges, until the whole



Site of old Jail near Suraj Kund (*Meerut*)

Bengal Army had consented to accept them. This was done by two Mahomedan *Naiks*, who incited the men by stating, they were now sworn to defend their religion, and promising to set them the example; adding that a Magazine *classie* (*khallasi*) had averred the obnoxious cartridges were prepared with hog's and cow's fat. Those however served out to the troopers could not of course have been of the new sort that were objected to; and though we can fairly allow for suspicion having entered the minds of some, yet this fact is significant of a hostile feeling against Government, and a determination to make the worst of matter, by extending the prejudice originally incited by, and hitherto confined to, the Enfield Rifle cartridges, to those of the same kind as had been used by them for generations past.

Then followed the trial of the 85 sowars, and their imprisonment on Saturday 9th of May, in the new jail near the Soorujkoond Tank, the Guard of which was strengthened by the addition of a native officer and 24 sepoys from the 20th Native Infantry. All was thus supposed to have been quietly and peaceably settled, but alas not so.

Since the evidence was printed, Resaldar J. Hawes deposed, that whilst with the 3rd Light Cavalry at Meerut, some two or three men of that Corps came to him on the afternoon of the 10th May 1857, and said that the men of the Regiment intended next morning to give in a petition to the Colonel, soliciting the release of the 85 prisoners; that if Government again employed these men, or permitted them to return to their homes, the men of the Regiment would obey any orders whatever.

From a statement made to me by Vuzeer Ali Khan, Deputy Magistrate of Meerut, (but not recorded, as I failed to discover the *Vakeels* in question) it would appear, the troopers first thought of obtaining legal redress for their comrades, and with that view applied to the *Vakeels* of the Court to learn what steps should be taken for an appeal against the sentence of the Court Martial. If this be true, it proves that the last alternative of rescuing their companions by force of arms, had not then been resolved on, at least by all the Regiment. I have also been informed that the men were taunted by the disreputable inhabitants of the Sudder Bazar for allowing their brethren to suffer on account of their religion, and the cry of "*Deen, Deen,*" was even thus early raised.

However, whether the foregoing be true or not, the decision of an appeal to arms, most probably was arrived at on Saturday or Sunday; as the depositions prove that the Cashmerian girl, Sophie, received an intimation of the coming outbreak from a sepoy, at about 2 P. M. on the day of the revolt, which passed on to the mother of Mussumat Golab Jaun; it, through the latter, reached the ears of the late Dr. Smith; but he, as many others would have done, treated it merely as an idle bazar report, such as prevailed even before sentence was passed on the sowars; as, for instance, the Head Clerk of the Sessions Judge received a letter from his brother, stating the sepoys were determined to mutiny. This was also discredited. The warning given to the girl Sophie, is the first glimpse we have of an intention to mutiny; and one other is furnished by the evidence, though in a very different quarter.—Deposition No. 65, proving, that a sepoy came to the Sudder Bazar Guard at about half past 5 P. M., and apparently bid them hold themselves in readiness, adding aloud that they must permit no one to detain them; that upon his departure they immediately loaded their muskets, and at the first shot vacating their post, joined their comrades, shooting two Christians by the way.

The general belief that all the detached Guards broke out into revolt, as in this instance, simultaneously, was proved incorrect; it having been advanced as a striking proof of a preconcerted mutiny, questions to elicit the truth were put to all the sepoys and not only from them, but from other and private sources also, ample testimony was borne to the contrary. Many on hearing the firing (being acquainted with the rumours afloat regarding the disarming of the native troops), naturally hastened to the support of their regiments, and evidently prepared to resist any such measure by force. The above is the only known instance of a Guard being warned, and it occurred but half an hour before the outbreak.

The deposition of Syed Meer Khan, *Sirdar Bahadoor*, was taken to disprove a very prevalent notion, that he also had warned the Civil and Military Authorities of that which, according to his own showing, he was himself entirely ignorant.

Another strong proof of there being no prearranged plan of action, is the fact of their wives and children being left totally unprovided for, who wandered about the city for some days, houseless and homeless, and at last scattered in various directions in search of food and shelter whereas it is well known that on

any expected emergency, a native's first care is to place his family in place of security.

Again the evidence shows the mutineers fled precipitately, as a disorganized rabble, without a head to guide or control them. All these facts militate, I think, against the supposition of an organized conspiracy at least as respects the Meerut troops. And with regard to the city and bazar residents, their ignorance of and unpreparedness for, coming events, is palpably evident from the following facts : their shops were all open and goods unprotected; men were passing to and fro, paying, realizing, and carrying about with them money; vendors of goods hawking about their wares as usual, and travellers journeying unarmed both to and from the city and district; in fact, the usual routine of business and of pleasure flowing on in apparent peace and security.

It is evident that the minds of the native soldiery were kept in an agitated and inflamed state, by false and malicious reports busily circulated; of bones being ground down with *atta*, which they would be forced to eat; of their being shortly disarmed, and of sets of irons sufficient to confine the whole force, being in course of preparation. But that all were not aware of anything being about to transpire, is plain from many of the sepoys being in the bazars lounging about as usual, undressed and unarmed, when suddenly the cry is raised, "the Rifles and Artillery are coming to disarm all the Native Regiments;" and instantly they hurried to their respective Lines, accompanied by a large mob, who evidently expected something would happen. As far as could be ascertained, the report was raised by a cook boy attached to the Rifles, and confirmed by a sowar coming from the direction of the Brigade Major's house. As regards the former, it must be borne in mind, that the Rifles were present at the scene on Saturday morning, and would doubtless amongst themselves discuss the probability of having eventually to disarm all the native troops; that cook boys have a smattering of English, and may have caught up some expressions used by the soldiers, and hence originated the report, that when the Regiment was drawn up to proceed to Church, they may have concluded that their destination was the Native Lines, and in consequence gave the alarm. Thus a wretched cook boy lit the first spark, that so speedily set the Station in a blaze.

The evidence of the men of the 3rd Light Cavalry and

11th and 20th Native Infantry show what followed; how well the officers of those regiments behaved, seeking by every means in their power to reassure the minds of their misguided men, whom they trusted to the last, as every officer who knew and loved his men would have done; how nobly Colonel Finnis acted, leaving his own men who were devoted to him, and whom up to the moment that he fell, he had succeeded in restraining to pacify the sepoys of the 20th, by whose hands he lost his life. Then come the scenes of mutiny and murder, that took place on parade : the men having lost confidence in their officers, were no longer to be guided or controlled by them. The first shot is said to have been fired by a recruit of the 20th Native Infantry, who, incredible as it may appear, is stated to have paid with his life for his temerity, having been shot by his comrades for thus involving them in ruin and disgrace.

The bad characters of the city and bazar already assembled, (and like the brotherhood in every part of the world, ready to reap the fruits of any disturbance that might arise,) were at once up and doing; (the Sudder Bazars of Meerut and Cawnpoor have long been noted for their swarms of vagabonds) arms being ready at hand, the shops of native armourers affording an ample supply. Butchers, whose trade is blood, seem to have promptly taken the lead; the first man who attacked Major Taylor was one, and he was allowed to escape through that Officer's intervention. Bungalows were rapidly plundered and set on fire, those nearest the Sepoy Lines doubtless by the mutineers; but the evidence of Mrs. MacDonald's servants and others, show (shows) that the bad characters of Sudder Bazar took a prominent part in these acts of riot.

The scene, as described by eye-witnesses, must have been appalling. In an instant all order subverted; raging mobs of marauders roving about in search of plunder; loud yells and cries of "*Ali Ali*," (for the Mahomedans soon took the lead, raising above all other sounds this the watchword of their religion;) bungalows blazing in all directions; Europeans, the objects of popular fury, flying in haste and confusion; and the bodies here and there of our poor countrymen, and helpless women and children, weltering in their blood; must indeed have formed sights once seen, never to be forgotten.

Meanwhile at the very commencement of the outbreak a party of the 3rd Light Cavalry hurried off to the new jail

and released their comrades, no opposition being offered by the men of the 20th N. I., that had been sent to strengthen the Jail Guard. Having effected this, they returned in company with their brethren, leaving the rest of the prisoners in confinement. According to Mr. Dorrit's (the Jailor) statement, these amounting in number to 839 (desperate characters), were let out by a mob of villagers, who emboldened by impunity, attacked, broke open, and set fire to the jail about midnight. The inmates of the old jail, according to the *Darogah's* deposition[1] No. 21, were released about an hour after the outbreak by a small band of sepoys, who were thus permitted, unmolested, to let loose upon the Station a number of the worst and vilest characters to commit havoc and destruction; and who, in all probability, were the chief perpetrators of the atrocities committed on helpless women and innocent children, for the bodies found in this neighbourhood were the most mutilated, and by sword cuts; whereas those by the Parade grounds were evidently shot, and lay as they fell.

In tracing the route taken by one unfortunate lady, who, with her children, fled in disguise towards the city, I felt convinced that, as she emerged from the narrow lanes of the Hoossainee Bazar on to the high road, she must have fallen in with a band of these wretches, and by them have been so cruelly murdered.

The statements of Lieutenants Eckford and Furnell, show how the dastardly mob quailed before European energy and decision. And how much one undaunted Englishman could effect in saving life, single handed, and almost unarmed. Who can tell what might not have been accomplished, had the gallant Furnell's offers of service been accepted, instead of coldly rejected. Surely the noble gallantry of these two individuals, merits no less distinguished a reward than the Victoria Cross.

It would seem the mutineers made no stay in the Station, but fled on the first opposition, and in various directions; some, after holding a short and hurried consultation, towards Dehlie, thus proving they at least had no settled plan of action; the rest, in different and opposite directions; but all as disorganized mobs, with no acknowledged leader. Some of them,

[1] For depositions see, *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Meerut District*.

threw away their arms and property as they fled, fearing doubtless a pursuit, which alas was never attempted, and others (sowars) abandoned their horses, which were caught in the direction of Galoutie (Gulaothi) on the Boolundshahur Road and brought in.

Depositions Nos. 22 and 23 show, that a small party of 8 sowars, dressed in uniform, were met on the Dehlie Road, some four miles in advance of the main body, who from the time and place at which they were seen, must have started from the above named Council. This is the only intimation we have of any arrangement being made to prepare the native troops at Dehlie. These depositions also show how rapidly the troops became disorganized, even thus early taking to plundering all they came across, whether high or low, leaving their countrymen their lives only. We find likewise the crusade against Christians already commenced; had the occupants of the *Gharrie* (*Garhi*) been Europeans, instead of natives, they would undoubtedly have perished.

The statement here mentioned as being made by the Jail Guard to Moonshee Hursurun Dass, is one instance out of many, where a fear of being implicated in the punishment of the mutineers, led numbers to fly or join their cause.

The astonishingly rapid rise of the Goojur population, (a race of thieves by birth and profession) in consequence of the news of the revolt spread far and wide by the released convicts, and the prompt advantage they took of the outbreak to plunder and ill-treat all they came across, is startling.

It is not quite clear when these people entered the Station to share the carnage and spoil; but it would seem not before 8 P. M., and according to the statement of the *Chokeedars* about 10 P. M. by which time almost all the troops must have fled.

The readiness also with which the villagers fell in with the existing state of anarchy and disorder, plundering each other, and avenging wrongs real or imaginary, shows how completely they associated our power and stability with the native army; so that seeing they had turned against us, deemed our overthrow already accomplished. Thus, all continued acting according as their evil passions swayed them, until demonstrations of English power, on the morning of the 11th in the city and bazars, and some time later in the district, showed them the falsity of their notions, and sufficed to restore order.

The above evidence does indeed bring out strange facts and inconsistencies; more especially so, if we are to consider the revolt, as the outbreak of an united people against its rulers and oppressors.

For instance, European soldiers are warned by a 3rd Light Cavalry trooper to fly and save their lives; others of the same Corps interpose between Mrs. Courtney and a mob, from whom they succeed in saving her, though alas but for a time, as very shortly after she and her children are brutally murdered at the gates of the house of the Deputy Magistrate of Meerut, cruelly closed against her when seeking shelter within them, and this but a few yards from a Police Station.

In opposition to the friendly conduct of these troopers, we find the Cantonment Police at best looking indifferently on, and often themselves assisting in the destruction of that, for the preservation of which they drew their subsistence.

But let us again turn to the bright side of the picture. Buktawur (Bakhtawar) *Chowkeedar* perils his own life in the attempt to save that of his mistress. I earnestly sought for this man to reward him, but failed to obtain any traces of him; and the *Ayah* never leaves the children entrusted to her, but secures them a place of refuge. Matadeen, another servant, with a sword touching his throat, refused to say aught that could betray his master. Sadhee, a gardener, conceals his master, mistress, and two other ladies. Juggernath, a *Chuppra-ssie*, with other fellow servants, boldly defends his master's property, and forcibly recovers some from the hands of a plunderer. And last, but not least, Asgur (Asghar) Ali, a descendant of the "Prophet", conceals his Christian tenants, at the risk of his own life, and notwithstanding the loss of all his property in consequence, nobly continues firm to his self-imposed trust, and for days provides them with food and shelter in his own house. Others, on the contrary, displayed acts of base cruelty and treachery. Such instances were however of rare occurrence, and though with regard to some of the former, a farsighted prudence may have furnished interested motives for fidelity, yet such could not have been the case with all, as a careful perusal of the facts will show.

The mutiny at other places, and at subsequent periods, affords similar instances of strange incongruity; and though not connected with the outbreak at Meerut, from the incidents of which the foregoing observations are drawn, I may perhaps

be justified in inserting here, as collateral proofs of the same thing, and links in the great chain of events that have rendered the year 1857 one of the most memorable in the annals of our history.

A few days after the outbreak at Meerut, a small Guard of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, with a party of Dacoitee Police, of their own accord and for greater safety, escorted the office records and treasure-chest in their charge, from Meerut to Agra, fighting their way down, and when attacked by insurgent villagers, beating them off with heavy loss. They were well rewarded for their fidelity; yet in less than two months after, deserted almost to a man.

Two sowars of the same Regiment accompanied an officer in every expedition he undertook throughout the revolt; being at times for days alone with him, when his life (humanly speaking) lay entirely at their mercy. They were promoted for their uniform good conduct; yet deserted shortly previous to the fall of Dehlie, when even natives acknowledged the Mahomedan cause a hopeless one.

A small body of Dacoitee Police, all Mahomedans, displayed rare fidelity, the only Guard by day and night : they remained true to their trust during the revolt. When communication by post was closed, they carried letters and despatches, running the greatest risk, for it is well known what treatment our messengers met with if discovered by the rebels, who then covered the country; and this not for reward such as was given to special *Kossids* (*Qasids*) but in their proper tour of duty, and for their ordinary pay, and with one exception (an important despatch to Lucknow, the fate of the messenger of which has never transpired) all reached their destinations safely. Moreover, the fidelity of these men was put strongly to the test, when one of their comrades found plundering, received 80 lashes and his dismissal. This severe punishment inflicted in the height of the revolt in no way affected their behaviour; but some two months afterwards, when Dehlie had fallen, most of them deserted.

The mutiny even amongst the native soldiery, affords similar contradictions in the conduct of various individuals; some evincing unconquerable and unfounded distrust, others clinging to our cause under most discouraging circumstances, and in spite of our evident mistrust; for example, Soobadar Bhowanie Singh, 2nd Light Cavalry, defends most gallantly

the Colors and treasure-chest of his Regiment, until wounded and left senseless by his own men, and subsequently sacrifices his life for the State, fighting to the last against his rebel brethren in the intrenchments at Cawnpore.

How striking also the fidelity of those sepoys of the 56th N. I. admitted within those same intrenchments, as proved by the statement of Lieutenant Moubray Thomson, 53rd N. I., one of the few survivors, according to whom, more would have joined had they been permitted; and still more surprising was the conduct of some of his own Corps and others, who though being mistrusted and hence denied admittance within the enclosure, would not join the enemy, but, as suggested occupied the hospital outside, which they defended against their mutinous comrades, while it remained tenable. If we may trust those sepoys who freely shared the pains and hardships of their officers, fear and distrust caused many to fail us; as for instance, the firm impression the troops entertained, that the ditch around the intrenchments, where they were desired to assemble for the purpose of receiving their pay the day before the outbreak, was mined, with a view to blow them all up; and that in consequence, they refused to attend as requested.

Again, as the reverse of this, we have witnessed the wonderful fidelity, through taunts and hardships, and loss of life and limb, of the Lucknow garrison. At Meerut likewise the men of the 11th N. I. who remained true to their officers when permission was given them to visit their homes, because the Military Authorities mistrusted them, declined availing themselves of it, and preferred engaging in the Police, in which they did the State good service.

The Meerut Police also, bad and worthless though they proved as whole, furnished some individuals who behaved remarkably well, fought in the ranks of the District Volunteers, and having proved themselves excellent servants of the State, were eventually taken into and formed the nucleus of the present N. W. Police raised at Meerut on the 27th of June 1857. Many other instances might doubtless be adduced, of which I am unaware.

The distrust of Europeans, extended even to their officers with whom they had passed years in friendly intimacy, was a powerful engine of mischief in the hands of the evil-disposed, by whom it was assiduously implanted and nurtured. This was the main cause of the mutiny of the 29th N. I. as is

plainly evidenced from a narrative of occurrences by one of its officers, confirmed by the statements of the native Doctor and *Moolvie*, who, true to our cause, were carried prisoners to Dehlie, and from thence made their escape. From them it would seem the Corps would have accompanied their officers to Meerut, but that their firm conviction was, by doing so they would gain nothing but a certain and speedy death.

I was forcibly convinced of the real existence of this feeling, from the difficulty I experienced in getting two sowars (my escort) to follow me into Meerut, which at length they only did on my pledging my life for theirs. Again the Sikhs who left the 2nd Oude Irregular Cavalry when they mutinied, entered Meerut with fear and trepidation, but subsequently joined the Meerut District Volunteers, and did excellent service.

A letter from a trooper in concealment, lately brought under my observation, reveals a strange state of things, and is very probably in some respects a sample of many similar cases. He writes to one from whom in brighter days he received much kindness, to a son of whom he is indebted for the knowledge of writing, by means of which he makes known his circumstances, and from whom he evidently conceals nothing, even confessing to his having taken rebel service from dire necessity. In his letter he states that, "after hearing of the Meerut mutiny" his Corps the 2nd Cavalry began plotting, and that he related all he learnt from them to the Adjutant. Although his letter cannot, strictly speaking, be considered evidence, yet being written under the circumstances, and in the manner already mentioned, may be taken as another proof, that the mutiny spread through the Bengal Army, (already in a highly excited and dissatisfied state) like any infectious disease in a vitiated atmosphere. The contagion being allowed to spread from Meerut unchecked, and without the prompt and stern retribution the exigencies of the case required, even the cutting off root and branch of the diseased member, corps after corps caught the infection, excited and encouraged by the uncontradicted boast of the extermination of all Europeans, and the overthrow of the British Rule by the native troops at Meerut; and when this was at length controverted, still lured on by the glowing accounts of unbounded wealth obtained from the plunder of Europeans and Government treasuries, and the honors and promotions expected from the rebel King.

Caste also, that great bond of union and engine of evil, attached thousands to the ranks of its (so deemed) martyrs and defenders, for unfounded though the report was, yet numbers did believe that Christianity was to be forced upon all ranks and classes of natives; and to many a Hindoo, the preservation of his caste (his only security for eternal happiness hereafter) is dearer to him than life. Fruitless were all endeavours to shake the general belief in this opinion, for natives like children are swayed by every idle report, and these were assiduously kept afloat by evil and designing men, interested in and anxious for a change. Suspicion and distrust thus once sown, attachment speedily waned; and though some of the older soldiers still loved and revered their officers, they were powerless for good. And although this does not justify their failure in their duty, as doubtless they should even have given up life for their "salt" yet allowances must be made for their very trying position. In fact we can hardly appreciate as it deserves, the sacrifices and sufferings of those who through all have remained true to us.

The cry of "religion" that was so early raised in support of their cause, is maintained still, and the taunt of having become "Christian", yet hurled at our allies. But the other day a detachment of newly-raised Police attacking a party of rebel sepoys, were jeeringly received with a shout of "Come on Christians." The reply was a bullet that laid the utterer low, ere yet the words had died away upon his lips. Whatever a man's creed may be, due credit should be accorded him for sincerity, until at least he prove the reverse. Again every allowance should be made, considering the sudden and complete gloom that overshadowed the country, through the dark folds of which but a few far-sighted individuals could penetrate. Let us picture it to ourselves awhile—

A few native troops suddenly mutiny; burn, plunder and murder; release prisoners, and completely subvert all order and authority, and this with scarce any opposition, in the face of a large European force. Thence passing on unchecked to a large and important city, with the uncontradicted boast that they had exterminated the British and overthrown their rule, gain possession of it; winning over their fellow soldiers cantoned there; enact over again the same scene of anarchy, bloodshed and riot; proclaim a rebel King, issue proclamations and exact revenue in his name; cut off all communication and

overrun the surrounding country. Their example is rapidly followed; whole regiments tread eagerly in their steps; entire districts pass away from our hold; petty chiefs and princes exercise, undisputed, the rights of sovereignty; while their late lordly Rulers are nowhere seen, or beheld only as way-worn, travellers, soiled, famishing, and often sore-wounded fugitives; pleading for food, shelter and concealment, and at times repulsed as the offscouring (offscourings) of earth, by those who lately would have kissed the dust under their feet. The few Provinces still held by us, kept only by the self devotion of their Civil and Military Officers, and gallant bands of volunteers, here and there assisted by a handful of troops. Seeing us powerless to help or protect our friends, or to chastise our foes, can we wonder that the timid, wavering, and weak fell in with those who, for the time being at least, best made the weight of their vengeance known; or can we wonder that the masses of people, losing sight of all signs of our power and authority, and witnessing only the evidences (temporary though they were) of the rule of our enemies, should readily credit their reports of our subversion and utter annihilation; and all this occurring at the end of the foretold 100 years, during which our rule was to last, should fancy they saw the finger of God in the exact fulfilment of the prophecy?

I must here observe, that the foregoing remarks (regarding the nature of the mutiny as to whether it were preconcerted or not) and conclusions, only refer to and are deduced from the evidence taken regarding the Meerut outbreak, and refer only to the declared fact of a wide-spread mutiny throughout the Bengal Army, as evidenced by the occurrences of that Station where first the storm broke.

I am aware that many statements exist of signs and warnings previously, and information of a conspiracy subsequently, to the outbreak having been given to various individuals. Such reports were current at Meerut; but on taking them, and individually sifting and attesting them, they vanished ghost-like into thin air, and not one of all the parties said to have furnished them, would acknowledge any acquaintance with the alleged facts. Those therefore who have received any information regarding such a conspiracy should undoubtedly come forward and have the same attested, both for the punishment of the guilty, and for the security of the public hereafter.

If any such plot throughout the native army existed, the Meerut troops were indeed rash and insane to mar the whole, simply that they might hasten the release of their companions, which a short time subsequently could have been effected with far greater chances of success, less risk to themselves, and with infinitely grander results to the cause they had at heart. Granting the existence of such a conspiracy, how can we account for such mad rashness on the part of these conspirators? Nor that after thus hastily releasing their comrades, doing all the injury they could by the way, they should flee without an acknowledged head or guide, or any plan of operations; and then only (finding themselves unmolested) hold a hurried council to decide upon their future operations. (Vide deposition No. 4).

Being deeply interested in the fate of many who fell at Cawnpore, and having collected all the evidence procurable up to the present time, of atrocities committed, or said to have been committed by the rebels there, (and which from the number of the victims and the cruelty of their fate rank pre-eminent among all the tragedies of this ever memorable revolt) I have anxiously and carefully sifted the whole.

The statement of Lieutenant Moubray Thomson, Commandant of Military Police, the depositions of Mrs. Bradshaw and Letts of the 56th Regiment Native Infantry, of Elizabeth and Isabella Speirs, 53rd Regiment Native Infantry and of Peer Bux, Camel Sowar, give perhaps a correct account of the fearful massacre at the Choura Suttee (Sati Chaura) Ghat on the 27th June 1857. They afford some insight into the horrors of that terrible day, which require no false coloring to make them almost surpass conception. Mrs. Murray, on cross-examination, denies the ladies and women having been stripped, and receiving but a piece of scant blue cloth instead.

The evidence of Drummer John Fitchett, 6th Regiment Native Infantry, and of the sepoys 56th Regiment Native Infantry, who were confined with the poor sufferers in the Savada House, prove that they retained their own clothing; and moreover that on the removal of the prisoners to the Beebegurh, or Slaughter-house, clothes belonging to the ladies and left with the washermen when they went into the intrenchments, were recovered and returned to them. Fearful assuredly have been the scenes enacted during this revolt, but they exceed only in a small degree those of other revolutions in far more

civilized, and, be it remembered, professedly Christian nations; and are consequences such as ever must occur, when the evil unbridled passions of men are allowed full sway. When the history of the Bengal Army shall be written in a just and candid spirit, it will be cleared of many of the sweeping charges at present hurled against it. It will be seen that while many base acts of cruelty and treachery have attended it, not a few noble acts of devotion and fidelity redeem the hideous darkness of the picture.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated 21st May 1857.

The Mutinies—The horrible details of mutiny and massacre of which rumours and reports have reached town during the last few days have fallen upon a state of public feeling utterly un-prepared to receive them even after the seditious misconduct and disbandment of two regiments of the line. It was certainly known *that a spirit of disaffection pervaded the entire native army;* but there were specious reasons for supposing that it could rise to the culminating point and manifest itself by deeds only in the distant and disliked cantonments of Bengal. The favourite stations of Meerut and Delhi have, however, *been the scene of mutineering violence such as has no parallel in the military history of British India.* Full particulars of the outbreak have not yet reached Government; but the following narrative, compiled from what we conceive to be reliable sources, will afford our readers a connected view of its rise and progress.

Our readers are aware that eighty-five troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry at Meerut had been sentenced by a Court-martial to various terms of imprisonment for mutinously refusing on the parade ground to receive and fire the cartridges served out to them. *The whole regiment seem to have sympathised with the convicted mutineers, and to have spread the infection over all the native troops in the station.* The 11th and 20th Regiments of Infantry were won over, and brought to join in the conspiracy. *On the afternoon of Sunday, the 10th instant, the 3rd Cavalry and 20th Infantry, commenced the emeute by rushing out of their Lines and calling upon the 11th to join them.* The latter hesitated for a

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Meerut District*, pp. 4-12.

moment, but soon joined them. The officers hastened to the parade ground, and Colonel Finnis of the 11th endeavoured to pacify them; but he was instantly killed by a sepoy of the 20th. The officers finding both expostulation and resistance useless retreated towards the barracks of the 6th Carabineers for safety. The sepoys set fire to the officers' quarters, mess houses and every building in the vicinity and proceeded to massacre every European within their reach. There appears to have been some delay in bringing out the European troops, and they were compelled by the flames of the burning bungalows to make a detour in order to reach the grounds occupied by the native troops. Meanwhile the 3rd Light Cavalry had galloped off to the town jail, where their convicted comrades were confined, broken into the establishment and released all the prisoners. Returning to the scene of the first outrage, they joined the Infantry in the work of assassination and violence. Veterinary Surgeon Phillips and Lieutenant Dawson of the 3rd Cavalry and wife of the latter, Lieutenant MacNabb of the same regiment, Surgeon Christie, Captains Taylor and MacDonald of the 20th and the wife of the latter, Lieutenants Henderson and Pattle and Mrs. Chambers, wife of the Adjutant of the 11th N. I., and some other European residents of the Station, male and female, including children were besides Colonel Finnis, among those murdered. Neither sex nor age was spared. The appearance of the European troops made the mutineers desist in the perpetration of these atrocities, and to turn towards the road to fly. The Horse Artillery fired a few shots at them, and they were pursued by the Carabineers.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hindu Intelligencer', May 25, 1857.

The Meerut mutiny took place on Sunday the 10th May, about half past six in the evening, as the Europeans were about going to Church. The regiments that mutinied were the 11th N. I., the 20th N. I., and the 3rd Light Cavalry....

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 21st May 1857, pp. 163-164. National Library, Calcutta.

The mutinous regiments then proceeded to Delhi. Since then a good many men of the 11th N. I., and about 100 men of the 3rd Light Cavalry have returned to Meerut. . . .[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated May 21, 1857.

Tuesday May 19—*The Englishman* has received a letter from Meerut. At the commencement of the *emeute* the 3rd Light Cavalry mounted, galloped off to the jail and liberated their 85 comrades. Returning from the jail, they joined the mutineers of the 20th N. I. and then the massacre began.[2]

* * *

Account of the Escape of some of the Officers of the 20th Native Infantry.

On Sunday, the 10th May, at half-past 5 P. M., several officers of the 20th were sitting in the Commanding Officer's bungalow, when Lieutenant Pattle entered with the information that he had been told, that some disturbance had occurred in the Lines. The officers proceeded together to the Lines, and hearing no uproar did not even think it necessary to return to their respective bungalows to arm themselves. The sepoys were quite quiet, and the officers were informed that a report had been circulated that the Europeans were coming down to seize the Regimental Magazine. The officers walked through the Lines, conversing with the men assuring them that while they remained quiet their Magazine would remain intact. On arriving at the Regimental Magazine, they found the road leading from the Suddur Bazar to the above building blocked up by natives of the bazars and city. They thronged in immense numbers close up to the Magazine, and Captain Taylor ordered the Grenadier Company to drive the populace back with sticks. The sepoys did not move, but the Christian drummers and musicians armed themselves with sticks and carried out the order. After an interval of about quarter of

[1] *The Hindu Intelligencer*, May 25, 1857, p. 167. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *The Friend of India*, May 21, 1857, p. 487. National Library, Calcutta.

an hour, during which the officers were talking to and reassuring the men, they saw several sepoys stealing away with loaded muskets. The officers separated, ran after them, and persuaded them to return to their huts. Presently, a 3rd Light Cavalry trooper galloped into the Lines, told the men that the Europeans were coming, and that if they were soldiers, and intended doing anything, to do it at once. The bazar miscreants joined in the cry. Entire Companies rushed forward, the officers made many return, but numbers more stole away towards the Magazine. The *kotees* were broken open, the arms seized, and Colonel Finnis, 11th N. I., on approaching the 20th Magazine was fired at and killed; Captain MacDonald, 20th N. I. and V. Tregear, Esq., Inspector of Schools, were shot down immediately afterwards. The remainder of the officers had taken up their position in the centre streets, and were endeavouring to keep back the left wing. The bullets were flying thickly around them, information was brought of the above murders, and several sepoys urged them to leave. They walked sorrowfully and sadly away, and as soon as they were clear of the Lines were chased by sepoys, and obliged to run, compromising the indignity of the action by proceeding at a jog trot. There was no lack of courage displayed by the officers of the 20th. Lieutenant Humphrey, in attempting to reach the Magazine, after three Europeans had been killed, had his horse shot under him riddled with eleven bullets. Not a single officer, unarmed as they were, hesitated in forcing back their men, and on refusing to return to their duty, sepoys with muskets loaded and cocked were knocked down by the fists of their unarmed officers. However, there is a time for everything, a time to fight and a time to run, and the period for scuttling had now arrived. The escape of any officer of the 20th was perfectly miraculous. Lieutenant Humphrey, when his horse had been killed, was fired at on the ground by numbers, and within a few paces, but escaped unscathed, and concealed himself all night in an outhouse attached to the hospital; Captain Earle escaped by driving at full gallop through crowds of natives and amidst showers of bullets. Neither horse, *buggy*, nor man were injured. Ensign Lewes was wounded in the neck by a musket ball, was immediately pursued by sepoys and bazar people, ran through several compounds, in one of which he met a carriage driving off, entered it and escaped. Captain Taylor, Lieutenants Henderson, Shuldham, Pattle,

Tyler and Assistant Surgeon Adley went off in a body unarmed and on foot. Whenever they moved they were encountered by immense mobs; every street, lane, by-path, and compound was one vast mass of animated villainy, yelling death and destruction to the *Feringhees*. After numerous escapes occasionally effected by the use of their fists against armed men, they took refuge in the out-houses of Colonel Smyth's compound. Captain Taylor, Lieutenants Henderson and Pattle separated, were discovered and killed. The out-houses were set fire to, and they were murdered in attempting to escape from the flames. Captain Taylor was killed by the mob, Lieutenants Pattle and Henderson escaped about 100 bullets for a far worse fate, they were cut to pieces by the mob. The remaining three vowed to stand or fall together, armed themselves with sticks and took refuge in the temple of Cloacina. The sanctity of their asylum proved their salvation, their place of refuge was the only building in the entire compound not set fire to; after a five hours' sojourn here, they heard the troops marching past, and joined them.[1]

* * *

Another Account of the Occurrences at Meerut.

On Sunday evening, the 9th May[2], about 6 P. M. just as people were going to church the whole of 3rd Cavalry saddled as if for a mounted parade, and went up to the jail, and without offering any violence or force demanded the rescue of their comrades, the 85 Troopers that had been put into irons, and on their being delivered up, quietly returned to their Lines or rather to their parade but remained mounted and under arms; the 11th and 20th N. I. paraded and joined them with their arms. The officers of the three corps assembled on parade and tried to harangue them, when all the three corps fired upon and killed a great many of them. In the meanwhile the ladies having heard of the insurrection proceeded to the European Lines, but two of them Mrs. MacDonald and Mrs. Chambers with their children were most cruelly murdered, and

[1] Carey, W. H. : *The Mahomedan Rebellion*, pp. 41-43.
[2] It must be 10th May which was Sunday. *cf. The Mahomedan Rebellion*, p. 41; and *The Hindu Intelligencer*, May 25, 1857, p. 167.

their bodies thrown into the flames of burning houses. Simultaneously with the rising of the mutineers, the people of the Sudder Bazar and all the villages around attacked the town of Meerut and commenced plundering, after having liberated some 1400 convicts, most of them sentenced to imprisonment for life. The mutineers after murdering every European man, woman, or child, that came in their way, set fire to their Lines, and every house on the other side or southward of the *nullah*, which runs through cantonments, and after pillaging and destroying all the property, marched in a body to Delhi, having advance and rear guards as if on an ordinary line of march. Meerut is one of our strongest and largest European stations, but most strange to say no pursuit whatever was made, and these cruel mutineers that ought to have been all shot before they reached Delhi, marched into that city quite unmolested.[1]

* * *

Another Account of the Occurrences at Meerut.

On Sunday evening, the 10th May, while a portion of the European troops were attending divine service the 20th N. I. broke out into open mutiny, calling on the 11th N. I. to join them. The men of the latter corps at once proceeded to their Colonel's (Finnis), requesting that they might be allowed to have their arms. This was refused them, but their Colonel accompanied them to the parade ground and commenced addressing the men of the 20th, who without parley at once shot him down, other officers coming up were treated in the same manner. The 3rd Light Cavalry hearing the disturbance at once came down from their Lines, and then began the diabolical scene of burning all bungalows and murdering every European they came across, sparing neither man, woman nor child. A body of the insurgents proceeded to the jail and released those men of the 3rd Cavalry who had been imprisoned the day before for refusing to take their cartridges. The *Budmashes* of the Sudder Bazar then joined and the scenes which ensued defy all description. Not a bungalow in the Native Lines escaped destruction, and many of the officers of

[1] Carey, W. H. : *The Mahomedan Rebellion*, pp. 39-40.

the 20th were sacrificed—those of the 11th N. I. were protected by their men and nearly all escaped.

A troop of Horse Artillery and Battery were soon on the spot with the whole of the 60th Rifles and Dragoons. The troops fired some rounds of grape in the direction whence the firing was heard, but night having closed in it was difficult to ascertain the exact position of the rebels.

A troop of the 6th Dragoons Guards was as early as possible dispatched to the jail, as it was at once conjectured that a rescue would be attempted, but unfortunately the party missed their way and arrived only to find the prisoners released.

When the English regiment did get to the Native Lines it was only to find them one blaze of fire—there is scarcely the vestige of a house left at that side of the station. The natives shewed fight till they had one volley fired among them by the Rifles, when they all turned and ran. The European regiment chased them several miles out of the Station.

The night of the 11th passed off quietly with the exception of the burning of a row of empty artillery stables, which rather did good than otherwise by lighting up and exposing a few Goojurs.[1]

ROAD BETWEEN MEERUT AND DELHI IN POSSESSION OF REVOLUTIONARIES

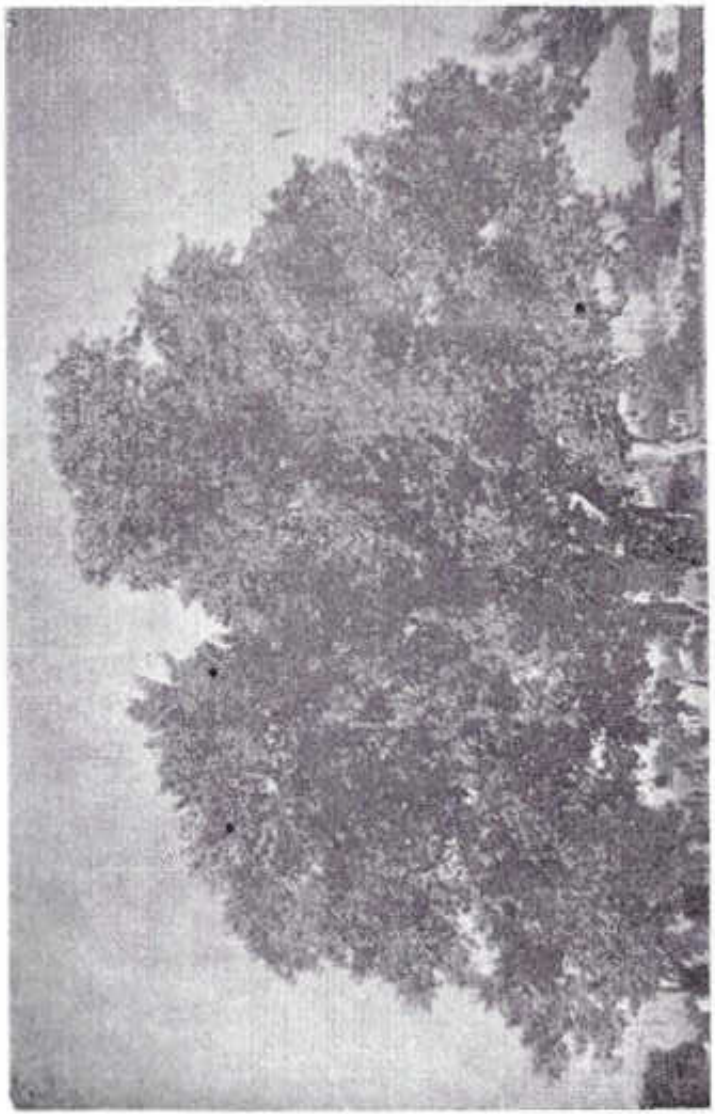
The Englishman of the 14th May reports firing at Meerut on the 10th and 11th instant, that a troop of the 3rd Cavalry has possession of the road between Meerut and Delhi, and that Delhi was held by insurgent regiments.[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated May 21, 1857.

The same journal (*The Englishman*) informs us that heavy firing was heard at Boolundshuhur. The sound apparently proceeded from Meerut. A troop of the 3rd Light Cavalry have taken possession of the road from Meerut to Delhi. They are stationed on the bridge at Hindun. The villagers residing

[1] Carey, W. H. : *The Mahomedan Rebellion*, pp. 40-41.
[2] *The Dacca News*, May 23, 1857, p. 180. National Library, Calcutta.



Bargad tree near old Jail of Meerut used for hanging the Patriots

between Meerut and Haupper (Hapur)[1] have joined the mutineers. All communications on either road have been stopped, and travellers are plundered and maltreated. It has been reported that a large body of insurgents has gone to Agra....[2]

LINK IN OUTBREAKS

Extract from the Memorandum on the Mutiny and Outbreak at Meerut in May 1857 by Major Williams, Commissioner of the Military Police, N. W. Provinces.

The mutiny at other places, and at subsequent periods, affords similar instances of strange incongruity; and though not connected with the outbreak at Meerut, from the incidents of which the foregoing observations are drawn, I may perhaps be justified in inserting here, *as collateral proofs of the same thing, and links in the great chain of events that have rendered the year 1857 one of the most memorable in the annals of our history.*[3]

REPORTS OF MOLESTATION OF EUROPEAN WOMEN FOUND UNTRUE

Letter from Thomas C. Smyth to Major G. W. Williams, dated Meerut, December 16, 1857.

Since receiving your letter of the 11th instant I have made enquiries in several quarters as to the painful subject upon which you write. I have learned from several unquestionable sources that the bodies of females murdered at Meerut on the 10th May were brutally insulted after death; *but I cannot discover a single case in which it is clearly proved that violation was actually perpetrated.* I am now of opinion that no females were violated at Meerut.

[1] *Hapur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Hapur*, District *Meerut*—The headquarters of the tahsil is the second town in the district, and is situated, in latitude 28° 43′ north and longitude 77° 47′ east, on the metalled road from Meerut to Bulandshahr, at the point where it is crossed by a second metalled road running from Ghaziabad to Garhmuktesar, at a distance of 19 miles from Meerut and 62 miles from Aligarh. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 234).

[2] *The Friend of India*, May 21, 1857, p. 486. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Meerut District*, p. 9. Also *cf.* Last Para, p. 17 of this volume.

ATROCITIES BY REVOLUTIONARIES EXAGGERATED

The statements which appear in the English newspapers regarding the atrocities perpetrated by the rebels here and elsewhere are, in many instances, grossly exaggerated, as in the case of Riding-master Langdale's child of the 3rd Cavalry, who was actually killed with one blow of a *tulwar* while sleeping on the *charpoy;* whereas she is stated to have been cut in pieces by little and little, with every refinement of gradual torture.

The Sirdhanah Nuns were also mentioned in an English paper as having escaped to "a valley in Thibet (Tibet)," instead of which they were housed from June till early in September within the walls of the Rifle Hospital.[1]

* * *

Letter from C. B. Saunders, Offg. Commissioner and Agent Lieutenant-Governor, to W. Muir, dated Delhi, December 17, 1857.

With reference to the enquiry which Lord Canning's Private Secretary has desired you to make, I would beg to state that I believe there is no reason whatsoever to suppose that the European ladies and girls massacred either at Meerut or Delhi were violated or outraged before death put an end to their sufferings. I have taken considerable pains to ascertain whether there is any foundation for the tales which have obtained publication in the public prints regarding violence having been offered to poor Miss Jennings and Miss Clifford, and am perfectly satisfied that there is no ground whatever for the supposition that they were in any way ill-treated before death. Every account which I have received confirms the fact that they were at once killed by the Palace rabble and others, who rushed up into the quarters of the commandant of the Palace Guards and there and then massacred the whole party assembled. Articles like that which I return, and which appeared in a Bombay paper purporting to have been communicated from Umritsur (Amritsar), are in my opinion most dastardly and unwarrantable. I much wonder at an editor having allowed such a statement to have found room in his paper, calculated, as it was, to harrow the feelings of relatives

[1] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 375.

and to do no earthly good, but, on the contrary, much evil by hounding on our troops and officials to what I cannot but term an unholy and unchristian thirst for vengeance.

I have before written to Sir John Lawrence on the subject of the atrocious tales which obtained currency in the papers regarding poor Miss Jennings and her companion, and was glad to find in the last *Lahore Chronicle* an authoritative contradiction to the rumours. The atrocities which have been committed during the rebellion have been quite sufficiently appalling without the need of any exaggeration, which the papers of the "blood and scalp" school have deemed necessary to introduce, with a view to inflame the feelings of our countrymen and turn them into fiends. Poor Wigram Clifford, who was killed at Sonah[1], was very much distressed by hearing from England tales of his sister having been for days saved and kept in the King's harem, and for which there was no possible foundation.

As you say, there may have been rare and exceptional cases in which ladies at other stations have been ill-treated, and possibly some half-caste women may yet be alive who have been obliged to sacrifice their honour, but I doubt much if there have been many such.

I have spoken to Ramchunder on the subject, and he tells me that the only instance which came to his knowledge of any woman having been ill-treated in any way at Delhi was when one of the 3rd Cavalry troopers insultingly patted the cheeks of some poor creature at Durayogunge (Dariaganj)[2], on which her husband shot the man, and both husband and wife were immediately killed by the bystanders.[3]

* * *

Letter from C. B. Thornhill, Offg. Secretary to Government N. W. P., to W. Muir, dated Agra, December 26, 1857.

I am very glad that my note to Dr. Kay has caused an enquiry into the foundation upon which the numerous reports of violation of English women are based.

[1] *Sonah*—Town in *Gurgaon* District, *Punjab.*
[2] A locality in *Delhi.*
[3] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, pp. 375-376.

My own attention was first drawn to the question in consequence of a letter referring to the barbarous murder of a lady in Meerut having been amplified, by the persons to whom it was addressed, into a case of violation previous to murder.

The writer had no intention of conveying such an impression, and I thought it probable that many other letters, similarly worded in general and equally comprehensive terms, might have produced result, and I have therefore endeavoured to trace the reports to their source whenever I had an opportunity, and I have invariably found that no sort of evidence existed which in any way substantiated them.

We all know that Hindoos would regard connection with a Christian as involving loss of caste, and that the feelings of Mahomedans would lead them to veil such act with the closest secrecy. It is also contrary to human nature to believe that promiscuous intercourse could have occurred in the public manner which is supposed.

Again, who have described these occurrences ? All the European sufferers were massacred, and the natives most positively deny their existence in fact. I feel, therefore, little doubt that the more this painful subject is brought under close enquiry, the more satisfactory will be the evidence that our country-women have not suffered that last insult which would have rendered their awful death, if possible, more horrible, and have caused additional anguish to their relatives and to their country.[1]

BULANDSHAHR

OUTBREAK IN BULANDSHAHR

Extracts from Letter No. 406 *of* 1858, *from F. Williams, Commissioner,* 1*st Division, to William Muir, Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, Allahabad, dated the* 15*th November* 1858.

BOOLUNDSHUHUR (BULANDSHAHR)

333.—The subjoined report from Mr. Sapte, Magistrate of Boolundshuhur, is so full and interesting, that I have nothing

[1] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, pp. 376-377.

to add to it; but an earnest hope that Government will acknowledge the gallant and valuable services of all the officers mentioned in it.

334.—On first hearing of the mutiny of the troops at Meerut, I called on all the *talookdars* of the district to shew their attachment to the Government, by furnishing me with men and horses, and by preventing the villagers on their estates from rising.

335.—Rao Golab Singh, of Rochesur, immediately responded to my call by sending a small body of Horse and Foot, armed and equipped. Mohomed Alee Khan of Chitaree (Chhatari), Moorad Alee Khan of Puhasoo (Pahasu), Abdool Luteef (Abdul Latif) Khan of Khanpoor, Luchmun Singh of Shikarpoor, also sent me such men as they could spare; and I strengthened my police posts to the best of my power.

336.—To Inayut-oollah Khan and Abdool Ruhman Khan, of Chundeeroo (Chanderu), on the road between Boolundshuhur and Secundrabad, to Ruttun (Ratan) Singh, Shadee Ram, Nowbut (Naubat) Singh, Jats of Sehree and Syudpoor[1], I offered permanent employ under Government, on condition of their furnishing me in a given time, each, a troop of mounted men. By the 20th May I had nearly 200 men, many of whom I distributed over the district, in those places where the population seemed more inclined to mischief.

337.—Mr. Turnbull who had not left the district, but whom I had only relieved three weeks prior to the outbreak, gave me the aid of his services, which from his intimate local knowledge were invaluable. He in company with Messrs. Melville and Lyall, my Joint and Assistant Magistrates, made several excursions in the Dadree (Dadri) and Secundrabad *pergunahs*, the most turbulent part of the district inhabited principally by Goojurs, who on hearing of the events at Meerut and at Delhi, at once commenced plundering in all directions, burning Dak Bungalows and destroying the Telegraph.

338.—On one occasion, the above gentlemen with a detachment of the 9th Regiment Native Infantry captured 46 Goojurs, belonging to some of the worst villages, and brought them in and lodged them in jail. I should mention that I had applied to the Officer Commanding at Allygurh, for an

[1] Probably spelt for *Saiyidpur*.

European officer and men sufficient to make up the strength of my Treasury-guard to a full Company, which Major Eld very kindly did; and deputed Lieutenant Ross, who rendered himself most useful. This force was, however, insufficient to be of use in keeping anything like order at any distance from the station.

339.—I was disappointed in not receiving aid from Bareilly, from which station a detachment of the 8th Irregular Cavalry had been ordered to our assistance; but Colonel Troup, Commanding there, could not spare them:—a fortunate circumstance for us, as their villanous (villainous) acts of treachery have subsequently proved. The Rampoor Nawab also failed to send a body of Horse, which he had been requested to do by the Lieutenant-Governor. I had also been led to expect that two Companies of the Sirmoor Battalion would join us, but was again disappointed in this our last hope of aid, though we did not hear the cause of their non-arrival, notwithstanding we had been informed of their having started to our relief.

340.—I made frequent applications to General Hewitt for a few Europeans to enable me to send my treasure into Meerut, but that officer refused to comply with my request, though I still think it would have been worth while to have incurred a little risk to save upwards of two lacs of Rupees, besides other valuable Government property.

341.—About 16th May, a man arrived with a slip of paper, signed by Mr. Drummond, the Magistrate of Agra, and Major McLeod of the Engineers, directing all officers to fall back at once upon Agra, as the rebels were reported to be in full march on that station, and the fort was considered the only safe place. I arrested the man as spy but on referring the case I found out he had been sent as he stated; the object of his mission was not apparent: all I can say is, we all scouted the idea of giving up Boolundshuhur on vague rumour of attack reaching us. From the very first we fully expected an attack from Delhi, but providentially none was attempted, though we must have been a tempting bait to the rebels, and were within such an easy distance.

342.—Matters went on getting worse and worse till the 20th, on the night of which I received positive information that we should be attacked in the morning; but as the sepoys of the 9th had not shown any signs of disaffection, but on the contrary had behaved very well, we felt tolerably secure

against any attack the Goojurs might make on us, provided they were unassisted from Delhi.

It is worthy of remark, that up to this time, no man of any consequence in the district had joined the rebels. In fact all the *talookdars*, were apparently sincere in their professions of loyalty to the Government.

343.—On the morning of the 21st, I received an express from the late Mr. Watson, the Magistrate of Allygurh, that the 9th Regiment had mutinied, and that the Europeans had been obliged to fall back on Agra. As there of course could be no doubt but that our detachment would also go, the moment they heard of the Head-quarters having done so, I at once decided on sending off the ladies and children to Meerut, and they left escorted by several officers who had been detained at Boolundshuhur on their way up the country, by some Irregular Cavalry sowars, and a few men from the new levies.

344.—The strength of our garrison was now reduced to seven Englishmen, viz. Lieutenant Ross, 9th Native Infantry, Messrs. Turnbull, Melville, Lyall and myself, with my Head Clerk, Mr. Knight, and his son. About 2 P. M. a man came in from Dadree with the information that we were to be attacked by the Goojurs in force at 5 in the evening. At 4.30 P. M. I heard of the arrival at Khoorja (12 miles off) of the Head-quarters of the 9th Native Infantry from Allygurh; we then thought it time to make an attempt to move the treasure towards Meerut.

345.—I accordingly went over to the treasury to Lieutenant Ross, and asked him to pack the treasure in the carts, which I had ready for the purpose. The keys not being at hand we broke open the boxes, and with the aid of the sepoys commenced packing the treasure, and I then returned to my own house for Messrs. Turnbull, Melville and Lyall, and called on the men of the Irregular Cavalry, and my own Collectorate sowars to join us on our march to Meerut. About 25 complied, and we started with the treasury.

346.—In my compound were 90 Remount Arab horses, which had arrived a few days previously *en route* to Meerut, escorted by a small Guard, composed of men from 9th and 44th Regiments N. I. and I feel convinced that the Guard would at that time have taken them safely into Meerut; but General Hewitt, to whom I reported their arrival, positively forbade

my sending them on, and they consequently were lost; and horses were very much wanted.

347.—But to return. On reaching the treasury, Lieutenant Ross informed me that his men (who I should mention were acquainted with the fact of their Head-quarters having mutinied) had already begun to help themselves to the money; he however ordered them to fall in, and start for Meerut. Just as his order was issued, and before the men had time to refuse or comply, we saw a dense cloud of Goojurs pouring down the road towards the city; so leaving the treasure in the hands of the Guard, we charged right at them, dispersing them in all directions.

348.—Messrs. Turnbull, Ross, and Lyall took the road to the city, which had already been reached by a large party of the mob, and aided by some troopers succeeded in killing and wounding a good number. The Jail-guard, on the first approach of the mob, opened the Jail gate, and allowed the prisoners to pass out, firing on them as they got outside, without however doing them much damage.

349.—Mr. Melville and myself took an opposite direction, and went across the fields, accompanied by seven Collectorate sowars, and a *Ressaldar* and trooper of the 4th Irregular Cavalry and a private servant of my own, whose horse was severely wounded with a sabre cut; we succeeded in dispersing the body, and killed and wounded a few;—the main body spread over the country and concealed themselves in the neighbouring villages. We then tried to fall back on the treasury, not knowing what had become of the other Europeans, but were fired at by the Guard, as a warning to keep off. This reluctantly compelled us to retreat, and we made off for Meerut about 6-30 P. M. and reached Hauppur (Hapur) about 10 P. M. being fired at only once as we passed a village close to the station. We reached Meerut about 9 A. M. of 22nd May, reporting ourselves to the General Commanding.

350.—About 12 O' clock of the same day I was gladdened with the sight of Messrs. Turnbull and Lyall, who reached Meerut with Lieutenant Ross about 11 A. M.; they could give me no information of Mr. Knight or his son, from whom they had got separated. Mr. Turnbull informed me that he with Messrs. Ross and Lyall had gone through the city, and returned fighting every inch in the way, and after having cut down and shot several of the rioters, reached the treasury in

safety, Lieutenant Ross having received a contusion, which for the time rendered his sword arm useless.

351.—They had ordered the Guard to start for Meerut and to bring the treasure with them; they started, but on reaching the cross road leading to the Grand Trunk Road, told the officers to go and join their friends as they intended to do. So the three left for Meerut, experiencing, considerable difficulty in avoiding the villagers, who were on the look-out for them in every direction.

352.—As the Goojurs had entered the station they fired each house, commencing with the Dak Bungalow; and during the four days we were absent the station was completely destroyed*, and all property private and public, was carried off or burnt, the city people and those of the neighbouring villages taking a very active part in the work of demolition.

353.—Our departure from Boolundshuhur, and the authorities having been compelled to leave Allygurh, left the road from Meerut to Agra completely at the mercy of the ill-disposed, and a great number of travellers were murdered, and all communication with Agra was closed, except by *Cossids* (*Qasids*). It was, therefore, a matter of the greatest consequence to reoccupy both these places.

354.—The Sirmoor Battalion under Major Reid, which had left Deyrah some days previously for Boolundshuhur by the Canal, was unable to get beyond Dasneh (Dasna), owing to the destruction of the locks by the villagers, and they had sent into Meerut for carriage; but the General and the Brigadier both refused to send an escort, so that the Regiment was still further delayed, and was left to its own resources. But by unwearied exertions they managed to get on, and reached Boolundshuhur on the 24th May, though we did not become aware of this till on our way down to reoccupy Boolundshuhur on the 25th, on the morning of which day I started from Meerut with Mr. Lyall, Lieutenant Ross, and Captain Tyrwhitt, of the late 14th Irregular Cavalry, who had been ordered down to command at Boolundshuhur.

355.—I should mention here, that the escort furnished us by the General consisted of some men enlisted by Captain

* "The Kutcherris were gutted and all the records destroyed."—Note in Original.

Craigie subsequent to the outbreak; they were of course completely raw, badly mounted and worse armed having as little confidence themselves in their horses, as we had in the riders : their subsequent conduct showed what they were worth, and besides them we had the few men who accompanied us on our retreat from Boolundshuhur.

356.—On our arrival at Hauppur (Hapur), we heard the Sirmoor Battalion had reached Boolundshuhur, and we arrived early on the morning of the 26th. We found the posts and wire of the Telegraph had been entirely removed between Hauppur and Boolundshuhur, a distance of 20 miles.[1]

BULANDSHAHR TREASURE CARRIED OFF TO DELHI

Extract of a letter from W. Muir to J. Muir, dated Agra, 2nd June 1857.

...While our communications with Meerut were closed, Bolundshuhur also fell, and its treasure was carried off to Dehli, but under what circumstances I am not fully cognisant. The Station has since been regained, and is occupied by Goorkha troops. The impression here is that the Meerut force has not been sufficiently active; so large a body of European troops to remain so long on the defensive under such circumstances is unintelligible : Rohtuck (Rohtak) has been also plundered from Dehli. Tidings have been received of the mutiny of the regiments at Nusseerabad, but without details. It is hoped that the treasury at Ajmere may have escaped. The Mozuffernugger Treasury also went; but in consequence of the attack, I believe, of robbers and not of mutineers.

Thus you will see that these treacherous sepoys have gained immense booty. From three to seven lacs of rupees were in the several treasuries.[2]

OUTBREAK IN BULANDSHAHR DISTRICT

Statement of Qazi Kamaluddin, Rais of Secundrabad (Sikandarabad).

SIKANDARABAD IN CHAOS

The circumstances of the plunder of Secundrabad[3] are

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Meerut Division*, pp. 50-54.

[2] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 33.

[3] *Sikandarabad*—Pargana and Tahsil *Sikandarabad*, District *Bulandshahr*—

these on the 12*th May* 1857, disorder began and looting on the roads, and the people of Secundrabad began to live in fear of plundering, and yet they engaged Goojurs as guards for the defence of their houses and *Mohullahs*, and there were Goojurs placed as sowars and peons, on guard at the *tahseel*. The *Cotwal* (*Kotwal*) and *Tahseeldar* went the rounds every night with the sowars and peons. On the 19th May about 12 in the day, a mutinied regiment entered from the east, on whose arrival all the arrangements in the *thanah* and *tahseel* were disarranged. The Goojur sowars and peons all fled. On the night of the same date, the Goojurs of Cheetee, Deotah, and Masowtah etc., made an attack on Bulandshuhur. The carts loaded with *Kand* (*Khand*) etc. which were standing in the *gunj* of Secundrabad were looted by the Goojur *Chokidars* of the town, Sibha and Ramsahaee etc., inhabitants of Khugooabas, and Nawal etc., inhabitants of Pempoor with Himmut their *Jamadar*.

ATTACK ON TOWN AND TAHSIL

After this, in the morning, the Goojurs of Khugooabas etc. made an attack on the town and *tahseel*. The weavers and butchers etc., came out to resist the attack and repulsed them, one or two of the Goojurs were killed and their coming and going into the town was stopped. The Goojurs now grew in all eager (*sic*,-eagerness) resolved to loot the town. At length the Goojurs of....., Mehsseh, Hurnowtee,..... (Mss. torn at this place) together, and on the 3rd May the Goojurs took the Girooas with them, set fire to the Guddecwalah and went on looting up to the Bazar Kallan and *Gunj*. Meanwhile the weavers and *Guddees*, and Hassen Buksh and Karim Buksh, *Resaldars*, and Ali Raza *Duffadar* with other Mussulmen, came out to oppose them and a fight ensued, in which seventy or eighty of Goojurs and Girooas, and three or four of the town, were killed, and Karim Buksh *Resaldar*, was wounded in the foot by a bullet. In consequence of this the Goojurs and Girooas became more intent on the loot of the town, and *Panchayuts* were held in the villages of Cheetee, Deotah,

The principal town of the pargana and tahsil of the same name lies on the Grand Trunk Road, at a distance of eleven miles west of Bulandshahr and 33 miles south-east of Delhi. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 295).

Tilbegumpoor[1], Dadree, etc., in order to loot Secundrabad so that the beams and rafters should not be left.

About this time, the rebel Waleedad had been appointed ...[2] at Delhi, and came to Dadree[3], and there encouraged the Goojurs to rebel and loot. Accordingly on the 31st May 1857, the Goojurs and Girooas and Rajpoots, assembled to the number of about twenty thousand, and first set fire to the weavers *Mohullah*, and killed a great number of men and wounded others. The whole *Mohullah* was looted; on the Ist June '57 they looted the Bazaar of Madho Das, *Mohullah* Hurree, and Sarowgeewalah, and part of Cazeewalah (Qaziwala) and set fire to my *Saraee* (*Sarai*), which was on the road; the *bhuttiaras* fled. When it was difficult for us to stay, and we saw that we would be killed and saw no chance of escape, then I with the inhabitants of the *Mohullah*, male and female, fled in a state of uncertainty, abandoned property, to *Mauzah*...(Mss. torn at this place)... Chunderuh[4] together with the *Tahseeldar* and *Cotwal* and both *Resaldars*, and the police officers whom I, as a loyal subject, had received in my house. Kalloo *zemindar* of Cheetee, Pir Buksh Khan etc., *zemindars* of Tilbegumpoor, the *zemindars* of Ludpoora, Kumsen etc., inhabitants of Salempoor[5], Luchman etc., inhabitants of Rampore, Febteh (not clear

[1] *Tilbegampur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Sikandarabad*, District *Bulandshahr*—A village lying three-and-a-half miles north-west of Sikandarabad, between the Grand Trunk Road and the road from Sikandarabad to Surajpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 313).

[2] Perhaps it may be 'Naib' or 'Subah'.

[3] *Dadri*, Pargana *Dadri*, Tahsil *Sikandarabad*, District *Bulandshahr*—The capital of the pargana is a large village on the west side of the Grand Trunk Road, at a distance of 22 miles from Delhi, eleven miles from Sikandarabad and 22 miles from Bulandshahr. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 215).

[4] Apparently *Chaundhera*, Pargana *Pahasu*, Tahsil *Khurja*, District *Bulandshahr*—A large village in the east of the pargana between the Dibai boundary and the Kali Nadi, which skirts the village on the west. About a mile to the east of the main site runs the metalled road from Aligarh to Anupshahr. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, p. 212).

[5] Apparently *Salempur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Hathras*, District *Aligarh*—A village in the extreme east of the pargana, standing in 27° 38' N. and 28° 12' E., on the north side of the provincial road from Muttra to Kasganj, about eleven miles from Hathras, 19 from Aligarh and three miles west from Rati-ka-Nagla station on the Cawnpore-Achnera line. (*District Gazetteers*, Aligarh, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 286).

perhaps Fatteh) *zemindar* of Mundsseh, Umrau Singh of Kutehra, Namdar Khan of Andhel, Meda and Bustee of Saonlee (Sanwli), Sibha and Ramsahaee Goojurs of Khugooabas, the *zemindars* of Mahcheh, the *zemindars* of Gurbureh, the *zemindars* of Hurnowtee, and...(not clear) and Mehssah, and Bhonra which are Girooa villages and the *zemindars* of Kalowndeh[1], Nagla Samnah, Kownrah and Tahwur Ali Khan, were all engaged in this loot of Secundrabad. *In that there was no village of the Goojurs and Girooas, in the neighbourhood, which did not take part in this affair*, I fled on the night of the 2nd June. I have nothing more to tell.

VILLAGERS PARTICIPATE IN PLUNDERING

Apart from this, the villagers of Lalpoor on the road to Bulandshahur, Zaukabad, Kot, Chitehreh, and Chola[2] on the Trunk Road, committed robberies on the roads, and prevented travellers from coming and going.[3]

* * *

Statement of Munshi Lachhman Sarup—Rais of Sikandarabad, District Bulandshahr.

The circumstances of the plunder of the town of Secundrabad are these when the news of the mutiny of the sepoys at Meruth (Meerut) had arrived on the 12th May the course of the Govt. post was stopped, and plundering began on all four sides of Secundrabad, on the road and paths, and Mr. G. D. Turnbull came to Secundrabad to make arrangements for stopping the plunder, engaged the Goojurs inhabiting Masow-

[1] *Kalaunda*, Pargana *Dadri*, Tahsil *Sikandarabad*, District *Bulandshahr*—A village in the extreme south-east of the pargana, lying between Gesupur on the east, Jarcha on the north, and Chholas on the west, at a distance of eight miles north of Sikandarabad, with which it is connected by the unmetalled road leading to Jarcha. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 249).

[2] *Chola*, Pargana and Tahsil *Sikandarabad*, District *Bulandshahr*—A village on the old Grand Trunk Road, seven miles south-west from Bulandshahr and ten miles south-east from Sikandarabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 215).

[3] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

NOTE—This document and the next two contain names of such places the spellings of which are mostly other than the current ones. Hence it has become difficult to standardize the spellings of the places as well as to identify them.

tah, Cheetee, and Fureedpoor (Faridpur) etc. as sawars and peons for the defence of the town, and the people of the town also and the *zemindars*, who were well disposed, engaged guards, and in concert with the *Tahseeldar*, made arrangements for the defence of the city and the servants of the Government, and the newly engaged Goojurs went round, and the Goojurs above mentioned were stationed to keep watch on all four sides of the town, and at night Mr. Turnbull inspected the watch throughout the town, and as the disorder was greatest in the direction of Dadree (Dadri), Mr. Turnbull went that way and at Budpoora, a sepoy—son of Ahman Goojur, who had mutinied and come from Meruth made resistance and that Luchmun Bhartee, *chela* of Nychal Bhartee, after which he was himself killed by that gentleman. Mr. Turnbull also took and brought into the *Gunj* at Secundrabad, the carts loaded with sugar, which the Goojurs had looted and taken to their villages. On that day when these gentlemen went away again to Bilaspoor, and on seeing the Goojurs assembled at Dalelgurh and Rampoor, took them prisoners, and put them into jail at Bulundshuhur. We also heard that on the way the men of Rajpoor Kullan (Rajpur Kalan) wished to rescue the prisoners, but were unable to do it. Afterwards, the Goojurs of the several villages of Deotah, and Til, assembled at Cheetee with the intention of releasing them from the jail. Umrau Singh Goojur who used to call himself Raja during the disturbances, and the Goojurs of Utteh and Gehnah, etc. and many of the Girooas of Weyer, Mehsseh, Bhonra etc. assembled there (Cheetee), went to Bulundshuhur, and released the above named prisoners, and all the *Chokidars* of the town, together with the Goojurs of Hirdeypoor, Setlee etc. plundered the sugar carts in the *Gunj*. The ring-leaders among the *Chokidars* of Ranowlee, Nawul *Chokidar* of Pempoor, Sibba, Ramsahaee, and Bhawra, inhabitants of Khugooabas and Tota, and Jehangeera inhabitants of the town of Secundrabad.[1] Soon after, the mutinied Regiment came from Allygurh and Bulundshuhur, and looted the *tahseel* and treasury, and upset the local authorities, and all the Goojurs who had been taken into service, went away with one accord, and about this time, four-five hundred men came from Khugooabas intending to

[1] Sentence incomplete.

make an attack on the town, one of whom, son of Mihtab of Khugooabas, was killed by the weavers, and Sahib Singh brother of Jhendoo *zemindar* of Nugla Nynsookh, was also killed, from which the Goojurs of the neighbourhood were to the utmost excited to plunder, and on the 23rd May 1857 the Girooas inhabiting Mahehsseh, Bhonra[1], and Weyr, assembled with four or five thousand men, and in conjunction with the Goojurs, attacked the town, plundered the Guddeewalah and Chanseewalah, and then the Bazaar Kullan (Bazar Kalan) the *Gunj* which is my property, and moreover set fire to several places, and about seventy men on the side of the Girooas were killed on the spot, in the struggle with the inhabitants of the town, on which the Goojurs and Girooas grew more intent on the destruction of the town. About this time, *Waleedad who had come from Delhi having been made Subah*, excited Bishun Singh, Bhagwant Singh, and Umrau Singh at Dadree, to plunder and excite disorder as two Goojurs had been killed in Secundrabad. The men of Khugooabas, and Jhendoo *zemindar* of Nugla Nynsookh, went to the Goojurs' villages, threw down their *pugries*, incited them all to disorder and assembled them in *Punchayat* at Tilbegumpoor, and the Girooas and Ghalot (Gahlot) Rajpoots also were in the above *Punchayat*, and shared their designs, till at length they looted the weavers *Muhallah*, Chowdrywalah, Hurree, Kazeewalah, Bedwala etc. from the 31st May to the 3rd June, on various days plundering one *Muhallah* after they had done with the other and there was also great slaughter, and the men of the town became bewildered and began to run away to save their lives, and the rebels were so numerous that no one could fight or resist them. He heard that the ringleaders of the rebels in these disorders were the men of the villages mentioned below Umrau Singh of Katehreh, Hurdeo and Roop Ram of Bil, Mujlis *zemindar* of Loharlee[2], and Indar and Bholoo of Masowtah, Kulloo *zemindar* of Cheetee, Sibba and Ram Sahaee and Bhowra of Khugooabas, Meda and Bustee of Sownlee, Mulkee of Hirdey-

[1] Apparently *Bhaunra*, Pargana *Shikarpur*, Tahsil *Budhana*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—A large village near the western border of the pargana, at a distance of about seven miles north-west of Budhana between Sisauli and Kharar. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 219).

[2] Apparently *Lohari*, Pargana *Thana Bhawan*, Tahsil *Kairana*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—A large village on the eastern borders of the pargana, a

poor, Bunsee *zemindar* of Nugla Chumrao, Mungnee *zemindar* of Setlee, Jhendoo *zemindar* of Nugla Nynsookh, Futtah Goojur of Chatereh, Debi Singh *zemindar* of Mehsseh, Hurbul and Khobee and Dildar, of Weyer, Chowdry Pir Buksh Khan of Tilbegumpoor, Zabteh Khan *zemindar* of Mundsseh, and the *zemindars* of *mouzah* Kirourah, Chowdry Tahwur Ali Khan *Raees* of Gurhmukhtesur[1], Chowlas[2], Jurchah (Jarcha), Kalowndeh, Parsseh, Nugla Samanah etc. and the *Chokidars* of the town, and Kuddum (Kadam) Goojur of Pempoor were all concerned in the loot and the Goojurs and Girooas of all the other villages were rebels and sharers in the above loot. The Kaithwalah, Shekhzadah *Muhallahs*, Khuttreewalah, half of the Bhatwalah, and half Ram Poora, had escaped plunder as yet. When the people of the town had no longer any power to resist, and they were weakened by the desertion of the other *Muhallahs*, and they had got no more powder, and the numbers of the rebels increased every day, and no one dared to oppose them any more, then all the people in the *Muhallahs* agreed that it would be best if by giving the rebels something the property that remained could be saved. Accordingly the people of the Khuttreewalah and Bhatwalah *Muhallahs*, gave money to the Goojurs of Nizampoor[3] and Cheetee and Deotah in hopes of saving themselves; in like manner the people of *Muhallah* Kaithwalah, assembled at the Gunga Munder (Ganga Mandir) and asked protection from Duleep *zemindar* of Deotah and Sameh Muiuddin of Gurhee etc., and the Goojurs

short distance north of the road from Muzaffarnagar to Thana Bhawan at a distance of about three miles from the latter and 17 miles from Muzaffarnagar. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 290).

[1] *Garhmuktesar*, Pargana *Garhmuktesar*, Tahsil *Hapur*, District *Meerut*—The capital of the pargana is situated in latitude 28° 47′ north and longitude 78° 6′ east, on the right bank of the Ganges. It is connected with Meerut by a metalled road 28 miles in length. Another metalled road leads to Hapur, a distance of 21 miles and Delhi, 58 miles. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 224).

[2] *Chholas*, Pargana *Dadri*, Tahsil *Sikandarabad*, District *Bulandshahr*—A village in the east of the Pargana, about 3 miles east of the Grand Trunk Road, 7 miles east of Dadri and 6 miles north of Sikandarabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 214).

[3] *Nizampur*, Pargana *Garhmuktesar*, Tahsil *Hapur*, District *Meerut*—A very small village, in latitude 28° 50′ north and longitude 78° 2′ east, on the metalled road from Meerut to Garhmuktesar, at a distance of 20 miles from the former. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 288).

of Saonlee and they gave about 350 Rupees. About this time three or four parties of mutineers passed through, and killed every Goojur they met on the road-side; the rebels from fear of the mutineers, who were said to be coming every day, or from desire of going, abstained from plundering several days. At length, on the 17th June 1857, the rebels above named, and the Gahlot Rajpoots, made an attack, broke open the doors of the houses and other buildings, began to plunder, and the inhabitants of those *Muhallahs* unable to resist them, ran whichever way they were looking. The ringleaders of the Gahlot Rajpoots were Hurdial Singh, Deedar Singh of Nugla Samanah, Phool Singh of Parsseh *zh.* Meruth (Meerut), and the men of Kalowndeh and Bajhereh were there in great numbers and the next day the Khuttreewalah *Muhallah* was also looted, and the town was ruined and desolate, and the rebels above named continued for two or three months digging out and carrying away the rafters and door parts and doors, and in the search for ornaments etc. pulled down and ruined all the houses, and the villagers along the roads are also guilty of the highway robberies on the roads but the *zemindar* of Lalpoor which is on the edge of the road to Bulundshuhur looted on the roads and pressed the passers-by so hard, that they did not leave the shoes on their feet, or caps on their heads; they took all the goods and money worth taking. Besides these villages, the men of the following villages robbed on the roads to the utmost, and plundered the passers-by : Zoukabad, Nugla Chamrao, Kot, Saonlee, Jowlee[1], Myndours[2], Dyanugar, Pir Bayabanee, Khugooabas, Nayabas in the neighbourhood of Secundrabad, Fareedpoor.[3]

* * *

[1] *Jauli*, Pargana *Jauli Jansath*, Tahsil *Jansath*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—A large and important village on the left bank of the Ganges Canal in the north of the pargana, at a distance of six miles from Jansath and nine miles from Muzaffarnagar, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 259).

[2] Apparently *Mandaula*, Pargana *Loni*, Tahsil *Ghaziabad*, District *Meerut*—A considerable village in the north of the pargana on the unmetalled road from Shahdara and Loni to Baghpat, situated in latitude 28° 49′ north and longitude 77° 17′ east, at a distance of five miles north of Loni and four miles south of Khekra. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 268).

[3] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Deposition of Sobans Raee Wakeel (Shivabans Rai Vakil) before the Moonsiff (Munsif) of Secundrabad (Sikandarabad).

The beginning of the plunder of the town of Secundrabad, was that the people of the neighbouring villages, on the 12th May 1857, when the news of the mutiny ot the army came, began to plot rebellion, and robbed the passers-by on the road, and when the prisoners who belonged to these villages, had escaped from jail, and come back again, the rebels had it in their power to commit more robberies; especially on the east side of Secundrabad, up to Dadree, the Goojurs committed the greatest possible amount of highway robbery, and the inhabitants of Secundrabad were in fear; and kept watch day and night for the safety of their property. A week after this Mr. Turnbull came to Secundrabad for the protection of the *tuhseel*, and other purposes, and engaged Jeyram and Indur and Bholoo—inhabitants of Masowtah; and Kulloo of *mouzah* Cheetee, and the *zemindars* of Nizampoor and Fureedpoor etc., Goojurs, as sawars and peons for the protection of the town and the Bulundshuhur road, and the inhabitants of the *Muhallahs* Khuttreewala, Seraogeewala, Kaithwala, Chowdreewala, Bhatwala, engaged Goojurs as guards for the protection of their *Muhallahs* and houses, and promised them fixed pay, wages, and promised rewards, and also advanced them some rupees. Mr. Turnbull happened to go to Bilaspoor on business, and seeing that some persons of Rampoor and Dulelgurh (Dalelgarh) were rebels, arrested them, and put them in jail at Bulundshuhur. Then most of the Goojurs who were in the jails, of various districts, were released by the mutinied regiments, and came to their homes; on seeing this, the villagers understood that every district jail had been broken, and said "let us go and release our friends". Accordingly a great number of Goojurs assembled at Cheetee, in *punchayat* and went to Bulundshuhur, and broke the jail, and the district was disorganized. At this time Waleedad returned from Delhi to Malagarh by way of Dadree and Secundrabad. That rebel and the Goojurs of Dadree, and Bishun Singh and Bhugwunt Singh, and Umrao Singh, etc. meeting together, *plotted the destruction of the Government;* the Goojurs from this, became more desirous of plunder, and began to plot the plunder of Secundrabad, and after the breaking of the jail, the Goojurs, who had taken service (in Secundrabad), absconded, and Tota, and

Jehangira, and Hursahee (Har Sahai) the ringleaders of the Goojurs in Secundrabad, and Ramsahaee, and Saeeya, of Khugooabas, and Himmat of Ranowlee (Ranauli), all Goojurs together with all the *Chokidars* of the town, plundered the carts loaded with *Kand* (*Khand*) which were in the Luchmun Suroop Gunj. On the same day the mutineers arrived at Secundrabad, and they looted the Government treasure from the *tahseel* and destroyed the records. Five hundred Goojurs also assembled and tried to plunder the town, on which the weavers resisted them, and two Goojurs were killed, the rest fled. These two men being killed, the Goojurs became more excited and a great number of villages of Girooas combined with the Goojurs, first came to attack the Guddee *Muhallah*, were resisted by the *Guddees*, and came looting and fighting and firing houses up to the great Bazaar and *Gunj;* in this riot, five or seven men of the town were killed, and a party of seventy Goojurs and Girooas and the rest plundered and ran away. Eight or ten days after this, about thirty thousand[1] Girooas and Goojurs, after having held a *Punchayat* at Tilhbegumpoor, first attacked the weavers' quarter, on the east, and fought them; several on the Goojurs' side, and ten or twenty weavers and butchers etc., of the city, were killed, and the "*Jazails*" with which the weavers were armed, being broken the rebels overpowered them, and entering the above *Muhallah* in a different direction, set fire to the thatched houses, and began to kill and plunder on one side; at length the weavers who yet remained seeing the success of the rebels, fled from that place, and in the evening, the Goojurs when they had done plundering went away, but continued plundering and digging up the empty houses, for some days, and kept advancing every day, into some quarter of the town, to plunder, and when any quarter was plundered, the inhabitants went and sat down in some other not yet plundered, and many of them went to neighbouring villages with which they were acquainted or where they saw a chance of safety. The remainder people of the town seeing no chance of safety for their lives and property, determined that it would be better if the Goojurs would take some money, and stop plundering. They entreated the Goojurs and gave them hopes of gain and they assembled in the Gunga Mundar

[1] This number appears incredible.

(Ganga Mandir), and hoping for the money promised them at the time promised that they would not plunder themselves. Immediately after this, the mutineers passed through three or four times. From the news of the coming of the mutineers, or from the desire of gain the plundering ceased for a short time; the mutineers who came at this time, whenever they found a Goojur on the road, killed him. Again, in spite of the oath, the Goojurs, Girooas, and Rajputs, Hindoos and Mussalmans all united, plundered the Kaithwala, Rampoora, Shekhzadah, and Bhatwala, *Muhallahs*, and the inhabitants of those quarters, fled here and there ior their lives, leaving their property behind them. On the 11th June the Khatheewala[1] *Muhallah* was also looted, and for three months after that, they continued digging out the rafters, lintels, and doors of the houses. The ringleaders in the plunder of the *Gunj* and the first plunder of the sugar carts, were Ramsahaee and Saeeya of Khugooabas, and Tota, Hursahaee and Jehangira of Secundrabad and the other *Chokidars* of the town were with them; and the ringleaders of the subsequent plunder of the Khuttreewala and Bazaar Kullan (Bazar Kalan) and the *Gunj*, were the Girooa *zemindars* of Mahessah and Weyr etc., and of the other plunder of the weavers, Peerbuksh Chowdry of Tilhbegumpoor, Mungnee Goojur of Setlee, Menda and Bustee *zemindars* of Sownlee, and the Goojurs...(Illegible) Futtah of Chiterah, the Goojurs of Beel (Bil), Kot, Nugla Nynsookh and Loharlee, Cheetee Machurpoor, Girdurpoor (Girdharpur), Rampoor and Dalelgurh etc., whose names I don't know; in the fourth affair of the plunder of the Kaithwala, Rampoora, Shekhzadah, Bhatwala, and Khuttreewala, the ringleaders were the Goojurs above mentioned, and the Rajpoots of Nugla Samanah, Kownrah, Janeytpoor, Lalpoor, etc.

Those who were assembled at the Gunga Mundar at the time of the oath and promise to stop the plundering were these: Ramsahaee and Saeeya Goojurs of Khugooabas, Bustee *zemindar* of Sownlee, Meda *zemindar* of Madoura, Kulloo *zemindar* of Cheetee, Dansahaee (of) Deotah, Bustee Goojur of Girdurpoor (Girdharpur), Futtah *zemindar* of Chitehrah, and with them were ten or twenty other men, Goojurs, whose names I do not know and in the affairs on the road towards

[1] Appears spelt for 'Khattriwala'.

Dadree, the people of Dadree, Chitehrah, Kutehrah, Bil, Kot, Tilhbegumpoor, Burpoorah, Nugla Chamrao, Loharlee, and Zaukahabad were principally concerned, and towards Dunpour[1], the Goojurs of Furreedpoor, Nizampoor, Cheetee, Jowlee, Deotah, Kerlee Rajpoor[2], and Biswanah, towards Haupper (Hapur), the Goojurs of Mandowrah, Kownrah, Karaindah[3], Scpanee, Pempoor, and the Rajpoots of Nugla Samanah, Parssah, Kalaundah, Chowlas (Chholas), etc., towards Khoorjah (Khurja), and Bulandshuhur, Cholah, Lalpoor, Anedpoor, were the principal in robbing on the road. Umrao Singh of Kateyreh was called Rajah ot all the Goojurs about Dadree, and was 'Officer' of the rebels, and Surjit Goojur the ringleader in the plunder of Dunpour[4] was 'Officer' of the Goojurs in the neighbourhood of Dunpour.[5]

BULANDSHAHR UNDER REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

English Translation of the Wajib-ul-Arz[6] *of Mohd. Walidad Khan to the King of Delhi for the administration of Ilaqa Doab, District Bulandshahr, dated* 23rd *Ramzan* 1273 *Hijri corresponding with* 17*th May* 1857.

The reports of petitioners about me should not be listened to without proper investigation of facts.	Allowed.

[1] May have been spelt for *Danpur* or *Dankaur*.
Dankaur, Pargana *Dankaur*, Tahsil *Sikandarabad*, District *Bulandshahr*—The chief town of the pargana is situated on the edge of the high bank that separates the Khadir of the Jumna from the uplands on the old road from Aligarh to Delhi, at a distance of 11 miles from Sikandrabad and twenty miles from Bulandshahr. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 221).
[2] Spelt as *Rajpoor Kallan* (*Rajpur Kalan*) in another deposition; (p. 44).
[3] *Karaindah*—Apparently *Kalaunda* is meant here.
[4] May have been spelt for *Danpur* or *Dankaur*.
[5] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta.
[6] This Wajib-ul-Arz or Petition has been addressed to the King of Delhi by Walidad Khan after the latter has been appointed as 'Subah' of Bulandshahr by the King. The entries in the right column are the replies from the King to the corresponding entries in the left column submitted by Walidad Khan.

Proper orders may be issued in regard to those connected with the English.

My proposals should be accepted.

The rates of the salaries of foot-soldiers and horsemen be declared.

When will the salaries of the soldiers be distributed ?

I shall bring the revenues after deducting the expenditure.

If it is difficult to send the money for the emoluments of the soldiers just now, the same may be realised from the *parganas* given to me.

At the time of necessity, I should be helped with Imperial troops.

The war materials may be supplied without delay as necessity arises.

Orders may kindly be given to enlist an army needed for the management of the *ilaqa*, other than required to be recruited for being sent to the Imperial headquarters.

The *Sanads* for the *Jagirs* previously in the hands of my father during his life-time and now graciously granted

Proper orders will be given at the right time.

Those which will be in accordance with the laid down principles, will be accepted.

The rates of the salaries should be Rs. 4_2 for a foot-soldier and Rs. 20/- for a horseman, recruited by you.

The emoluments of the soldiers should be distributed six monthly and *Fotadars* will be appointed for this work.

The revenues together with the accounts of the total levy and expenditure should be sent every season.

The orders will be given after the settlement.

At the time of necessity, you will be helped with the Imperial army.

The war material if available will be given at your request and at the time required.

Allowed to recruit foot-soldiers and horsemen for your needs after recruiting those to be sent to the Imperial headquarters.

Proper orders will be issued after the settlement as it is not definite which villages were in *Jagirs* with parti-

The mail service should be established between this place and Malagarh[1] and my petitions and news letters should reach Your Majesty and Your Majesty's orders should be communicated to me with every possible quickness.

The management of *Dak* will also be set right when other matters will be taken up in hand.[2]

WALIDAD'S BOLD REPLY REGARDING BARAIL INCIDENT

Letter of Rais of Malagarh, Mohd. Walidad Khan, to Magistrate, Bulandshahr, dated June 8, 1857.

You have sent a *Parwana* from your office to the effect that the Gujars have assembled a large troop of men at *mauza* Barail[3], under my advice and intend creating disturbance and that, in case any trouble ensues I shall be held responsible, be hanged and my property be confiscated. The fact is that Barail is not in my *ilaqa* and the men of my tribe are not to be found in Koel[4] and therefore I cannot remonstrate with them as a fellow-brother or as a chief. Mahtab Singh, the person whom you murdered without any fault, was their chief and a very well-known person in that neighbourhood. All the Rajputs are infuriated because of his murder and are ready to create disturbance. They cannot be extirpated without a big army whereas I have only not more than 100 or 125 men. I was once ordered to put down the crimes at Sikandarabad and I had sent there Mohd. Ismail Khan with 50 Horsemen and Foot-soldiers. For eight *pahars*, my Horsemen faced thousands of

[1] *Malagarh*, Pargana *Agauta*, Tahsil and District *Bulandshahr*—A village in the extreme south of the pargana, a short distance east of the Kali Nadi, which forms the western boundary of the village, dividing it from Zainpur at a distance of four miles north from Bulandshahr. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 269).

[2] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[3] Apparently *Baral*, Pargana *Agauta*, District *Bulandshahr*—A considerable village, lying at a distance of seven miles north of Bulandshahr, about a mile to the west of the metalled road leading to Gulaothi and Meerut. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 193).

villagers, who were rebellious and short-sighted. Two of my men were killed and three wounded. The gentlemen in your company had promised to come to help personally at Sikandarabad and Mohd. Ismail Khan remained expectant till evening but no English gentleman reached the place for help, although you had 200 Horsemen on that date. Bulandshahr, at the time, was all quiet, there was no cause of anxiety either for the treasury or for the offices which would have kept you back there. Now, the real cause of the trouble is not difficult to trace if all these things are considered. I had been at Delhi for the last two months and during this period there was no occurrence in my *ilaqa*. Besides, two pieces of artillery, 12 camels and two or three tents were called for, destroyed and not yet returned. It is difficult to find out the cause of this kindness (ironical) in spite of such obedience. Previously, the people of the neighbouring villages, although not under us, showed consideration because of their being neighbours but since the murder of the above-named Mahtab Singh, these Rajputs have begun their depredations upon us thinking that we too, with the Bilochis were accomplices in the murder. Today, they forcibly drove away our cattle which we took back with the help of our servants. *What to say of your carrying on the administration, we really have apprehensions of our life anp property, from you.* If you resort to capital punishments without considering if the culprit was really guilty or not, there is no doubt that the district will be ruined. The residents of Sikandarabad were put to a loss of one Karor of rupees as a result of your heedlessness. About one thousand persons also were killed and, therefore, the population of Sikandarabad has been reduced to this extent.

I am very much pleased to hear from you that a report about me is being sent up to the Hon. Governor General because he is a just officer and will give an upright decision. I shall be questioned about the Barail assemblage incident only, but you will have to answer for the murder of thousands, of men, the loss of Karors of rupees of the ryot, plunder of the Govt. Treasury, setting fire to the Govt. office and breaking open of the gaol. How will you answer for all these which were due to your mismanagement ?

If the administration would have been given in the hands of our chiefs and you also would have been a helper, all these disturbances would not have taken place nor would they

have recurred every day. Now, the danger, for the most part, is that you write such hard things without investigating facts and finding out realities that they create great fear. So far, no chief has raised his head. I shall also inform the Governor General about you mal-administration. I would request you that this letter of mine may also be sent to the Governor General.[1]

BULANDSHAHR IN WALIDAD'S HANDS

English Translation of a letter from Walidad Khan to Bahadur Shah—King of Delhi, dated Malagarh the 18th Shawwal 1273 A. H. corresponding with 11th June 1857, with the seal affixed at the end.

HELP SOLICITED FROM THE KING OF DELHI

Your Majesty I beg to submit that to-day I with a few soldiers attacked the *Kafirs* who were pitched in Bulandshahr in great numbers and waged a fierce battle. The *Ghazis*, irrespective of the consideration of their small numbers and greater of the enemy, showered such a heavy fire from matchlocks that the opponents took to flight. The *Ghazis* pursued them upto a distance of one *Kuroh*, but could not pursue them further in view of their small numbers. Many *Kafirs* escaped with their lives and took their way to Meerut. They might oppose with a British contingent and artillery to-morrow or day after to-morrow. As this country is very fertile and the cultivators owe Govt. dues, the *Firangis* in no way would give up this country unless slaughtered. This faithful servant of Your Majesty sent applications requesting for troops and artillery. But uptil now Your Majesty's *firman* along with troops and artillery has not yet reached. Under such circumstances I am much worried as the *Kafirs* are many and my soldiers few in number. How would I do away with them ? This country has come into our hands after great battle and much bloodshed; but would be lost upon us for nothing due to non-arrival of the help. The faithful *Ghazis* of Your Majesty would thus be greatly lowered in esteem. Time lost and the arrow shot from the bow do not come back. This faithful has no hesitation

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

in sacrificing his own life; but being Your Majesty's well-wisher I submit that a contingent of troopers and artillery may be sent early for my help which may reach Malagarh by the 20th of the month of Shawwal so that I may squeeze out the brains of the *Kafirs*, and gradually may reach Meerut and from Meerut reach Your Majesty's presence. If that would entail any delay in the arrival of the help, my house will then be open to their attack and that would cause sorrow to Your Majesty then. May the sun of glory and fortune ever shine.[1]

* * *

Extract from Letter from Colvin to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Agra, June 30, 1857.

12*th*—Boolundshuhur has been seized by a neighbouring Nawab, some distant relation of the Delhi family; and the Major-General Hewitt, commanding at Meerut, does not consider that he has sufficient force to drive the Nawab's party out, and re-occupy the place.[2]

NAJIBS WITH TREASURE SENT TO DELHI

English Translation of Walidad's petition to the King of Delhi.

Your Majesty—The Company of *Najibs*, posted on the prison of Bulandshahr has been sent with the treasures, to the presence. It is requested that your orders for their crossing the bridge and working under me for the administration of Bulandshahr be given. Submitted. May the sun of your kingship and rule ever remain constant.[3]

DELHI KING SENDS HELP TO WALIDAD

Order of the King of Delhi dated Shawwal 21, 1273 *H. corresponding with* 14*th June* 1857, *on the petition of Walidad Khan soliciting help.*

By the order of the King—
Golab Singh

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 714.
[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 3 in No. 1, p. 7.
[3] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 714.

Ram Chandra
Dhanpat Rao
are ordered to go for the help of Wali Dad Khan.[1]

WALIDAD REQUESTS THE POSTING OF BAREILLY ARMY AT HIS PLACE

English Translation of a letter from Nawab Walidad Khan to King of Delhi, dated 22*nd Shawwal* 1273 *H. corresponding with* 15*th June* 1857, *with his seal affixed at the end.*

Your Majesty—I beg to submit as follows:—

The application of the army posted at Bareilly soliciting the honour of kissing your feet reached the hands of this faithful. Hence I am sending the messenger, with every precaution to Your Majesty's presence and requesting you that they (Bareilly army) should be ordered to stay here with me for the management of the country and the suppression of the *Kafirs*. The state of the country in the hands of the rebels is most straitened. The few Englishmen left at Meerut are instigating the rebels and malcontents to despoil the people and ruin the country. Although I have annihilated the *Firangis* stationed at Bulandshahr and have left no trace of them in the district still it is not possible to extirpate them and to carry on the revenue administration without the Royal army. Previously I have sent a number of applications to Your Majesty requesting therein to despatch an army and these must have most probably been perused by Your Majesty. Now either out of your patronage and sympathy for the poor, Your Majesty should kindly be so indulgent as to give orders to the above-mentioned army or despatch one platoon of Cavalry, one contingent of Infantry and one train of Artillery to me. May the sun of your glory and fortune ever remain constant.[2]

WALIDAD RECEIVES ROYAL FARMAN

English Translation of a letter from Walidad Khan of Malagarh to King of Delhi dated 26*th Shawwal* 1273 *H. corresponding with* 19*th June* 1857, *with his seal affixed at the end of the original letter.*

Your Majesty—I beg to submit as follows:—

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 714.
[2] *Ibid.*

Received your *Farman* directing me to bear the expenses of the platoon and the Infantry and looking after the supplies to the army from the day of its departure. I find it most difficult to manage the affairs of this country without the Royal army. I had accepted to bear the expenses incurred on one troop of Infantry, 200 Horsemen and two pieces of artillery. So I beg to submit that Your Majesty may kindly order the despatch of one platoon of Infantry, 200 Horsemen and 2 pieces of artillery out of the army stationed at Shahjahanabad. And I should be apprised of it, one day before their departure so that I may be able to send supplies to the place of their first halt. With the coming of the army the extirpation of the miscreants and the realization of revenue may be taken up in hand. May the sun of your glory and splendour remain constant.[1]

MOHD. ISMAIL KHAN DEPUTED TO DRIVE OUT THE ENEMIES

English Translation of a letter from Walidad Khan to Alam Bahadur at Delhi dated 26th Shawwal 1273 H. corresponding with 19th June 1857, with his seal affixed at the end.

After usual Salutations—I have already sent an application for sending me one platoon of Infantry, 200 Horsemen and 2 pieces of artillery. I expect that after taking the orders of His Majesty, you will despatch the army and the artillery at the earliest. This will be an act of benevolence. I have driven out the vainglorious *Firangis* but the innumerable Jats, who in this region with three Englishmen have created disturbances, are harassing your subjects. Although General Mohd. Ismail Khan and the *Ghazis* have been appointed for extirpating these shameless people, still because of the paucity of troops their total annihilation as desired by me is not possible. Submitted what I have felt.[2]

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 714.
[2] *Ibid.*

WALIDAD KHAN REPEATS HIS REQUEST FOR THE DESPATCH OF AN ARMY

English Translation of the letter from Walidad Khan to King of Delhi, dated 27th Shawwal 1273 H. corresponding with 20th June 1857, with his seal affixed at the end.

Your Majesty—To-day in the morning the Englishmen accompanied by 2,000 Jats, Foot-soldiers marched for a battle towards Malagarh. They have only reached one furlong. My relation General Mohd. Ismail Khan with 300 *Ghazis* and one piece of artillery reached over the heads of these wicked *Kafirs* and a serious skirmish ensued. At last, the indomitable *Ghazis* exhibited bravery and manliness to the extent that the opponents considered retreat the best course and consequently victory fell to the lot of the followers of Islam. About 60 were sent to hell and only 12 were martyred, in this battle, and one Jat village was put to fire. Simultaneously a *Harkara* brought news from Hapur that the English army with a few pieces of artillery was stationed ready to come upon Malagarh and would reach here any time. Although a handful of *Ghazis* are bent upon sacrificing their lives and winning over the crown of martyrdom yet our enemies have become bold because of their (The *Ghazis*) small strength. It is therefore requested that with all haste one platoon of Foot-soldiers, 200 Horsemen and two or three pieces of artillery be despatched. The matters have come to a very difficult head; besides, the realization of Govt. dues also depends upon the arrival of this victorious army.[1]

MUHAMMAD ISMAIL KHAN DEFEATED

English Translation of Walidad's petition to Saheb Alam (without date).

Reports the despatch of one hundred Sawars, two hundred Foot-soldiers and 4 guns under Muhammad Ismail Khan to crush the Jats and the defeat of Mohd. Ismail Khan and the loss of 4 guns. Further, makes an urgent request for reinforcements without which, he says, that the whole of Bulandshahr and his own home will be laid waste.[2]

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 714.
[2] *Ibid.*

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT MALAGARH WORSENS

English Translation of the letter from Walidad Khan to King of Delhi, dated 29th Shawwal 1273 H. corresponding with 22nd June 1857, with his seal affixed at the end.

Your Majesty—I have already sent a number of petitions to Your Majesty which must have received Your Majesty's notice. I have not yet received the reinforcements. The state of affairs here is already quite worsened because the realization of revenue has not at all been made and I am sitting idle. The Jats have given shelter to the *Firangis* and are devastating Your Majesty's country. So far as possible I have been defeating their efforts but I am hard-pressed for money for daily expenses with the result I have sent nothing to you. Now it has come to great straits. And without Your Majesty's help this difficulty cannot be got over.

BAREILLY ARMY STATIONED AT GARHMUKTESHWAR

Now the Bareilly army has crossed the river Ganges and is stationed at Garhmukteshwar. An order may kindly be sent to this army that as many soldiers as Your Majesty wish should be despatched for my help. I shall arrange for the supplies of the army to be despatched for me to the best of my means and shall distribute their pay. I shall quell the power of the malcreants after the arrival of the army, and massacring the *Firangis* and the Jats shall begin the realization of revenue from which I shall meet my daily expenses and send the balance to Your Majesty. May the sun of your glory and splendour ever shine.[1]

WALIDAD APPREHENSIVE OF BEING BESIEGED

English Translation of Walidad's petition, dated Ziqaad 12,[2] addressed to the King of Delhi.

Says he has received a letter from Mirza Mughal, Commander-in-Chief, to-day on Ziqaad 12 for taking back the

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 714.
[2] 5th July 1857.

belongings of the way-farers plundered by the Jats and in compliance despatched troops under Mohd. Ismail Khan to Bhitora. As the enemy was very strong and was helped by the English forces, the troops were defeated and their guns captured. Walidad begs for re-inforcements and expresses fear that he might be besieged and in a day or two serious occurrences might take place.[1]

INAYET ULLAH KHAN COMMUNICATES DISTURBED STATE OF SIKANDARABAD TO KING, SOLICITS SHUQQA

Translation of a petition sent from Inayut ollah (Inayet Ullah) son of Abdul Qadar Khan, Rais of Chanderu to the King of Delhi, dated 18th Zeeqad (Ziqaad) 1273 Hijri corresponding with 10th July 1857.

After paying high respects to the king he states that "prior to this I have, through Golam Hosain, *Jamadar* attending the Bareilly force, sent a petition to Your Excellency, expressing my condition and that of the loyalty of my fathers, and particulars of the disturbance occasioned among the people by the oppression of Goojers (Gujars) and begging Your High Order to authorize me to punish them, or permit me to attend Your Honour's Court.

"But whether it was received is what I am ignorant of. . . .[2]

. . . After his[3] death the ignorant and oppressive Christians having gained a conquest over the country resumed the *Jageer* villages and left only a few of them under the title of *zamindaree*.

I am anxious to attend Your Highness and show my loyal exertions in Royal service but cannot dare to achieve my design, before I have received Your Grace's special order for the purpose . . .[4] and I hope Your Majesty will honour me with a Royal *Shooqa* authorizing to restore order and tranquillity in Sekundrabad against the plunderers, which this servant has, under the providence of Royal fortune, ability enough to perform."

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta.
[2] Atrocities of Gujars are described here.
[3] Death of 'Nasiruddaula Nawab Namdar Khan Firoz Jang'—grandfather of Inayet Ullah Khan.
[4] Space left blank in Original.

May His Majesty's wealth and fortune continue for ever in their full splendour.[1]

* * *

Translation of a petition from Mohd. Enaet Ola (Inayet Ullah) of Chunderoo (Chanderu) to the King of Delhi, dated 13th Zilhijja 1273 Hijree (Hijri), corresponding with 4th August 1857.

The representative of God the sovereign of the world, may he ever reign.

"Some time ago I had sent some petitions to Your Majesty's address, regarding the plunder and ruinage of Secundrabad, and solicited Your Majesty's permission to be allowed to restore order by means of my own sowars and foot. In reply to this received Your Majesty's *shooka* dated 21st Zekad (13th July 1857) to the effect that I may postpone my presence until the ridge was taken, and that the Gojurs (Gujars) will get punished when that was done. I have as yet received no orders. As a well wisher of Your Majesty, I may now be favored with Your Majesty's "*Shooka*". I hope by the help of God to restore to order the *pergunah* of Secundrabad and so manage it that no Mosulman may be killed in future or any one plundered by the Gojurs. My grand-father Nawab Naseer Oddowla Mohomed Namdar Khan was Magistrate of this *zilla* on the part of former kings of Delhi. If a *Tehseeldar* and *Kotewal* were appointed to Secundrabad the revenue would be easily collected. After some time it will be difficult to do so; the revenue will be paid in to Your Majesty's treasury.

"May the sun of wealth and prosperity ever shine upon Your Majesty."[2]

INAYET ULLAH RECEIVES KING'S FARMAN

Translation of the petition of Inayet Ullah Khan to the King of Delhi, dated 1st Zilhij, 21st year of the reign of King of Delhi, or 23rd July 1857.[3]

After compliments--Acknowledges the receipt of H. M.'s order sealed with H. M.'s own seal instructing him to alleviate

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 1, Judicial File—1859; D. No. 4, General No. 8.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] The date of this petition appears wrong.

the sufferings of the oppressed and punish the oppressors and directing him to attend in person after the defeat of the infidels. Expresses his delight at the receipt of the order and proceeds to state that he is one of the old well wishers of H. M. and is anxiously awaiting H. M.'s success, that he has been excessively pleased at the receipt this day of a report of the defeat of the infidels on Dadaree (Dadri). Prays God to grant H. M. numberless victories and asks permission in consequence of the other victory to attend at H. M.'s Court in accordance with H. M'.s order. Wishes to be restored to the title of Naseerod-dowla held by his grand-father Mahomed Namdar Khan.[1]

ISMAIL KHAN AND HAJI AHMAD KHAN WOUNDED

English Translation of a letter written by some elderly relation (not named) to Walidad Khan.

Says his letter dated 15th Ziqaad pressing for the despatch of troops and informing of the Mohd. Ismail Khan and Haji Ahmad Khan being wounded was received and brought to the Royal notice.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES GATHER AT KHANPUR

Deposition of Bastai[3]-ram Risaldar, Jat, in the presence of Brand Sapte, Special Commissioner, dated 27th January 1858.

Question—What have you to say ?

Answer—The Magistrate was pleased to order us to get Rs. 609/- amount of our pay from Abdool Luteef Khan at Khanpoor. And had, beside, told us to look about Raheemod-deen *Jemadar* if he was at Khanpoor and whether what sowars were with him. Agreeably to this we went to Khanpoor, and gave the order for the money to Abdool Luteef Khan, who gave us the money with much reluctance after two days, and not before he had asked his counsellors who advised him not to withhold the payment of such a small amount. The day that we arrived at Khanpoor and the day following it we found Raheemoddeen in the tent pitched in the garden to the north

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 1, Judicial File—1859, D. No. 4, General No. 8.
[2] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta.
[3] The name is not legibly written.

of Khanpoor. The next day that we went to see Abdool Luteef, Raheemoddeen went with us, and sat near him. We then received the money and returned to Meerutt. While at Khanpoor I saw one of Raheemoddeen's sons and Nawul Sing Gojur and five other sowars with him whose names I do not know. Raheemoddeen had been made a *Resaldar* by Abdool Luteef and had enlisted a *Resala* by his orders, I had asked Raheemoddeen how he came to be at Khanpoor, he replied that he had been made a *Resaldar* in Abdool Luteef Khan's service. I was again deputed to Khanpoor to enquire whether there were any more rebels at that place besides Raheemoddeen, and if Zakurya Khan *Resaldar* was there, too, and what he was doing. On my arrival there I found 3 troops of sowars in the grove to the south of Khanpoor newly levied by Abdool Luteef. In two of them the men were mostly of Abdool Luteef's brotherhood, but in the third Naseem Khan a mutineer from the 14th Regiment was *Resaldar*. On my enquiring how this Naseem Khan happened to obtain the *Resaldari*, they told me that the said Naseem Khan had made a present of a very fine horse valued at Rs. 2 or 3 thousand to Abdool Luteef Khan, and had thus been made a *Resaldar*, and that this horse belonged to some gentleman. The *Chowdhry* of Seana (Siyana)[1] was also there, there were two other sowars wearing the Govt. uniform, and they said that they had come from Lucknow. I cannot tell their names. I went then to see Raheemoddeen, and found him as before with his son and Nawul Sing and 5 other sowars in the garden. He had completed his *Resala* to 100 sowars. I asked Raheemoddeen whether what became of the other sowars who were with him, he replied that eight of them had enlisted in the service of the Khyleea man and the rest in that of Walidad. I saw 60 mutineer *Tilungas* at the north gate of Khanpoor, of these 20 were of the regular regiments and the rest lately levied, and they were teaching the recruits how to drill. Opposite this gate to the west I saw 7 guns on wheels, and on enquiring discovered that there were two guns in the fort. I enquired of Zakurya Khan and learnt that he was present at Khanpoor, but I did not meet him. I did not go into the fort lest Abdool Luteef may question me for it.

[1] In *Bulandshahr* District.

Supplementary deposition taken on the Ist Feb. 1858.

Question—When did you first go to Khanpoor ?

Answer—I went about the middle of Sawun, i. e., 22nd July 1857.

Question—When did you next go to Khanpoor ?

Answer—I went about the beginning of Bhadoun, i. e., 6th August, and on both occasions found Raheemoddeen at Khanpoor.

Question—Who else went with you on both occasions ?

Answer—When I first did go Ramsook (Ramsukh) and Naubut Sing went with me, but the next time I went alone. The third time that I was ordered to send some one to Khanpoor it was perhaps about the beginning of Kuar, and I sent Ramsook who has reported what he has seen.[1]

RAIS OF KHANPUR—A RIVAL TO WALIDAD KHAN

English Translation of Walidad's letter to the King of Delhi, dated 25th Ziqaad[2] 1273 *Hijri.*

Says that Mohd. Hayat Khan *Risaldar* has already been sent to the presence and complains that Abdul Latif Khan, *Rais* of Khanpur[3], his old enemy, has obtained powers of intervening in the administration of this district from the English. Somehow or other he has also obtained order from His Majesty which are *ultra vires* because he himself has the *Sanad* of Doab and all such applications should pass through him.[4]

BULANDSHAHR AGAIN IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

News dated Tuesday, July 28, 1857.

The Poona Observer mentions that Boolundshuhur is again in the hands of the rebels....[5]

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 6, File No. 368.
[2] 18th July 1857.
[3] *Khanpur*, Pargana *Ahar*, Tahsil *Anupshahr*, District *Bulandshahr*—A large village in the north of the pargana on the unmetalled road leading from Ahar to Siyana, at a distance of about twelve miles west of Ahar. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 254).
[4] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta.
[5] *The Friend of India*, July 30, 1857, p. 714. National Library, Calcutta.

BRITISH FORCES ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE WALIDAD

English Translation of Walidad Khan's letter addressed to the King of Delhi with his seal affixed at the end of the original letter in Urdu.

Usual Salutations—After attending upon Your Majesty, I sent four petitions relating the real conditions prevailing here, through *Harkaras* but as yet no orders have been received. I am particularly anxious lest the robbers might have killed them in the way. It is known that no traveller can pass safely between Ghaziabad and Sikandarabad. Gujars and other country-folk of this neighbourhood have raised their heads. I cannot fully describe the condition, but to say the least they have plundered and then killed all the people of Sikandarabad, burnt their houses and carried away all their belongings on carts. They went on raiding for a week. Although I sent Mohd. Amin Khan and Mirza Ahmad Beg with troops of Infantry and Cavalry for driving away the rebels and they killed 100 rebels with their guns and swords and 5 horsemen and soldiers were wounded and killed on our side but the disturbance did not come to an end. The remaining ryots of the neighbourhood took to flight. The Magistrate of Bulandshahr who had fled away to Meerut previously, came back with 8 Englishmen and 300 horsemen, and the same number of foot-soldiers excepting the servants of the chiefs of this district are present. They have requisitioned 300 English soldiers and guns for my capture, massacre and ruin. Although I am striving to collect foot-soldiers and horsemen and to bring into order the old cannons, but such horsemen and foot-soldiers, with arms, who are able to fight, are not available. Some of those whom I have taken in service have no guns, others no swords, such is the state of their indigence. There is still some time in getting the guns prepared and at certain places a search for soldiers for employment is still going on. At present, my soldiers are not fit to face the enemy. I am submitting this petition to Your Majesty for a despatch of the victorious army without which I shall lose my life. I am not negligent in the discharge of my duties of loyalty and shall never be so, but without your help my personal security and the Government of the country are not possible. 200 guns, 2 cannons with ammunition, foot-soldiers, horsemen and gunners may kindly be sent from your personal arsenal, so that the guns

may be distributed among the soldiers and the cannons posted on the fort where I reside. With these I shall fight the English and keep the plunderers in fear. I shall keep you informed of all that takes place after this. I have submitted all that was worth submitting to Your Majesty's presence. (Usual salutation in the end).[1]

ATTACK ON BULANDSHAHR FROM MEERUT SIDE

English Translation of Walidad's letter to the King of Delhi with his seal affixed at the end.

States that the bearer of the letter who has exhibited skill and praiseworthy cleverness in obtaining intelligence should be granted audience and that he has been attacked from the Meerut side and is consequently open to the danger of ruin if not re-inforced.[2]

WALIDAD DEPUTES A RELATION TO OCCUPY ALIGARH

Letter from J. R. Colvin to W. Muir, Commissioner, Meerut, dated Fort Agra, 1st August 1857.

WULEE (WALI) DAD KHAN'S EFFORTS

It is important that you should know that Wulee (Wali) Dad Khan of Malagurh has sent one of his relations to take possession of Allygurh (Aligarh) : with the object of establishing a regular Government, and collecting revenue to be sent to Delhi. This adds to the extreme importance of crushing Wulee Dad Khan. Funds will soon be running short at Delhi, and to stop a supply of these is of vital consequence. Pray represent this to the Officer Commanding, and do what you possibly can. Send the enclosed to Ramsay at Nainee Tal. Latest Cawnpore news 23rd June. General Havelock has gone over with about 2000 men to relieve Lucknow. He had captured on his advance 23 guns. That noble fellow Sir H. M. Lawrence died on the 4th of July, of a wound received on the 2nd.

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 714.
[2] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Note on the above letter by W. Muir.

PROPOSED MOVING OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN TO HILLS

You can tell this to Ramsay :

Public letter goes on the question of moving the women and children up to the Hills. A letter from Greathed received last night showed that his project must be dropped. But the importance is every day becoming greater that Malagurh should be swept clean.[1]

* * *

Letter from J. R. Colvin to H. H. Greathed, Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor, Delhi, dated Fort Agra, 1st August 1857.

Both your letters of the 27th received. We shall be delighted indeed to hear of the reinforcements from the Punjab having reached you. The sickly season of this and the next month is of course a bad feature. Your advice about the Jumma Musjid (Jama Masjid) shall be implicitly followed. No further news of General Havelock's force to-day. It has gone over to Lucknow, and we must wait a few days before hearing of it. Sir H. Lawrence's death from his wound is a public calamity. On what you say regarding the families at Meerut that point must be dropped. Richardes has done well in sending his Rs. 60,000/-. I have said that I quite concur in placing all the Hissar and Rohtuck country under the Punjab Government, just now. You are the agent for the Lieutenant-Governor at Delhi, with the reversion of Meerut of course when the time comes. No fresh local news here to this date. Wullee Dad Khan is said to be trying to bring Coel (Koel) under his power. His aim will be to collect revenue. He will be attacked I trust as soon as Meerut has a new corps.[2]

* * *

[1] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, pp. 67-68.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Telegraphic Message from Colonel O'Brien to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Allahabad, 14th August 1857.

The following are extracts from letters received from Agra, by *cossid*, from R. Colvin, Esq. :

Intimates that it is of the utmost importance that a portion of a brigade should march in this direction to check the state of the affairs in the Doab, which requires instant vigour, as well as assist us in case of an attack being made by the Gwalior troops. A Nawab, named Wally-dad-Khan, has established himself at Malinghur[1], near Bopardashabar[2], and intends sending a deputy to Allyghur, to form a force and collect a[3] revenue for rebels at Delhi. It is of the greatest urgency that this be crushed rapidly. States that provisions are abundant, but that the place being large would require more Artillerymen and officers by far than they have; the latter urgently required, and they would be of great help. News from Delhi upto 29th. No cheering news. Nawab Raee[4] is reported to have sent force against Cawnpore, consisting of two sepoy regiments and an Oudh Irregular Cavalry.[5]

BAKHT KHAN ASSURES WALIDAD OF HELP

Translation in English of a letter from Muhammad Bakht Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, to Walidad Khan, dated 17th Zilhijja 1273 *A. H. corresponding with 8th Aug.* 1857, *with the seal affixed.*

BAKHT KHAN GIVES BATTLE TO ENGLISH AT BALA TIKRI

Nawab Walidad Khan etc.

(Usual Salutations)—Received your letter which conveyed the news contained therein. My dear Sir, since the day I have reached the capital town of Shahjahanabad, we have been engaged in battle with the heathen *Firangis* who have entrenched themselves at Bala Tikri, in the neighbourhood of Lahori Darwaza and although eight or nine of them are sent

[1] Apparently, misspelt for *Malagarh.*
[2] Appears a misprint for *Bulandshahr.*
[3] 'a' is superfluous here.
[4] It may be wrongly printed for 'Nawab Racee ?
[5] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies,* 1857, Inclosure 82 in No. 2, p. 96.

to hell every day still their strength does not decrease and their numbers augment as they continually swarm from the neighbourhood. But none of our soldiers, helped by God, is afraid of them and every day a few hundred sacrifice their lives for their king. After the victory against the Nazarenes, I shall send a large army for your help. You should be perfectly assure .

(Salutations).[1]

HELP SOUGHT AGAINST DEPREDATIONS OF JATS

English Translation of Walidad's petition to the King of Delhi, dated Malagarh, 29th Zilhijja 1273 *H. corresponding with 20th August* 1857.

Your Majesty—(After usual salutations)—The petitions stating the inroads and the foul conduct of the Jats of Bhatona[2] and their alliance with the English must have reached your notice. A fresh occurrence is that on 26th Zilhijja of the current year the above-mentioned Jats attacked *mauza* Nahanawa near *mauza* Bhatona *ilaqa* Salari which is inhabited by Shaikhs and Saiyids, at the time of the morning prayer, and killed all the men and their young and grown up sons who were all guiltless. They also killed one or two women and their suckling babes although they made great entreaties and prayers to the cruel *Kafirs* for sparing the lives of their sucklings. After massacring all those present in the village they took possession of all their movable and immovable property. Then they occupied their *garhi* and brought all their cultivation and land under their possession, the ladies of the Saiyids, crying and weeping went to *mauza* Sanpawat[3] which is 2½ *Kos* from Bhatona and

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 714.

[2] *Bhatauna*, Pargana *Agauta*, Tahsil and District *Bulandshahr*—A very large village on the extreme north-western border of the pargana and district, on the right bank of the left Dasna distributary of the Ganges Canal and on the north side of the road connecting Sikandarabad with Gulaothi, at a distance of two miles south-west of Gulaothi and 13 miles from Bulandshahr. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, pp. 199-200).

[3] Apparently *Sapnawat*, Pargana *Dasna*, Tahsil *Ghaziabad*, District *Meerut*—A village on the road from Dasna to Dhaulana and Gulaothi in Bulandshahr, situated in latitude 28° 37′ north and longitude 77° 44′ east, at a distance of five miles east of Dhaulana and 26 miles from Meerut. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 299).

stayed there. After this, these widows came to me at Malagarh and made complaints against this cruelty and said that the compensation, for the lives of their men and children should be taken from me as the government of the Doab has been entrusted to me, otherwise they have no other re-course except to appeal to God with their cold tears and life-scorching cries. Similarly, on the 27th ultimo, the Jats raided the *mauza* of Razzaq Pur, in the neighbourhood of Bhatona, killed some people and plundered away all their property. A month has passed that the Jats of *mauza* Salempur, according to the advice of the Jats of Bhatona, raided *mauza* Rasalpur[1] Garhi Sadat, killed six or seven persons and plundered their belongings. My Lord : It is not proper for this slave to punish the unbelieving Jats without the help of Imperial armies, because they will again complain against me in complicity with my enemies, to Your Majesty. Without your orders and the coming of the Imperial troops, it is impossible to extirpate these *Kafirs*. Such depredations have been committed and are being practised on the people of God by the hands of the *Kafirs*. Submitted...

May the sun of your prosperity and glory ever remain constant.[2]

DELHI KING DIRECTS DESPATCH OF HUKMNAMAS

English Translation of a letter from the King of Delhi (Seal besmeared) addressed to Walidad Khan, dated 4th Muharram of the year (1274 *A. H.*) *corresponding with 25th August* 1857.

Received two petitions stating detailed state of affairs. The two *Hukmnamahs* one addressed to the troops at Khurja[3] and another to those at Sikandra Rao—should be sent to them

[1] *Rasulpur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Meerut*, District *Meerut*—Rasulpur or Rasulpur-Rohta, as it is commonly called to distinguish it from Rasulpur-Dhaulri and other villages of a similar name in this pargana, lies on the road from Meerut to Binauli and Baraut, in latitude 29° 2′ north and longitude 77° 33′ east, at a distance of ten miles from Meerut and nearly two miles west of the Ganges Canal. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 298).

[2] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 714.

[3] *Khurja*, Pargana and Tahsil *Khurja*, District *Bulandshahr*—The headquarters town of the tahsil is the largest in the district, and may be regarded

so that the money sent may be distributed among the troops at once.[1]

WALIDAD RECEIVES HELP FROM DELHI COURT

English Translation of Walidad's letter to the King of Delhi.

Acknowledges receipt of the troops and ammunition from Delhi and requests for more troops. Suggests that the troops which have now reached Sikandra Rao may be directed to come to Malagarh so that administration and realisation of revenue may be done.

King's order to (Wali-dad Khan) on the above letter.

Recruit one Platoon of brave soldiers, arrange for its supplies and despatch it to the presence.[2]

WALIDAD STILL HOLDS BULANDSHAHR

Narrative of Events by Colonel R. J. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India, dated 9th September 1857.

Bolundshuhur—No authentic news. The place is said to be held by Walladad (Walidad Khan) Khan, a relative of the King of Delhi. Some of his adherents have been severely punished by parties sent out from Meerut.[3]

* * *

Narrative of Events by Colonel R. J. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India, September 24, 1857.

Bolundshuhur—Nothing known. It is believed that the place is still held by Walladad (Walidad) Khan.[4]

as the commercial capital as opposed to the official headquarters of Bulandshahr. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 255).

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 1 in No. 3, p. 115.

[4] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure I in No. 4, p. 199.

WALIDAD COMPLAINS ABOUT THE EVIL MACHINATIONS OF SOME PERSONS

English Translation of Walidad Khan's letter to some Englishman (Magistrate of Bulandshahr ?) with his Seal at the end of the letter.

Received your letter which afterwards proved to be a concoction. What these back-biters do is to write such letters to me and then to excite you against me. The man who has wrongly informed you about me may kindly be asked to come to my presence and in case his allegations prove false he should be punished, so that the evil may be nipped in the bud. I am ready to go away to some other place if you so desire or to shift to Bulandshahr where I shall always remain in your presence.[1]

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN RAJA NAHAR SINGH AND WALIDAD

English Translation of Raja Nahar Singh's letter to Walidad Khan (no date).

Complains of the non-receipt of letters from him and urges that regular correspondence in order to strengthen the ties of friendship be continued.[2]

RANI OF ANUPSHAHR SOLICITS A FARMAN FROM THE KING OF DELHI

English Translation of the petition[3] to the King of Delhi, dated 5th Muharram, 1274 *A. H. corresponding with 26th August* 1857.

(Salutations)—Sir ! the state of affairs here is this—

Raja Ambey Rao, my (supporter)[4] had ever been faithful and obedient to your *Sarkar* till his death. After his death I remained without any supporter at my place and entertained hope from you. I thank God that in spite of rebellion and the extirpation of the heathens, the management of Anupshahr is

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] The petition has been signed by the Rani of Anupshahr styling herself as the heir of Ambey Rao, the Rais of Anupshahr.

[4] 'Waris'.

by God's grace in tact and there has been no plundering here uptil now. But the realisation of revenue has stopped. I, therefore, implore Your Majesty, the shadow of God, that you will most graciously extend the grant of the *Farman* of administration to my name so that I may realise the revenue from the *ilaqa* of Bulandshahr and send the same to you.

Submitted. May the sun of your prosperity and success ever shine.[1]

ROLE OF RANI OF ANUPSHAHR

News dated Tuesday, 7th September 1858.

RANI CHOWHAN OF ANUPSHAHR PROCLAIMS HER INDEPENDENCE

A correspondent of *The Hurkaru* states that the Ranee Chowhan of Unoopshuher (Anupshahr)[2] in the Boolundshuhur District who took possession of Rajah Pertap Chunder Singh's estates in that *zillah* during the time of the late disturbances and plundered the *cutchery* and proclaimed her independence, has been reprieved by Government.[3]

MUZAFFARNAGAR

OUTBREAK AT MUZAFFARNAGAR

Narrative of Events submitted by R. M. Edwards, Officiating Magistrate, Muzaffarnagar, to H. Williams, Commissioner, Ist Division, Meerut, Camp Meeranpur (Miranpur), dated 1st December 1857.

EVENTS OF 9TH, 10TH AND 11TH MAY

Agreeably to the instructions contained in your letter of the 21st October 1857 I have the honour to submit the report

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 20, File No. 1577.

[2] *Anupshahr*, Pargana and Tahsil *Anupshahr*, District *Bulandshahr*—The chief town of the tahsil stands on the right bank of the Ganges, at a distance of 25 miles east of Bulandshahr, with which it is connected by a metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 179).

[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, September 9, 1858, p. 282. National Library, Calcutta.

called for regarding the circumstances which occurred at Moozuffurnugger from the commencement of the present outbreak to the period of my taking charge of the district.

In this report it will, I regret, to say, be necessary for me to animadvert strongly and frequently on the conduct of my predecessor. This is a most unpleasant but necessary duty inasmuch as Mr. Bedford's acts were in my opinion unavoidably connected with many of the unfortunate occurrences which took place at the station.

The 9th and 10th May being holidays Mr. Bedford went over to Saharanpoor, when on the afternoon of the 11th a letter from the late Mr. Johnston, Offg. Magistrate of Meerut, reached him giving intelligence of the mutiny at that place. Mr. Bedford left in a few hours for Moozuffurnugger, and on arrival there was as far as I can discover told by the native officials the most exaggerated, indeed wholly false reports of the arrival of mutineer regiments and of the immediate presence on the outskirts of the city of large bands of dacoits.

Mr. Bedford at once ordered that all public offices should be closed for 3 days. They were never again opened.

REPORTS OF THE MEERUT OUTBREAK CAUSE PANIC

I cannot tell Mr. Bedford's reason for issuing so extraordinary an order. I can imagine nothing more likely to produce what as a District Officer he must have been most anxious to prevent. It could only tend to unsettle men's minds, to produce doubt, confusion and suspicion, and neither the people believe that we felt ourselves unable to cope with the outbreak even at that early stage. The reports from Meerut were of course incessant, and of the most ridiculously exaggerated nature and were eagerly swallowed by the hangers on about the Public Officers. The *cutchery* is the usual place for gossips, all who want news go there to seek for it, and numbers crowding to learn the latest intelligence from Meerut were that day great. Plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses and idlers of all classes were told not only of the mutiny at Meerut but of the total destruction of the Europeans there and the overthrow of the Government.

They were assembled from all parts ot the district and went to their homes telling in addition to the Meerut tales, the fact of all the Government offices at Moozuffurnugger being

shut up, which naturally caused a general impression that the Government rule was suspended throughout the district.

This impression which had been industriously circulated by escaped convicts, and other disaffected persons from Meerut was very generally echoed by the people at Moozuffurnugger.

Rumours of the rapid approach of mutineers' letters official or private from Meerut appear to have been pretty generally believed.

12TH MAY 1857

It appears that on the evening of the 12th Mr. Bedford received information which he considered accurate that the convicts in the jail would rise that night, and the town be plundered, everything was however at the time perfectly quiet. He repaired to the bungalow of Mr. Dally, Head-clerk, and from there went out to the jungle towards the village of Surwut where he remained till morning.

Nothing occurred that night.

13TH MAY

On the 13th Mr. Grant, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector who had been in camp at Shamlee arrived having been called in by Mr. Bedford.

In the course of the day, Mr. Grant informed me, Sergeants O. Farrell and Taylor were sent for and plans for the future discussed, the result of which was that the party accompanied by Mr. S. O. Farrell and her sister Mrs. Hussey, and the office clerks and their families went to the *tehseel*. The movement was hurriedly carried out in consequence of the gentlemen learning from Mr. Butterfield, Jail *Darogha*, that the Jail-guard were in collusion with the prisoners, and both intended to attack the bungalow. This turned out to be utterly without foundation.

The removal into the *tehseel* Mr. Grant now saw quite unnecessary, and only gave confidence to the evil-disposed.

ATTACK BY VILLAGERS

That night Mr. Grant and Sergeant Stewart's bungalows were burnt by the villagers and Mr. Bedford's attacked but the assailants were kept off by the Guard.

Mr. Grant is of opinion that the impoverished Syeed *zemeendars* of Moozuffurnugger, instigated the villagers to commit these excesses.

Property to a trifling amount was plundered in the city, during the night. There was also a slight disturbance in the jail among the prisoners but successfully repulsed by the Guard. Mr. Bedford for their conduct that night gave them a present of a month's pay. The party next morning, May 14th, returned to Mr. Bedford's bungalow.

The *Tehseeldar* asserts that the disturbance in the city might have been prevented, but that he and all the rest of the Government servants were strictly prohibited by Mr. Bedford from leaving the *tehseel*, who had all the gates and doors secured.

Between 10 and 11 A. M. the party I know not for what reason suddenly returned to the *tehseel*.

14TH MAY—TAHSIL TREASURE TAKEN POSSESSION OF

The *Tehseeldar* Imdad Hoossein also states that his intention was if possible to get the treasure into the *tehseel*, and that both Mr. Bedford and he spoke to the *Havildar* on the subject, who agreed to bring it at 2 P. M. that day (May 14th) This when the time came, the sepoys refused to do, broke into the treasure chests and extracted as much as they could remove, having at first placed sentries all round the premises to prevent any person arriving or interfering with them when thus employed. The *Subadar* who commanded the party which was composed of 28 sepoys of the 20th Native Infantry sent an abusive message to the *Tehseeldar* saying that he had believed him a Mahomedan, but that he had proved himself a *Kaffir*, had eaten pig etc. and that he and his men intended paying him a visit and squaring accounts with him.

OFFICIALS TAKE SHELTER IN ALIPUR KHERI

The plunder of the treasury and the report sedulously spread that a large party of the 20th from Meerut had joined their comrades, and that a body of dacoits was rapidly advancing on the town caused considerable consternation to those collected in the *tehseel* and to the Government officials generally. They were persuaded that the *tehseel* was no longer safe and

Messrs. Bedford and Grant proposed proceeding to Jowlie[1] the residence of the *Tehseeldar's* cousin Syeed Casim Ullee (Saiyid Qasim Ali) and Mr. and Mrs. O. Farrell for Roorkee, but these latter abandoned their intention on hearing that the road was closed about Chuppar[2]. Mr. Grant had actually started for Jowlie accompanied by the *Tehseeldar* but Mr. Bedford not joining them, they returned and found that officer had left the *tehseel* by a back entrance and got to the residence of some Syeeds in Aboopoorah, a suburb ot the city, where Mr. Grant states they were treated extremely well. They slept there that night guarded by half the Jail-guard 30 in number, and returned to the *tehseel* next morning.

RS. 85,000/- PLUNDERED

The amount of money plundered from the treasury was eighty-five thousand rupees. The Treasury-guard amounted 35 men. It is clear that they wholly unprovided with carriage and encumbered with their arms and ammunition could not have removed more than one third of the whole as not a single sepoy of their regiment had arrived nor were there any villagers present with them. They took away as much as they could carry and the remainder was plundered by the town's people and Mr. Bedford's private servants. The latter lived in the adjoining out-houses, saw what was going on, and immediately on the departure of the sepoys, commenced on their own account. The sepoys left quietly and unmolested. I am of opinion that they might have been successfully attacked when struggling in small parties along the road encumbered with their plunder and it is reported that Daood Khan *Duffadar* of sowars volunteered to charge them with his men, but was prevented by his superior officer the *Jemadar*.

The remainder of the Government money was just as quietly plundered. The people were allowed to pour into the treasury and help themselves. Not one single official high or low raised a finger to prevent it. Everybody seems to have been paralysed. Now whatever doubt may exist as to any successful resistance to the sepoys there can be but one opinion

[2] *Jewlah* in another document.

that the display of a little vigour and energy on the part of the authorities or the Government servants generally might have prevented this indiscriminate plunder. I believe that if the *kotewalee Burkundauzes* and *tehseel Chuprassies* had been taken to the treasury they would have proved sufficient for its protection, or the safe removal of the money.

If it was not deemed advisable to make use of them the district sowars would have done equally well.

JAIL STORMED

It is very generally reported that the native officials received their share of the spoil and benefited very largely by the robbery. This matter is still undergoing investigation, it would therefore be premature for me to pass any decided opinion at this stage of the proceedings as to the amount of truth contained in these reports, my doing so at present might also tend to injure the course of my inquiry and render the elucidation of the real facts more difficult.

Towards evening on the 14th, Mr. Bedford considering that his force which was solely composed of his own and the Joint Magistrate's Gûard numbering 12 men armed with muskets and bayonets, and the *thanah* and *tehseel Burkundauzes*, amounting to about 70 men, was insufficient, determined on drawing off the Jail-guard and letting the prisoners loose. Rogunath Singh *Jemadar* of the *tehseel* was sent to the jail with orders to the native officer commanding the Guard to at once release the prisoners and bring away all the sepoys for the protection of Mr. Bedford and the other Europeans. This was at once done and the men marched to the *tehseel* where 30 were retained and 30 sent to Aleepoora[1] to Mr. Bedford. *The villagers subsequently came in and destroyed the jail barracks, carrying off the doors, shutters and iron rails.*

This measure Mr. Grant at the time considered a grave mistake, though he says he may not have sufficiently opposed it. If anything had been wanting to convince the people that the Government rule at Moozuffurnugger had ceased to exist, this release of the convicts supplied it. The inhabitants saw that they could with impunity commit any excesses, that

[1] Correct name may be *Alipur* or *Alipura*.

nobody interfered or meddled with them, and that even the few individuals who had been captured by the sowars in the city on the night of the 13th had been set free with the others.

The Civil, Criminal and Collectorate *Dufturs* were burnt by the people that night (May 14th) and Mr. Grant is decidedly of opinion that the destruction of the records was brought about by the Syuds (Saiyids) and that these individuals had spread the false tales of approaching mutineers and dacoits, and had induced them to take shelter in Aboopoorah, with the sole object of getting them out of the way and burning the office papers in their absence. Mr. Grant also suspects the *Tehseeldar* Imdad Hoossein himself a Syud and Ahmud Husun[1] *Cotewal* of conniving at such destruction.

NO RESISTANCE

It is I should remark the general belief in Moozuffurnugger that the Syuds were seriously implicated in the destruction of the records but as far as my investigations have yet gone, I cannot agree altogether with Mr. Grant. The Syuds must have well known that they would not materially benefit by the burning of the office records unless those of the *tehseel* had also been destroyed, yet the *tehs el* remained intact, was not in any way interfered with. Again they might have burnt the *dufter* equally well with the authorities in the *tehseel* as at Aboopoorah (Abu Pura). The *tehseel* is a long distance from the *cutcherries* and the evil-disposed must have felt pretty confident that those who had never moved out to prevent the inhabitants of the city from plundering the Government Treasury would not display more energy and activity in saving the records from destruction

I have said that it is the general belief that the villagers burnt the records and that the Syud *zemeendars* directed them to do so. Not one iota of evidence have I yet been able to procure in support of such statement. Matters may be suspicious against these men whose character is far from good, but the proofs of their guilt are as yet wanting.

[1] Spelt either for 'Ahmad Husain' or 'Ahmad Hasan'. In the '*Mutiny Narrative*' of the district it is 'Ahmud Hossein'.

The burning of the *cutcherries* at Moozuffurnugger is not a solitary instance, on the contrary we see that throughout this rebellion the first thing the "*budmashes*" have done in getting a footing in a station has been to *burn the Government offices*.

This matter however is still under investigation.

On the 15th or following day information was received that the people of the neighbouring villages were *collecting in great numbers round the city and proposed attacking and plundering it*. On this the *Cotewal* and the *Duffadar* of sowars, whose conduct throughout these disturbances shows in a favourable light, went with a party of district sowars, attacked and completely dispersed the dacoits bringing in some 15 or 20 prisoners, several of whom were wounded.

In the absence of a jail these dacoits were ordered to be flogged, and released, but as far as I can learn even this lenient sentence was not carried out. In this instance I am unable to perceive the necessity for a jail. The prisoners were caught with arms in their hands in open resistance to Government authority and should one and all have been hung on the spot.

When we see how effectually a few district sowars drove back and thoroughly dispersed this large body of dacoits one cannot help seeing how successfully the plunder of the main portion of the Government Treasury by the city people far few in number and at the time unarmed might have been prevented, had the attempt been made.

21ST JUNE

From this time to the mutiny of the 4th Irregulars on the 21st June no attack or dacoity was committed or attempted in the town though reports of intended attack were frequent.

About this period letters containing instructions were received from the Commissioner which appear to have been wholly carried out by Mr. Grant; indeed all the arrangements for the district seem to have been made by that officer. These arrangements were the establishment of *chowkees* on the main lines of communication, the enrolment of sowars and *Burkundauzes* and the despatch of letters of encouragement to the several extensive landholders and native gentlemen throughout the *zillah*. These measures which were well and carefully carried out by the Joint Magistrate would have proved far

more successful than they did, *had it not been for the utter supineness of the Police who throughout did literally nothing. They appear to have come to an understanding with the people that neither should interfere with the other, that if the villagers permitted the Police to remain quietly at their stations and draw their pay the villagers might commit what crimes they pleased without any attempt at prevention on their part.* The natural result was that violent crimes of all kinds were daily almost hourly committed throughout the district, not secretly or by night but openly and at noon day.

It is needless naming the chief crimes; it is sufficient to remark that here as in other parts of the country the *Buneahs* and *Mahajuns* were in the majority of cases the victims and fearfully have many of them been made to suffer for their previous rapacity and avarice.

On the 18th or 19th a party of the 3rd Light Cavalry under a native officer arrived from Meerut and at first caused no slight consternation as it was not known whether they were friends or enemies. On the day of their arrival one of the troopers shot a *Buneah* with whom he had a quarrel; Mr. Bedford seems to have been satisfied with the man's explanation, and no investigation to have been made.

Nothing particular seems to have taken place for several days, but towards the end of the month it was deemed advisable to send Mrs. O. Farrell and her sister Mrs. Hussey into Meerut; arrangements were made for their departure and Mr. Bedford determined to accompany them, which he did taking the whole of the Cavalry with him, and leaving Mr. Grant who refused to quit the district with Mr. Dally—Head-clerk, his family and that of Mr. Butterfield, Jail *Darogha*. Mr. Bedford after proceeding some miles returned to the station, and the Cavalry were the next day re-inforced by a party of the same Regiment under Lieutenant Clarke; arrangements were now made for patrolling the roads, and some of the most refractory villages were visited and punished.

On the 29th Sergeant Smith arrived with 80 Troopers of the 4th Irregular Cavalry and relieved Lieutenant Clarke.

Mr. Grant received orders from the Commissioner to proceed to Shamlee and make arrangements for keeping open the *Dak* communication between Meerut and Kurnaul (Karnal). In accordance with these instructions Mr. Grant after the lapse of a few days went to Shamlee and having effected the object of his journey returned two days after to the station having written

a full account to the Commissioner of the arrangements made by him and the state of the country about Shamlee.

Mr. Grant received in reply a communication from the late Commissioner Mr. Greathed transferring him to Boolundshaher, because he had in the first instance delayed to carry out the instructions and secondly because he had left Shamlee without his, the Commissioner's, orders. I have not seen Mr. Greathed's letter which has been lost but such Mr. Grant informs me was its purport. Though there certainly appears to have been unnecessary delay in proceeding to Shamlee, neither Mr. Bedford or (nor) Mr. Grant seem to have understood the Commissioner to intend the latter to remain at Shamlee after the *Dak* arrangements had completed.

Mr. Grant reports that he found the state of affairs at Shamlee most satisfactory owing to the exertion of Ibraheem Khan *Tehseeldar*, since murdered by the insurgents of Thanah Bhowan under Enayut Alli Khan (Inayet Ali Khan).

Shortly after the return of the Joint Magistrate from Shamlee the villagers of Puraee and Bijopoorah were visited and punished. Matters were improving and a little revenue was collected in the *Huzoor* and Khatowlee[1] *tehseels* when on the 21st June the Troopers of the 4th Irregular Cavalry mutinied and murdered their officer Lieutenant Smith.

DISAFFECTION IN 4TH IRREGULARS

Several days previous to the mutiny of the 4th Irregulars I had been informed at Saharanpoor by Dooly Chund (Duli Chand) an extensive landholder in that and the Moozuffurnugger districts, that the Irregulars were in a disaffected state and not to be depended upon; I wrote to Mr. Grant informing him of what I had heard who replied that similar rumours had reached him but that Lieutenant Smith to whom he had communicated them was satisfied of the staunchness of his men. The event proved the rumours only too well founded.

[1] Apparently *Khatauli*, Pargana *Khatauli*, Tahsil *Jansath*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—The capital of the pargana is a considerable town of great commercial importance on the metalled road from Muzaffarnagar to Meerut, which is here crossed by the road from Budhana to Miranpur, at a distance of 14 miles from Muzaffarnagar. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 283).

The troopers were billetted in the Magistrate's *Cutcherry* only part of which had been destroyed by fire; their horses were picketed on either side of the road leading from the *cutcherry* to Mr. Bedford's bungalow. The space between is I should say rather less than 100 yards.

The account of the mutiny as given by the different individuals who witnessed it, is very considerable. The following is as far as I can discover a pretty correct description of what occurred.

About 3 P. M. on the 21st June *a shooter sowar* (*shutr sawar*) arrived from Shamlee. He did not come in by the direct road but passed round by the public offices and entered the Lines of the 4th and no doubt he brought some letter or message to the men from their comrades stationed at Shamlee. He left again in a short time and soon after his departure a trooper went into Mr. Bedford's bungalow apparently to call Lieutenant Smith as that officer accompanied him into the Lines. Mr. Dally, Head-clerk, who was in a tent outside the bungalow saw the arrival and departure of the *shooter sowar*, the trooper go to the bungalow, and Lieutenant Smith return with him and at the time noticed that Lieutenant Smith was going to his men at an unusually early hour. Shortly after, the report of a shot was heard and some natives called out that a dog had been shot. This was however almost immediately negatived by one of the *Chuprassies* rushing into the bungalow saying that the Adjutant had been shot by his men. The party then viz. Mr. Bedford, Mr. Grant and Mr. Dally and Mr. Butterfield with their families at once left the bungalow and went to the out-houses in the rear of the house, where the Jail-guard were stationed. The *Rissaldar* came to Mr. Grant, told him that he had put the man who shot the Adjutant into confinement, and asked that officer to go to the bungalow, and see Lieutenant Smith who had been brought in there by some *Dooly* bearers and was being attended by the native Doctor. Mr. Grant was accompanying the *Rissaldar* when Mr. Butterfield went forward and prevented his doing so. The sepoys of the Jail-guard now said that the whole party should at once repair to the *tehseel*, which they did by a short and unfrequented road as the sowars were evidently preparing to mount and were beginning to surround the bungalow. Mr. and Mrs. Butterfield when half way returned to the bungalow to procure some clothes forgotten in the hurry of departure. These they managed to

secure, and had proceeded some distance towards the *tehseel* when he (Butterfield) was shot by one of the troopers. His wife begged them to shoot her also, but though they threatened her, she was uninjured. Mr. Butterfield's body was slashed with sword cuts, and a hand cut off on account of the ring upon it.

The party reached the *tehseel* only just in time as several of the troopers galloped down the road with the evident intention of cutting them off but returned on seeing them enter the *tehseel* gate.

There seems to be little doubt that the *Rissaldar's* object was to get the party back into the bungalow, where they would all have been murdered.

Lieutenant Smith whose first wound was not mortal was put into a *Dooly* and was being taken to the *tehseel* when he was followed by some sowars, dragged out and murdered. The body was much disfigured by sword cuts and one of the hands cut off for the sake of the ring. Lieutenant Smith's and Mr. Butterfield's bodies were removed that night by Mr. Dally's younger brother and Mr. Kelly brother of Mr. Butterfield to their bungalow, they lay there unburied for 2 days and 2 nights and were eventually intered by these 2 men close to the house. The bodies have since been removed to consecrated ground.

About 8 O'clock the same evening the whole of the 4th came over to the *tehseel*, asked the sentry what regiment he belonged to, called out to all true Mahomedans to come over and join them and demanded that the "*Kaffirs*" should be given up.

REVOLUTIONARIES GO AWAY WITH TREASURE

They at first insisted that the *tehseel* should be opened in order that they might rob the treasury and murder the Christians. Imdad Hoossein *Tehseeldar* behaved extremely well. Mr. Grant informs me he stoutly refused to listen to the troopers though taunted, threatened and abused by them. Daood Khan *Duffadar* of sowars went out to the mutineers and asked them what they wanted. They replied 'the lives of the Christians'. He answered that though the Europeans had certainly come to the *tehseel*, they were no longer there, if they were he would not give them up. They then demanded the treasure. He said he had nothing to do with the money and no power over it,

and re-entered the *tehseel* when it was settled to give up the amount in the chest about 6,000 rupees. On receiving it the sowars left in a body going round by Aboopoorah with the intention apparently of discovering whether the Europeans had again sought refuge there and passed on to Shamlee, where they were joined by their comrades.

Before their departure they burnt Mr. Bedford's[1] bungalow, and carried off Messrs. Grant's and Bedford's horses. The Staging bungalow and Mrs. O. Farrell's bungalow, were burnt the same night.

I am of opinion that Lieutenant Smith's men were disaffected for some time previous to the actual mutiny and murder of their officer which may have been hastened by the intelligence the *shooter sowar* brought from Shamlee or of the trifling altercation in the Lines of which two distinct accounts are given.

One says that a Puthan who had been a short time before in the Moozuffurnugger Jail and a thorough reprobate was constantly with the troopers, that this man had gone on the previous night to the grog shop in the town, where he made a disturbance and severely beat the *Abkar*. The man next day complained to Mr. Bedford who said the offender should be punished. On Lieutenant Smith's going to the Lines as already described one of the sowars came forward and said the man was relative of his and should not be punished, that his horse had been ill the previous night and that he had sent him to obtain some native spirit to administer to the animal, but the *Kulal* had refused to give him any and abused him, and that the man was not to blame. On this Lieutenant Smith is reported to have said, "If you try and shield such a known bad character and claim him as a relative it is evident that you are yourself as bad", or words to that effect when another trooper came up behind and shot him in the side.

The other account is that Lieutenant Smith was finding fault with a "*Bargeer*" of the troop for having appropriated some Government iron, when the man replied angrily and there and then shot him.

Lieutenant Smith's life might probably have been saved, had the rest of the party known at once that his first wound

[1] Spelt as 'Berford' in the *Mutiny Narrative* of the District.

was not mortal as they might, on (in) that case, have taken him along with them to the *tehseel*–guarded like themselves by the jail sepoys who appear to have behaved well throughout with the exception of one or two black sheep who assisted in plundering the treasury.....

VILLAGERS GATHER ROUND THE TOWN

About 9 next morning (the 22nd) the villagers collected in very large numbers round the town but were completely dispersed by a party of district sowars and Jail Guard sepoys sent against them.

On the 26th Lieutenant Clarke arrived with a party of the 3rd Light Cavalry after which no event of any importance occurred at the station and on the morning of the 2nd July I marched in with 130 Goorkhas of the Nusseeree Battalion under command of Lieutenant Chester. Lieutenant Chester was next day recalled by Major Bagot and 80 of the Goorkhas, thus leaving me with only 60 men.

Mr. Bedford, the Magistrate and Collector left on the night of the 4th along with the Goorkhas. I therefore in accordance with the instructions received by Mr. Spankie from the late Commissioner, Mr. Greathed, assumed charge of the district in both departments.

For the information contained in this report I have been mainly indebted to Mr. Grant who at my request drew up a memo: of what had occurred at the station.

It will be clearly perceived from the foregoing statement that the authorities at Moozuffurnugger had great difficulties to contend with, and no real force to aid their efforts at preserving the peace of the station and district. Though I cannot help considering that some of Mr. Bedford's acts such as closing the Public Offices and releasing the prisoners were far more calculated to increase than to repress the disturbances and though I am of opinion that much could have been effected which was not even attempted still great credit is surely due to those who in such trying circumstances never left their district.

If I may be allowed to express an opinion I should say that the chief error committed by the authorities was in not going themselves and examining into the amount of truth in the alarming reports brought to them, in placing matters really in the hands of the natives instead of acting promptly

and energetically on their own judgment. Firmness, decision and self-reliance were absolutely necessary for the crises, and were unfortunately not sufficiently displayed.

The total absence of any intelligence from Meerut during the first few days of the outbreak is greatly to be regretted. It gave a colour of truth to the greatly exaggerated talks which were circulated by the natives and prevented their being satisfactorily refuted or denied.

It is also a matter of surprise and regret that no force however small was sent from Meerut to assist the authorities in holding the district; had this been done, the great loss to Government and to private individuals would certainly have been prevented. Even without such force I think there can be little doubt that if the district sowars had been made to patrol the station on some regular plan, and the Police generally had been made proper use of, the plunder of the treasury by the town's people and the burning of the Government offices might also have been prevented.

DISTRICT DISORGANIZED

On our arrival I found the district much disorganized, all work seemed to have been suspended and some Government servants with whom had been found large sums of money plundered from the treasury had not only remained unpunished but had been permitted to retain their appointment. The *tehseels* were certainly in existence but not the least attempt was made to collect the Government Revenue. The *thanahs* were also nominally at work but the occupants as in the *tehseels* did nothing but clamour for their pay, and there was no money wherewith to settle their claims.

My first efforts were principally directed to (Ist) the restoration of confidence in the town of Moozuffurnugger, (2nd) the re-establishment of the jail, (3rd) keeping open the communication along the several lines of road, and insisting on the Police posted at the several *chokees* regularly patrolling along their several beats, (4th) the security of the Government and district *daks* on the progress through the district and (5th) the realization of the public *Kists*. Of these the latter was as might be supposed by far the most difficult. I insisted on the collections being at once renewed and on the *Tehseeldars'* and *Peishkars'* ceasing to shut themselves up in their *tehseels*, but

proceeding to the villages and in person collecting the Revenue, providing at the same time for the prompt punishment of those who dared to show resistance or contumacy.

Knowing that the people generally regarded the payment of the Government demand as a decided proof of allegiance I fostered the idea and worked upon it. They were unable, I was well aware, to borrow in this as in former years from the *Mahajuns* but had to make their own arrangements for settling the claims against them. Though the money was not so rapidly paid yet I felt that the security for good conduct subsequent to payment would be greatly enhanced, and the result showed that I was not mistaken.

It was necessary to watch closely and constantly the work of the revenue officials to make them report daily the villages visited and the arrangements made in each and to pass immediate orders thereon, stringent where there were but vague promises of payment at some future day, encouraging where the villages "*Baach*" was started, and the people showed themselves willing to meet their engagements. Payments commenced at once in the Moozuffurnugger *Kotwalee* and Thanah Bhowun, *tehseels* and after a few days in Puar; but not a pice was collected in Shamlee till a considerably later date.

The city of Moozuffurnugger was when I arrived in a greatly perturbed state. The shops were all closed and the town's people were accustomed to fly on hearing any report of an intended attack of dacoits. These reports as well as others stating that our forces at Delhi had been driven from their position, the ships carrying European troops from England wrecked and others of a similar nature were so frequent and evidently spread with the view of doing mischief and unsettling men's minds that deeming it necessary to put a stop to them at once I proclaimed through the city by beat of drum my intention of hanging then and there the first person caught propagating such falsehoods. This had the desired effect.

I found that by visiting the town myself a few times by night as well as by day that the patrolling which I had started immediately on my arrival was well carried out and confidence restored among the people.

It is unnecessary for me to enter into any further details. It will be sufficient to state that dacoities and other heinous crimes almost entirely ceased throughout the district; that order was in a great measure restored that the Revenue was

being rapidly collected and all going on quietly and satisfactorily till the beginning of September when the disturbances arose which have been fully treated of in the report already submitted by me.[1]

SUMMARY OF AN OUTBREAK AT MUZAFFARNAGAR

English Translation of a petition of Chait Singh, resident of Parao Bagh Ghera, Muzaffarnagar (Plaintiff).

(Salutations)...As the full account of what took place at Muzaffarnagar cannot be given, a summary is being submitted herewith. On Tuesday, May 12, 1857, the news of the fight in Meerut Cantonment reached the Collector of Muzaffarnagar. As the Joint Magistrate was out, the Collector, as suggested by some members of the staff (*Ahalkars*), issued orders for the close of the office for 3 days. The Saiyid *zemindars* of the place assembled at the place called Darbar after they heard of the disturbances at Meerut and conferred as to what they should do at the time when the rule of the Company had come to an end and sent this news to the other Saiyids of the neighbourhood. On Wednesday, the 13th of May, they invited the malefactors of the rural area to plunder the town and put the *Mahajans* to death and asked them to enter the town armed as soon as they set fire to the bungalows. Without any fear of the British, the above mentioned Saiyids took an army of weavers, butchers and *Chamars* to set fire to the Collector's bungalow and to plunder the treasury at about 8 or 9 P. M. But they could not do so as a Guard was posted there. Then they came to the Joint Magistrate's bungalow and the Sergeant of Roads' bungalow and set fire to them. Then, with other disturbers of peace, they entered the town from all sides with a loud cry of '*Ya Ali !* "*Ya Ali !*" and created a disturbance and plundered the belongings, papers and cash of Mr.... (illegible), *Darogha* of gaol and the shops of *Mahajans* named Hira Lal Kestra, Johari Mal Diwan Singh... (Mss. torn) of cloth merchants and of other shop keepers namely Mohan Lal,

[1] 'Report from R. M. Edwards to Commissioner, Meerut, dated 1st December 1857;' Meerut Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
cf. Also *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Muzaffarnagar District*, pp. 1–9.

Faqir chand, Diwan Singh, Munna, Gur Dayal,... (Illegible) *Thekadar* of *Parao* (Camp), Johari Mal *Pansari* (General merchant), Gungora shop-keeper of Indra Bagh, Brij Lal, Ramanand Lohia, Nagar Mal and Mangal Rai, Creditors, all worth 20 or 25 thousand rupees. Then they frightened the Englishmen and took them to the Darbar at their place and tampering with the Guard of soldiers posted at the treasury sent some money from the treasury loaded on ponies with them and themselves plundered all that was left of the treasury and the Government property. They burnt the Government offices so that all the transactions of sale and mortgage of property of *Mahajans* and other papers which could give a clue to the real ownership might be destroyed and the plundered property would thus remain in their possession. Many of these malefactors continually created disturbance in the town. When the Englishmen learnt of their activities, they left Saidan and moved to the *tahsil* with their Jail-guards, peons, foot-soldiers and horse-men in the morning of Friday, the 15th of June. Then they posted the *sipahis* and the sentries to guard the *tahsil*. After the Englishmen had left, Abul Hasan, Mazhar Hasan, Mahmud Hasan, Muhammad Hasan, Hisam Uddin, Firoz Ali, Muazzam Ali ... (gives a long list of names)...of the Saiyids took with them Fattoo, Nurwa, Badlu etc. (names among the butchers, Naththa, Bhondoo, Iddoo etc. among the weavers, Hari Jas, Thakur, Ram Lal, Khuda Bakhsh etc. among the *Darodgars*, Jeloo, Nanhoo, *Badmashes* of the Banhas, Nathua weaver, a Hindu,... Udmi, among the *Chamars*, Ilahi Bakhsh, Mehroo, Kalloo and Ghissoo among the *Hijras* (eunuchs), Gulharoo and Ghasita among the Siyabis, Maarua ...Rahim Bakhsh, Chanda, Muhammada, ... Munna Behngar ... Gulab Shah Faqir ... Kalloo, Mallhoo, Pirao, Lala,...among Karhars,...Imam Bakhsh... (Mss. torn), armed with guns, shells and Gohers set out to plunder and kill the *Mahajans* and first attacked the *Haveli* of Lala Nagar Mal. The *Mahajan's* real brother named Lor Awar Singh with 15 or 20 armed persons was present at the spot. He put up a fight with brick-bats, grape-shots and bullets. For fear of life the plunderers left this place and attacked the *Haveli* of Lala Kashi Nath and the shops of Mohan Lal, Saroopa and Shadi, broke open the door and locks of Amirchand, cloth merchant and plundered property worth 4 (4000) or 5000. After this they attacked the houses of several *Mahajans*, took

them captive but did not shoot them with a pistol and brought them to their own places where they were shut in a *Kothri*, threatened with massacre and the forcible eating of beef, and denuded of cash, money, ornaments and mortgage deeds worth Rs. 50,100. Now, when the *Risala* of second... (illegible) *Saheb* came here and they set matters right, the rebel horsemen mixed with them, invited them to their feasts and won them over. It was now decided that if sawars put their officer to death and the Saiyid *zamindars* massacred the English civil officers of the place, the religious flag would be hoisted. Some dacoities were organised through the co-operation of the sawars and the Saiyids but the rebels could not achieve any success. On Sunday, June 21, in the evening, the sawars, killed their officers, Ghaus Muhammad, Harkha Singh and others. The Jail-guards and Bishan Singh *Chaprasi* brought both the English officers of this district in the *tahsil* premises. The sawars and other malefactors set fire to the Collector's bungalow and after the sawars had left, the malefactors burnt down the bungalow of Mr. Pasley, the Superintendent of the Roads and *Musafir Khana*. This was done in accordance with the previous undertaking and in view of the spread of the news in the rural areas. Then they spent the whole night in going about the surrounding villages and collected about 20,000 men by the morning of June 22 whom they feasted with *Sharbat* and parched gram. About 9 or 10 A. M. they beat drums and marched to the side of *Takia* Najaf Ali Shah in *Muhalla* Abu Pura. But due to the bravery of Ghaus Muhammad and Harkha Singh, 50 or 60 of the dacoits were killed and wounded and they took to flight. Since the Magistrate and the Joint Magistrate have come to the *Kothi*, the *Mahajans* have been enjoying peace. They have not yet brought their case before the High Court for fear of the Saiyids and of the people of the other side of the river. I request that the deposition of the under-named *Mahajans* be recorded and an investigation be made so that a full account of the occurrence may come to light. Submitted...detailed list of the tyrannised *Mahajans* (a long list). Details of my property which was plundered from my shop in *Parao* and from the grove in Katra...[1]

[1] Muzaffarnagar Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 2, File No. 16: Case "*Government vs. Abul Hasan.*"

SAHARANPUR

ANXIOUS MOMENTS AT SAHARANPUR

Saharunpore—A correspondent, "a resident", sends the following narrative of the anxieties at Saharunpore during the troublous months of last year:

"Early in the month of May[1], it became a subject of general remark with us, that the sepoys on duty at this station had thrown off their customary quiet and respectful behaviour, and had become forward, if not insolent; they paraded the public roads in parties, scarcely deigning to move to one side for a passing carriage, and singing at the highest pitch of their unmelodious voices, heedless of who heard them."

"...But on Monday, the 11th May, this infatuation which we shared in common with the vast majority of our countrymen, received a violent almost a death blow. A hurried pencil message arrived from Meerut—'The sepoys are in open mutiny! Meerut is in flames.....

"On Friday, the 15th, the news of the outbreak and massacre at Delhi convinced us of the urgency of our peril...."

"On Sunday night, the 17th, we were called to arms by a report that dacoits were coming to attack Saharunpore... On Monday, 18th, we received the intelligence of the mutiny of the Sappers at Meerut,..."[2]

SAHARANPUR THREATENED

(*Continued from the foregoing description of situation at Saharanpur*).

"On the night of the 20th, the dacoits collected in very large numbers and threatened an attack. For miles around our position we heard their shouts, and they became more distinct, proving that the rascals were approaching....

"On the following day, the Magistrate, having received positive information that a large body of Goojurs had collected at a neighbouring village, resolved, with the aid of the sepoys, to dislodge them...."[3]

[1] May 1857.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, June 8, 1858, p. 540; (Reproduced from *Lahore Chronicle*, May 26). National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, June 12, 1858, p. 555; (Reproduced from *Lahore Chronicle*, May 29). National Library, Calcutta.

OUTBREAK AT SAHARANPUR

Letter No. 84 from R. Spankie, Magistrate, Saharanpur, to F. Williams, Commissioner of the 1st Division, Meerut, dated Saharanpur, 26th September 1857.

Being about to leave the district in anticipation of sick leave, I have the honor to submit the following report of events in this *zillah* from the 12th of May up to the 26th September.

2*nd*—The news of the outbreak at Meerut reached Saharunpore on the 12th May. The intelligence was at once forwarded to Umballa. The next day I ordered all the ladies and children out of the station to the hills.

3*rd*—The news of the massacre at Dehlie soon followed.

4*th*—It was not to be expected that this district could remain quiet for any length of time. The plundering tribe of Goojurs was the first affected, and the Rangurs were not far behind them. There was however no general outbreak until the disturbances at Mozuffurnuggur occurred. Then wave after wave of disquiet rolled through the district.

5*th*—For the protection of the district, station, and town of Saharunpore, extra police were raised. The extent and nature of the increase are noted in an Appendix to this report. I also raised 50 sowars.

6*th*—When our disturbances commenced, the only troops in the station were 85 men of the 29th Regiment N. I., in charge of the treasury.

7*th*—The officers of Government, Covenanted and Uncovenanted, united for their own protection, and established themselves in the Magistrate's house, keeping watch and ward.

8*th*—The assemblies of Goojurs and others became more and more frequent. Ancient tribe or caste feuds were renewed; village after village was looted; bankers were either robbed of their property, or had to pay fines to protect it. The *zemindars* and villagers took advantage of the general anarchy to obtain from *Mahajuns* and *Buneahs* their books of business and bond debts etc.

9*th*—It would appear as if the disturbances in the commencement were less directed against Government than against particular people and castes. When the fall of Dehlie ceased to be looked upon as imminent, the agricultural communities began to turn their eyes towards the local treasuries and did

not scruple to oppose themselves to Government officers and troops.

10*th*—The local authorities did their best to put down the disturbances in their earliest stage.

11*th*—On the 21st May a large assemblage of Goojurs and Rangurs took place on the south and south-west of *pergunnah* Saharunpore. The village of Mullypore was looted close to the station and treasury. Some signal example was necessary. All the Europeans of the place accompanied me with the district sowars and twenty men of the 29th, with a view to disperse the assembly. The villagers would not meet us, and scattered, deserting their villages, three of which were burnt—property plundered from Mullypore was strewn in the fields and roads of the villages—a number of prisoners were captured and brought into Saharunpore.

12*th*—As the Roorkee road was much infested and the *dawks* were delayed, and as highway robberies occurred, and a *Buneah's* house had been looted in *mauza* Gurhow, accompanied by Messrs. Robertson—Joint Magistrate, Henderson Veterinary Surgeon attached to the Stud, and Messrs. Lamb and Sheels of the English Office, I determined on the 22nd May to march to the village of Gurhow some 7 miles from the station. I found it deserted. We were told that there was a large assemblage up the road, and I went on to Nagul, three miles further, and thence to a round of villages on the right; they were all deserted. I managed however to find the *Lumberdars* of *mauza* Kunkuri and Phoraur. These men had refused to pay their revenue. I brought them into Saharunpore, and they eventually did so.

13*th*—On the 23rd May I visited several villages on the Deobund[1] Road, and off it. On this occasion I was also accompanied by several gentlemen of the station. I burnt one village, the inhabitants of which had been concerned in the murder of a Cashmeeree (Kashmiri) on the Munglour Road.

14*th*—At this time the Mahomedan feeling in the city was not satisfactory; such a feeling naturally arose from the

[1] *Deoband*, Pargana and Tahsil *Deoband*, District *Saharanpur*—The large and important town of Deoband lies in 29° 42′ N. and 77° 41′ E., at a distance of 21 miles south-south-east from the district headquarters, on the main road from Saharanpur to Muzaffarnagar. (*District Gazetteers*, Saharanpur, Vol. II, 1909, p. 224).

delay which necessarily occurred in dealing with the mutineers. The *Cazee* however and others behaved well, and I believe did their best to keep order. The Hindoo Bankers and *Buneahs* completely lost heart and alike dreaded invasion from without, and sedition from within. They shut up their shops, buried their valuables, and business was all but suspended. The close of the "*Roza*" was approaching. I looked for serious disturbances. The *Cotwal* of the city, as it afterwards turned out, was playing a double game, and inciting disaffection, whilst he continued to act as if he had been a thorough adherent to the cause of Government. I felt that I required help from without, and I wrote to Mr. Barnes, the Commissioner of Umballa, who did all he could; and Mr. Plowden, the Assistant Commissioner of Umballa, then quartered at Jugadhree, (Jagadhri), crossed the Jumna with a party of the 4th Light Cavalry under Captain Wyld, and a Company of Infantry (5th Regiment N. I.) under Captain Garstin. The appearance of the troops was most opportune, and confidence for a time was restored.

15*th*—On the 30th May I went down towards Munglour accompanied by Messrs. Trench, Plowden, and Edwards, and by Captain Garstin. We were joined at midnight at a given point by Mr. Robertson, and Captain Wyld, who had been on duty to Deobund. Our intention was to attack the village of Manuckpore in the hope of apprehending the head man, Oomrow (Umrao) Singh, for whose apprehension a large reward had been offered. This man had been very forward, calling himself Raja, and levying money from the surrounding villages. His intelligence was too good for us, and we found the village all but deserted. It was burnt, and we captured a few prisoners. I took with me on this occasion some 30 of the 29th and Captain Garstin's Company, and was joined as stated above by Mr. H. D. Robertson, Joint Magistrate, and Captain Wyld with a portion of the 4th Light Cavalry.

16*th*—I had detached Mr. Robertson and Captain Wyld to Deobund, which was threatened by the people of the Khatah, a notorious part of the district. Of their proceedings I submit Mr. Robertson's own report; vide appendix. Major Williams gave valuable assistance on this occasion.

17*th*—On the 2nd of June an outbreak occurred in the Company under Captain Garstin. Several of the men had been unsteady, and on the evening of the second 16 were allowed

to cut their names. They managed to secure their muskets, and when ordered to receive their pay, refused to take it, and fell back to the gate of my compound, close to which they were encamped, and commenced firing on Captain Garstin and the men who remained with him. One of the mutineers was shot, I believe, by a *Havildar*. Messrs. Brownlow and Home, Engineers, and Plowden, of the 4th Cavalry who had been out for a drive and on returning had met with an accident were fired upon, but happily the shots missed. Captain Wyld in his endeavour to reach his own men was also fired at thrice. I went (having been at the spot where Captain Garstin was playing the men) to make my sowars, 10 of them stationed in the compound, follow the mutineers, but I found that they had run on the first shot towards the city. The evening was gathering in fast, and the villains escaped.

18*th*—On the 3rd of June the Goorkhas under Major Bagot arrived, bringing the cholera with them. However the arrival was of great importance. We had lost confidence in the remaining portion of the 5th and also in the 4th Light Cavalry. The news of the mutiny of the 29th N. I. at Moorada-bad had also been received.

19*th*—On the same evening I took a portion of the Goorkhas and some of the 4th Light Cavalry to attack and disperse a body of Goojurs assembled near the treasury with intent to loot it. The rebels on seeing the force retreated. They had withstood the *Cotwal* and Police during the day. The Cavalry pursued them for some distance. On this occasion we also had a few men of the 5th and other Irregulars on leave belonging to the district. A few men were cut up, and some prisoners made. Two villages were burnt. In this affair I was joined by Mr. Brownlow and most of the residents, and of course by my own officers. All could not go, though they were willing to be useful.....[1]

* * *

Letter from W. C. Plowden, Assistant Commissioner, to R, Spankie, Magistrate Saharanpur, dated Ambala, 3rd February 1858.

It was on the night of the 19th May that I first became aware of the danger to which the Saharunpore District was

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Saharanpur District*, pp. 1-4.

exposed. I had that evening been despatched from Umballa with a Squadron of Native Regular Cavalry, and 2 Companies of Native Infantry, to preserve order to the west of Jumna. Finding from your letter to the Commissioner of the Cis Sutlej States, which I had opened that you were in want of assistance, I put myself in communication with you, and on 21st May marched with the Cavalry to Sirsawa where as you will remember several petty robberies on the high-way had already occurred and where more serious crimes were anticipated. At the same time I requested Captain Garstin to despatch a Company of the N. I. under his command to your aid at Saharunpore.

2*nd*—The appearance of troops at Sirsawa had its effect. Confidence was in some degree restored amongst the town's people. The shops which had been closed were re-opened and the *Thanah* Police was augmented by an addition of 20 Sikh matchlockmen under the Dyalgurh (Dayalgarh) *Sirdars*. The headmen of Chowree, the inhabitants of which village had rendered themselves conspicuous by several acts of impudent criminality, were severely flogged. Their houses were also destroyed. The punishments thus inflicted brought about a temporary diminution of crime in the immediate neighbourhood of Sirsawa.

3*rd*—The instructions I had received from Umballa were explicit, and I was unable to stop longer than a day at Sirsawa. But I did not return to the Umballa District till Captain Garstin's Company had crossed the river on their way to Saharunpore. We met them on the march, and it was then I discovered the probable value of the assistance they would render you. They had behaved mutinously whilst at Jugadhree. But it was too late to order them back. In fact it was a question whether the order, if given, would be obeyed.

4*th*—Shortly after my return to the right bank of the river, I received orders to break down the bridge of boats over the Jumna. But as the Umballa District towards the Jumna was perfectly quiet, whilst Saharunpore was very unsettled and your position there for the time precarious, it became a matter of necessity to be prepared to give you immediate assistance should you call for it. I therefore decided on allowing the bridge to remain. Nothing could have had a worse moral effect than the proposed measure, which would have entirely cut off our best means of communication with Saharunpore and Meerut.

5*th*—On the 23rd May Mr. Barnes authorized me to use my discretion in crossing the river to your assistance, and at your request I marched with the Cavalry on the 25th to Saharunpore. It was considered not improbable that the Mahommedans might take advantage of the 'Edd' (Id), which occurred on the 26th, to create a disturbance. But whatever may have been their intentions, that festival passed away without an outbreak. All apprehensions on this score being allayed, you arranged to improve the opportunity afforded by the presence of Cavalry, and to punish both the dacoits about Deobund and the disaffected towards Nuckoor. With the operations near Deobund I was not concerned, but a portion of the Cavalry under Captain Wyld was despatched to that town with Mr. Robertson. A second portion consisting of 30 troopers was left at Saharunpore, and with the remainder under Lieutenant Plowden I proceeded to Tarpah. There, as you remember, a man named Bukshee had assembled a large body of followers with whom he threatened to attack Nuckoor or Sirsawa. He had become the terror of that portion of the district. Nor was his influence less noxious in Thaneysur (Thaneshwar). We were not so fortunate as to capture him, for though the dacoits came out to the walls of the village with confidence and fired a few desultory shots, yet they broke and dispersed as soon as the troopers drew near, the neighbouring jungle affording them shelter, and the deep fords of the Jumna a means of escape into Thaneysur.

But though Bukshee remained at large, the object of the expedition was in a measure attained. The village of Tarpah was burnt to the ground. The headmen were secured, and a quantity of cattle was captured. It was made evident to the people that dacoitee (dacoity) could not be practised with entire impunity, and the influence of Bukshee was for a time considerably diminished.

6*th*—On our return to Saharunpore both the parties under Captain Wyld and Lieutenant Plowden united, and on the 29th proceeded in concert to attack Nanuckpoor (Nanakpur). As this expedition was conducted under your eyes I need not do more than allude to it.

7*th*—The Nusseeree Battalion was expected on the 3rd June, and the troops under Captain Wyld and Captain Garstin were directed to march that morning. This order excited discontent amongst the men of the 5th N. I., and on the even-

ing of the 2nd disaffected spirits in the Company broke out into open mutiny. Captain Garstin's personal influence with his men was sucessfully exerted, and out of 17 mutineers who made off one was shot by his more loyal comrades. It was in consequence of this outbreak, I believe, that large bands of Goojurs assembled on the 3rd to attack Saharunpore. You were present with the troops when we moved out against the rebels. I shall not therefore make any remarks on the matter.....[1]

REVOLT BY SAPPERS AND MINERS AT ROORKEE

Letter No. 234, *dated Gondah, June* 21*st*, 1860, *from Lieutenant Chapman, Engineer, Gondah, to Captain Chamberlain, Assistant General Superintendent, Oudh (Avadh) and N. W. P.*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 749 and beg to forward the following statement in reply.

1*st*—When the corps of Sappers and Miners marched from Roorkee to Meerut the day after the outbreak at the latter station, I was officiating as Assistant Principal of the Thomson College. Captain Manajun, the Principal, was good enough to allow me to volunteer to join my corps and Captain Fraser to accept my services; previous to this I had only been 3 months with the Sappers, and I merely mention this circumstance to explain how on the 15th of May I could not recognise men, even had I been in a position otherwise to do so.

2*nd*—Having been out on picket duty at the Meerut Church the whole night of the 15th May I returned in the morning of 16th very tired, and breakfasted at the barrack occupied for the Artillery-men. After breakfast I went to sleep in the same building which was probably 250 yards from where the Sappers and Miners were encamped. The only officers who were at that time in the Camp were I believe Captain Fraser the Commandant, Lieutenant Mannsen—the Adjutant, and Dr. Turnbull—the Surgeon who usually spent the day (as indeed many of us did although we were away at that time) in one or two of the empty bells of arms adjoining, and immediately in front of the Sappers' tents.

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Saharanpur District*, pp. 12-13.

OUTBREAK AT ROORKEE

3*rd*—About 1 or 2 O'clock P. M. (I am uncertain as to the exact hour) Brigadier Wilson (now Sir Archdale) awoke me and said "Some shots have just been *fired in the direction of the Sappers' Camp, I don't think anything is wrong but wish to run over and bring me back word if anything has happened*". I at once buckled on my sword and ran for the Lines. When within about 100 yards of the tents I heard 5 or 6 or more shots fired and met Captain Light of the Artillery galloping towards the barrack I had just left. He cried out as he passed "For God's sake don't go into the Sappers' Camp, they have mutinied and fired at me as I rode through". Immediately on my right was a Guard of Artillery-men over some ruin (?) or other stores, 16 men I think. I induced them to come with me, without delay, and we ran straight into the Camp. As we entered we saw that nearly all the Sappers had by that time left the tents and were making for the open country. The hind-most ones fired a few shots, but speedily disappeared.

4*th*—We ran straight on to a few figures we saw in front of the tents, which proved to be, Captain Fraser mortally wounded, the Havildar Major dead (shot through the eyes), and 2 or three faithful sepoys attending their dying Commanding Officer.

5*th*—At the same time Lieutenant Mannsen, Dr. Turnbull and the Qt. Mt. Serjt. (Quarter Master Serjeant) Stuart (now Serjt. Major) came out of bells of arms the doors of which they had actually been holding against the mutineers.

From the time that Brigadier Wilson awoke me to the time when I assisted to lift up Captain Fraser I do not think more than 5 minutes had elapsed. The quickness with which the rebels made off after the murders had been committed to as the saving of the other officers in the Lines (*sic*,).

6*th*—Besides Bussowan Singh (whom however I do not myself remember at the moment), Sheikh Imaum Buksh (Imam Bakhsh) Bugler Major now *Jemadar*, and Sheikh Soobhan, sepoy now also *Jemadar* were present giving water to Captain Fraser.

They were on the spot before I was, but I never understood that they could name the actual murderers. It was universally believed in the regiment that an Afghan shot Captain Fraser from behind but I never heard the name of

the supposed murderer of the Havildar Major. The latter I remember was lying with a pencil and paper in his hand and with a frightful gunshot wound that had carried away both eyes.

7*th*—I was only appointed Adjutant the next day, but at the time I speak of, I hardly knew the name of a man in the regiment. It is quite possible that had I been a longer time with the corps I might have recognised some of the hindmost mutineers who fired at us, but even in that case I could say nothing about the actual assassins except from report.

8*th*—Major Mannsen, who is now in England having been many years Adjutant would I should think know more than I, but even he was at the time of the murder shut up in a bell of arms.

9*th*—There is a very intelligent *Havildar* who was I think with us at Meerut, on leave at his home 6 *kos* from this place. I have sent for him to make enquiries.

10*th*—The best witnesses in the case would I should imagine be:

Serjt. Major Stuart
Jemadar Sheikh Soobhan
Jemadar Imaum Buksh.

11*th*—If my evidence however can be of the slightest assistance to you I shall be most happy to appear and tender it.[1]

DEHRA DUN

PANIC OVERTAKES THE DISTRICT

MUSSOORIE

Shortly after the account of the Meerut and Delhi massacres was circulated here, a panic seized the residents—

Janpans, dandies, "ladies on horseback with short dresses," "poodle dogs," dogs that had been accustomed to be kept in flannel, also Canary birds, parrots, etc. etc., all hurried along to the "Club house," which is composed of two

[1] Saharanpur Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 8, Miscellaneous State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

buildings, at nearly right angles to each other, the one for dining room and ball room, the other for sleeping apartments; in the latter the "fair sex" soon congregated; and such a sight as was never before seen at the Mussoorie Club House was then presented to the astonished "*puharries*," who with a grin from ear to ear were hurrying along with the requisite furniture for their "fair masters". The next day this "panic" subsided, chiefly by the brave example of some of the ladies who never left their houses. All precautionary measures for tranquillity were taken at Landour by the Commandant. A meeting of the residents of Mussoorie was convened at the Club, strange faces might be seen whispering together, others laughing and enjoying the joke of the whole scene, which certainly was "one out of the common." The upshot of this was that fierce looking faces might be seen at any hour after 6 P. M. with guns, etc. etc., alongside of them, and if you were rash enough to take a stroll after that hour anywhere near their beat, you were suddenly asked your "intentions," and if by the cold or any other unaccountable means, your tongue had cleaved to your mouth, you were in great danger of hearing a bullet whistle past you. I heard of one party on horseback who as nearly as possible was made "cold meat of " for not answering fast enough to the challenge of the enthusiastic watchman. At the other end of Mussoorie, I believe, the boys of the Rev. Mr. Maddock's School were armed, and patrolled round the premises, which they "enjoyed excessively" and called it "a continual night picnic." All very pleasant to them no doubt; yet the other party who had their "roosting places" taken from them, thought it too much of a good thing. However the "most timid of the timid," after a campaign of about three days returned to their former habitations.

Precautions were taken to meet any rising among the bazar people. The European soldiers of the Convalescent Depot were armed and distributed through the bazars, and other parts of Landour and Mussoorie. Gentlemen volunteers also to a large number patrolled the road every night. With an occasional alarm at the native feasts of Eed, Buqr Eed, etc., nothing occurred to disturb the quiet of either Mussoorie or Landour.[1]

[1] Carey, W. H. : *The Mahomedan Rebellion*, pp. 113-114.

CHAPTER TWO

PROTRACTED STRUGGLE IN MEERUT DIVISION

MEERUT

VILLAGES BURNT BY BRITISHERS

Letter from R. H. Dunlop, Magistrate, Meerut, to C. B. Saunders, dated 24th June 1857.

I shall feel obliged by your favoring me for the information of superior authority with the instructions you received from the General Commanding the Division for the burning of the villages of Deolah[1] and Joonmanee in this district and the execution of the Head-men of the former, should such instructions have been issued. No intimation had been sent to me either of the supposed offence of these men or the punishment.[2]

GUJARS ACTIVE IN MEERUT

Letter from R. H. Dunlop, Magistrate, Meerut, to Major-General Hewett, Commanding the Meerut Division, dated the 28th June 1857.

With reference to the conversation which I have lately had the honor of holding with you regarding the advisability of organizing a body of mixed European and native volunteer horsemen, I have the pleasure to submit herewith in detail some of the reasons which calls (*sic*,—call) for the arrangements I propose, the means and men at our disposal, with nominal rolls of those ready to serve and indents for the Government assistance should require if you approve of and support these proposals.

[1] *Daula*, Pargana and Tahsil *Baghpat*, District *Meerut*—A large village lying in latitude 28° 58′ north and longitude 77° 20′ east, close to the metalled road from Meerut to Baghpat and about a quarter of a mile from the left bank of the Jumna Canal from which it is irrigated. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 219).

[2] Meerut Magistracy, Judicial office, Part V, No. 10, (Vol. 8): 'Register of Copies of letters issued to Miscellaneous Departments from Jan. 1857 to May 1858.' State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

PARICHHATGARH RAJA ELECTED LEADER BY GUJARS

2*nd*—The Goojurs throughout this district are in open rebellion and either with or without his consent have elected Kuddom Sing (Kadam Singh) of Pureechutgurh (Parichhatgarh)[1] Rajah of the eastern *purgunnah* of Meerut. The Police have been driven out of Pureechutgurh and report that Kuddom Sing has mounted three guns on the fort these being there concealed underground. In furtherance of the plan of establishing a Goojur Government the Goojurs of Booklana, Himmutpoor and number of Goojur villages in the neighbourhood of Pureechutgurh have attacked and plundered the well affected Jhat (Jat) villages burning the houses and butchering without mercy the inhabitants. Kuddom Sing can command some ten thousand men.

BARAUT ATTACKED

3*rd*—The *zemindar* of Bijroul, Shah Mull, alias Maho[2] Sing, having plundered the town and *tahsil* of Baroute (Baraut), having plundered the bazaar of Baghput[3], and broken the bridge, has now at his command some 5000 ruffians nearly all Goojurs of whom the most dangerous are 200 escaped prisoners of the Meerut Jail. Shah Mull is now reported to be about to destroy the bridge over the Hindon which would during the rains interfere materially with our communication with Head-quarters.

4*th*—The Goojurs, accustomed many of them to a life of robbery and danger and assembling in thousands under regular leaders who act without scruple in defiance of Government are more than a match for our Jhat (Jat) friends scattered

[1] *Parichhatgarh*, Pargana *Kithor*, Tahsil *Mawana*, District *Meerut*—A small town, in latitude 28° 59′ north and longitude 77° 57′ east, on the unmetalled road from Mawana to Kithor, at the point where it is crossed by the road running from Meerut to Khanpur and Kamruddinnagar Ghat on the Ganges. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 289).

[2] Name not clearly decipherable, may be 'Mohar'.

[3] *Baghpat*, Pargana, Tahsil *Baghpat*, District *Meerut*—This pargana is of considerable size and comprises the whole of the southern half of the tahsil, extending from the Jumna on the west to the parganas of Meerut and Jalalabad on the east, the boundary for the most part being the Hindan river. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, pp. 192-193).

over a large territory and without recognized chiefs. The Jhats have almost invariably behaved nobly in the support of law and order, Jumiat Sing[1] and Rutton Sing having especially distinguished themselves in the service of Lieutenant Tyrwhitt at Baboogurh[2].

RAJPUTS OF DAULA

5*th*—The Rajpoots of Deolah also under Newal Sing are most anxious to be organized for the Government service. All the friends of Government throughout the district complain that their hands are tied while our enemies are free to act as they list. It will be the duty of the Meerut Volunteer Horse to raise the friends of Government throughout the district to assist and encourage them in fighting our sworn enemies, the rebel Goojurs, and in punishing such villages and bands of dacoits as can be disposed of without regular troops.

6*th*—It will also be the duty of the Volunteers to assist in keeping open the communication between this station and the neighbouring ones, in fact undertaking either within the district, or beyond it, such duties, as their limited numbers can perform.

DISTRICT IN DISORGANIZED STATE

7*th*—In consequence of the district being at present left totally unprotected it has become almost entirely disorganized, wholesale butcheries and plundering are prevalent throughout it, and unless some vigorous measures are taken to assist our friends and to punish our foes, we shall be totally deserted by the mass of the people; those still faithful to us are becoming disgusted at our apparent apathy, and *the mutiny and rebellion of today may become a revolution.*

8*th*—There are about 20 to 25 gentlemen in the station whose services can be obtained as Volunteer Horsemen and

[1] Name not comprehensible.

[2] *Babugarh*, Pargana and Tahsil *Hapur*, District *Meerut*—A village on the road from Hapur to Garhmuktesar, situated in latitude 28° 44′ north and longitude 77° 52′ east, at a distance of three and a half miles from Hapur. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 190).

about 30 and 40 natives who can be trusted in the same capacity. Major Williams, Captain D. Oyly and Lieutenant Tyrwhitt have expressed their willingness to give their services as commandant, 2nd in Command and Adjutant, and if the assistance of a couple of small mountain guns can be allowed us I shall be happy to provide 25 drilled Footmen armed with fusils and sword bayonets to assist us in protecting them.

9*th*—I consider that it is of great importance having guns however small with us as it inspires great confidence in our Jhat (Jat) auxiliaries and will greatly facilitate our raising them in such numbers as to ensure the destruction of the Goojur bands.

10*th*—Many of those included in the number expected as volunteers have already important duties to perform for Government; their proper duties must of course take precedence of (over) those for which they may now volunteer but I believe that for all important expeditions nearly all named in the nominal rolls enclosed can parade together.[1]

GANGES GHATS IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

The only intelligence received from this Division relates to the occupation of various *ghats* on the Ganges by parties of rebels.[2]

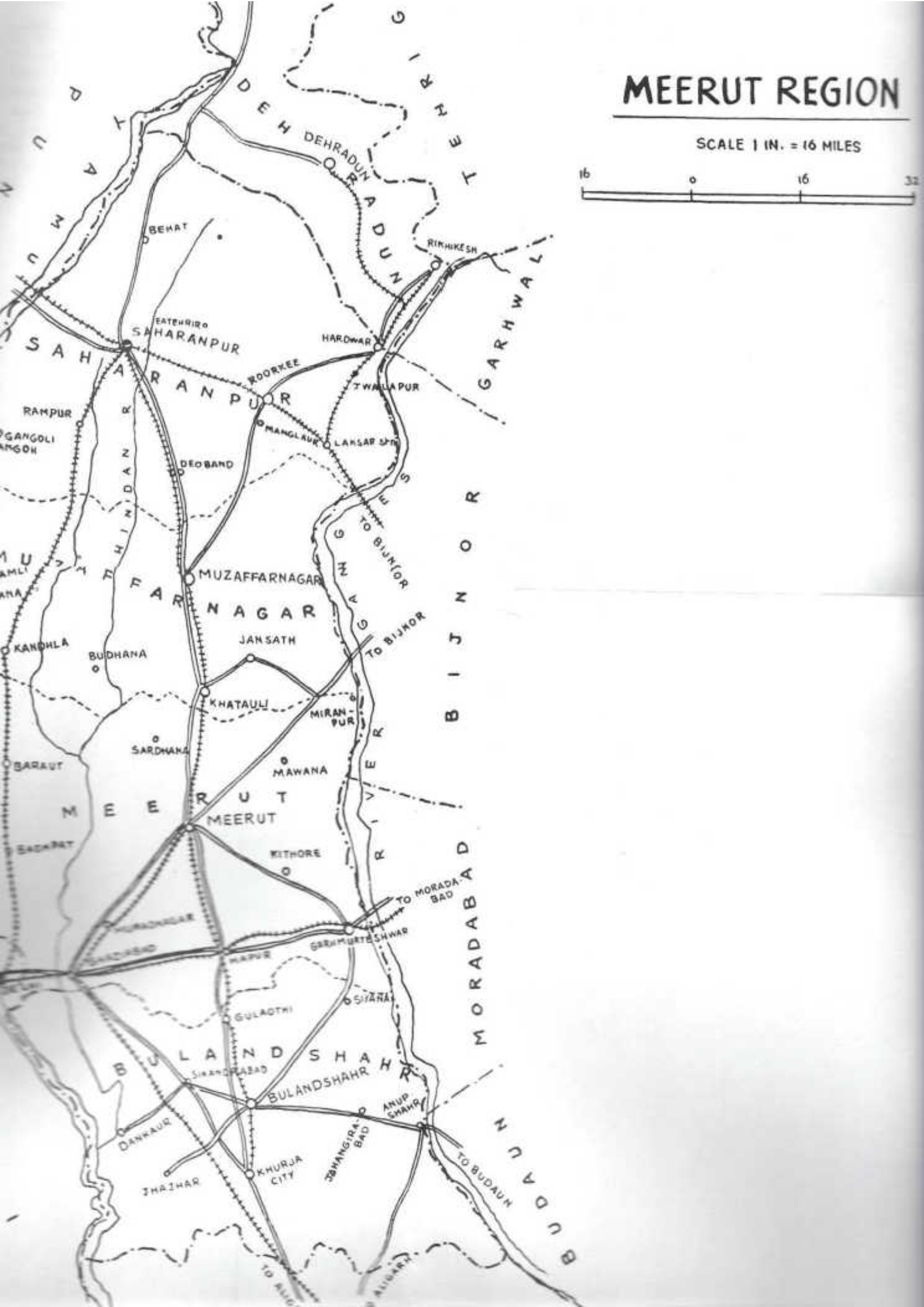
GARHMUKTESHWAR THREATENED

Beyond a very doubtful report that Gurhmuktesur is threatened by an expedition from Barcilly, nothing is reported from this district, in which the collections for the week amounted to Rs. 7,544-10-2.[3]

[1] Meerut Magistracy, Judicial office, Part V, No. 10, (Vol.8): 'Register of Copies of letters issued to Miscellaneous Departments from Jan. 1857 to May 1858.' State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Meerut Division for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Meerut Division for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.


MEERUT REGION
SCALE 1 IN. = 16 MILES
16
0
16
32
DEHRADUN
DEHRADUN
BEHAT
RISHIKESH
SAHARANPUR
SAHARANPUR
HARDWAR
ROORKEE
JWALAPUR
GARHWAL
RAMPUR
MANGLAUR
LAKSAR
DEOBAND
THINDAN R.
TO BIJNOR
MUZAFFARNAGAR
MUZAFFARNAGAR
GANGA R.
TO BIJNOR
KANDHLA
BUDHANA
JANSATH
KHATAULI
MIRANPUR
BIJNOR
SARDHANA
BARAUT
MAWANA
MEERUT
MEERUT
KITHORE
RAMGANGA R.
TO MORADABAD
GARHMUKTESHWAR
GULAOTHI
SIYANA
BULANDSHAHR
BULANDSHAHR
ANUPSHAHR
DANKAUR
JHAJHAR
KHURJA CITY
JHANGIRABAD
TO BUDAUN
MORADABAD
BUDAUN

INCURSIONS ALONG THE LEFT BANK OF THE GANGES

The general aspect of this Division remains unchanged. The rebels on the left bank of the Ganges, encouraged by their impunity and accession of numbers from Lucknow, have shown more boldness and even, as will be seen below, have ventured on one or two small predatory incursions.

VILLAGE KHERI ATTACKED

A considerable body of rebels, a detachment perhaps from those at Daranugger Ghat, has appeared on the banks of the Ganges opposite to the north-east extremity of this district. Another party, about 300 strong, partly Horse and partly Foot, crossed on the 20th, and plundered the village of Kheree[1], but recrossed immediately; several minor attacks of the same kind have been made, and on one occasion a small police post near Hustinapore[2] was destroyed, and three men carried off, and it is said, subsequently executed by the rebels. The Magistrate, Joint Magistrate, with Captain Tyrwhitt and some Police Horse are out in the direction of Hustinapore and Mowanna[3] (Mawana) to watch these men. Collections from 18th to 24th Rupees 1163-12-8.

[1] *Kheri*, Pargana *Bhagwanpur*, Tahsil *Roorkee*, District *Saharanpur*—A large village standing on the east of left bank of the Solani, in 30° 3′ N. and 77° 48′ E., at a distance of some 14 miles north-west from Roorkee and 19 miles from Saharanpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Saharanpur, Vol. II, 1909, p. 268).

[2] *Hastinapur*, Pargana *Hastinapur*, Tahsil *Mawana*, District *Meerut*—The place which gives its name to the pargana is a village which lies, in latitude 29° 10′ north and longitude 78° 1′ east, on the high bank of the Burhganga, in a somewhat remote tract at a distance of six miles north-east of Mawana and twenty-two miles from Meerut. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1933, p. 242).

[3] *Mawana*, Pargana *Hastinapur*, Tahsil *Ghaziabad*, District *Meerut*—Mawana Kalan, the headquarters of the tahsil, so called to distinguish it from Mawana Khurd, a village lying four miles to the west, is situated in latitude 29° 6′ north and longitude 77° 56′ east, near the right bank of the Fatehgarh branch of the Ganges Canal, at the point of junction of four unmetalled roads leading to Meerut. Kithor, Bahsuma and Phalauda, at a distance of 17 miles from Meerut. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 269).

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER RAHIM ALI

The Ganges has been rising and falling alternately. At the close of the week it was again fordable. The force under Ruheem Allee (Rahim Ali) is said to be about 3,000 strong, with 4 guns. The rebels are said to have been much alarmed and dispirited by the fall of Lucknow, which, towards the middle of the week, was pretty generally believed. Ruheem Allee it is said (is) trying to collect what money he can, previous to seeking refuge in Jeypore.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT DARANAGAR INTEND AN ATTACK ON HASTINAPUR

The party consisting of 160 Cavalry, 237 Infantry, and 64 Irregular levies, is posted at Hustinapore, where the Magistrate also is in Camp, to protect our *Khader* villages. Information of the strength of this force having been conveyed to the rebels at Daranugger, our spies reported their intention to attack it. Towards the close of the week therefore another Company of organized Police Foot, and a troop of Cavalry of the same force were sent out to the assistance of this post. Moreover, 300 Goorkhas, with 2 H. A. (Horse Artillery) guns under Lieutenant Cookworthy, were sent to Mowanna to act as a support, if necessary.

Our spies give the detail of the Daranugger forces as below, but the estimate is probably a high one.

		Men	Guns
Under Mareh Khan			
Sowars	100		
Foot	1400	1500	6
Under Mohomed Khan			
Sowars	200		
Foot	1800	2000	
Under the *Kazee* of Thannah Bhowun			
Sowars	25		
Sepoys	50		
Other Foot	425	500	

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Meerut Division for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

		Men	Guns
Miscellaneous			
About			
Sowars	100		
Foot	300	400	2
Total say		4400	8

Mohomed Khan has been endeavouring to check the plunder of the country, but is opposed by Mareh Khan who urged it as the only method available for paying the troops.[1]

SADAR AMIN DISMISSED FOR CORRESPONDING WITH WALIDAD KHAN

News from Meerut.

The *Sudder Ameen* of this place has been dismissed from the service by the Sudder Court, on a charge, it is said, of being in correspondence with Wulleedad Khan late of Malagurh during the early part of the rebellion.

It is also said that Wulleedad has preferred a request to the Collector of one of the districts to be pardoned, and for which he will deliver up the Nana to the Government...[2]

DISARMING AT MEERUT

News dated Monday, 12th July 1858.

The Hurkaru, noticing the discovery of a hundred and twenty thousand stands of weapons in the Meerut District alone, asks what Police can avail in a country bristling with means of offence to such an extent...[3]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated July 12, 1858.

The Delhi Gazette mentions that, as the disarming process proceeds in the Upper Provinces, the district of Meerut,

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Meerut Division for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 5, 1858, p. 424. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, July 15, 1858, p. 217. National Library, Calcutta.

including the cantonments and city, have produced a lakh and twenty thousand weapons, and that "heaps" are coming in daily.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES' LAST ATTEMPT AT MEERUT

Meerut, 3rd April—You will be surprised to hear that the dying embers of the great mutiny have not even yet been thoroughly extinguished, here at least, for two brave Moslems have again proved faithless to their salt. One an old servant of 30 years, the other somewhat younger, both lately pensioned from the 5th Irregular Cavalry, were taken into custody on Wednesday for tampering with the feelings and prejudices of the men of Watson's Horse by reviving the 'greasy' cartridge affair, ... i. e. 'a General parade was in prospect, and those that refused to bite them were summarily to be blown from guns by Europeans as before." Suffice it to say they were peremptorily tried by a Court-Martial upon charges of seditious conduct calculated to cause a mutinous spirit etc., and sentenced to be hung; the sentence upon the old man Shaikh Ameer-oollah was commuted by General Bradford to transportation for life to the Andaman, and the younger villain Khadur Bux[2] was hung on Friday evening.[3]

BULANDSHAHR

WALIDAD OCCUPIES COUNTRY BELOW MEERUT

Letter from Colvin to Brigadier-General Havelock, dated Fort Agra, July 22, 1857.

I have sent one or two letters by other messengers to you, but recapitulate by the present one the state of affairs over the country generally—

Punjaub and Upper India to Meerut and the Hills. In all these parts tranquillity prevails, but immediately below Meerut a rebel Nawab named Wallydad Khan has taken

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* July 12, 1858, p. 39. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Perhaps spelt for 'Qadir Bakhsh'.

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* April 12, 1859, p. 347. National Library, Calcutta.

possession of the country for some distance and interrupts communication. He could easily be swept away by a force of even moderate extent sent against him.[1]

ENGAGEMENT AT GULAOTHI[2]

Letter from W. Muir, C. S., to General Havelock, Cawnpore (Kanpur), dated Agra, 6th August 1857.

ALIGARH IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

Mr. F. Williams, Commissioner, writing from Meerut on the 2nd, gives an account of the affair with the Malagurh rebel troops. Many of our Meerut communications seem to have been interrupted by this rebel and his emissaries, who are now in possession of Allygurh. Wulidad Khan had advanced post with guns to Gulaothee (Gulaothi) between Malagurh and Meerut. They were attacked by our force of 50 Carabineers and Rifles, who killed 920 of them, (and the rest fled in such ?)[3] a fright and haste that it is said they even left Boolundshuhur. I fear, however, that Malagurh is not evacuated, though the Nawab fled from it at the first tidings of defeat. Mr. Williams says we cannot attack Malagurh safely until either the Hindun or the (Jumna ?) bridge is broken, and attack thus intercepted from Delhi. He thinks we could not hold it, and that the effect of abandoning it would be worse than not attacking it. He has pressed on the Brigadier-General at Delhi the necessity of breaking the Hindun Bridge. It was supposed to be broken by an Engineer from his force, but the rebels had it repaired for the Bareilly Brigade. "As soon as it is broken and the Sikh reinforcements arrive at Meerut," Williams writes, "Wullee Dad Khan's short reign will D. V., be over, and you will hear of us at Allygurh." I hope this will soon be the case, as we cannot afford to let the Malagurh *Sooba*[4] collect the revenue within 50 miles of this

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies,* 1857, Inclosure 19 in No. 3, p. 140.

[2] *Gulaothi,* Pargana *Agauta,* Tahsil *Bulandshahr,* District *Bulandshahr*—An old town lying twelve miles north of Bulandshahr on the road to Hapur and Meerut. (*District Gazetteers,* Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 235).

[3] "Writing worn away"—Note in the Original.

[4] Referring, perhaps, to Walidad Khan.

and be remitted to the King. Williams writes : '2 wonderful guns made of cast iron screw piles of the Electric Telegraph post, with grape made of the wire,' were brought away from Gulaothee, and are now at Meerut as curiosities.[1]

ABDUL LATIF KHAN'S DEFIANT ATTITUDE TOWARDS BRITISH

Translation of a Khut (letter) addressed by Brand Sapte to Abdool Lateef (Abdul Latif) Khan, dated 20th Septr. 1857.

You know that from about the end of July last I have repeatedly been calling upon you to pay the Govt. revenue due from you, but you have, unmindful of my repeated calls, made vain excuses and paid nothing even up to the present moment. Your writing in your letter dated 3rd instant that "*nobody may get acquainted with you having paid the Govt. revenue*" leads me to infer that you do not like to be considered a well wisher of the Govt. Finding that my letters had no effect upon you, I asked you to come and see me but you purposely evaded it. Besides, you have been harbouring mutineers and enlisting them in your service, and on my enquiring after them you deny their presence. Although it is well known to me that from the date of your writing to me that no mutineers were with you, they continued for nearly two months in your service, and it was only when Govt. troops arrived here that you told them to go away. I fully believe that you have paid no attention to the notification of Govt. wherein it is clearly declared to (that) whoever shrinks from his loyalty to the Govt. in any way or harbours or connives in the harbouring of mutineers, he will be deprived of his estates etc. It is clear that had you paid any attention to these orders you would not have hesitated in showing your loyalty and complying with my orders. I request you to pay the Govt. dues without further delay, and warn you to regulate your conduct as set forth in the notification of the Govt. that you may not (have) cause to repent afterwards.[2]

[1] Muir, William ; *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. II, p. 107.
[2] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 7, File No. 369.

JHANSI BRIGADE FORTIFIES AT BULANDSHAHR

Extract from the letter from H. H. Greathed, C. S., to Colvin, Lt. Governor, dated 3rd September 1857.

...The Jhansi Brigade are fortifying themselves at Bolundshuhur. These cobwebs will soon be swept away after the great event.[1]

WALIDAD EXPECTED TO FOLLOW HIS FOLLOWERS OVER THE GANGES

Letter from Fleetwood Williams, C. S., Commissioner, Meerut, to C. Thornhill, C. S., Agra, dated Meerut, 23rd or 24th September 1857.

This* came in after I wrote to you this morning. I am afraid Walee Dad will not be hung on his own bastion, after all. His ladies and traps are over the Ganges, and he will follow them directly he hears of the Moveable Column. Hauppoor (Hapur) is all right, and everybody very loyal. No news yet from Muzuffernugger. Get arrangements made for laying out mail-carts to this; I am doing it at this end. Also for the re-establishment of Electric Telegraph. I have ordered the wire and posts to be collected. Get orders sent up about Rohilcund. It will take time to arrange matters. All will be quiet here in no time. Colonel Greathed will find no enemy in the Doab, I believe. All are off to Rohilcund. Send us up some of the best boys of the Agra College for appointments. We ride out the storm with nearly 5 lacs in the treasury, and lots more coming. Send orders for proclamations about arms.

Sapte and Lyall† gone to join Moveable Column and reoccupy Bulandshuhur. I have given the latter Jt. Magte. (Joint Magistrate's) powers. He has behaved very well. I hope it will be sanctioned.[2]

[1] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 505.
* "See enclosure following"—Note in Original. (Enclosure not given here; *cf*, Muir : *Intelligence Records*, Vol. II, pp. 305-306).
† "Sir Alfred Lyall, G. C. S. I."—Note in the Original.
[2] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. II, p. 305.

FIGHT IN BULANDSHAHR

Extract from the letter from W. Muir to J. W. Sherer, Kanpur, dated Agra, 2nd October 1857.

...Mr. B. Sapte, writing from Boolundshuhur (Bulandshahr) on the 29th (Sept. 1857) states that on the 28th they marched on Boolundshuhur, and came upon the enemy at daybreak. Our force consisted of 2 European Regiments, the 8th and 75th, 2 Punjab Infantry Regiments, 3 Punjab Cavalry Regiments, the 9th Lancers, 18 guns and 2 mortars. Wulleedad Khan (Walidad Khan) had besides his Malagurh Levies the whole Jhansi Brigade. They had entrenched themselves[1] outside the town on the road leading through the civil station. "They fired as we advanced, and after two hours' pounding or more we drove them from their position, killing some 150 of them, and losing ourselves some 50 killed and wounded among the latter six officers. We took one 9-pounder gun and one 3-pounder, two 9-pounder ammunition waggons, a quantity of small-bore ammunition, and 25 barrels of gunpowder."

THE NANA REPORTED TO HAVE MOVED INTO ROHILKHAND

Wulleedad Khan, as I feared, escaped from his fort during the action and fled to Rohilkhund. "The Nana Sahib was said to be with him", but I conclude it is the Nana's wounded brother, regarding whom I had information about a fortnight ago that he had passed up with a retinue of sowars through Anoopshuhur to Malagarh.[2]

BULANDSHAHR IN DISTURBED STATE

Extract of a letter from W. Muir to J. W. Sherer, dated Agra, 7th Oct. 1857.

...Sapte has just sent me a brief receipt for a letter I addressed to him on the 3rd : it is dated Boolundshuhur,

[1] *cf.* Letter from Greathed to Colvin, Sept. 3, 1857. (Muir, William: *Intelligence Records*, Vol. I, p. 505); see p. 117 of this book.

[2] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 163.



5th. He says : "No news here; Boolundshuhur District still very much disturbed".[1]

INVASION OF DOAB TALKED OF

Extract of letter from W. Muir to J. W. Sherer, dated Agra, 22nd Oct. 1857.

From Boolundshuhur Sapte writes cheerfully. He is busy seeing all the boats on this side (of) the Ganges. He crossed at Anoopshuhur, and walked a little way on the Rohilkhund bank. They talk of an invasion of the Doab, but it seems unlikely. Walidad of Malagurh has been appointed *Chuckladar* of Islamnuggur in the Budaon District; and it would not be surprising if, to prop up his ruined fortunes, he were to league himself with the Joudpore[2] mutineers; and it is possible that he may have had a hand in the unsettlement I have already alluded to in Rajpootana.[3]

WALIDAD OPPOSITE RAMGHAT

Extract from the letter written by W. Muir, to J. W. Sherer, Cawnpore (Kanpur), dated Agra, 15th Nov. 1857.

Sapte is still detained with his force at Ramghat, below Anoopshuhur, watching the movements of Wullee Dad (Walidad), who is ravaging the country opposite with a large force. His threats of an incursion have the effect of unsettling the district and keeping Sapte away from portions of Boolundshuhur greatly requiring his attention. He has got in 3 lakhs of the *rubbee* balances....[4]

REVOLUTIONARIES ATTEMPT TO CROSS AT ANUPSHAHR

Letter from the Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Agra, January 6, 1858.

Colonel Fraser has, I think, already reported the attem-

[1] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 179.
[2] Probably spelt for *Jodhpur*.
[3] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 215.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

pted descent on Bolundshuhur by the Rohilcund rebels, on receiving telegraphic information of the same. We have now received Mr. Sapte's letter; it is dated the 4th. He says, that on the previous day, the rebels attempted to cross at Anoopshuhur (Anupshahr), but were driven back. "We move out towards Anoopshuhur to-night. I hear they are also collecting opposite Ram Ghat", which is some miles further down the river. Mr. Sapte accordingly requested Major Eld, if possible, to move out from Allyghur towards Atroulie (Atrauli),[1] in order to check the rebels at the latter *Ghat*. He adds that the enemy had brought down guns to the *Ghat*, and were firing across.

Major Eld, writing from his camp in the interior of the Allyghur District, in a letter dated yesterday, expresses his intention of starting for Allyghur this day, and of being at Atroulie to-morrow.

I do not know exactly how many men either Colonel Farquhar (commanding in the Bolundshuhur District), or Major Eld can bring into the field, not more, however, I think, than 500 or 600 at the outside. The march eastward of the two Columns (Grant's and Seaton's) has, of course, greatly weakened the available forces in the Meerut Division, and any incursion from the opposite bank would have a most agitating effect upon the Doab. It is in the last degree improbable tnat the pusillanimous and ill-furnished troops of Rohilcund could effect a lodgment on this bank, but their attempts, and their reported intentions, have a very harassing effect.

In addition to the military reasons for the early occupation of the western portion of Rohilcund, which must be under the consideration of the Commander-in-Chief, there is one to which Lieutenant-Colonel Baird Smith has just called my attention in a letter dated Roorkee, the 4th instant. He says, that unless something is soon done for the re-occupation of Western Rohilcund, he believes our capacity to give cover to the troops will be seriously affected, for it "essentially depends on the re-opening of the Putlee Doon forests to the north of Bignore (Bijnaur). "We can get no timber fit for barracks anywhere else." Colonel Baird Smith, as Director of the

[1] A tahsil of *Aligarh* District some 17 miles from Aligarh.

Ganges Canal and Controller of the Roorkee Workshops, has the charge of the forests in these parts, and is the highest authority on the subject.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES' ATTEMPTS TO CROSS INTO BULANDSHAHR

Extract from the letter from W. Muir to General Masfield, Chief of the Staff, Head-Quarters, dated 10th January 1858.

. . . I give the following quotation from a letter of yesterday's date, received from Mr. B. Sapte, Magistrate of Boolundshuhur : "The rebels opposite Anoopshahur are very cheeky; they fire at us every day, but as yet have not done any harm. But it is almost impossible to hit them, as they hide like jackals in the sugar-canes, and blaze away at us. They are all up and down the river. But I hope we shall nobble them if they attempt to cross. We want a couple of heavy guns sadly, and I hope General Penny will send them to us if he can spare them".

From native accounts I gather that they are almost all new levies. Their object is probably not more than to watch the *ghats* though they keep us in a ferment. Opposite Seharunpoor and Moozuffernugger they appear to be more lively, and plan a descent on our side every now and then.[2]

ROHILKHAND REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER GULZAR ALI AT ANUPSHAHR

Narrative of Events dated Fort William, January 23, 1858.

Bolundshur—A letter from Bolundshur (Bulandshahr) of the 12th January states that a body of the Rohilcund insurgents continue opposite Anoopshuhur, under the command of Goolzar Alee, the rebel Syud of Amrohah (Amroha) who has been appointed a General by Khan Bahadoor.

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 4 in No. 2, p. 47.

[2] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, pp. 340-341.

They had for some days remained inactive, but were closely watched by Colonel Farquhar, commanding in the district, and Mr. Sapte, the Magistrate.[1]

MARCH OF REVOLUTIONARIES FROM MALAGARH TOWARDS SOUTH

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

...A portion of the Infantry and Cavalry with 2 guns went towards Malagurh which they reached in 3 marches. On hearing that the British troops had arrived at Golowlee[2] we got ready and went there with two guns. In the evening on arrival at Golowlee and encamping, a shot was suddenly fired on our Camp by the British upon which we all got under arms and opened our guns. After 5 or 6 rounds the British force retreated and we remained in our position the whole night. Marching the following morning we arrived at (a) village name unknown. Here the Nawab of Malagurh ordered us to destroy those *zemindars* who would not pay money. The cannonading lasted till late in the evening but not being able to effect a breach in the wall we returned back to Malagurh. On hearing that the British troops had arrived at Bolundshuhur the Nawab of Malagurh marched with his troops and we followed him the same evening; at 9 P.M. our force reached Bolundshuhur and advancing further from the city we threw up a breastwork and stood to our arms the whole night. The following morning our videttes informed us that the British had come. They opened fire on us, we returned it. The fight lasted for 3 hours. Cavalry from both sides then charged on each other and fought hand to hand and we took flight leaving one of our guns the carriage of which was broken and carrying away the rest of them.

ENCOUNTER AT KASGANJ

A portion of our force reached Malagurh and the rest scattered and got separated as well as the Nawab. Marching

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 2, p. 32.
[2] Appears spelt for *Gulaothi*.

from Malagurh and descending the Unoopsuhur (Anupshahr) Ghat we reached Bareilly taking some reinforcement from that place with the intention of going back to Malagurh; and crossing the Ganges we met and fought with the British at Kasgunge (Kasganj). The latter retreated to a place 4 *koss* off and we remained at Kasgunge for 18 days. On hearing that the British were coming on with more troops we advanced to meet them with 3 guns and an action took place. We were defeated and fled leaving 3 guns in the field. We arrived at Kangeerree[1] where we were joined by some force of the Nawab of Furruckabad. We remained with them for a day. The next day a British force reached that place and another fight took place on which occasion we were again defeated and fled leaving 18 guns in the field. Some went to Lucknow some to Bareilly and the rest in different directions....[2]

ENCOUNTER NEAR ETAWAH ON THE YAMUNA CANAL

Joining Feroze Shah and the 12th Irregular Cavalry, at Mahmoodabad, we turned toward this side (south). When crossing the Ganges we met with some British Cavalry one of whom was killed and the rest retreated. On reaching the Jumna Canal we were engaged with the British force which was there with Mr. Hume the Collector of Etawah on which occasion Lieutenant Cuyle and some sowars were killed and Mr. Hume with the Infantry and guns retreated into a *Ghurrie* (*Garhi*). We continued our march and arrived at Joffaon[3]. Crossing the Jumna we halted on the other bank. The following morning we were surprised there by a British force. Retreating and crossing the Chumbul we passed between Jhansee and Dutteea (Datia) and went towards the Bujrungurh Jungles. At Narode[4] *en route* we met with a British force where we lost some elephants and other property. It was at this

[1] Appears spelt for *Gangiri*.
[2] The account given here deals with the battle at Musabagh, Lucknow, under the leadership of Ahmad Ullah Shah, the encounter at Bari—13 *kos* from Lucknow and revolutionaries' march to Muhamdi and Shahjahanpur, encounter with British forces at Shahjahanpur and flight of the revolutionaries from that place.
[3] Name not comprehensible.
[4] Appears misspelt for *Nagode*.

place we missed Moulvie Fuzzul Haq; whether he was taken prisoner or killed is not known[1]....[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES STILL ALONG GANGES GHATS

Private letters have been received from Mr. Sapte the Magistrate upto the 8th of March. Everything was perfectly quiet at that date. The *Ghats* of the Ganges are still watched by the enemy.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES ATTEMPT TO FORD THE. GANGES

Nothing from this district. On the 5th a small party of rebels attempted to ford the Ganges, but were driven back by a few shots from the Police.

RAHIM ALI'S MEN WATCH KACHHLA GHAT

Dissension is said to be rife in the rebel ranks and Ruheem Ali Khan to be still intent on escaping to Jaypore to which end he is said to be making a road practicable for guns above Anupshahur; his party has, it is said, been much reinforced, but again divided to watch Kuchla Ghat. Another report describes him as buying Gold *Mohurs*, and preparing for a secret and solitary flight. The *ghats* are well watched.[4]

[1] The account from here deals with the crossing of the Chambal, arrival at Indargarh, joining of Rao Sahib, march towards Jaipur and a fight there, movement towards Bikaner, Kakrauli and Akola and finally at the British camp at Boorha where the deponent surrendered with others.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th Dec. 1859, Part II, S. No. 1491; Cons. No. 313. National Archives, New Delhi.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Meerut Division (Bulandshahr District) for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Meerut Division (Bulandshahr District) for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

RAHIM ALI REQUISITIONS HELP FROM BAREILLY

Bolundshahur, 22nd (April)—The enemy at Rajpoora across the Ganges have been reinforced by 3,000 Horse and Foot with 2 guns. Raheem Allee had sent a requisition to Bareilly for more guns, and gives out his intention to cross on the 11th Ramzan i. e., 26th April.[1]

WALIDAD MOVES OFF TO JOIN NANA

Bulletin dated Agra, 20th May 1858.

Bolundshahar, 18th May—The remainder of Raheem Alee's force after extorting money at Suhuswan had retired to Islamnuggur. Waleedad Khan said to have gone off to join the Nana. Reported that a body of rebels 1,000 men with 4 guns were near Nasseerpoor opposite Bhojepoor Ghat, and another body of 2,000 with 2 guns, said to be surrounded by Rajpoots at Tilgaon near Budaon. This is probably Dhara Singh's (Dara Singh) movement against the rebels.[2]

NAGARS OF AHAR ACTIVE

Letter No. 253 *to the Commissioner, dated* 17*th June* 1858.

I have the honor to submit the following report regarding the conduct of the Nagurs, residents and *zemindars* of Ahar in this district.

It having come to my notice that these men made themselves notorious by their zeal in acts of rebellion I instituted an investigation into their conduct with a view to the punishment under Act X, 1858.

It is clearly proved by the evidence of many respectable witnesses that when the Bareilly mutineers arrived at Gurhmuktesir[3], the Nagurs, who are Mussulman Brahmins, of Ahar[4],

[1] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Appears misspelt for *Garhmukteshwar.*

[4] *Ahar,* Pargana *Ahar,* Tahsil *Anupshahr,* District *Bulandshahr*—The capital of the Pargana is a small but ancient town on the banks of the Ganges,

collected as many boats as they could and took them to Gurhmuktesir to assist the rebels in crossing the river.

As soon as the mutineers had effected the passage of the Ganges, the Nagurs of Ahar accompanied them to Baboo Ghur (Babugarh), in the plunder of which place they joined and from whence they carried off a large number of Govt. horse and took them to Ahar.

They could not agree about the distribution of their plunder, and came to blows, and in the fray two men Asadoollah Khan, and Mahboob Khan were killed and several others wounded.

SOHRAB KHAN BECOMES THANEDAR

It is further proved that one Sohrab Khan set himself up as *Thannahdar*, and had it proclaimed by beat of drum, that whoever mentioned the English should be shot. Izzad Buksh[1], Lumbor[2] was made pris. (prisoner) and Nubbee Buksh (Nabi Bakhsh) *Mudadgar*.

They also appear to have marked the term of their supremacy by several acts of oppression against the other inhabitants of Ahar.

When the British rule was restored these men all escaped across the water, and Mr. Sapte confiscated all their property for being absent. On the return however of 19 of their number he restored their property.

As Mr. Sapte's order was rather one of attachment than confiscation I do not think that it can be justly pleaded in favour of further proceedings.

I therefore recommend that the tribe of Nagur, residents of Ahar, be fined the sum of Rs. 5000 and that their *zemindaree* rights be confiscated to Govt. I beg to remark that the *Juma* (*Jama*) of the *mouzah* is Rs. 1519—and that owing to the non-return of several of the shareholders and amongst them Izzad Buksh their shares are still considered confiscated under Mr. Sapte's order.

at a distance of seven miles north of Anupshahr and twenty-one miles from Bulandshahr. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 172).

[1] It may have been spelt for 'Izzat Bakhsh'

[2] May be abbreviation of 'Lambardar'.

I propose to realise the fine by the attachment and sale of the personal property of these criminals.[1]

MUZAFFARNAGAR

PEOPLE'S PART

Extract from Narrative by R. M. Edwards, Magistrate, Muzaffarnagar, dated 16th November 1858.

About this time[2] disturbances recommenced. I received information to the effect that the people had, at the instigation of the King's emissaries, *agreed to waive private and family feuds, and no longer pray upon one another, but that all their energies should be levelled against the Government*, in the persons of its servants. The revenue collections, which had been progressing very favorably, *were suddenly checked by the people ejecting from their villages the men sent to collect, depriving them of their horses, weapons*, etc. and, in some instances, severely wounding them. The scenes of these outrages were too distant from the station to admit of my at once visiting the places and punishing the people as half my Goorkhas had been sent into Meerut with treasure.[3]

MUHAMMADI FLAG AT THANA BHAWAN

As the tyranny of the Nazarenes has passed all bounds and the *Jihad* (religious war) has, in accordance with the tenets of the *Shariat*, become the duty of all Muslims, hence all the high class people of Thana Bhawan have set up the Muhammadi flag publicly. The same day two cart loads of the chattels of the *Kafirs* and some quantity of the ammunition have been captured by the *Mujahids* (fighters for religion) and a Sikh sawar has been killed. They have closed the *tahsil* and the *thana* and have assumed the powers of carrying on administration according to the tenets of *Shariat*. Consequently *Mujahids* from the various villages and the countryside have collected here. For fear that the *Kafirs* might do harm to the villages

[1] Bulandshahr Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 1, Judicial File—1859, D. No. 4, General No. 8.

[2] Close of the month of August 1857.

[3] *Mutiny Narratives*, N.-W. P. Agra, *Muzaffarnagar District*, pp. 10-11.

and the countryside, their protection will be provided for in two ways. The best Islamic course as laid down in Islam is that the people of all the villages and towns under British administration should turn out their officials and should consider themselves subjects of the present *Sultan* (King). They should purify their hearts of their fealty to the Nazarenes so that both these districts may be entirely purged and the English officials killed wherever found. In case any of the *Raises* has any apprehension or danger in this respect, he should persuade the people of God to do good acts and send them here in order to render assistance to the *Muhammadi Jhanda*. However, they should send news to this place after due compliance. If they fail to act up to this, they should not consider us as their friends and comrades. In case of compliance, they will be helped with armies and cannons if the wicked *Kafirs* happen to come to their side.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES EVACUATE THANA BHAWAN

W. Muir's letter, dated Fort Agra, Oct. 5th, 1857.

Meerut—The troops deputed to Mozuffernugur found that the insurgents had evacuated Thanah Bhowun. They were said to have gone towards Shamlee and Baroti[2]. Our force is in pursuit of them, and arrangements are also being made in the Meerut District for their interception. It is feared that they will disperse and elude apprehension.[3]

EVENTS AFTER THE OUTBREAK AT MUZAFFARNAGAR

Letter No. 7 from R. M. Edwards, Officiating Magistrate, Muzufurnugur (Muzaffarnagar), to F. Williams, Commissioner, Meerut Division, dated Camp Thanah Bhowun (Thana Bhawan), 11th October 1857, *Zillah Muzufurnugur (Muzaffarnagar).*

I have the honor to report on the events which have lately occurred in this district and with which my demi-official letters have already made you in a measure acquainted.

[1] Muzaffarnagar Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 2, File No. 17.
[2] Appears to have been spelt for *Baraut.*
[3] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. II, p. 194.

Mr. Wilson, Special Commissioner, with the force under Major Sawyer having I believe fully reported the proceedings of the Meerut force when in this district it will be only necessary for me briefly to allude to them. The previous period must however be noted more in detail.

ATTEMPT TO ARREST KHAIRATI KHAN

On the 2nd September Mr. Grant, Joint Magistrate, with a party of the 3rd Cavalry under Captain Galloway proceeded from Shamlee (Shamli)[1] where they were at the time stationed to the village of Purasowlee in the Kandhlah[2] *pergunnah* with the object of apprehending Khyratee Khan Pindaree (Khairati Khan Pindari) a shareholder in the village and a man of considerable influence.

Khyratee Khan was reported to have gone to Delhee (Delhi) to obtain aid in troops from the King and to have returned having failed in his object.

This information was however conveyed by Khyratee Khan's avowed enemy and was not to be certainly relied on. He had, it should also be mentioned, sent on the previous day to the *Tehseeldar* saying that his revenue was ready and would be paid to any person the *Tehseeldar* should send. The truth of such intention to pay was discredited and the party already mentioned accompanied by the *Tehseeldar* and a posse of *tehseel* and *thanah* people went to the village.

ENCOUNTER AT PARASAULI

They met with resistance and some loss. The Cavalrymen (were) of course useless against walls and the party retired on Shamlee having altogether failed in their object.

[1] *Shamli*, Pargana *Shamli*, Tahsil *Kairana*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—The capital of the pargana is a considerable but greatly decayed town lying on the metalled road from Muzaffarnagar to Kairana, at a distance of seven miles from the latter and 24 miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 312).
[2] *Kandhla*, Pargana *Kandhla*, Tahsil *Budhana*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—The capital of the pargana is a town lying a short distance to the west of the Eastern Jumna Canal, at a distance of thirteen miles west of Budhana and twenty-nine miles from Muzaffarnagar. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 277).

The movement on Purasowlee (Parasauli) is to be regretted. It was hurriedly determined on and was carried out without my sanction or knowledge and was indeed in opposition to my previous instructions not to engage in any rash attack on villages with Cavalry alone, where if the least resistance is offered the force is perfectly helpless and must retire.

KHAIRATI KHAN'S FORCE OCCUPIES BUDHANA FORT

The consequence of this successful opposition to Government troops was, as might have been expected, general disturbance through that and the neighbouring *pergunnah*. Purasowlee made common cause with Jowlah[1] a royal village adjoining. The force of Khyratee Khan being rapidly joined by the disaffected not only of this district but from Burout (Baraut)[2] and Bijroul[3] in that of Meerut, proceeded to Boodhanah[4] where they ousted the Government Police and took possession of the Fort.

I was particularly anxious to move out against these insurgents at once as each day's delay served but to strengthen their bands and render them bolder, but I was unable to do so as more than half the Gorkhas (the only Infantry I had) were on their way to Meerut with treasure. Previous to their return Mr. Grant's representations were so strong as to the

[1] *Jaula*, Pargana and Tahsil *Budhana*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—A very large village in the west of the pargana, on the south side of the road from Budhana to Kandhla, at a distance of four miles from Budhana, fourteen miles from Shamli and twenty-two miles from Muzaffarnagar. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 258).

[2] *Baraut*, Pargana *Baraut*, Tahsil *Baghpat*, District *Meerut*—The chief town of the pargana of the same name lies in north latitude 29° 6′ and east longitude 77° 16′, at a distance of 27 miles from Meerut, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road leading through Binauli. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 201).

[3] *Bijraul*, Pargana *Baraut*, Tahsil *Baghpat*, District *Meerut*—A large village, situated in 29° 7′ north latitude and 77° 19′ east longitude, on the eastern borders of the pargana, about four miles north-east of Baraut and 27 miles from Meerut. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 209).

[4] *Budhana*, Pargana and Tahsil *Budhana*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—The headquarters town of the tahsil stands on the right bank of the Hindan river, at a distance of nineteen miles from Muzaffarnagar and sixteen miles from Khatauli with which it is connected by unmetalled roads. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 234).

almost certainty of an immediate attack on Shamlee that I detached to that place every man of the Punjaub Cavalry then in Muzufurnugur, recalled Mr. Palmer and the 25 troopers with him from Meeranpore[1] and those attached to the *Tehseeldar* of Poor[2] and as Mr. Grant's requests for reinforcements became each time more urgent I, on the arrival of the party from Meerut with two Mountain Train guns, moved out direct (to) Shamlee.

My wish was to have gone round by Boodhanah, taken possession of the Fort and replaced the Government Police, to have there punished Jowlah and Purasowlee (these villages being on the road) and proceeded to Shamlee but my original purpose was necessarily abandoned on the receipt of Mr. Grant's letters and as I dared not risk the loss of Shamlee I was obliged to repair there without an hour's delay.

KHAIRATI KHAN RETIRES ON JAULA

On arriving at Shamlee the reports of Jat gatherings were constant and there is no doubt that Khyratee Khan with "Buktah" and "Juggah" of Bijroul purposed attacking in force the party there. They met however with an unexpected difficulty in the Goojars who assembled to oppose their passage through their villages. This and the fact of their discovering that the force at Shamlee had been strengthened made them retire on Jowlah.

I experienced very great difficulty in procuring anything like certain information regarding the movements and intentions of the insurgents. The statements of the men employed by myself and the *Tehseeldars* of Thanah Bhowun (Bhawan) and Shamlee were contradictory.

[1] *Miranpur*, Pargana *Bhuma Shambalhera*, Tahsil *Jansath*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—A small town situated on the junction of two unmetalled roads leading from Muzaffarnagar to Mawana and from Khatauli to Bijnor via Dharampuraghat, at a distance of 20 miles from Muzaffarnagar and six miles from Jansath. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 291).

[2] *Pur*, Pargana *Pur Chhapar*, Tahsil and District *Muzaffarnagar*—Pur, or Pur Qazi as it is generally known, is a small town in the north of the pargana on the metalled road from Muzaffarnagar to Roorkee, at a distance of 16 miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 305).

I had no sooner learnt of a party of rebels being collected in a village and had arranged to go and disperse them than other intelligence was brought that there was a still larger gathering in another direction.

PLAN TO MAKE CONCERTED ATTACK ABANDONED

The truth I believe to have been that there were considerable bodies of men collected in several villages whose intention was to concentrate their force at a stated time at one common rendezvous and from their assume the offensive. Their designs were however temporarily abandoned by the retirement of Khyratee Khan and his allies as already mentioned.

Taking advantage of my position at Shamlee I determined to punish the Raughur village of "Hurhur"[1] lying directly on the road between that place and Thanah Bhowun.

The people of this village had since the commencement of the disturbances waged war against all comers and from robbing or murdering every traveller that passed along had succeeded in completely closing the road.

We met with no opposition, though such was probably at first intended as we found loaded matchlocks with the matches lighted.

All arms found in the village were secured and the cattle driven away.

ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE GAINDA ZAMINDAR FAILS

I was anxious to secure the person of Gayndah *Zumeendar*, the instigator and leader in most of the crimes committed by the inhabitants, but failed in doing so.

Large quantities of plundered property consisting of Sugar, Gum, Dyes, Birch Bark etc., amounting to about 25 cart loads were found. These had formed consignments from firms in Bhewany in the Rohtuck District to mercantile houses in Shamlee and had been robbed when passing the village.

[1] *Hurhur*, Pargana *Thana Bhawan*, Tahsil *Kairana*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—A small village lying three miles south of Thana Bhawan on the road to Shamli, and situated on the high land above the Kirsani river. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 250).

As much of this property as could be removed was taken to Shamlee and one of the captured *zumeendars* released on security for the purpose of bringing in the remainder which for want of carriage was left behind, the village was not burnt.

ABDUL RAHIM KHAN EXECUTED AT SAHARANPUR

When the force was about to return a man arrived from Thanah Bhowun (Bhawan) and reported a Mahomedan rising in that town headed by Enayet Alee (Inayet Ali) nephew of Cazee Myhboob Alee (Qazi Mahbub Ali) and brother of Abdool Ruheem (Abdul Rahim) Khan who had been shortly before executed at Saharanpore by Mr. Spankie.

As the men had then been out 12 hours and required rest and food it was deemed advisable to return to Shamlee instead of proceeding at once to Thanah Bhowun as recommended by the *Tehseeldar*. It was fortunate we did so for with our small and fatigued force we should certainly have failed in getting into the town and the inevitable result would have been the loss of our Camp at Shamlee which had been left with a very small and in my opinion wholly inadequate Guard.

BRITISH ATTEMPT TO REPOSSESS BUDHANA FORT

As risings were reported all round us and matters were getting hourly more serious I addressed a letter to Lieutenant Colonel Davis whose Troop of Horse Artillery was then passing through the district and requested that officer to detach two of his guns and a small party from Muzufurnugur to Boodhanah to drive Khyratee Khan's men out of the Fort and thus enable my Police to take re-possession, then destroy the adjoining village of Jowlah which had joined Khyratee Khan and crossing over the Nugwah Ghat the detachment would arrive in Meerut only one day after the Troop.

Colonel Davis' instructions to proceed without delay to Meerut precluded him from complying with my request. Had it been granted I intended to have remained at Shamlee, watched the Thanah Bhowun people, and encountered them had they left their walls; and have prevented as far as possible any spreading of disaffection through the Raughur villages, and by my presence have secured from all risk the town and *tehseel* of Shamlee.

GOVT. SAWARS AND CHAPRASIS EXPELLED FROM JHINJHANA

From information received during the 12th I learnt that my sowars, *Chuprassees* etc., collecting the revenue in *pergunnah* Jhinjhanah had been expelled from the villages, while some of those employed on a like duty in *pergunnah* Kandhlah had been robbed of everything they possessed and barely escaped with their lives.

Disaffection generally prevailed from the line of the Hindun going westward including portions of the *pergunnahs* of Boodhanah, Shikarpore[1], Bughrah and Churthawal[2] with the entire *pergunnah* of Thanah Bhowun and the Jat villages of Shamlee while the Kandhlah *pergunnah* as far as the Jumna Canal and part of Jhinjhanah was also disturbed. Bodies of insurgents were collected at certain places throughout all these *pergunnahs*.

JAT GATHERING AT JAULA AND PARASAULI

The *Tehseeldars* of Thanah Bhowun and Shamlee were decidedly of opinion that the main danger to be apprehended was from this combination of the Jats. Both were satisfied that for 4 or 5 days at least the *Cazee* and his people would not move out of their town but confine themselves to levying men and making preparations. As their knowledge of the people and the state of this part of the country was far greater than mine, it being the first time I had visited it, and their means of information also better I went a good deal by what they advanced and as the Jats were on all sides regarded as the main difficulty and as their main body was undoubtedly at Jowlah and Purasowlee it seemed advisable to strike a blow there and return to Shamlee. That blow if successful would in all

[1] *Shikarpur*, Pargana *Shikarpur*, Tahsil *Budhana*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—The capital of the pargana is an old town, now very greatly decayed, on the right bank of the Hindan river, at a distance of six miles north of Budhana. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 319).

[2] *Charthawal*, Pargana, Tahsil and District *Muzaffarnagar*—This pargana lies in the north of the district between Thana Bhawan on the west and Muzaffarnagar on the east. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 240).

probability be the means of breaking up the combination and removing our chief difficulty and would enable us to replace the Government Police in Boodhanah and return to Shamlee to keep in check the Thanah Bhowun insurgents. By this means also I should be enabled to re-open the direct communication between Kurnaul and Meerut—one of the main objects, for which you had directed me to proceed to Shamlee. This movement was determined on.

The severe illness of Lieutenant Cuyler[1] commanding the detachment prevented our marching on the 13th as I proposed and we started at 2 A. M. on the 14th.

Our intention was to proceed direct to Boodhanah and take possession of the Fort said to be garrisoned by about 150 men, leaving the baggage there and after the men had taken their food proceed against Jowlah and Purasowlee. The original plan was however prevented by our being attacked on the line of march by the men assembled at the former place. They were at once driven back with great loss and the village entered at the point of the bayonet. The main body escaped among the high *khets* but the number of dead outside and in the village were estimated at 200.

This little affair took so much time that we determined to go on at once to Boodhanah as we might there meet with serious resistance from the men in the Fort.

BUDHANA FORT EVACUATED

The Fort which is of considerable size and strength was evacuated on our approach. Some time elapsed before we got inside as the gates were closed and had to be blown in which was effected by Mr. Palmer with the Mountain Train Guns. We did not reach our Camp till 4/2 P. M. the whole party being thoroughly exhausted from fatigue and exposure to the sun.

SHAMLI TAHSIL ATTACKED

In the course of the night I received an *Urzee* from Mohur Singh, *zumeendar* of Shamlee telling me that the *tehseel* was

[1] Name not clearly decipherable. Spelt as 'Cuyler' elsewhere also, p. 143 of this volume and 'Cayler' in *Mutiny Narrative* of *Muzaffarnagar District*, p. 10.

attacked. This *urzee* was I have reason to b elieve written some time after the massacre had taken place. No report was received from any of the *thanah* or *tehseel* people. On the morning of the 15th I received a note from Lieutenant Fraser at Mulherah on the Hindun with 2 Horse Artillery guns and 100 Sikhs. This was the first intimation I received of any reinforcements being sent.

Lieutenant Fraser arrived with his detachment at 7 P. M. and marched back to Shamlee that night.

Not till our arrival there did I learn the full extent of the massacre. Even those who had escaped had been rendered so helpless from fear that they had not even sent me notice of the outrage which had been committed.

The following is a list of those killed and wounded at Shamlee. The *tehseel* was a place of considerable strength and previous to my departure both *Tehseeldars* declared their conviction that it would be held against all comers, that there was not the least danger to be apprehended and that the garrison left in it was well able to resist successfully any attack.

Ibraheem Khan *Tehseeldar* fought so gallantly in defence of his charge that I should regret saying any thing which could detract from the credit he undoubtedly deserves but I only echo the general opinion in saying that had he instead of cooping up every one in the *tehseel*, acted on the advice repeatedly tendered by the troopers of the Punjaub Cavalry the result would I am induced to believe have been very different.

Ibraheem Khan has left a family badly provided for. I would therefore beg to suggest that Government as a mark of its approval of his conduct, conduct marked with a fidelity rare in these days, and as a proof that it can and will reward those who serve it faithfully, should present to his son, the *Cazee's* Estates, which for this rebellion are about to be confiscated.

I consider that this reward would have the very best effect, and it would certainly be in accordance with the spirit of the Governor General's Proclamation.

I would also propose that some of the confiscated lands of the rebels be made over to the families of Bukhtawur Singh *Tehseeldar* of Thanah Bhowun and Bhowanee Suhoy (Bhawani Sahai) *Thanahdar* of Shamlee.

When thus rewarding the officers, the men who were

wounded or killed in doing their duty, must not be forgotten. I would consequently request your instructions as to the mode or description of reward to which you deem them entitled and would also request information whether compensation is to be granted to those who lost horses or other property.

I would also bring prominently to your notice the conduct of Sandul Khan dais[1] (*sic*,) and 9 troopers of the 1st Punjaub Cavalry who had been left as an additional Guard at the *tehseel*. These men one and all did their duty nobly and in doing so submitted to every species of insult from those of their own faith among the assailants. The Mahomedan Flag was waved before them and when others deserted and found safety underneath its folds, they shot the standard-bearer dead.

Of the ten men of the 1st Punjaub Cavalry left at Shamlee, 9 were killed and 1 is missing.

MUZAFFARNAGAR THREATENED

I intended proceeding at once to Thanah Bhowun and attacking the insurgents in their stronghold but receiving repeated letters from Mr. Grant that Muzufurnugur was threatened and hearing also that vast crowds of Mahomedans had joined the *Cazee's* party I deemed it advisable to fall back on Muzufurnugur as in the event of our receiving any check at Thanah Bhowun, the almost certain result would have been an attack by the rebels on the *Sudder* Station, whereas if we advanced on Thanah Bhowun from Muzufurnugur the station would be secure from any such danger.

You have already by my demi-official letters been made aware that after receiving the reinforcements from Meerut and Suharanpore we marched against the rebel town. I laid the best information I could procure before the Military Officers and left it with them to decide whether we had a sufficient force to attack the place, declaring at the same time my own belief that it would be keenly defended. Captain Smith determined to attack it—we did so and failed to do more than get a very small way into the town.

On our approaching the place large bodies of men were seen drawn out in the *baghs* and behind the high standing

[1] Appears to have been misspelt for 'Rais' or for some Military rank.

khets. The Artillery opened fire and speedily dispersed them. The guns however could not do much owing to view being obstructed by the *baghs* and trees up to the very walls.

LIEUTENANT JOHNSTONE WOUNDED

Some Gorkhas and Sikhs were next sent out as skirmishers to clear the cultivation which they effected. It was at this period that Lieutenant Johnstone, commanding the Sikhs, was wounded by a musket ball in the arm and obliged to go to the rear.

After a time finding that the skirmishers were unable to keep down the fire of the town, the rebels firing from behind walls, the skirmishers were directed to be withdrawn. The force then moved more to the left where the ground was clearer and the Horse Artillery again opened fire but finding after a few rounds that little or no effect was produced, the rebels keeping under cover, the guns were withdrawn.

MUZAFFARNAGAR STORMED BY BRITISH FORCES, STIFF RESISTANCE BY REVOLUTIONARIES

A storming party of the Sikhs and Gorkhas the former under Captain Smith the latter under Lieutenant Cuyler were directed to advance and storm the town. The party did as directed under a smart fire of musketry and after clearing and taking possession of several detached buildings which were keenly contested, charged over the wall into the town and got possession of 2 guns which they held for some time but losing a number of men and the supports failing to come to their aid they were at length obliged to retire leaving the captured guns behind as there were no means of removing them. The Artillery fired a few shots into the town which were not replied to and we then retired.

As the conduct of the Infantry in this affair has been already reported to the Military Authorities it will be unnecessary for me to say more than that they failed to display that gallantry and daring for which the names of Gorkha and Sikh have lately been so justly famous. The officers did all that men could do, but they were not supported by the majority of their men; it may however be remarked that the greater portion of both the detachments were composed of young and untried soldiers who had never been under fire before.

ENCOUNTER AT VILLAGE KHIORI

The line of baggage when we were retiring was attacked by a large party of Horse and Foot near the village of "Kheaoree". They were at once charged in gallant style by two detachments of the 1st Punjaub Cavalry one led on by S. S. Melville and the other by M. Low Esq. who was severely wounded receiving 3 sword-cuts whi'e his horse was also much cut. The insurgents fled in utter disorder and were cut up by the Cavalry to the number of about 100 The rest escaped through the high *khets*.

We met with no further opposition on the road.

Your demi-official letter telling me on no account to attack Thanah Bhowun as it was far too strong for our small force, reached me just as we retired. Had it arrived earlier in the day as it certainly should have done, your order would have been acted up to, but your previous communication had directed me to proceed at once to crush the rebels if after the arrival of reinforcements we considered ourselves strong enough.

The question of sufficient strength was one for the Military to determine, it was settled in the affirmative and we did our best but failed.

From what I have seen since my return here of the strength of the place and the means of defence I cannot but consider that our being driven out of the town at first and before getting entangled in the narrow streets was a fortunate thing, had it been otherwise and we had got well into the city the number of the defenders were so great and the place so extensive, that I verily believe our small force would have been annihilated.

REVOLUTIONARIES EVACUATE THANA BHAWAN

On the arrival of the force from Meerut under Major Sawyer we as you are aware from Mr. Wilson's communications marched at once against Thanah Bhowun and found it evacuated by the insurgents.

I was particularly anxious to destroy the place but this could not be done owing to its great extent and the Artillery being unable to spare any gunpowder.

The force, after a halt of one day, which was employed in taking grain out of the city, moved on to Shamlee and

destroyed on the road the villages of "Hurur"[1] "Hundh" and "Sibhal" which had been the leaders in the assault on the Shamlee *Tehseel*.

At the request of Major Sawyer, who from information received considered it probable that we might meet with opposition at Bijroul and was consequently indisposed to divide the force, we accompanied that officer to that village and Buroute (Baraut) and from thence returned to Kandhlah where we halted for 3 days and succeeded in collecting a large amount of revenue.

MUZAFFARNAGAR PRESENTS A DESERTED APPEARANCE

On the 3rd and 4th (Mss. torn) the Camp remained at Kyranah (Kairana) where more revenue was obtained and on the 5th marched to Jhinjhanah where the force halted during the 6th and on the 7th marched to this place. The city here has been deserted by every Mahomedan and I have as yet been unable to induce the other inhabitants to return to any extent, nor so great is the fear with which the *Shaikhzadaz* are regarded, and so general the Mahomedan disaffection that nobody will come forward to give evidence. I have however ample proof against the heads of the rebellion and hope to be able to capture them very shortly. The wall of the town and the eight gates are being destroyed, but this is a work of great time and labour. I will however take care that it is completed after my Camp moves away.

To prevent the chance of the *Shaikhzadaz's* returning to the city and revenging themselves on the Government servants I propose making over the charge of the place temporarily to Munsoor (Mansur) Ali Khan and the other *Raeeses* of Jullalabad (Jalalabad)[2] whose power and influence in this part of the district is great and who have throughout these disturbances maintained their former good name and remained staunch to the British Government.

[1] Spelt as '*Hurhur*' elsewhere in the document; (p. 132).

[2] *Jalalabad*, Pargana *Thana Bhawan*, Tahsil *Kairana*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—An old town on the east side of the road leading from Shamli to Saharanpur, at a distance of two miles north of Thana Bhawan and 21 miles from Muzaffarnagar. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 252).

Although disaffection has I am well aware for Mahomedans existed at Thanah Bhowun yet there is no doubt that the immediate cause of its breaking out into open rebellion was the execution of the *Cazee's*[1] nephew at Suharanpore. Had it not been for this I am decidedly of opinion that no recourse to arms would have been made, especially as a few days after, the news of the fall of Delhee and the utter discomfiture of the mutineer army of the King would have reached Thanah Bhowun.

PROPERTY NOT PLUNDERED AT SHAMLI

The ferocity of the Mahomedans against Government servants was shewn at Shamlee by their slaughtering all who fled into the *Musjid* which has always hitherto been deemed a sanctuary. They were there brutally murdered. The main walls of the *Musjid* and *Shewallah*, both of which are within the *tehseel* premises, are crimsoned with blood.

I refrain from passing any opinion at present regarding the people of Shamlee whether or not they were implicated in the attack on the *tehseel* as their conduct is under investigation.

It should however be mentioned that not one iota of property was plundered in the town of Shamlee when the *tehseel* was attacked and destroyed, and that bitter feelings previously existed between the town people and the *tehseel* and *thanah* officials on account of the *Shewallah* already alluded to being included within the police premises. These two facts certainly place the conduct of the town people in a very suspicious light.

In conclusion I have to apologize for the delay in submitting this report and for any shortcoming which may be observable throughout it but my time is fully occupied by current work, by the requirements of the Camp and the necessity of seeing all comers, which leads to constant interruption.[2]

[1] *cf.* Para under 'Abdul Rahim Khan executed at Saharanpur,' p. 133.

[2] Department—XIII, File No. 19, 1857 : 'Report from R. M. Edwards to Commissioner, Meerut, dated 11th Oct. 1857;' Meerut Commissioner's office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

ATTACK ON JAULA AND KURALSI

Copy of letter from C. Grant to Williams, dated Muzaffarnagar, the 15th September 1857.

I came in here a few days since leaving Edwards, Palmer etc. at Shamlee; they intended to be at Boorhanah[1] yesterday, but owing to the disturbed state of the road we have not received any intelligence from them since Sunday; we hear however from the natives, that they have burned Jowla and Kooralsee etc. and are now at Boorhanah and I received also a letter from Fraser of the Horse Artillery saying that he was at Mulhera near Boorhanah yesterday with 2 H. A. (Horse Artillery) guns and 100 Sikhs, so I conclude he has joined Edwards by this time; I am extremely sorry to say, however, that I have just heard from the *Peshkar* of Shamlee that the Thanah Bowun (Bhawan) people who have raised the *Mahumdee Jhunda* have taken and looted the Shamlee *Tehseel* and I sincerely regret to say killed Ibraheem Khan the *Tehseeldar* of Shamlee, Bukhtowur Singh *Tehseeldar* of Thanah Bowun and a number of other officials; and I think it my duty to inform you of this although you may possibly have heard from Edwards yourself. Intelligence has also come in that the *Peshkar* of Thanah Bowun (Bhawan), Jan Fishan Khan's son, is in Jellalabad (Jalalabad) at the house of the principal *Raees* and attacked there; and his messenger states what I consider very probable that the "green flag" gentlemen intend an attack on this place to-morrow. Now we don't know for certain where Edwards is, and we have a very small force here, i. e. 30 Goorkhas, 20 of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, who the natives tell me are not to be implicitly trusted and about 70 imperfectly armed Sikh recruits, under charge of Lieutenant Vander-qucht whom I stopped here yesterday on hearing of probable attack, so we should be very glad if you can send us some assistance, if you think proper to do so; of course if Edwards' whole force comes in we should be pretty well prepared, but as we are, we are hardly sufficient to resist any very large body of insurgents more especially considering the detached situations of the *cutcherry*, jail and *tehseel*. Should you send us any help, I need not say that in the absence of

[1] Spelt probably for *Budhana*.

Europeans we should infinitely prefer Sikhs as the presence of the green standard would render Mussulmen more than usually doubtful. Believe me.

P. S. There are rumours of a great gathering of Goojurs at Bysoomkha[1], but I don't know how far this is true, or if so, what their intentions are.[2]

BRITISH MEASURES AFTER THE ATTACK ON SHAMLI

Letter No. 79 *from R. Spankie, Magistrate, Saharanpur, to the Commissioner,* 1*st Division Meerut, Saharanpur Magistrate's Office, dated* 18*th September* 1857.

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter No. 66 of 1857 dated 16th September forwarding a copy of a letter from Mr. Grant at Mozuffurnuggur.

2*nd*—I have received no request for aid from Mr. Grant.

3*rd*—A letter was received from Lieutenant Cuyler dated 15th at Boorhana (Budhana) a village to the immediate south of the district of Mozuffurnuggur in which it was stated that Shamlee had been attacked. There was a native report to the same effect in the bazaar yesterday evening.

4*th*—It would have been better perhaps if Mr. Edwards who was at Shamlee had remained there, instead of going out against detached villages until he had settled matters at Thana Bhown (Thana Bhawan); at least such is the opinion of men here qualified to judge on these subjects.

5*th*—You state in your 3rd para : that I was in a position to assist Mr. Edwards with the force I had here and that I ought to have taken active measures to assist him. The Officer Commanding this district stated that he was not in a position to detach a party. I had previously lost no time in sending Mr. Low with 55 of the Punjab Irregulars to join Mr. Edwards.

6*th*—You now write to me that you cannot suppose I have allowed Major Bagot's rejection of your application to me for aid, or the fact that no special requisition for assistance had been received from Mr. Edwards to render me inactive. I gather from this that you would throw the responsibility of

[1] Not clearly decipherable. Can be read as '*Bysoouckha*' also.

[2] Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Judicial; Letters received from the Commissioner during April and December 1857, Book No. 200, pp. 68-69. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

any possible disaster on the Mozuffurnuggur District upon me. Such an attempt would fail and would merit failure from its injustice. The facts are these : Lieutenant-Colonel Dawes on passing through was urged to stop at Mozuffurnuggur and join Mr. Edwards in the attack upon Thana Bhown. This I believe Lieutenant-Colonel Dawes did not consider himself able to do without orders from Major-General Penny, and you had ordered me to hurry him down and I showed him your note. The consequence of this refusal has been that since the arrival of troops, two guns have been sent from Meerut to Mr. Edwards, and here occurred both delay and countermarching. With regard to myself, I applied to Major Bagot for aid which he stated that he could not supply. He subsequently agreed to send 50 men. On the 16th, I procured carriage for them. Major Bagot finding so large a number of men in hospital, finally decided not to send them. It appears that of Major Bagot's force 166 are recruits and unarmed and that upwards of 100 of the Regiment are at Jutogh. It is not for me to question Major Bagot's power to aid me or otherwise, I can but state facts as they occurred.

7*th*—When I heard from you by the letter now under reply that Mr. Grant considered himself in danger I sent an express to Mr. Melville who I believed was at Manglour[1] to join that Officer with his 30 troopers but from Mr. Grant himself I have received no call for aid. If his information was so authentic, why did he not write to me ? Saharunpore is distant 36 miles. He had no reason to believe that I would not assist him or if perhaps he thought that you might order me to send aid, if you could not do so yourself, he made a most unnecessary delay by writing to you distant 36 miles, who would have to write to me distant 72 miles. It would have shown more judgement to write to me or if he wished to make the thing more certain, both to you and to me.

8*th*—In addition to the aid formerly sent to Mr. Edwards with my assistant Mr. Low, Captain Hughes sent off 20 more men under a native officer some days since to Mr. Edwards.

[1] *Manglaur*, Pargana *Manglaur*, Tahsil *Roorkee*, District *Saharanpur*—The place which gives its name to the Manglaur pargana is a considerable town standing in 29° 48′ N. and 77° 53′ E., on the left bank of the Ganges Canal and the east side of the main road from Roorkee to Muzaffarnagar (*District Gazetteers*, Saharanpur, Vol. II, 1909, p. 272).

9*th*—Until this morning I have not received any communication from Mr. Edwards for some days past and I knew not that he had gone away from Shamlee to the south of this district until I unexpectedly heard from Mr. Low that they were engaged there.

10*th*—This morning the 18th I received a letter from Mr. Edwards, a demi-official note, reporting that he was at Shamlee yesterday the 17th and that he meant to attack Thana Bhown and asking for co-operation. I at once wrote Major Bagot, and sent him Mr. Edwards' letter. This I followed up with a public requisition for aid, offering to reduce the Treasury and Jail Guards for a few days if necessary and to employ the recruits as day Guards. I have not yet heard from this officer.

11*th*—In the meantime Padhan Sahib Singh, uncle to the Raja of Landhoura, who has done excellent service in this district both in collecting revenue and keeping the Goojurs quiet has been ordered to join Mr. Edwards with 200 men and as many more as he can collect in Rampore[1] (on the road to Shamlee) to which place I ordered him to proceed some days since and which he reached yesterday.

12*th*—The facts here adduced shew that before your instructions had been received one of my covenanted assistants with 75 sowars of the 1st Punjab Irregular had been sent to Mr. Edwards' aid, although no special requisition from him had been received by me and that when I heard from you that Mr. Grant required aid an express was sent off to my other covenanted assistant Mr. Melville to take his 30 troopers to Mozuffurnuggur and though no special requisition was received. That is to say, although Major Bagot felt himself unable to assist with Infantry though (*sic*,-through) Captain Hughes' ready compliance, I had sent Mr. Edwards 75 Horse and to Mozuffurnuggur there were sent 30 Horse. Besides this owing to arrangements previously made Sahib Singh is in a position to march from Rampore to Mr. Edwards' aid and will, I hope, do so to-day. More then (than) this *pergh.* (*pargana*) although Rampore is far

[1] *Rampur*, Pargana *Rampur*, Tahsil *Deoband*, District *Saharanpur*—The capital of the Rampur pargana is a town of considerable size standing in 29° 48′ N. and 77° 27′ E., on the west side of the road from Saharanpur to Nanauta and Shamli, at a distance of thirteen miles from the district headquarters and seventeen miles from Deoband. (*District Gazetteers*, Saharanpur, Vol. II, 1909, p. 301).

from Sahib Singh's own home, yet he as head of the Goojurs, will find numbers ready to assist him in that neighbourhood against the Thana Bhown people.

13*th*—As your 7th para would suggest that proper assistance has not been sent from this place through want of a ready co-operation on my part, I shall take an early opportunity, when the present disturbance (disturbances) are over, of calling upon superior authority to record how far evidence was before you which could justify any imputation of the kind against an officer, whose sole anxiety since the 12th of May has been to do his duty both with reference to this district and to Mozuffurnuggur to which I feel sure Mr. Edwards himself will be a cheerful witness.

P.S.—I have now to forward a copy of Major Bagot's reply to my application for aid. I also wish to bring to your notice that after writing to me at Shamlee the 17th and asking for aid, Mr Edwards and his force marched off to Mozuffurnuggur which they reached yesterday and where they halt to-day. This I learn from Lieutenant Cuyler in command of the Gorkhas, but not from Mr. Edwards. In consequence of this change I have directed Sahib Singh to hold fast at Rampore, as a sudden withdrawal of all the force from the neighbourhood of Thana Bhown will probably expose my district to a similar disaster to that which occurred at Shamlee. Moreover it is impossible to co-operate with a force that is perpetually changing its ground.[1]

MUZAFFARNAGAR THREATENED BY BIJNAUR REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter No. 49 *from R. M. Edwards, Offg. Magistrate, Muzaffarnagar, to R. Spankie, Magistrate, Saharanpur, dated Camp Jaula, Distt. Muzaffarnagar, the* 16*th Nov.* 1857.

REVOLUTIONARIES GATHER AT DARANAGAR GHAT

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 300 dated 1st November regarding Captain Hughes'

[1] Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, May 1856-October 1858; Judicial, 'Letters issued to the Commissioner', Book No. 233, pp. 128-130. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

detachment of the 1st Punjaub Cavalry remaining in this district instead of proceeding to Jowalapoor[1].

In reply I beg to state that Captain Hughes, from information he had received, considering it more important to guard the line of the Ganges in this district, came to my camp and as senior officer assumed command of the force. He is decidedly of opinion that should the insurgents attempt to cross they will do so at either the Raoulee or Daranugur *Ghats* where they have collected from 45 to 50 boats.

The main body of the insurgent force is at Bijnour only six miles from each of these *Ghats*.

INAYET ALI JOINS BIJNAUR REVOLUTIONARIES

I agree with Captain Hughes that it is this district not that of Suharunpore which is threatened by the Bijnour rebels who have been joined by Enayet Alee Khan the leader of the late insurrection at Thanah Bhowun and Ghoolam Moheeoodeen (Ghulam Muhiuddin) *Resaldar* of the late 8th Irregulars, (a resident of the same place) with 150 troopers and 250 mutineer sepoys. It is the object of these men to get across to Thanah Bhowun in the hope of being joined by the Mahomedan population of that and the neighbouring towns. The Nuwab's[2] force will accompany them and unless we can drive them back will lay waste the country as they go.

The departure of Captain Hughes' Cavalry would deprive this force of its most efficient arm and in the present aspect of affairs would in my opinion have a decidedly injurious effect.

Captain Hughes informs me that he has referred the question of his immediate return to the Suharunpore District to the General Commanding the Meerut Division and awaits instruction. In the meantime I have requested the Commis-

[1] *Jwalapur*, vide *Hardwar*, *Jwalapur* Pargana, Tahsil *Roorkee*, District *Saharanpur*—This is the easternmost pargana of the tahsil and district, extending from Dehra Dun on the north, from which it is separated by the crest of the Siwaliks, to the Muzaffarnagar boundary on the south. (*District Gazetteers*, Saharanpur, Vol. II, 1909, p. 261).

[2] Reference may be to 'Nawab of Najibabad'.

sioner in the event of the Punjaub Cavalry going to Jowalapoor, to, if possible, supply me with more Cavalry.[1]

MARAB KHAN REACHES MANDAWAR

Letter from Edwards, Offg. Magistrate, Muzaffarnagar, to William, Camp Kukrowlee (Kakrauli), Dec. 4/1857.

'Marab Khan' the chief leader of the insurgents on the other side (of) the water has arrived at Mundawur[2] 3 miles from Nanhu (not legible) with it is said 1,0000 men 7 guns, pair of about our six pounders (?); the amount (*sic*,) of guns may be correct but the force otherwise is no doubt greatly exaggerated. It would appear to mean (?) that he has now 200 or 250 mutineers with him and a large body of well armed men. I have written this to Baird Smith and that all unite in saying he will cross and attack our force which he has learnt has been greatly weakened by the withdrawal of Davidson's Rifles and Hughes' Sabres.

Though I cannot of course say for certain whether he and Ahmud Ollah will come against us, yet judging by the well-known character Marab Khan bears and the other chief Raghab Hussain, I think matters but sufficiently serious to start off to-morrow, my wife and children to Meerut. The insurgents are confident that from their great numbers they will be able to surround us completely and with their number of guns peg into us from all sides. I do not see any chance of getting men from the Saharanpur District for some days at least and even then very doubtful. Evan's guns are under command now and if a few men are fit, he will be sadly puzzled how to work them. Page wants reinforcements. The Afghans there are wholly without ammunition, without an

[1] Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records: 'Miscellaneous letters received by Magistrate from 1855 to 1857,' Book No. 215, pp. 219-220. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Mandawar*, Pargana *Mandawar*, Tahsil *Bijnor*, District *Bijnor*—This ancient town, which gives its name to a pargana of the Bijnor tahsil, stands on the high ground overlooking the Malin valley to the south, in 29° 29' N. and 78° 8' E., at a distance of nearly nine miles north from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1909, p. 258).

officer and wholly without any idea of working together. Cannot Davidson's men be again sent out ? If we are driven back it will pay the driver but I won't imagine the possibility of such a thing. In haste.

Our force consists of 300 of all arms of which 200 are good, the Affghans valuable perhaps at a charge but not the least under command. The Kadir Gevjees[1] are I fear beyond with those on the opposite side. Confound them. Onward to Jeolee to-morrow and then we can hold our own as long as we like.[2]

MARAB KHAN'S ENTRY INTO DOAB FRIGHTENS THE BRITISH

Letter from Commissioner, Meerut, to Major-General A. Wilson, Commanding the Station Meerut, dated the 6th Dec. 1857.

I have the honor to transmit a copy of a Demi-Official letter from Mr. Edwards, Offg. Magte. of Moozuffernugur reporting the arrival of a large rebel force with guns on the opposite bank of the river under "Marab Khan".

2*nd*—The appearance of 100 Infantry, 100 Cavalry and 2 guns at Mr. Edwards' camp would most probably stop all idea of invasion and I consider it highly advisable to reinforce Mr. Edwards; for if a crossing is successfully effected we should have thousands and thousands in the Doab lapsing into rebellion again.[3]

THE BRITISH SEEK HELP AGAINST MARAB KHAN

Letter No. 255 *from A. Wilson, Major-General Commanding, Meerut, to J. Williams, Commissioner, Meerut, dated Meerut, 6th December* 1857.

In reply to the requisition contained in your letter of this date, I have to inform you that a troop of Carabineers

[1] Not clearly decipherable.

[2] Department—XII, Special File No. 4/1857, Zila Muzaffarnagar: "Papers regarding the rebel force under Marab Khan": Revenue Deptt. File No. IX, List of Mutiny Records, Meerut Commissioner's Office. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[3] *Ibid.*

Note:—'Marab Khan' is so written at some places as to read 'Marah Khan' also which appears correct being mentioned in other documents too.

and half a Seik (Sikh) Company of Artillery with 2 guns will march to-night from Kutowlee (Khatauli) to reinforce the details in the Mozuffernuggur District and I request the Magistrate of that district may be instructed to place himself in communication with this detachment on their arrival at Kutowlee to assist their further progress.[1]

* * *

Letter from The Commissioner, Meerut, to R. M. Edwards, Offg. Magistrate, Muzaffarnagar, dated 7th December 1857.

With advertence to your Demi-Official report of the 4th instant regarding the rebel force with Marab Khan which had arrived at Mundour[2] on the opposite bank of the river, I have the honor to transmit a copy of the correspondence noted below with the Major-General Commanding the Station of Meerut.

Mr. Palmer who was here went at once to Khatowlee to order supplies and to be in readiness to accompany the Detachment which marched last night from Meerut to your assistance.[3]

PUNITIVE MEASURES AGAINST MUZAFFARNAGAR REVOLUTIONARIES

The following is the Advertisement in question: "With a view to the capture of mutineers and deserters, and the confiscation of their property, the undersigned requests that commanding officers will inform him of the name, caste, and, if

[1] Department—XII, Spl. File No. 4/1857, Zila Muzaffarnagar: "Papers regarding the rebel force under Marab Khan"; Revenue Deptt. File No. IX, List of Mutiny Records, Meerut Commissioner's Office. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Apparently, spelt for '*Mandawar*' in *Bijnaur* District.

[3] Department—XII, Spl. File No. 4/1857, Zila Muzaffarnagar: "Papers regarding the rebel force under Marab Khan"; Revenue Deptt. File No. IX, List of Mutiny Records, Meerut Commissioner's Office. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

possible, father's name of all native officers and soldiers, residents of the Moozuffernugger District, who may have mutinied or deserted.

Sd. R. M. Edwards
Offg. Magistrate, Moozuffernugger".[1]

ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE BRITISH FORCE AND MARAH KHAN

Letter No. 119 *from R. Spankie, Magistrate, Saharanpur, to F. Williams, Commissioner* 1*st Dn. Meerut, Saharanpur Magistrate's office, dated the* 23*rd April* 1858.

I have the honor to communicate that nothing of importance has been reported in this district yesterday or to-day.

2*nd*—On the 21st I learn that our force met and defeated Marah Khan with the loss of 10 guns and a large number of his men. Bijnour and Dharanuggur[2] are reported to have been evacuated and about to be occupied by our detachments. Since the 17th, 23 guns have been taken.[3]

SAHARANPUR

Letter No. 5 *from Captain H. E. Read, Commanding at Roorkee, to R. Spankie, Magistrate of Saharanpur, dated Roorkee,* 2*nd July* 1857.

Having received authentic intelligence that a large number of *Bhyroop Bunjaras* have assembled at the village of Futtooa, between Sooltanpoor Kanarie[4] and Asufghur (Asafgarh), and that they have there entrenched themselves, I think it would be desirable that they should be dislodged with as little delay as possible.

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* March 29, 1858, p. 299. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Apparently spelt for '*Daranagar*'.

[3] Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, May 1856-Oct. 1858; Judicial, 'Letters issued to the Commissioner,' Book No. 233, p. 254. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[4] *Sultanpur Kunari*, Pargana *Jwalapur*, Tahsil *Roorkee*, District *Saharanpur*—A large village situated in the khadir of the Ganges in 29° 45′ N. and 78° 7′ E., at a distance of about eighteen miles south-east from Roorkee, with which it is connected by a road leading through Laksar and Landhaura. (*District Gazetteers*, Saharanpur, Vol. II, 1909, p. 346).

2*nd*—These men are reported to have made a breastwork, of some six (6) feet in height, of their gonds filled with sand and backed by timbers which they have dragged there for that purpose. It is further stated, on what appears to be good authority, that they have about (250) two hundred and fifty matchlocks and (2) two *Zumboors* or wall pieces. The total number of men of all arms is variously stated at from one to two thousand (1,000 to 2,000) but, allowing for native exaggeration, I imagine there will not be less than five or six hundred (500 or 600) men.

3*rd*—I need hardly mention that it would be of no use proceeding against this party without being able to manage the affair thoroughly; and, with our present force here, I do not think we could attempt it. If you could give us the assistance of (50) fifty men of the Nusseeree Battalion, I could add a party of (30) thirty Sappers and Miners, a gun (6 pounder) with Europeans to work it, and some (20) twenty Horsemen, and with this party I think we could manage the business satisfactorily.

4*th*—May I therefore request the favour of an early reply to this letter to enable me to arrange all details should you be able to assist us.[1]

MANGLAUR THREATENED

Roorkee—Intimation having (has) been received yesterday on good authority of a threatened attack upon the town of Munglour, six miles south of Roorkee, by a large band of Goojurs, said to be assumed at that time in the neighbourhood of the town. . . .[2]

ENCOUNTER NEAR KARNAL

Extract of letter addressed by Lt. Col. J. D. Macpherson, the Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Major-General Gowan, Commanding in the Upper Provinces, dated Lahore, 21st Aug. 1857.

Should you now desire it the 1st Punjab Cavalry can of course be altogether recalled from Scharunpore, and adjoining

[1] Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records: 'Miscellaneous letters received by Magistrate from 1855 to 1857', Book No. 215, pp. 201 and 202. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *The Dacca News*, August 1, 1857, p. 299. National Library, Calcutta.

places, at which it is now posted. The Regiment however did good service lately at the village of Bulleh near Kurnaul, where they cut up some 150 insurgents. If the Magistrate of Scharunpore is inclined to return the Regiment Sir John Lawrence would let him do so.[1]

ACTIVITY ALONG THE GANGES GHATS

Narrative of Events, dated January 11, 1858.

Meerut—A party of Europeans and Goorkhas are watching the *ghats* of the Ganges in the neighbourhood of Hardwar, but it is not expected that the rebels will make any attempt to cross from Rohilcund.[2]

ENGAGEMENT AT MAYAPUR

Letter from Captain Boisragon to Lieutenant-Colonel Baird Smith, dated Camp Myapore (Mayapur), January 11, 1858.

FORCE UNDER NAWAB OF NAJIBABAD ATTACKS KANKHAL, JWALAPUR, HARDWAR

I have the nonor to acquaint you that from 2 to 7 P. M. on the 8th instant, reports came into Roorkee from all parts of the district, that a large force (headed by the Nawab of Nujjeebabad) of the enemy had crossed the river Ganges, fallen upon the town of Kunkul (Kankhal), Jowalapore, and Hurdwar, destroyed the government property at Myapore, seized upon the horses of the Cavalry picket, taken prisoner and carried off Mr. Dubross, the telegraph signaller, proclaimed these districts as having been conquered by the aforesaid Nawab, and the last petition from the *Thanadar* of Jowalapore to the *Thesaldar* (*Tahsildar*) of Roorkee was to the effect that the advance guard of the enemy had got as far as Bhudurabad (Bahadurabad), and that they were about to march on Roorkee; I was, therefore, directed by Captain Reed, command-

[1] Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, Judicial, 'Letters received from Commissioner, during April-Dec. 1857', Book No. 200, p. 42. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 1, p. 6.

ing at Roorkee, to request Lieutenant T. Boisragon, commanding at Munglour, to proceed immediately with a portion of his detachment as per margin (Foot note)* towards Myapore; this order he received at about half-past 8 P. M., on 8th instant and at 9 A. M. the next morning his detachment had reached Myapore, a distance of twenty-four miles across, to say the least, a very indifferent roadway for guns; this proves what can be done by good and willing soldiers, and I am certain that the above circumstance will afford you satisfaction.

SKIRMISH NEAR KANKHAL

Immediately on my arrival here at 8 A. M., on the 9th instant, I proceeded (accompanied by Captain H. Drummond, Engineers, Lieutenant Thomason, Engineers, and Mr. Melville, of the Civil Service, with three or four sowars), in quest of the position of the enemy. After patrolling down the bank for two or three miles, we suddenly came upon their encampment, pitched within a few feet of the water, opposite to the ford of Unjinie (Anjani), (a distance of about three miles in direct line from Kunkul); but, owing to the nature of the country, we could not see more than a few yards from the bank. I perceived, however, that they were in considerable force (I should say about 500 men), and from the fact of their having fired a 3 or 6 pounder at us we ascertained their being in possession of guns. Having all the necessary information, we leisurely retired under a very slight discharge of musketry. The only damage done at this place (but nowhere else), is the destruction of the Government bungalow (built by Sir P. Cautley), and the *chowkee* of the Cavalry picket, by fire, and the carrying off of the aforesaid signaller, Moolla Melustie, of the Canal Works, five sowars, with their horses, and a dozen *bildars;* the telegraph wire was also cut, and a portion of it carried away; but this was immediately rectified by establishing an office at Jowalapore.

*"50 Goorkhas, 50 Seikhs, and 2 six-pounder guns, under Lieutenant St. George, of Artillery"—Marginal note in Original.

REVOLUTIONARIES' ATTEMPT TO ENTER KANKHAL

Yesterday, about 2 P. M. information was brought me by Shewpersad, native agent belonging to the Canal Department (who I beg to recommend very favourably to you, as he was the only man who brought any intimation) that the enemy were crossing in a very large force with guns, and that a great number of them had established themselves on the south of Kunkul, which they were about to enter; I immediately made the following preparations :—A Guard strength as per margin (Foot note)* was left for the protection of the camp, under Mr. Phillips, of the Canal Department, whom I instructed also to watch the ford and dam opposite the Myapore bridge, and give me, immediately, information, if the enemy endeavoured to turn my left; and with the rest of the detachment I marched straight through the main street of Kunkul, and arrived at its south side just in time to prevent their effecting an entrance into it. The following was the disposition of the detachment :—the Nusseree Battalion and Seikhs under Lieutenant T. Boisragon, (with the latter men Mr. Melville, of the Civil Service, kindly volunteered his services) the guns under Lieutenant St. George of the Artillery; Lieutenant Thomason, Engineers, at my requisition, very kindly took charge of the Cavalry; Captain H. Drummond, Engineers, was watching the movements of the enemy from the dam, which, at my request he opened at a most opportune moment, effectually cutting off their retreat, but which at the same time prevented our following them up. Before the firing commenced, Captain Drummond joined and continued with me during the whole of the affair, and I am much indebted to him for his excellent advice.

NEPHEW OF THE NAWAB OF NAJIBABAD SHOT DEAD

Before the affair commenced, I was compelled to detach Cavalry and Infantry in several quarters, to prevent the enemy from getting to my right, left, or rear; besides, I had to advance very cautiously, as, from very good information, *I learnt that the towns of Hurdwar, Kunkul, and Jowalapore were in collusion*

*"8 Goorkhas, 8 Seikhs, and 5 Sowars, of 1st Punjab Cavalry"—Marginal note in Original.

with the rebels. I therefore commenced the fight with the number as per margin (Foot Note)*. I forward a plan of the ground, drawn out by Captain Drummond, which will give you an idea of what was done. It was, evidently, the object of the enemy to reach Jowalapore; I therefore threw myself between it and Kunkul; the guns were posted between that town and a large native building. Lieutenant T. Boisragon charged with his Ghoorkas (Gorkhas) took them in flank, and drove them into the river, whilst the Seikhs (Sikhs) charged in front into their position amidst the tomb stones, which was carried in a few seconds, whilst the guns on our left flank poured grape into the enemy as they retreated across the river; several of the officers killed men with their own weapons, and the nephew, I believe, of the Nawab was shot dead by Lieutenant T. Boisragon, and I am given to understand that the Nawab himself was wounded by some one of our party. The affair lasted about half-an-hour; the Cavalry, led by Lieutenant Thomason and Mr. Melville, cut up the enemy, who took down our right bank. I should say the enemy were 1,000 strong, (they also had two guns) of which killed, wounded, and drowned, they must have lost certainly 100. We obtained a quantity of swords, muskets, and other native weapons, also some ammunition. Our guns were capitally served under the superintendence of Lieutenant St. George, of Artillery, I am glad to report that we had not a single man wounded.

Where every officer and man, European and Native, performed his duty well and cheerfully it would be invidious, nay, impossible to particularize; I am indebted to one and all and I trust you will be pleased, and express your approbation of their conduct.

I forgot to state before that, at Roorkee, Lieutenant T. Boisragon's party was increased by ten Europeans from the Thomason College, and there was a further increase of twenty men of the 1st Punjaub Cavalry at Kunkul (Kankhal).

We have also taken fifteen horses.[1]

* * *

* "8 Europeans, 30 Ghoorkas, 30 Seiks, 2 guns, and 16 men, of the 3rd Punjaub Cavalry"—Marginal note in Original.

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 20 in No. 3, pp. 83-84.

Extract from 'The Friend of India' dated 21st Jan. 1858.

.....On the 11th of January these rebels were encountered by Captain Boisragon at Moyapore (Mayapur) near the head of the Ganges Canal.....A man of rank, supposed to be the Nuwab Ahmedoolla is reported to have been wounded and his nephew was killed by Captain Boisragon himself.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 211 *from Colonel Hugh Fraser, Chief Commissioner of the North-Western Provinces, to Viscount Canning, Gov. General of India in Council, dated Fort Agra, the* 18*th January* 1858.

In continuation of my despatch of the 21st ultimo, I have the honor to submit my narrative diary of events to :—

DOAB INVADED BY BIJNAUR REVOLUTIONARIES

10*th*, 11*th*, 12*th*, 13*th*, 14*th January*—A letter from Meerut dated 11th instant mentions that the Bijnour rebels had invaded the Doab at the head of the canal, committed considerable damage and made prisoner of a telegraph signaller.[2] I regret also to say that one *Duffadar* and six men of the 15th Irregular, who have behaved well throughout, are reported to have gone over to the rebels from near Meanpoor[3] and strong representations are frequently made to this Government of the disturbed state of feeling in the Doab.....[4]

* * *

Narrative of Events, dated Fort William, January 23, 1858.

Seharunpore—The Begnore (Bijnaur) insurgents, who had been attempting incursion into the Seharunpore and Mozuffer-

[1] *The Friend of India*, January 21, 1858, p. 57. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *cf.* 1st Para Further Papers No. 8 of 1858, Inclosure 20 in No. 3, p. 83; (See p. 153 of this book).

[3] Apparently misspelt for '*Mayapur*'.

[4] Proceeding No. 211 of 1858, Abstract N. W. P. Narrative, Foreign Deptt. 1858. Narrative of Events up to 15th Dec. 1857. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

nuggur districts, and who, on the 8th January, carried off a telegraphic signaller and two native Christians, received a decisive check on or about the 10th January, at Mozapore[1], near the head of the Ganges Canal, in the Sarunpore (Saharanpur) District. Captain Boisragon, with 70 Sikhs and Goorkhas, and 10 Europeans, and two guns, fell in with 1000 of them and completely dispersed them; 100 were killed, and, the Mozapore dam having been opened to cut off their escape, many more were drowned. A man of rank, supposed to be the Nawab Alunee Doolla[2], was wounded, and his nephew killed by Captain Boisragon himself.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES CONSTRUCTING BATTERIES AT NAGAL GHAT

A portion of the force destined to act against Rohilcund has arrived and halted at Roorkee. It comprises 500 European Infantry and 6 (Native) Horse Artillery guns, besides some Sikhs. A rebel army of 5000 men with 10 guns is posted at Nagulghat opposite to Roorkee, but they are said to be little better than rabble. They are constructing batteries to command the river, but whether for offensive or defensive purposes is not yet known.[4]

RETREAT FROM KANKHAL

The Head Quarters of the force under Brigadier Coke remain at Roorkee. No attempts have been made by the enemy to cross. Mr. Shakespeare, the Magistrate of Bijnour, in a report, which will be more fully noticed below, mentions that he in company with the Brigadier forded the river on horseback below Kunkhul (Kankhal) to reconnoitre. They found the country quite clear and heard the rebels had fallen back.

[1] Appears wrongly spelt for *Mayapur*.
[2] Spelt as 'Ahmed oolla' in '*The Friend of India*', January 21, 1858, p.57; (See p. 157).
[3] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 2, p. 34.
[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Meerut Division (Saharanpur) for the week ending 14th Feb. 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Advantage has been taken of the presence of the troops to disarm one district and assistance has been offered for the same purpose to the Magistrate of Muzaffernaggur.[1] . . . .

SAHARANPUR DISARMED

Saharunpoor—Letters from Saharunpoor, of the 6th instant, mention that. . . . . "on the 2nd March, the people in the city were disarmed, upwards of 5000 arms, of descriptions, were collected. . . . . "[2]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Meerut Division (Saharanpur) for the week ending 7th March 1858. .Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, March 16, 1858, p. 256. National Library, Calcutta.

CHAPTER THREE

OUTBREAK IN ROHILKHAND

SUNDAY, 31ST MAY 1857, FIXED FOR OUTBREAK

Letter from J. C. Wilson, Commissioner on Special Duty, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, Allahabad, dated Camp Calcutta, the 24th December 1858.

Having premised thus much, I proceed with my narrative. Carefully collating oral information with facts as they occurred, *I am convinced that Sunday,* 31*st May* 1857, *was the day fixed for the mutiny to commence throughout the Bengal Army;* that there were committees* of about three members in each regiment, which conducted the duties, if I may so speak, of the mutiny; that the *sipahees,* as a body, knew nothing of the plans arranged; and that the only compact entered into by regiments, as a body, was that their particular regiment would do as the other regiments did. The committee conducted the correspondence and arranged the plan of operations, viz., that on the 31st May, parties should be told off to murder all European functionaries, most of whom would be engaged at church, seize the treasure, which would then be augmented by the first instalment of the *rubbee* (*rabi*) harvest, and release the prisoners, of which an army existed in the North-Western Provinces alone, of upwards of twenty-five thousand men. The regiments in Delhi, and its immediate vicinity, were instructed to seize the magazine and fortifications; but the massacre being complete and thoroughly carried out, and all opposition being thus rendered impossible, it was arranged that all other brigades and out-posts should remain at their respective stations.[1]

*"I have reasons for believing that most of these Committeemen, being leading spirits, were killed at Delhi. Bhola Singh, Pay-havildar of the 5th Company, 29th Regiment, was assuredly one of the Committee, and I know that he was killed at Delhi".—Note in the Original.

CAUSES OF REVOLT AS SUMMARIZED BY ROHILKHAND COMMISSIONER

Extract from Letter No. 331 *of* 1858 *from Commissioner, Rohilkhand, to Secretary to Government N. W. P., dated* 30*th November* 1858.

The delay of District Officers to supply the narrative required by para 2nd of the Circ. (Circular) 212 of 30th Ap. (April) followed by the peremptory call for their submission direct on rect. (receipt) has quite put it out of my power to compile the epitome reqd. (required) by the 5th para of the same orders; I have therefore forborne the attempt to epitomize the several District histories, and for Bareilly, I have supplied, to save the District Officer trouble, the acct. (account) of Bareilly in the interval between the 12th May and 21st May 1857.

2*nd*—I however presume that it will be held to be a part of my duty to express the opinion which I entertain of the connection which the rebellion and usurped Govt. in Rohilcund had with the mutiny which preceded it, so far as I have been able to form this opinion upon the events which have occurred in the province.

3*rd*—The transmission of the *Chupattees*, if it has been proved to have had any connection with the event of 1857, is of itself sufficient *to prove the fact of the preorganization of the mutiny* which was to aim at the extinction of British power in Hindoostan.

4*th*—That the soldiers of the Infantry Regiments were prepared or it was without a doubt evident from the tone of their behaviour between (the) date of their learning the intelligence of the Meerut outbreak and that of their own mutiny.

5*th*—But the transmission of the *Chupattees* through a line of country full of soldiers must have been irrespective of them, and therefore if the *Chupattees* are known to have been a symbol of a general mutiny and rising intelligible to the recipients of them, it must be presumed that in every district there were men prepared for the event which was to follow.

6*th*—On this assumption there were those prepared for the events in Rohilcund.

7*th*—But on no other assumption from fact, a document nor for any oral evidence and inquiry can it be believed or even inferred that prior to the fortnight immediately preceding the 31st May, there was out of the Lines of the regiments

any organized conspiracy for the overthrow of the existing govt. or the estabt. (establishment) of one to usurp its place.

8*th*—The nature of the Govt. which immediately sprang up after the mutiny disproves in my opinion the notion of a previous conspiracy, and on the other hand the ready and very early adhesion of the most influential Hindoo Thakoors who were landholders argues their preparation for a new Govt. The *Chupattees* passed from village to village. I never heard of their having been transmitted through towns.

9*th*—Although these subsequent events in Rohilcund proved the rebellious Govt. to be Mahommedan, I neither believe (in the absence of proof to warrant a contrary belief) that the mutiny was owing to any machinations on the part of Mahommedans within Rohilcund, nor that *quoad* rebellion, by which term I mean the negative of the legitimate Govt. the Hindoo was less rebel than the Mahommedan. But I would except from the imputation of the desire to change the Govt. those classes among the Hindoos who owe all they possess to the existence of the avowedly strongest and most just government, I mean the trading and banking class.

10*th*—It could not be that in a province in which all the towns* (and they are larger than others within similar distance of each other in N. W. India) are commanded by the Mussalman population, the Govt. on our retirement should be obtained by any other than Mahommedan, and if the large Hindoo propr. (proprietors) should obtain that measure of consideration and dignity wh. (which) Khan Bahadoor accorded to the leading Thakoors and to the leading men of the moneyed trading classes in Sobha-ram, it was as much as they cd. (could) at any rate at first, have expected, unless the mutiny and rebellion had been the combined acts of Hindoos alone, in wh. (which) case, they would have necessitated as much opposition to Mahommedans as to Englishmen to obtain the supremacy desired.

11*th*—It may be assumed as certain that if the Govt. wh. (which) was set up at Bareilly had emanated from with-

* 'Shahjehanpur, Tilhur, Jalalabad, Pileebheet, Bareilly, Budaun, Saheswan, Sumbhal with Junro-Sarai, Umroha, Nujeebabad, Moradabad, Rampore'—Note in Original.

out or from Dehli, there would have been mention of this in the earliest representations addressed to Dehli from the local Govt. but on the contrary, the nature of the earliest missive to Dehli was to announce the estabmt. (establishment) of a subordinate Govt. which had not been established by previous concert with Dehli, and sanction for which was then solicited.

12*th*—The state of the case throughout Rohilcund was the same. It may be open to very reasonable doubt whether the Nowab of Rampur could have held his own as well as he did, had there been a formidable conspiracy at work before the outbreak.

13*th*—Though after the retreat of the English, Rohilcund was in anarchy and the Mahommedan predominant, yet the king was fenced in at Dehli, and the Nowab by good pay was able to keep back the larger number of the Pathans of his territory from going there. This would hardly have been the case had the existing state of things been produced by a conspiracy previously laid.

14*th*—The conspiracy, had one existed, would have been manifested immediately on the suspicion of the Nowab taking part with the English and the lead when taken would have been followed to Dehli by those engaged in the conspiracy. As it was the unstable line of conduct adopted by the Nowab Kazim Ali Khan, always jealous of his brothers, the course followed by the Pathans which led to fray at Rampoor and Moradabad, under the Nowab, or to plunder under Khan Bahadoor or Mehmood Khan in Bijnore or Bareilly are to my mind incompatible with their having had even the opportunity to join an organized conspiracy for the establishment of Mahommedan rule under the King at Dehli.

15*th*—The doubt of a planned conspiracy does not extend to disbelief of the existence of Mahommedan intrigue. The latter which must have had its ramifications throughout the army, doubtless pervaded a province in the population of which the Mahommedan element so largely prevails.

16*th*—The origin of the mutiny then being sought elsewhere than at Bareilly, I consider that the usurpation by Mahommedans wh. (which) followed at Bareilly and in Rohilcund was only what was to have been expected, but that in rebellion on the 31st May 1857, the Hindoo was not a whit behind the Mahommedan.

17*th*—I think it most necessary to state this emphatically because it will account for the scanty mention, which can be made under para 7th of the circular, of Hindoos who have done good service.

18*th*—It is not meant that the Hindoos can be attributed any of the cruel and infamous atrocities committed by the Mahommedan rabble and sanctioned by Mahommedan bigots of high as well as low degree, though even in these atrocities it is believed Sobha Ram was quite a consenting party.....

22*nd*—The partial disturbances at Moradabad before the final defection of the Military called out the exhibition of more active qualities in the officers at that place than could have under the differing circumstances been displayed at other stations, and the great courage and presence of mind combined with accurate knowledge of the native character put forth by Mr. J. W. Wilson have been the theme of universal approbation; but as that officer has sent up a separate report it may not be necessary that I should make more than this passing allusion to his conduct on that occasion.....[1]

* * *

Extracts from the Narrative of Events at Bareilly in the interval between 12*th May and* 31*st May* 1857.

12*th*—In this while though the Bareilly District had been quiet, news had come in from the three stations (of) Bijnore, Moradabad and Budaon—to prove that in all three though mutiny had not broken out, at the second of these places, the insurrection of the lawless portion of the population had commenced. The spark, whether it were wanted or not, to kindle the desire for rapine and violence among them had been wafted across the Ganges : Goojurs and Jats in the two first[2] districts and Aheers specially in the third showed by

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858;" Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] Appears wrongly written for 'first two'.

their earliest acts very evidently what must be the sequel to the army rising against the Govt.

13*th*—My correspondence with the Lieutenant-Governor was now daily; alternating of course between alarm and hopes but generally I remember cheerful. Every Magte. (Magistrate) wrote daily and as both from Moradabad and Shahjehanpur I was given to understand that the steadfastness to their allegiance of the Regiment at those stations depended avowedly on the conduct of the Bareilly Garrison, the intensity of our interest and anxiety in our own circumstances became if possible more intense, and it may have been that the daily reprieve gave rise to faint hope, and the expression of cheerfulness for which there was not just ground.

14*th*—A perfect community of feeling existed between the Military and Civil officers of Govt. and in the execution of arrangements deemed necessary, there was co-operation in action when required.

15*th*—Colonel Troup authorised the raising of an additional wing to the 8th Irregular Cavalry and I sanctioned the Magte. (Magistrate) raising additional District Mounted and Foot Police. I also called on all Magistrates to summon all Cavalry of the army who might be on leave in their districts to attend them with arms and equipment, and in the case of the Shahjehanpur District in which there was least agitation and more resident Cavalry on leave, I desired that as many as were not actually required for the district should be sent to me for service elsewhere.

16*th*—On Tuesday the 19th, the Brigadier Sibbald, rejoined the station. The measures which had been taken by Colonel Troup were all that could have been taken. Appearance of distrust in the men was, as much as possible, avoided. They were kept on the *quivive* by Military duties which the nature of the times warranted as necessary. Nightly pickets were posted about the station and the guns were taken down to the Collr's (Collector's) Treasury at night.

17*th*—But though obedience was perfect throughout this time it was very palpable that the soldiers, not the officers, were the masters of the situation for when the guns were taken first down to the treasury at night and left there the next day, the soldiers resented this and in compliance with their wish they were removed every morning with the picket which had taken them down the evening before.

18*th*—The latest letter received by me from the Lieutenant Governor was dated the 19th May. It covered one for Colonel Troup. Both letters desired that the troops should be made acquainted with the sense of Govt. in regard to the mutinies that had taken place, the assurance that nothing had been, or would be done to interfere with their caste or prejudices, that their grievances could be stated, and that all or any who wished to withdraw from the service might at once go to their homes.

19*th*—Upon this a general parade was held at which the Quarter-Master read the men an address from the Brigadier in which he appealed to the sympathies which had existed between himself and the native army during a service of fifty years. The native officers were afterwards called to the front when I addressed them a few words to the effect mentioned in the preceding para as a message I had the authority of the Govt. to convey to them. A sullen silence characterized all present.

20*th*—That insurrection had not broken out in Bareilly up to this time was simply I believe owing to its being removed from the Ganges and not having had the contact of bad example, as in the case of the districts I have mentioned which border or touch on the Ganges.

21*st*—But both town and district were full of excitement and large additions to the Police helped to maintain peace.

22*nd*—As I had a fixed day (Monday) for *durbar* or the rect.[1] of visits, the attendance on Monday the 18th was very significant. I had not chairs for the many who came. Mr. Fraser, the Commissioner of Delhi, had been for some years Judge of Bareilly. The interest in and concern for his fate was more or less loudly expressed with probably as little genuine feeling as the demonstration was loud. To my questions regarding the internal state of Bareilly I received replies which were meant to satisfy me; but I trusted more to the daily, or might better say thrice per day reports of the *Kotwal*. I desired, however, all the influential men to understand that I should not limit receptions to Monday but should be happy to receive their personal reports of what might come to their knowledge as often as they might please to come to

[1] Abbreviated for 'receipt'.

me. This occasioned frequent visits and in the last week nearly daily visits from Khan Bahadoor Khan whose influence as a Mahommedan was considerable and had up to the rebellion been always exercised to the service of the Govt. and good order.

23*rd*—On Friday the 22nd the first open incident occurred by which the Mahommedan spirit in the town was manifested. Moulvi Mahommod Ahsan of the Govt. College gave forth at the mosque of Naomahullah (where the Syuds reside) a *Wauz* or discourse upon the subject of the lawfulness of a rise against the English in India and argued for the negative.

24*th*—The result whether intended or not, was a very general excitement among his hearers which spread throughout the town, and so nearly involved a rising against the man himself (which would probably have provided a general insurrection) that the *Kotwal* strongly urged the deportation of the man before this following Friday with or without his will.

25*th*—This Moulvi having gone through the crises without exhibiting hostility to the Govt. it is presumable that his motives were honest, but at the time it was subject of much doubt both among Xtians (Christians) and Mahommedans, whether the object had not been as sinister as the act was imprudent.

26*th*—Mahommedans one and all whom I saw at the time, said that if the man were sincere, he was pointing at his co-religionists as ready to rise, without the proof of their so being (being so) and this the latter would resent; if insincere he was covertly urging them to rise and yet making an overt way of escape for himself if needed.

27*th*—Monday the 25th being the Eed this man was carefully kept out of the way, and before the following Friday he was out of the district. This day of festival was one of considerable anxiety. The *Kotwal* attended the Naomahullah mosque, for besides its notoriety as the place of worship of the particular clan of Syuds who have such (much) influence with the Pathans, the Mahommedans of cantonment also attend it. Bukht Khan was there among the others though not at that time enjoying prominent attention. On this occasion a *Moulvi* by name Ruheem Ollah (Rahim Ullah) Khan was put forth to preach antagonism to the English, a result most probably of the affair on the 22nd but fortunately the *Kotwal*

had yet the weight of authority sufficient to cause the *Wauz* or discourse to be suspended and no seditious words were uttered or at any rate they dropped without effect.

28*th*—In the Eed I was visited according to custom by a body of the principal Mahommedans headed by the *Moulvi*, *Qazi*, and Khan Bahadoor Khan and great praise was spontaneously given to Badrood-deen, the *Kotwal*, for his activity and presence of mind.

29*th*—This was the only sign which we had at Bareilly that there was, or would be a leaven of religion in the mass of rebellion plotting around us, and as it had shewn itself, and been so easily obscured, attention was less directed to it than to the mutinous Hindoo sepoys. So far from expecting Mahommedans in particular to rise at the time against us, we had as mentioned in para 15 raised our Cavalry and as a reinforcement in case we should try our strength in combat with the Infantry I had begged the Nowab of Rampore to send me his Regiment of Cavalry which it was intended by me to have encamped a little outside the cantonment. Before the Cavalry could reach Bareilly and while they were *en route* I received request from Mr. Colvin which I complied with to beg the Nowab to send them to Bulandshahar and I subsequently on my own responsibility sent Lieutenant Johnstone of the 18th N. I. to command them.....

31*st*—During the ten days from 17th to 27th Leave Sowars of Irregular Cavalry were almost daily sent to aid the officers in Moradabad and eventually a party of the 8th Irregulars under Kootub-ood-deen mentioned in para 9 was sent to Moradabad with direction that on their arrival a party of Leave Sowars should be sent on to Bijnore.

32*nd*—I likewise raised a body of new men and sent them under a man I appointed *Risaldar*, also of the name Kootub-ood-deen Khan, direct to Bijnore and with the escort of this party Mr. Shakespear was enabled to reach Roorkee, and there they were on suspicion disarmed and dismissed.

33*rd*—The fugitive mutineers of the Sappers who had passed through Nageenah (Nagina) had caused the first disorganization of that part of the Bijnore District which is removed from the Ganges. Upon the arrival of some of the fugitive mutineers near Moradabad ensued the first outbreak at that station when the jail was first broken.

34*th*—In consequence of this forewarning, with the consent

of the Military, we directed our Police not to apprehend fugitive mutineers particularly if moving in bodies, but to keep them from making for Bareilly, and to aid their passing through the district to their homes in Oudh either through the northern *pergunnahs* or by crossing the Ramgunga to the south of Bareilly. I was informed of several having passed through under these orders, but in a miserable plight. One man only was known to have come into the Regimental Lines and he was expelled. He had come in naked and hungry and might have been (a) warng. (warning) against the example of mutiny being followed with hope of success or personal profit.

35*th*—In the last week of May the interior of the Bareilly District shewed signs that the disorder was catching and had reached us. The *pergunnah* of Shahee which borders on Rampore first became disorganized. The assemblage of riotous bodies was reported and some crimes of open violence, and the *Tahseeldar* wrote that his treasury was in danger. Mr. Orr, the Dy. Collector and Dy. Magistrate, was deputed to the place with extra Mounted Police. The weather being very hot he was told that if the rioters dispersed and the *Tahseeldar* should regain confidence he might return. He returned after three days having done very good service.

36*th*—Hidayut Alee and Mohib Alee, younger brothers of Hukeem Saadut Alee, came to me from Aonlah and were entrusted with powers to look after that place.

37*th*—Buktawar (Bakhtawar) Sing and Bilas Sing, his nephew, came in from Furreedpore (Faridpur) and had a similar charge for that *pergunnah* in which the peace had been partially disturbed.

38*th*—The direct *dak* with Agra had been stopped for several days. I procured *shotur sowars*, Camel Express-riders, from Rampore; but these men went, or said they had been as far as the Ganges and been obliged to retreat from mobs which they met immediately on crossing the river. Another Camel Express sent by me was returned from Budaon the Magistrate sending word that he refused to go further.

39*th*—The latest intelligence procured of the Doab, Agra and Delhi was through Futtehgurh and that only by our sending for it, as the fact of the closed communication was not known to the postal authorities at Agra and other stations, or at any rate they did not act on the knowledge by sending our packets by other route.....

47*th*—Up to the 29th May my reports from Shahjehanpore and Moradabad had been more cheering. From both places it was stated that all depended on the turn which matters would take at Bareilly and since at Moradabad, so singular had been the success that the Regiment had been reclaimed from mutiny after it had actually burst forth and the jail had been restored to the custody of its officers and many prisoners recaptured, there seemed yet to be a ground for hope that the worst would not happen. From Budaon however each day's acct. (account) was worse than the preceding.

48*th*—On the 29th the first Friday after the Eed, a day to be one of anxiety and excitement for which the *Kotwal's* premonitory repoŕts had prepared me, a message sent by Nowbat Ram, a principal Hindoo of Bareilly, to the Magistrate told him that there would be a rising in the town after the hour of prayer. Application was made to the Brigadier to have the 8th Irregular Cavalry saddled and ready to march upon the town. Relays of Sowars were posted on the road to bring earliest intelligence. The *Kotwal* was advised that the Regiment would march upon the receipt of his call.

49*th*—At 2 P. M. I was sitting in my room awaiting in some anxiety the result and believing from the lateness of the hours that all would end well, when my servants rushing in conjured me to ride off to the Mag.'s[1] and secure my safety. It had always been believed that my house would be the first for attack and plunder. A servant who had been to the Sudder Bazaar of the cantonment for purchases was interrupted by shouts from the Lines and a rush of all the *sipahees* to their arms with the exclamation that the time had come to march down on the treasury. Hearing this the man left his purchases and came to me. Before the words could be told another man came by another road from the Lines with the same story. I wrote a note of what I had heard to Colonel Troup and drove to the Magt.'s (Magistrate's) house.

50*th*—There I found the whole staff of the Magistrate's and Coll.'s (Collector's) office—Mr. Guthra, Mr. Pasley, Mr. Carrie, Mr. Orr and Mr. Wyalt. An indistinct report had reached the *cucherrie* (*kachehri*) that there was a rising in the town and that simultaneously the treasury was to be attacked

[1] Abbreviated, perhaps, for 'Magistrate's'.

and before many minutes the premises had been entirely abandoned.

51*st*—After a suspense of about an hour the *Kotwal's* report came that all had gone over without disturbance. I then went to Colonel Troup to apologize for what I supposed had been a false and unnecessary alarm that I had caused by my note. But to my surprise I found that far from my note having been out of place or time, it was the first intimation given of the real state of things for within 10 minutes of its rect. (receipt) the native officer of the Regiment had come to the Colonel to beg him to send to all the officers to be prepared as the soldiers would rise within the hour.

52*nd*—What suspended the outbreak on this day it is impossible to determine. It was believed at the time that the Infantry were not prepared to find the Cavalry armed and ready to mount in which state they had been since noon at my request for the purpose of.....[1] the town. The Cavalry were supposed to be for us and possibly many more were on this day for us than stayed by us on the 31st as Mahommud Shufee (Muhammad Shafi), the arch mutineer of the Regiment had been on leave, and to his reduction on return from leave the final defection of the Regiment on the 31st was attributed.

53*rd*—The origin too of the assemblage in the Lines was traceable to a fortuitous cause. While a party of the sepoys were bathing in the Nukatteea (Nakatia), a stream in the rear of cantonments, one of them bantering a recruit in either joke or with serious design said that a poney which the recruit called his own or the *Subahdar's* and which he was then washing, would not be many hours his, as the mutiny which would just take place would cause a change of owners. The recruit possibly out in (search of) the secret rushed back to the Lines and by his report caused the call to arms which my servant had heard and reported to me, and which the native officer reported to Colonel Troup.

54*th*—Whatever were the causes of the suspension, it was evident that in the town the outbreak was expected and I conclude that the disturbance of order did only not occur at the mosques and in the town because the signal had not reached it from cantonment.

[1] The word is illegibly written; perhaps 'guarding' is implied.

55*th*—It is reported that on this day Khan Bahadoor Khan was visited by a deputation from the regiments. Budr-ood-deen states that he made report of this on the same night to the Magistrate but I was not aware of it.

56*th*—On the following morning, the 30th, Khan Bahadoor Khan visited and for the first time told me that the case was hopeless and that the regiments would certainly mutiny. This was the last time that I saw him. He shook hands with me and his last words were significant "*Apni Jan Bachao*" or 'Look out for your life'. My servants similarly, who on former days had said things going on well and been giving accounts as quiet reigned in cantonment and good intelligence had come from Moradabad and Shahjehanpore, now said there was no hope and some hour sooner or later the regiments would break out whatever appearances there might be to the contrary.....[1]

BAREILLY RIPE FOR REVOLUTION

News dated Tuesday, June 29, 1857.

The Englishman has received a letter from Bareilly—'When the news of the revolt at Meerut and Delhi reached that station, it was believed to be impossible to avert an outbreak. The sepoys talked openly of seizing the guns and throwing open the jail containing upwards of 2,000 prisoners, and the surrounding villagers were only waiting the sepoys at Bareilly to take the initiative when all would have been up in arms'.[2]

BAREILLY

REGIMENTS AT BAREILLY DISPOSED TO REVOLT

Bareilly has hitherto been saved from open mutiny by the prompt and judicious steps taken by Colonel Troup in

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly, and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *The Friend of India*, June 4, 1857, p. 535. National Library, Calcutta.

conjunction with the Commissioner, Mr. R. Alexander. The Native Infantry at that place consisting of the 18th and 68th Regiments received the news of the outbreak at Meerut with evident satisfaction. For many days the feeling manifested by them was unmistakably bad, and those best acquainted with the native character saw that the smallest pretext would induce open violence and mutiny. There is no doubt that the sepoys at one time contemplated seizing the guns and breaking open the jail, a central one in which 3,000 prisoners are confined. Under the pressing emergency of the case, the Officer Commanding of the 8th Irregular Cavalry was ordered to increase his Regiment to double its strength as speedily as possible, an order which was promptly acted upon, and in five days the result enabled the Brigadier to send, on the requisition of the Commissioner, a party of well mounted men to Moradabad where the services of Cavalry were most urgently required.

We understand that during the trying days at Bareilly when men lived in an atmosphere of mutiny, the conduct of the 8th Irregulars has been all that could be desired. The safety of life and property may be ascribed to them, and such is no slight matter with reference to a city containing no less than 112,000 inhabitants, with two corps in a state of incipient revolt, and hordes of *Budmashes* anxious to begin the work of slaughter and destruction. At the outset the females at the station were sent off to Nynee-Tal (Naini Tal) where we trust they rest at this moment like their husbands and fathers in safety.

DEATH OF GENERAL ANSON

Since the above was written, tidings of the death of General Anson have been confirmed, and we understand that General Sir Patrick Grant will most likely be brought up from Madras to act as his successor.[1]

* * *

[1] *The Friend of India*, 4th June 1857, p. 531. National Library, Calcutta.

DETAILS OF THE OUTBREAK AT BAREILLY

KHAN BAHADUR PROCLAIMED AS KING

The Hurkaru publishes an account of the mutiny at Bareilly. It appears that directly the sepoys of the 18th and 68th Regiments at that station heard of the revolt at Delhi and Meerut, they grew extremely insubordinate. They were harangued troop by troop but with so little effect, that the sepoys soon began to command their officers. *At length after a short time the plot was ripened by the exertions of a Rajpoot named Jaimall Sing and of Khan Bahadoor the Nawab of the city;* on the 31st the sepoys occupied the treasury, seized the guns and fired grape into the officers' quarters. The Commandant of the Irregular Cavalry at once called them out, and moved off in the direction of Nynee Tal (Naini Tal); but by far the greater portion galloped back to the mutineers *who after releasing all the prisoners proclaimed Khan Bahadoor, King.* The Europeans, who escaped the massacre, which immediately followed by the express command of his newly created Majesty were escorted by the Irregular Cavalry who thus left their wives and families to stand by their officers into Nynee Tal. These men will all be handsomely rewarded.[1]

KHAN BAHADUR—THE SOUL OF THE CONSPIRACY

The important province of Rohilcund, lying east of Oudh and north-west of Delhi, is inhabited by a race of Mahomedan warriors, the descendants of the victorious Affghans who settled in that country nearly a century and half ago. Notwithstanding that lapse of time, they had retained, in all its perfection, their national character; they were brave, treacherous, revengeful, very idle, careless of any occupation save that of a soldier. Hence this race supplied many recruits to our Irregular Cavalry. Its daring, dashing service was peculiarly suited to men of their disposition, and there were always numerous applicants for the vacancies which occurred.

[1] *The Friend of India*, 16th July 1857, p. 681. National Library, Calcutta.

We had three military stations in Rohilcund,—the principal and most important at Bareilly, the chief town of the province. Here, when the Delhi outbreak occurred, were the 8th Irregular Cavalry, the 18th and 68th Native Infantry, and a battery of Native Artillery,—not a single European besides the officers and residents.

From the very day that the news arrived, the Infantry regiments had shown their sympathy with the mutineers. But the 8th Irregular Cavalry, one of the best corps in the army, and commanded by a very gallant officer, Captain Mackenzie, evinced every disposition to continue loyal. So well had the men behaved, and to such an extent were they trusted by all, that Captain Mackenzie was empowered to raise several additional troops for permanent service, and the Lines of the Irregular Cavalry were appointed as the place of rendezvous in the event of an outbreak. That these men were at the time faithful, cannot be doubted : many of them evinced their fidelity shortly afterwards by leaving house and home, wife and children, to the mercy of the insurgents, whilst they followed the fortunes of their officers to the bleak hills of Nynee Tal (Naini Tal). *But the great bulk of the men were unable to resist the combined influences of religion and example*, and the golden prospects held out to them by the tempters. Foremost amongst these was Khan Bahadoor Khan, a pensioner of Government, and the nearest descendant of the famous Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rahmut. This man, in fact, received a double pension, one as the heir of Hafiz Rahmut, the other in his capacity of retired Principal *Sudder Ameen*[1]. He enjoyed the entire confidence of the authorities at Bareilly; he was closeted daily with the Commissioner and the Magistrate, who concerted plans with him for the preservation of order. He was an old, venerable-looking man, with a soft, insinuating answer : his interests were supposed to be bound up with ours. Little did the Magistrate imagine when he announced his conviction that Delhi must fall in a week, that the hearts of the people were with us, and that the Cavalry would remain staunch, that the old man listening apparently so respectfully was laughing in his sleeve, *that he himself was the soul of the conspiracy, that the entire district, and the Infantry Regiments, were ready to rise at a signal from him,*

[1] "Native Judge"—Foot note in the Original.

and that he was busily engaged in seducing the Irregulars by means of Mahomed Sheffie (Muhammad Shafi), a *Resaldar* whom he had gained over to his interests.

But so it was : the hoary traitor had, under the mask of servility, wound himself into our confidence, and he employed the hold which he had thus gained on our authorities to bring about their destruction.

THE STORM BURSTS OVER BAREILLY

All was ready by the end of May. In the morning of the 31st a servant, who had been sent with letters to the post, reported that he had found the office surrounded by armed sepoys, who had torn up the letters : information came from another quarter to the effect *that the sepoys had resolved on rising at eleven O'clock*, and that they had told off parties to each bungalow to murder all their officers. The Cavalry were at once ordered to turn out, but before they could be got ready the revolt had commenced. As the clock sounded eleven, the sepoys of the 68th rushed furiously out of their Lines, seized the guns, and turned them upon the mess-house, firing grape into it. The officers immediately mounted their horses, and, finding it worse than useless to attempt to restore order, rode across the parade ground to the Irregular Cavalry Lines, exposed all the time to a galling fire. At the same time both the 18th and 68th Sepoys went off in parties to execute their murderous commissions. One of these came across Brigadier Sibbald, a fine old soldier, riding towards the Irregulars; they saluted him with a volley which produced instant death. Most of the other officers reached the Cavalry Lines in safety.

There, indeed, had assembled by this time almost all the residents of the station, civilians, military men, merchants, and others. They found Captain Mackenzie and his Adjutant, Lieutenant Beecher, haranguing their men and endeavouring to keep them together; but some were already sneaking off, and the disposition of others seemed doubtful. Colonel Troup, who commanded on the death of the Brigadier, saw at once that they too were gone, and gave the order to retire on Nynee Tal, a hill station a hundred miles distant. Captain Mackenzie, however, was anxious to give his men the opportunity of proving themselves faithful. But he had scarcely returned from taking Colonel Troup's orders than the left wing went bodily off

and joined the mutineers. They halted at the magazine, raised the green flag of Mahomed, and called on the others to join them. In spite of every solicitation of their officers, they obeyed (disobeyed) : out of the entire regiment assembled that day at Bareilly, nineteen only remained faithful, and these escorted their officers and the refugees to Nynee Tal, leaving, as I said before, their property and families behind them. The residents whom choice or accident caused to remain were brutally murdered, Khan Bahadoor Khan himself taking a leading part in the atrocities.

At Moradabad and Shahjehanpore, the two other military stations in Rohilcund, the troops rose almost immediately after. At the former place, indeed, the 29th Native Infantry only joined their comrades when coerced by the arrival of the mutineers from Bareilly; but at Shahjehanpore the 28th revolted with a will, surrounded the Christian residents as they were at church, and murdered almost all of them. A few who escaped managed, after incredible difficulties, to reach the little fort of Mohammerah in Oudh; but, compelled to leave this place of refuge, they endeavoured, under an escort of men believed to be faithful, to make their way towards Lucknow. On the road they were met by the 41st Native Infantry, red with the blood of the Europeans stationed at Seetapore ; by these they were one and all brutally murdered; some of the servants alone escaped to tell the tale.

Meanwhile the mutineers from these three stations having plundered all the treasuries and accumulated enormous quantities of spoil, prepared to take it with them into Delhi. They were about 5000 strong, and had with them 400,000/-£ in silver, laden on country carts. They crossed the Ganges within thirty miles of Meerut. We had in that station a thousand Europeans doing nothing beyond guarding an entrenchment; and yet the General Commanding did not attempt in the slightest degree to interfere with their passage. They even lay at Gurmuckteser (Garhmukteshwar) for some days, whilst they sent over their baggage, and, to keep our men off, sent the General taunting messages that they were about to attack him, a threat which sufficed to make him keep his Europeans within the entrenchment. How the spirits of the gallant young officers, panting to revenge their countrymen, chafed at this inaction, may be imagined. More than one implored the General to permit them to go with even 500 men to attack

the rebels as they were crossing; but he would not hear of it. Meerut, he said, was too important a station to be left undefended. Most true. But there are some cases in which a bold attack is the best defence, and this was one of them. The defeat of the Rohilcund rebels at Gurmuckteser Ghat would have struck terror into the surrounding district, and would have had even a material effect on the siege of Delhi.

But it was not to be : this force, laden with the plunder of Rohilcund, marched within thirty miles of a thousand Europeans, crossed the broadest river in India in boats, traversed the country, exposing their left flank to our inactive forces, and finally reached Delhi on the Ist of July, a very critical period for the garrison of that city,—without a shot having been fired at them in anger.* Let us turn from the contemplation of one of the most disgraceful passages in the whole course of the rebellion to recount the progress and result of the siege of Delhi.[1]

* * *

Translation of a petition addressed to the Governor General by Khan Bahadoor (Bahadur) Khan, dated the 14th February 1860.

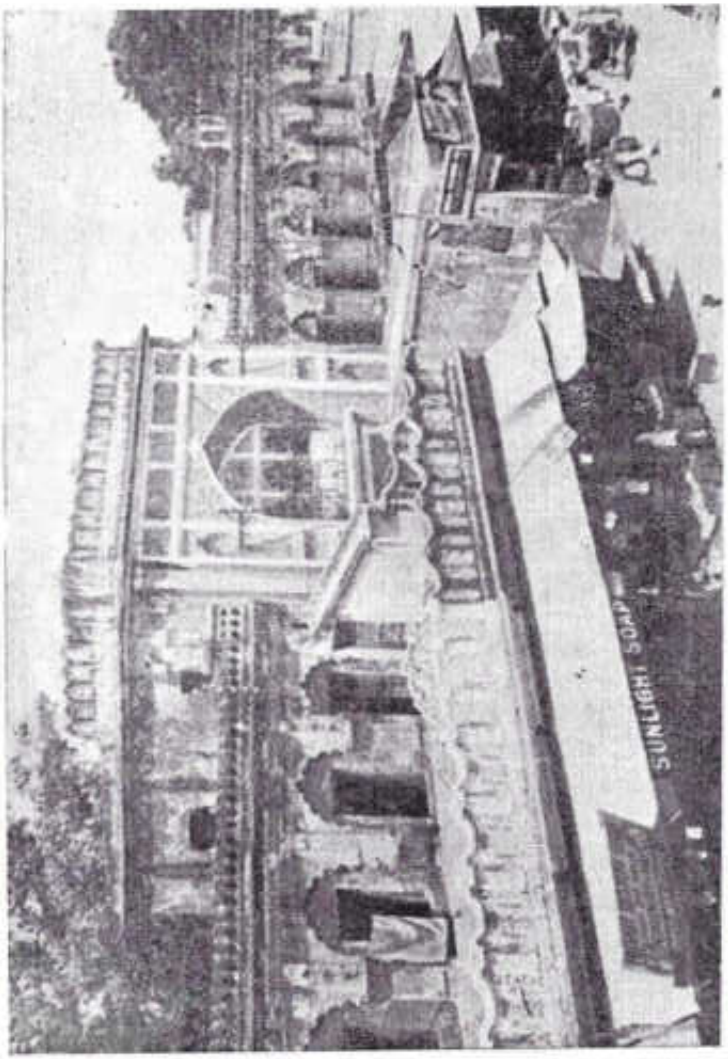
The fact is that on the 31st May 1857 at noon Sheikh Budruddin, the *Kotwal* of Bareilly, said to me "the business of the cantonment is finished." I said "why ? all is well?" He replied "The sepoys have killed as many of the *Sahib log* as they could lay hands on, and the rest have all fled." I asked what had become of the Commissioner and the Collector. He said "I know nothing about them." He then went away. I went into my house, had some food and then lay down. Two *ghurries* (*gharis*) afterwards Madar Ali Khan and others and several women of the family came and said to me that "the sepoys have burned and plundered the cantonment, and are now coming to the city. God knows what dishonor and destruction will befall us. Save us in any way you can.

* "I have not given the name of the General Officer who commanded at Meerut, at the end of June, because it is possible that General Hewitt may have previously left. Whoever he may have been, he deserves to stand in a literary pillory".—Foot-note in the Original.

[1] *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, An Historical Narrative, popularly known as '*Red Pamphlet*' (1857), pp. 197-200.

Because, there is no one older and greater in this family than you, to whom we can tell our condition."

Then to my misfortune it came into my mind that at the *kotwalee* there are 350 servants of the Government, and that I should go there and contrive something in consultation with Budruddin, the *Kotwal*. So I went there on foot and there saw neither any of the Government servants nor the *Kotwal*; but 150 or 200 of the common ignorant people of the city were plundering the *kotwalee* and destroying the Government records which were flying about the city in pieces. Although I forbade them they did not mind me, but plundered whatever they could find. At that time Syed Mean Jan (Saiyid Mian Jan), Syed Fyzullah (Saiyid Faiz-ullah), and Mirun Khan inhabitants of New Muhullah (Nao Mahla) with 10 or 15 men and several dealers of the Bazar came up and expressed a hope that the leaders of the camp might somehow or other be prevented from meddling with the city. I said "I know nothing of any officer of the (rebel) force, that he will attend to what I may say." Mean Jan said "Bukht Khan (Bakht Khan) and several *Rissaldars* constantly came to your mosque for the Friday prayers, and to pay honor to Mean Sahib. They know me, and everybody knows your name. Say the word and I will go and find some way to prevent them." I said "What is better than this ? Mount your horse and go quickly". Then all three said "Whatever supplies you order we will send, but for God's sake save the city from plunder." He went and after two *ghurries* (*gharis*), he came back and said "By means of much begging and flattery I have prevented them from coming to the city, but they said, "Have supplies sent quickly, for all the sepoys have fasted since the morning; and send the Treasurer and Byjenath (Baijnath) to us, for we must have the money of the '*Sahib log*' from them, and until we get an answer we will not ungird our loins." The three quickly sent supplies, and I sent word by them that "supplies are coming, do you ungird your loins, and to-morrow the Treasurer and Byjenath (Baijnath) shall be sent." On this they were satisfied and ungirded their loins, and said that if the Treasurer and Byjenath did not come next day, they would come early and plunder the city and the bankers. Hearing this, in order to quiet the town people, I ordered it to be proclaimed in the city, that now no one was coming. The shopkeepers opened their shops, and the town-people being quieted remained in their houses·



Entrance of old kotwali, the site where Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan ascended the throne

These words were proclaimed by a sweeper as far as the fort, the rest are invented by the person who got up the case. When I turned to go home I heard a noise from the Bazar and saw 100 or 150 of the city *budmashes* and 7 or 8 sepoys with muskets dragging along 3 corpses. When they saw me and many others assembled together, leaving the Cantonment road they brought the corpses to the gate of the *kotwalee* and there threw them down. I then ascertained that they had killed the Judge and Dr. Hay in the house of Moonsiff Chand Hussun (Munsif Chand Hasan), and the Sessions Judge in the house of Aman Ali Khan, and were taking them to the cantonment. When I saw the corpses I was much shocked, but in consequence of the disturbance in the city I could do nothing, and being much ashamed of being there I went away for the purpose of going home. On the side of the old city, I saw a crowd of 70 or 80 men coming along to this side of the small "Sonehri Mosque" where they stopped, and a cry arose that they had taken alive Mr. Henry (Aspinall), the Superintendent of the Stores, with his mother, wife and children, and were bringing them along, but that on arriving here the *budmashes* killed them all. I was still more distressed, and without seeing them went home. I don't know where they took the bodies or what they did with them. Besides these if I know anything of any other *Sahib* or Lady, or other being killed, may I be far from God and the Prophet and Jesus Christ, and be excluded from their grace.

I have no fear or regret at dying for I am two or three years above 80, and most of my contemporaries are dead, and I must die in a year or 6 months. I have received in full the result of my ingratitude and misconduct towards the Government. Now at the time of death shall I tell a lie in the name of God and the prophets and destroy my hopes of a future life ? and when I had heard from the *Kotwal* that no English person remained in the city, I had no idea that any *Sahib* was left, and how then could I give an order to kill any one ? This, as I have described it, happened on the 31st May.

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN ASSURED OF UNANIMOUS SUPPORT

On the Ist June I did not leave my house, but Sobha Ram, Madar Ali Khan, Enayet Alla Khan (Inayet Ullah Khan), Mobaruk Shah Khan, Ahmed Shah Khan, Mean Jan, and

Syud Fyzulla and others, about 40 or 50, came to my door, and calling me against my will began to say that at night Mahomed Shuffee (Muhammad Shafi) and Moulavy Imdad Ali *Rissaldar*, sent by Bukht Khan and other officers of the regiment, had come to them and said "you go in the morning to Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan, and make him agree and consent to this, that his ancestors had a large kingdom, and that he should take possession of it, and the regiments that are here, besides eight or ten other regiments which have mutinied in other places and which we will send for, will all be his servants, and the *zemindars* of this province, a lakh in number will obey his orders." I answered "I will not agree to this, because I am old, and from sickness am unable to ride four or five *koss* on horseback; how can I endure the fatigue of fighting ? Secondly, I have no money to pay followers. Thirdly, all my life I have eaten the salt of the exalted *Sahibs*, and they have conferred on me honor to this extent that whenever Governor General has come here has given me a chair on a level with his own, and has bestowed a valuable *khillut* (*khilat*) upon me. On one side was my chair, and on the other was the Secretary's. Thus you have seen lately how kind Lord Dalhousie was to me. He gave me a *khillut*, and *surpech* and a pearl necklace, and when I went to give *nuzzer*, he rose from his chair and took my hand and said, 'Nawab Sahib, you are now like Roostum and Alexander'. I answered that Roostum and Alexander became famous through the favor of kings; and treated me with such honor, I was certainly not inferior either to Roostum or Alexander. His Lordship was pleased with my reply and gave me *utter* (*itr*) with his own hand, and when he went to see the city he placed my elephant close to his and repeatedly questioned me as to whose house this was, and whose compound that was, and when the Commissioner's elephant was going before mine, His Lordship made a sign that mine was to be foremost. I cannot agree to your proposals or oppose the Government." Then they said "This opposition is not to the Government. The dominion of the Government has ceased. The whole of Hindostan has rebelled against it, and all the English have been destroyed, and others have established their rule. If you do not take up the Government here, your neighbours will do it, and you will regret it all your life." Sobha Ram said "Don't suppose I have no money. First we will collect it from the country, and if there is delay in this

I can give 1,00000 men for a year or two." In this way Mobaruck Shah Khan,[1] and Ahmed Shah Khan and others promised over a lakh of rupees and another 50,000 rupees, and would not listen to my excuses of old age and weakness, saying, "The Chief does not himself fight, the army fights and he only gives the order." While this conversation was going on Bukht Khan and others, about 60 or 70 men came up, and after enquiring after my health Bukht Khan asked Sobha Ram if he had given his message to the Nawab Sahib, and what the answer was. Sobha Ram then repeated our conversation and Bukht Khan said to me, "Do you not give thanks to God that he has given you such a Minister at such a time, who can give you so much encouragement and support ?" I said, "This is true, but I do not perceive that I have power or strength to undertake this heavy burden." Then they all said that a Chief has not to labour in person, but only to give orders, and that whatever trouble and labour was to be borne, they would undertake it. They also said that though I was old, my son would reach manhood in a few years and be fit for work. After

[1] British version of alleged rival claimants :

(*Mubarak Shah vs. Khan Bahadur Khan*—Kaye's *Sepoy War*, Vol. III, pp. 274-275). "There were rival claimants to the Viceroyalty of Rohilkund. Both were of the old stock of Rohilla Pathans—descendants of those hardy semi-Afghan tribes, against whom Warren Hastings sent our trained soldiery at the infamous bidding of the Wuzeer of Oude. One of these pretenders was Khan Bahaudur Khan; the other was named Mobarik Shah. The latter was a man of good family and local influence, and personally possessed of some energy of character. But the former, though older and weaker, had superior claims upon the suffrages of the people, for he was a descendant of that Hafiz Rehmut Khan, who had been the first Pathan ruler of Bareilly, and who had fallen in battle killed by a round shot from an English gun. He had, therefore, all the strength of old historical traditions on his side. That most iniquitous passage of our Anglo-Indian history, to which I have above referred, had never been forgotten in Rohilkund. Generation after generation may pass away, but the memory of blood feuds of this kind is not obliterated by after-years of peace and friendship and honest dealing. So these men came to the front, hating the English, and all the Mahomedans of Bareilly were ready to become their followers. Mobarik Shah, when he heard the firing that indicated the revolt of the soldiery, started at once for the Kotwali to proclaim himself Viceroy; but Khan Bahaudur Khan had anticipated him, and it was plain that the majority of people had accepted him as their chief. So Mobarik Shah, with outward observance of friendship, but with enmity in his heart, joined the party of his rival, who was formally proclaimed."

they had talked in this way for a long while, and I kept refusing, Bukht Khan being puzzled said "Nawab Sahib; I speak in this way to you that you may not lose your kingdom, and that you may not have to regret and repent it all your life long. If you will not agree to our proposal then I will set up Chowdhry Busunt Ram (Basant Ram) in Bareilly, and Thakoor Jymul Singh in Budaon, and the Pawyn (Pawayan)[1] Raja in Pillibheet (Pilibhit) and Sheikh Mahomed Shuffee (Shaikh Muhammad Shafi) and Maulavy Imdad Ali, or some other capable local Chief in Shahjehanpoor, and in eight days make all the *zemindars* obey them." I had not given an answer to this speech when Sobha Ram said "Bukht Khan, say no more of this at present for the Nawab Sahib has already told me all that is in his mind, and I will come to you in the afternoon and explain it all. I feel sure that you will approve." Then they remained silent and shortly afterwards went away. After this the town's people began to arrive in such numbers that I feared for my life and could not answer them. To all who spoke to me I only replied "Very well, very well," because if any word in favor of the Government had escaped from my mouth, they would have abused and insulted me, and would not have let me go. This state of things went on for two or three days.

ENLISTMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCE AT BAREILLY

Sobha Ram did not return to his house, but put up close to my house, in the office of Nityanund Kait (Nitya Nand Kayestha), which is mortgaged to me. First he enlisted town people. Mayutulla[2] Khan and Mullick Gholam Mahomed (Malik Ghulam Muhammad) Khan agreed to raise a regiment each and Surnam Singh raised one. In two or three days many men, Horse and Foot came over from Rampoor under Nyaz Mahomed Khan. I remained like a prisoner in the

[1] *Pawayan*, Pargana and Tahsil *Pawayan*, District *Shahjahanpur*—The town of Pawayan stands near the southern border of the pargana of that name, in 28° 4′ N. and 80° 6′ E., at a distance of 17 miles north-east from Shahjahanpur, with which it is connected by a metalled road and the steam tramway to Mailani. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, 1910, p. 208).

[2] Name not comprehensible; perhaps 'Hayat Ullah' or 'Inayet Ullah' is meant.

hands of these people, and my own old servants had access to me with difficulty. In eight or ten days the horsemen employed by Government at Sumbhul (Sambhal)[1], Amroha[2], Saheswan[3], and other parts of Moradabad, Pillibheet (Pilibhit), Budaon and Shahjehanpoor, who had taken leave and joined in the mutiny, assembled to the number of 6,000 or 7,000 and all the *zemindars* gave in their adherence. Rughonath Singh Takhoor (Raghunath Singh Thakur) asked Sobha Ram to induce me to give him the title of Raja, and put the *Tika* (mark on the forehead) on him, and he promised in that condition to bring a lakh of Rajputs into the service. Thus at his instigation I did everything. Jymul Singh (Jaimal Singh) and the members of his family remained with Sobha Ram, and hundreds of Rajputs came in every day, and threw salt into Ganges water and said that if they deserted the Nawab Sahib they hoped that as the salt dissolved in the water so their bodies might dissolve.[4] Hundreds of Thakoors on horse and foot were employed by Rughonath Singh and Jymul Singh. In short *the people of Bareilly and Rampoor had created such confusion and acquired such power, that they did as they liked.* I was only as a name. One man called himself Commander-in-Chief, and another General, and obliged me to give them *perwanah.* Moolchund (Mul Chand), a "*budmash*" obtained such influence with Sobha Ram that he gave over the entire business of *Dewan* to him, and entrusted him with the collection of money from the

[1] *Sambhal*, Tahsil *Sambhal*, District *Moradabad*—The ancient town of Sambhal stands in 28° 35′ N. and 78° 34′ E., at a distance of 23 miles south-west from Moradabad, with which it is connected by a metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Moradabad, 1911, p. 253).

[2] *Amroha*, Tahsil *Amroha*, District *Moradabad*—The ancient city of Amroha stands in 28° 54′ N. and 78° 28′ E., at a distance of 19 miles west-north-west from Moradabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Moradabad, 1911, p. 175).

[3] *Sahaswan*, Pargana and Tahsil *Sahaswan*, District *Budaun*—The capital of the pargana and the headquarters of the tahsil of the same name is a considerable town standing in 28° 4′ N. and 78° 45′ E., a short distance from the north or left bank of the Mahawa river. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, 1907, p. 238).

[4] Kaye : *A History of the Sepoy War in India* : Vol. 3, pp. 288-290. The alleged communal friction had no existence in June-Aug. 1857 as one is led to believe by Kaye's version. The Nawab had the fullest co-operation of the Thakurs and the Rajputs.

bankers and shop-keepers desiring him to take a loan of 2,000 Rs. from every man who had 10,000 Rs. and give him a bond. After a few days Moolchund took bribes from the rich bankers and shopkeepers and let them go, but imprisoned the small dealers, and took money from them. When I heard of this oppression I insisted upon Sobha Ram imprisoning Moolchund. Mr. Buckley and all the city are aware of his misdeeds and forgery, but it is now a misfortune that being a witness on the part of Government against me there is no witness against him. And Budloo (Badlu), one of the Government witnesses was a servant of Sobha Ram. One day I asked a question of somebody, and this Budloo winked his eye to intimidate him. I saw this and had him thrashed and turned out. Thus all the Government witnesses are either my enemies, or are afraid of the consequences of being (*sic*,–having) stood by me, and of their general conduct during the rebellion. These men have been made Government witnesses, and have been promised indulgence and forgiveness from the Government. And Devy Sahai, the writer or clerk, was my servant for ten or twelve years and lives near my house. At the time when the mutiny broke out, and I left all my goods in my house, he took them all away. For some time he left the city for fear of punishment from the Government in consequence of having been my servant; then he returned and remained concealed; and when he had no further hope of service he got Brij Lal who lives near him in the same quarter, by persuading him that this would be the means of obtaining his own pardon, and Mayat (*sic*,) Ali, a servant of mine whom I had discharged for several faults and had forbidden to enter my house, to come forward and give evidence against me on the charge of wilful murder. He also caused his mother-in-law, and his two brothers, and his servants to give evidence against me. And Chowdry Busunt Ram and Jymul Singh, who have themselves borne witness against me and caused others to do so, for the sake of gaining credit with the Government, considered themselves aggrieved and injured by me, because if I had not brought this misfortune on myself they would have been rulers of the country and Rajahs for a short time. And Salabaddeen[1] Ahmud himself admits that I removed him from his Tehseeldarship, and what greater cause

[1] Appears to be spelt for 'Salabatdin' or 'Salah Uddin'.

of enmity than this could there be ? And Gholam Yahia, although he has been appointed a *Vakeel*, says he was Moolchund's servant; whereas he accompanied me to the Nipal (Nepal) hills, and was there for some months, the servant of Nawab Mohmood (Mahmud) Khan, the Chief of Najeebabad, after which he went home and remained hidden there for some time, and has now by this means been appointed *Vakeel*. In short, of these witnesses, there is not one true or disinterested one. And these very shopkeepers on whose evidence the Commissioners have sentenced me to death deposed that when I heard that the Judge and Dr. Hay had been taken alive in the house of Chand Hussun *Moonsiff* (Chand Hasan *Munsif*), and the Sessions Judge in the house of Aman Ali Khan, I sent and ordered them to be put to death. The Commissioners have discredited this evidence and acquitted me of the murder of those gentlemen, but now on the evidence of those perjured men, they have sentenced me to death for the murder of Mr. Aspinall, his mother, his wife, and his two children. A just ruler does not give an order for execution when there is a suspicion as to the truth of the evidence, but in this case though the witnesses have falsely sworn to the murder of two or three people, the order for my execution is based on their evidence. For God's sake until I can present myself and lay my case before you through an English lawyer let the final order be suspended, and quickly send for me, or else my blood will be shed unjustly, and I shall stick to your skirts on the 'day of judgment'. I have filed a short petition on the record of the trial. I beg that this also may be read.

JANG BAHADUR PRESSED KHAN BAHADUR TO SURRENDER

And Jung Bahadur the ruler of Nipal (Nepal) made me this promise that if I had seized and killed any English gentleman, or lady, or child, or had ordered any men to be killed, he would give me eight days' grace to leave his kingdom and go where I pleased, and would not disturb me, but that if I had done no such thing I might go home satisfied that the Governor General would forgive my rebellion etc. *If I had really committed murder I should in eight days have changed my clothes and hidden myself in some safe place, so that no one could find me; but I swore that I had done no such thing.* Then Jung Bahadur assured me and

desired me to go, saying that he would write favourably of me to the Governor General, and that His Lordship would forgive my faults and be indulgent to me. I know not whether Jung Bahadur has written or not. Now pray be so kind as to send quickly for me, so that in my state of old age, weakness, and sickness, I may escape from this rigorous imprisonment. I have written this petition in a state of sickness, in prison and fetters, with a broken pen and bad ink, and with my own hand. Forgive the faults of bad writing and erasures, for I have not power even to breathe. I have written some words regarding events before my trial and some regarding subsequent events, but I beg that this want of arrangement may not be blamed. Only ascertain my meaning and decide as just kings decide on the faults of their erring slaves. What was written in my destiny has come to pass, and I now pray that Your Lordship will forgive my faults. If any youngman or boy could live by my being killed I should be perfectly pleased, but as this cannot be, for the sake of God and Jesus Christ let me escape.[1]

* * *

From Colonel Troup to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Nynee Tal (Naini Tal) June 10, 1857.

SIGNS OF THE OUTBREAK

During Sunday morning the 31st ultimo, Major Pearson, commanding the 18th, called upon me, and assured me that his men were all right, and that he had every confidence in them, at the very moment that I knew almost for a certainty that within two hours his regiment would be in open mutiny. It, however, did not at all surprise me, for the previous day I had been equally assured by Captain Kirby, commanding the Artillery, that he had no reason to doubt his men, although at the very time of his so assuring me, I was aware that his *Pay-Havildar had addressed a letter to the* 18*th and* 68*th Regiments, urging them by the most sacred oaths to rise and murder their European officers, stating that such has been done at all the other stations, and*

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 16th March 1860, No. 39. National Archives, New Delhi.

that if they would not do so, the Hindoos were to consider that they had eaten beef and the Mussulmans pork.

About 7 O'clock, or perhaps between 7 and 8 O'clock, on Sunday morning the 31st ultimo, the late Brigadier Sibbald, C. B., wrote to his Brigade-Major, Captain Brownlow, who was living with me, to the following effect : How is it to-day ? I hear all does not look well, what does Troup say ? Captain Brownlow and all the other officers were in full possession of my opinion, which were patent to the whole community of Bareilly.

About 10 O'clock Captain Brownlow and myself proceeded to breakfast, and being quite convinced that the conclusions I had drawn were correct, and that he was under a miserable delusion, during breakfast I continued to urge them upon him, when at last about half-past 10 or perhaps twenty minutes to 11 O'clock the fatal hour named for the murder of every European in the place, he said he would go over to Lieutenant Gowan, the Adjutant of the 18th Regiment, who lived within a short distance of my house, and find out from him what was going on. Lieutenant Gowan was one of the best officers I have ever seen, and was intimately acquainted with all that was passing in his regiment and quite agreed with me in all my views.

Captain Brownlow, on leaving, promised to return, but never did so, and in waiting for him, I did not quit my house until within five minutes of 11 O'clock, and only then left it on being urged to do so by my servants. I had hardly got out of my house when a gun was fired by the Artillery, which was followed by the report of musketry, which, with the yells of the men, was heard in every direction. I ran on foot towards the Irregular Cavalry Lines, and in passing through Captain Mackenzie's compound on my way to them, I found that Captain Brownlow was safe in Captain Mackenzie's house : I forget now what he said, or what reason he gave for not returning to me as he had promised, or whether he had seen Lieutenant Gowan or not, nor am I aware of what, or if any means were adopted by him for communicating with his Brigadier, he said that he had written me a note, which note I received after I had reached Captain Mackenzie's compound.

EUROPEAN'S FLIGHT TO NAINI TAL

On my arrival at the 8th Irregular Cavalry Lines I found

Mrs[1]. Alexander, the Commissioner, and several other gentlemen, Civil and Military, assembled there, and after waiting for a considerable time, during which the work of murder and destruction was being carried on by the mutineers, the Cavalry appeared to take a most unusually long time in getting ready, considering that some time previous to the revolt they had been ordered by Captain Mackenzie to do so. All assembled agreed that there was nothing for it but to retire on Nynee Tal (Naini Tal), and after considerable delay, seeing some of the Cavalryformed up, I desired them to follow me, which they appeared to do readily enough; but we had hardly got in motion, when Captain Mackenzie halted them, and to make use of his own words said to me, that the men wished to have a crack at the mutineers : to which I replied, 'I do not think it is of any use, but just do as you please'. He then took his men back to the mutineers; the result of doing so I fully anticipated, and which is too well told in Captain Mackenzie's report to require any comment from me.

On the Cavalry proceeding with Captain Mackenzie towards the mutineers, most of the gentlemen present then agreed to stand by each other, and endeavour to push our way to Nynee Tal, and we knew our only safety depended upon our putting distance between the insurgents so as to prevent the news of the revolt getting ahead of us, or of their having time to think of us; we moved off at a brisk pace and got a considerable distance on our road before we were joined by Captain Mackenzie and the other officers, and the remnant of his regiment.[2]

BRITISH VERSION OF THE OUTBREAK AT BAREILLY

Narrative of Occurrences by J. F. D. Inglis, dated Bareilly, 30th November 1858.

During the months of April and May, various reports were in circulation throughout the district, all tending to incense the minds of the people against the English Government; and to impress them with the idea that attempts were about to

[1] Appears a misprint for 'Mr'.
[2] Further Papers relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 73, pp. 139–40.

be made to destroy their caste, and ultimately compel them to embrace the Christian religion. The native regiments at Bareilly were kept in order for some time by the skilful management of their officers, but on the 31st May 1857, they rose in open mutiny. The ladies and children had previously been sent to Nainee Tal (Naini Tal), but some of the merchants and clerks had delayed to send off their families, and most of the women and children who were here at the time of the outbreak were murdered by the mob.

The leading Mahomedans of the city, were fully aware of the intention of the troops, and had prepared the people to join in the rebellion against the British Government....

There were two men at[1] Bareilly whom the Pathans of Rohilcund looked up to as leaders, one was Mobarek Shah Khan (Mubarak Shah Khan), the other Khan Bahadoor Khan. Mobarek Shah Khan had great hopes of being able to secure the chief authority for himself; his wealth and influence with the clan of the Pathans, of which he was the chief seemed to warrant his hopes; he thought that by at once declaring himself he might secure the *Musnud* before Khan Bahadoor Khan, who was a man of very little personal energy, though of much influence among the Pathans, from his descent from Hafiz Remut Khan (Hafiz Rahmat Khan), the Pathan ruler of Bareilly, and uncle of Mahomed Ali Khan the founder of the Mahomedan rule in Rohilcund or Kuthair (Katihar) as it was then called. Mobarek Shah Khan, an energetic decided man, on hearing the firing in cantonments, left his house accompanied by about 500 of his friends and relations, and took the road to the *cotwali*, with the intention of declaring himself *Nawab Nazim* of Bareilly under the King of Delhi; he had previously intrigued with Bukt Khan (Bakht Khan) the leader of the mutinous *sepahis*, with this object. On his way he met Khan Bahadoor also going to the *cotwali*. Khan Bahadoor was supported by the Syuds of the Naomehla (Nao Mahla), a very influential body of men, and by the Mahomedans of the old city; his claims also by descent were far superior to those of Mobarek Shah Khan, and the latter at once saw that he must yield. He therefore gave up his intention of seizing the Government for himself, and became one of Khan Bahadoor's

[1] In the printed narrative it is 'in'.

most active supporters. An impromptu *Musnud* was erected at the *cotwali* covered with shawls etc., and Madar Ali Khan, speaking in the name of the Pathans of Rohilcund, called upon Khan Bahadoor to seat himself upon it, and declare himself ruler, under the King of Delhi. A *Mohumdi Jhunda* or flag was then set up in front of the *cotwali*, and a *pucka chubowtra* (*chabutra*) built in front of it, on which incense was burnt.

As soon as Khan Bahadoor was installed proclamations notifying the event were issued throughout the city. The records in the *cotwali* were burnt. The Government uniform was taken from the *Burkundazes*, and the money in the *Mal Khana* plundered. About this time information was given to Khan Bahadoor that some English gentlemen were concealed in the houses of Hamid Hussan *Monsiff* (Hamid Hasan *Munsif*) and Aman Ali Khan; he at once ordered a party to be sent to kill them; before these men got there, the mob of city headed by Fuzloo (Fazlu), a well known bad character, had broken into the houses and murdered the English gentlemen. Khan Bahadoor then issued a proclamation directing that every European should be put to death, and threatening death to any one who should give shelter to them. Ahmed[1] Hussan was then appointed *Cotwal* in the place of Budr-oddeen (Badr-uddin) who had gone away with the Commissioner and other gentlemen to Nainee Tal.[2]

SHAHJAHANPUR

OUTBREAK AT SHAHJAHANPUR

REVOLT OF 28TH N. I.

...At Shahjehanpor, the 28th N. I. have revolted. They have murdered a large number of their officers and the Magistrate, Mr. Mordaunt Ricketts.[3]

* * *

[1] In the printed narrative the name occurs as 'Hamid Hussan'.

[2] Department—XXIV, File : "Narrative of the Outbreak of Disturbances at Bareilly"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Bareilly District*, pp. 1-2.

[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 25th June 1857, p. 203. National Library, Calcutta.

Narrative of the Mutiny at Shahjehanpore (Shahjahanpur), and escape of the survivors to Mahmodie (Muhamdi), as given by Issory Sing (Ishwari Singh), a Sepoy of the Light Company, late 28th N. I.

SHAHJAHANPUR MASSACRE

On the morning of May 31st (1857) I had returned from the Post Office about half past seven and gave letters to the Captain Sahib (Sneyd). Captain Lysut (Lysoght) Sahib, and the *Mem Saheb* had gone to Church; when I came, the *Koth-Havildar* of the 8th Company (Sewchurn Rae[1]) was speaking on business to the *Captaan Sahib*.

Just as he had gone, I observed a *hullah* in the direction of the Church, all the *buggies* were going away. The *Captaan Sahib* said 'there is a *hullah*, what is it ?' Mahommed Buksh (Muhammad Bakhsh) came running from the garden and said "there is a *hullah* in the Church, *tulwar chultee*."

The *Captaan Sahib* rushed into his room, and brought out two loaded guns, one of which he gave to me saying 'you come after me.' We ran off, and Mahommed Buksh and Goolzar (Gulzar) came with us. When we reached the *howj* the *Captaan Sahib* said to me 'Fire', and he fired with me; then the men at the Church ran away; they were 20 or 22 in number, and had *tulwars*.

When we came up to the Church it was all shut up, and the *Captaan Sahib* cried through the door telling the people to come out; and Captaan Lysut Sahib came out. When the sepoys attacked the Church, Spene Sahib looked out, and received a cut on his head which bled very much. A *Keranee* had the lower part of his face cut away by a *tulwar;* I saw him outside the Church merely breathing. His daughter was with him. I do not know what became of them in the confusion. Ricketts Sahib ran out of the vestry door, was pursued by a sepoy (Jawaheer Rae 1st Co.) and killed by a single blow of a *tulwar* on the back of the neck. His body was lying on its face about 15 yards from the door. The...(illegible)[2] driving to the Church from Key Sahib's house. In the carriage were his *Mem Sahib*, *beebee* Key, and an English maid. When the

[1] Spelt for 'Shiva Charan Rai'.

[2] Due to overwriting the words are illegible.

carriage came up to the Hospital, the Doctor Sahib was shot from the Lines in his left side; he still drove on up to the Church, and then falling off dead was caught by me. *Captaan Sahib* said 'lay him down; he is dead.'

I was sent to bring up the Light Company at the double; they came, and then we and the *Sahibs* went to the guns; the *Captaan Sahib* cried out 'take the guns,' then the *Golundaze* began to load them, upon which we all went back to the Church; while we were away all the *Sirdars* of the Regiment remained with the ladies at the Church, but when we returned, they all gradually left us, and so did the men of the Light Company, 18 men only remaining.

After the attack upon the Church the attacking sepoys ran away to the Lines crying out that the city Pathans were murdering the *Sahib logh* (*log*). The Regiment at once drew up upon the parade, the *Naicks* defended the bells of arms, but they were soon forced, as also, the magazine. At this time Captaan Jeems (James) Sahib rode on the parade ground, and cried out '*baba-logh, kya hai, kya hai*' ? Purdara Sing Havildar-Major cried out to him to go away, or he would be killed. The *Captaan Sahib* (James) then turned to go away, and in the act of retiring was shot by two men Jawaheer Rae (the murderer of Mr. Ricketts) and Lutchmun Sing (Lachhman Singh) 5th Co. (Company), and fell upon the parade between the Lines of the Grenadier Co. (Company), and the jail.

After the death of the Doctor Sahib, the *Mem Sahibs* were put into the carriage which was driven off in the direction of the Major Sahib's (Powell) house, and was followed by the *budmashes* who were kept at bay by the *Sahibs* and eighteen sepoys who went with them.

The *budmashes* followed us beyond the Major Sahib's house, and then returned to pillage and burn it. Captaan Sneyd Sahib wished to go to Futtehgurh, but Captaan Lysut Sahib wished to go to Powaen (Pawayan), and it was decided that we should go there. The *Sahibs* saved nothing but what was on their backs, and we had nothing save our *meerjaies*, *dhoties*, and *topees*. We left Shahjehanpore about nine, and reached Powaen about four, and were not molested on the road. Once we stopped to rest under a tree beside a well close to a village, and the *bunniahs* gave us some *cheenie* (*chini*) which we and the *Sahibs* mixed with water and drank. With the *Sahibs* were a carriage and *buggy*, and two horses; the ladies

were in the *gharries* (*garis*) and when the *Sahibs* were tired they rode.

Captain Sneyd, Lysut, and Jammun (Salmon), Sahibs walked all the way. Hyder, the *Captain Sahib's bheestee* (*bhishti*) accompanied us with his *mussuck* (*mashak*) and remained unto the end.

Captain Sneyd Sahib walked beside me, and said on the road, stroking me at the same time on the back, "you have been long a brother to me, if God spares me, I will take care of you." When we arrived at Powaen, the village people turned out in great numbers to see us, and we had our muskets loaded in readiness.

We went straight to the Rajah's Palace, who came out at once, and spoke to Captain Lysut Sahib shaking hands with him. He gave a room to the ladies, and had a *punkah* (*pankha*) pulled for them, he gave *pugrees* to the gentlemen, and sweetmeats to us, and ordered dinner for the *Sahibs*.

Then he went away, and came to see us again in the evening. About 10 O'clock the Rajah's *Vakeel* came and said that we must go away next morning as he (the Rajah) feared an attack....[1]

* * *

Wylie's version of the Outbreak at Shahjahanpur.

CHURCH SURROUNDED BY REVOLUTIONARIES, EUROPEANS' FLIGHT TO PAWAYAN

On the 31st of May, 1857, Sunday, the mutiny broke out at Shahjehanpore. Most of the officers and ladies of the station were assembled at Church, when the building was suddenly surrounded by rebel sepoys, who, rushing in, murdered many of the congregation. Some, however, of the officers and ladies succeeded in obtaining refuge in the vestry and turret of the Church, securing the doors after them. Fortunately the sepoys were only armed with swords and *lattees* (*lathis*), and their efforts to break open the doors being unsuccessful, they withdrew to their Lines for the purpose of arming themselves with

[1] *The Friend of India*, 3rd March 1859, p. 202. National Library, Calcutta.

their muskets, and returning to their attack. Seizing upon the opportunity of escape thus afforded to them, the officers and ladies sallied out of the Church and hastily availing themselves of some carriages and horses, still waiting outside, made the best of their way to Powaeen (Pawayan), the residence of a Rajah and situated on the frontier of Oudh, but within the Shahjehanpore District. *The party was ill-received by the Rajah, who, urging his inability, real or pretended, to protect them, refused them shelter.*[1] Mr. Jenkins, the junior Magistrate of Shahjehanpore and one of the party, on his arrival at Powaeen wrote to Mr. Thomason, the Deputy Commissioner at Mohamdee, in Oudh, giving him notice of what had occurred at Shahjehanpore and begging him to send all available carriage to enable the party to reach Mohamdee. Mr. Thomason received the letter at the hands of runner on the evening of the 31st May, and immediately complied with Mr. Jenkins' request.

PEOPLE AT MUHAMDI AGITATED

Previous to this period, matters had been wearing a gloomy aspect at Mohamdee. It is true that the *dawks* were still running, but it had become evident that the minds of the native population were greatly agitated. At the station were Mr. Thomason, the Deputy Commissioner of the Mohamdee District, and Captain Patrick Orr, Assistant Commissioner, with Mrs. Orr and child. Of troops, there were two Companies of the 9th Regiment Oudh Irregular Force, two Companies of the Oudh Military Police, with about fifty troopers of Irregular Cavalry.

MUHAMDI THREATENED

On the receipt of Mr. Jenkins' letter, both Mr. Thomason and Captain Orr felt that the crisis was at hand, and that the mutineers of the 28th Regt. N. I. from Shahjehanpore, would shortly reach Mohamdee, attracted thither by the hope of securing for themselves, the contents of the Government Treasury. It was therefore at once resolved that Mrs. Orr

[1] *cf. The Friend of India*, 3rd March 1859, p. 202, paragraph : 'We went straight.... sahibs'. (p. 197 of this book).

should be sent immediately to Mythowlie (Mithauli)[1], under the care of the Rajah of that place; a man, who not only had been treated with much consideration by Mr. Thomason, but who was indebted to Captain Orr for many acts of kindness shown to him by that officer before the country had passed under British Rule. It was also resolved that the Civil Officers together with their clerks, should withdraw from the station to the fort of Mohamdee, distant about one mile. This fort had since annexation been made use of as a treasury, as well as a jail. Mr. Thomason even hoped that he might, in case of necessity, by strengthening the fort and calling for assistance from the neighbouring *zemindars*, defend the place against the attacks of the rebels; but it was soon found that the building was in too dilapidated a state to admit of its being speedily repaired so sufficiently, as to render it secure against the efforts of a determined foe.

FLIGHT OF ORR'S FAMILY TO MITHAULI

On the night then of the 31st May, 1857, Mrs. Orr, accompanied by an escort of the 9th Regiment Oudh Irregular Force, under command of Ishuree Singh (Ishwari Singh), *Soobadar*, left Mohamdee; the men having previously sworn to defend with their lives Mrs. Orr and her child. The small party marched all night, a distance of about twenty-six miles, and reached Mythowlie (Mithauli) on the morning of the 1st June about 8 O'clock. On her arrival at the fort of the Rajah, Mrs. Orr was told that he was asleep and could not, on any account, be disturbed. At the expiration of two long hours, the Rajah sent his *vakeel* or head-man with a message to Mrs. Orr, that she should proceed to another of his forts, at a place called "Kutchianee," situated in a dense jungle, and consequently, as he observed, less likely to attract the attention of the bands of sepoys who, it was expected, would be shortly over-running the country. Finding all remonstrances useless, Mrs. Orr proceeded with her escort to the Kutchianee fort, within which a place was pointed out for her own accommodation and another for that of the Guard. It was a most dreary,

[1] *Mithauli* is 102 miles north of Lucknow.

desolate looking building, devoid of the most common articles of furniture and presenting a picture of the utmost discomfort.[1]

* * *

Deposition of Meer Kasim Allee (Mir Qasim Ali) Native Doctor attached to the Regimental Hospital of the 28th Regt. N. I.

My name is Meer Kasim Alee. My father's name is Mukhsoom Alee (Maqsum Ali). I am an inhabitant of the village of Chubye[2] *zh.* (*zilla*) Azimgurh. I was Native Doctor attached to the Regimental Hospital of the 28th Regt. N. I. at Shahjehanpoor. On Sunday morning the 31st May as I was in the Hospital, Ruhmut Alee Khan (Rahmat Ali Khan) *Havildar* of the Grenadier ompany came in and told me that the mutinous sepoys had attacked the gentlemen who were assembled at Church. As I got outside, I heard a great noise upon which I was off towards the doctor's house, and met him driving to the Church; but before reaching it he received a shot from somebody who lay concealed. I was afterwards seized by some of the mutineers and accused of having conveyed information of their intentions to the Doctor, but on my saying that I had been with him prior to the outbreak they released me. I was again seized by Ghunsam Sing (Ghanshyam Singh) *Subadar* and told to attend to a man who was wounded. The wounded man I recognized to be Sheochurn Sing (Shivcharan Singh) of the 2d. Co. (2nd Company) who said that he had been wounded at the Church. I did not dress his wounds as all the medicine etc., had been plundered. The needful was however done by Mudaree Sing (Madari Singh), Native Doctor who was son-in-law to Ghunsam Sing the above named *Subadar*, and with whom he went off. I did not see any of the gentlemen murdered. Nor do I know the names of the murdered, but Bhikun Khan Dresser does (know). However, I know that Mr. Ricketts C. S, Mr. Lallemund (i. e. Lemaistre)[3] Magt.'s (Magistrate's) clerk, Captn. (Captain) James, and D. Howling were murdered. I saw their bodies being carried for interment on the follg. (following) morning. I am not aware as

[1] Wylie, M. : *The English Captives in Oudh*, 1858, pp. 1-3.
[2] Not clearly decipherable.
[3] *Ibid.*

to who were the originators of the mutiny as only a few days before the outbreak, I was transferred to the Regimental Hospital, and had not sufficient time to become acquainted with anything that was going on. Jowahir Rae (Jawahar Rai) Sepoy 1 Co. 1st Company) was not in Hospital as stated by him in his defence; but was among the party that attacked the Church. I was told of his having joined the mutineers by Bhikun Khan, who is well acquainted with all the facts.[1]

* * *

Report by J. H. Chamberlain, Asstt. General Superintendent, dated Lucknow, 13th Oct. 1860.
Extract from the Trial Proceedings, Government vs. Nanku and Shiv Charan.

1*st*—I propose to trust the cases of the criminals separately, insofar as the proofs of their guilt and the story they individually record to support their innocence is concerned, though, a few words I believe are necessary to exemplify the history of the affair in which they took part, and wherein also their particular guilt lies. The story has been often repeated, so I shall content myself by saying that whilst the majority of the officers (Civil and Mily.) with their family were at Church, a body of the men of the 28th Regt. (who were evidently the leaders of the rebel spirit in the corps) suddenly attacked them, doing their utmost to effect an entrance into the building.

2*nd*—This was partially effected when Captain Sneyd, attended by his faithful orderly, the witness Eesoorie (Ishwari), rushed from the bungalow he was then occupying conjointly with Captain Lysoght to give them rescue. As they were approaching the building, Mr. Ricketts, the Magistrate, rushed from the Church towards his house closely pursued by Jowahir Rae (since executed in Feby. last at Lucknow) who with one blow of his *tulwar* nearly severed the unfortunate gentleman's head killing him dead. The report of Captain Sneyd's and Eesoorie Singh's fire-arms unexpectedly disclosed to the murderer band the fact of their hellish pursuit being interrupted; foiled in their object they broke up into different bodies, and bolted for their Lines. Some openly crossed the intervening space

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Nanku and Shiv Charan Singh.*" Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

between the Church and the Lines; others, taking advantage of shelter offered by the hedge of a neighbouring compound effected their retreat to the Lines noticed but not identified by Eesoorie Singh. He recognized 17 men, who are named in Colonel Abbott's Proceedings at the trial held on 2nd March last. The Pris. (prisoner) Nankoo is the last of that list.

3*rd*—Seetul (Sital) Singh, Captain Lysoght's orderly, also went to the Church to give his officer arms and assistance. Meanwhile Eesoorie Singh (Captain Sneyd's orderly) was sent to summon the faithful men of the Light Company to the aid of their Captain and to this temporary absence of Eesoorie must alone be due the fact that in regard to some of the prisoners and facts deposed to by Seetul Singh, whilst he does not deny their validity he simply rests on the circumstance of his not seeing Seetul at the Church, they slightly differ.[1]

* * *

Translation of Deposition of Bhikun Khan (Bhikan Khan), Dresser in the Hospital of the 28th N. I. on Oath by Act 5 of 1840.

ROLE OF JAWAHAR RAI AND OTHERS

My father's name is Khoda Bux Khan (Khuda Bakhsh Khan). I am a Pathan. My age is 30 years. I am an inhabitant of Ukbarahbad (Akbarabad) or Agra. At present I am employed in the Civil Hospital at Shahjehanpore. On the day of the mutiny (31st May/57 Sunday) I was proceeding to my house to have my dinner when all of a sudden I heard a great noise and looking towards the Church saw a host of sepoys rushing out of the building armed with swords and sticks. Among the number were sepoys Jowahir Roy (Jawahar Rai) Gunga Doobey (Ganga Dube) and Narain Panday and 7 others whose names I do not recollect. On their coming into the Lines the whole Regiment turned out and began burning the officers' bungalows. I met sepoy Seo Churn Singh (Shiva Charan Singh) of the 2d Co. (2nd Company) who was wounded in the Church and he told me that Captain James had been killed on the Parade and the Doctor shot whilst proceeding to

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Nanku and Shiv Charan Singh.*" Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

the Church from his house. I don't know who murdered the above gentlemen. The Magistrate was murdered by some one of those sepoys in the Church. The sepoys that retd.[1] from the Church had bloody swords in their hands but I did not approach them as I was very alarmed. Jowahir Roy (Jawahar Rai) was not sick at the time of the outbreak. He appears to me to have been a party to the massacre. When seen by me with the others he was returning from the Church.[2]

* * *

Copy of Letter from Assist. General Superintendent to the Magistrate of Shahjahanpur, dated Lucknow, 12th October 1857.

MAP OF SHAHJAHANPUR MILITARY STATION

Will you kindly oblige me with a sketch map of the Milty. Station of Shajehanpore.

The positions most needed are the following : 1. *Church*—with spot where Mr. Ricketts, C. S., was murdered, described to be 10 paces N. E. angle.

2. *Cap.* (*Captain*) *Sneyd's house*, which was close to the church, a road with wales[3] dividing the compounds.

3. *The Regimental Sepoy Lines* with reference to their position with the Church, and also the

4. *Regimental Hospital* to both—

5. *Mr. Ricketts' house.*

6. *The Treasury.*

7. *The Jail.*

8. And the *house occupied by Captain James*, said to have been situated close to the *Zilla Jail.*

The map will simplify the trials very much at the Sessions but I shall not wait for it to commit the Criminals, tho. (though) I hope you will aid me in sending what I want soon.

The Native Doctor and Dresser at the Dispensary formerly attached to the 28th will be able to give you a lot of valuable information connected with the circumstances of

[1] Abbreviated for either 'retired' or 'returned'.

[2] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Nanku and Shiv Charan Singh.*" Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[3] The word appears to have no sense here, perhaps misspelt for 'walls'.

Mr. Ricketts' body being seen by them, where they formed[1] it and where the different houses stood and by whom inhabited. I write not knowing whether any traces of the houses are left or whether their sites are only marked by shapeless mounds.[2]

* * *

Defence of Seochurn Singh (Shiva Charan Singh) son of Toruntah Singh, Caste Bys (Bais) Rajpoot, resident of Paru, Perg. Rath, Thannah (Thana) Budursah, Zilla (Zila) Fyzabad (Faizabad) Age 32*—Defendant, made 3rd August* 1860.

States on being asked what he knows:—

"I was with my Regiment, the 28th at Shajehanpore when it mutinied—(1) *Jowahir Rae*—a Bhut by Caste—and Sepoy of the Ist Company led the men to the mutiny, (2) *Mahadeo* Sepoy Gr. (Grenadier) Co. (Company), (3) *Ramnarain Doobey* Sepoy Ist Co., (4) *Binda Singh*, Thakoor, Sepoy 3rd Co., (5) *Ramadeen Singh* Sepoy 3rd Co. commenced the mutiny. I was then standing together in the grove (*Bagheecha*) where the Station Church was. There was a report made in the Lines that the Mussulmen of the town and some of the men of the Regiment had murdered 3 of the gentlemen at the Church. On this the whole Regiment turned out and armed. (On being told he was arrested for participating actively in this attack at the Church and concurring by his presence in the murders, there and then effected, Prisoner states) I knew nothing whatever of the Regiment having mutinied, nor had anyone told me they would do so. I had gone to the rear and was on my way back to my Lines when Jowahir Rae met me in the Church compound under a tree, and desired me to stand still. I objected to do so. On this he abused me and threatened to do me bodily harm if I attempted to move. Hearing this intimidation I ran off. He pursued me and cut me across my right leg with his *tulwar*. Finding myself wounded I made off as fast as I could run to the Lines—reaching which I fell. When the Regiment marched for Delhi via Bareilly I was put upon a hackery.

[1] 'Formed' appears wrongly used here. It must be 'found'.

[2] Extract of a letter in the Case *Government vs. Jawahar Rai.* Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

I ran into the Lines between the Ist and 2nd Company Centres from the Church. The spot where I met Jowahir Rae in the Church Compound might be about 30 paces or so south of the Church. My wound was dressed at the 2nd march from Shajehanpore. At first I tied my wound up with my *Ungochha* (answers to a Towel with Hindoos).

There was another Seochurn (Shiva Charan) besides myself in the 2nd Company. He was a *Naick* but I was the only sepoy of that name in the Company."[1]

* * *

Translation of Deposition taken on Oath on the of (sic,) 2nd July 1860 *of Seetal Singh (Sital Singh), Sepoy Grenadier Company, 28th Regiment Native Infantry and now Color Havildar 4th Regiment N. I., son of Bissain Singh (Bisen Singh) resident of Village Surkoujah, Pargana Hassunpoor (Hasanpur), Zillah (Zila) Sultanpur, Caste Rajput.*

I recognize the prisoner shown me. He is Seochurn Singh; was with me in the 28th Regt. and belonged to the 2d (2nd) Company. He was a sepoy.

On the day the mutiny broke out at Shajehanpore this man was with the band of mutineers who attacked the Church. He was armed with a club. Captain Sneyd, Eesorie Singh (Ishwari Singh) and myself went to the Church to render assistance. I saw him running hard from the Church for the Regimental Lines. He had the club in his hands. I did not see Seochurn strike any gentleman.[2]

* * *

Translation of Deposition on Oath, made on the 2nd of August 1860 *by Eesoori Singh (Ishwari Singh) formerly Sepoy Light Company 28th N. I., now Havildar of the Mynpoory (Mainpuri) Levy, son of Ramnath Singh, resident of Darriapoor (Daryapur), Arrah, Caste Rajput.*

I recognize the Prisoner. His name is Seochurn Singh. He was a sepoy in the 2d. Company 28th Regt. (Pultun Stuffur[3]).

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Nanku and Shiv Charan Singh.*" Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] The word appears to make no sense.

I have not seen him since the day the Regiment mutinied at Shajehanpore. I cannot swear that he accompanied the mutineers to the Church when they attacked it. I did not recognize him among them. Seetal Singh and I were not together. I was with Captain Sneyd. I have only heard from Seetal Singh that this man was with the attacking party. I did not hear his name mentioned by the gentlemen.[1]

BRITISH VERSION OF THE OUTBREAK IN SHAHJAHANPUR

Letter No. 21 *of* 1858 *from G. P. Money, Magistrate and Collector of Shahjahanpur, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, dated 9th September* 1858.

INDIAN TROOPS SYMPATHETIC TO REVOLT AT OTHER PLACES

Para 2—Intelligence of the Meerut and Delhie outbreak reached Shahjehanpoor towards the middle of May 1857, and about that time, one or two incendiaries[2] occurred, which clearly showed the Civil and Military Authorities, *that the native troops sympathised with the mutinous acts at other stations*, and the attention of the authorities was keenly roused by the reports which continually reached them of the manner in which the sepoys talked of the new cartridges that had been served out to the men. There were also idle stories circulated about the "*Otta*" (*ata*) which they were using for their food, and which was said to be mixed with pounded bones.

PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES BY THE BRITISH

Para 3—On the 25th May, the first day of the Eede (Id) festival, the sepoys told their officers, that they had heard a rumour, that the next day being the occasion of a large annual fair called "*Cheenour ka Mela*," (which was held near cantonments by a village of that name and close to the burial ground of some of the principal Puthans) the city people intended to plunder the Government Treasury. The Officer Commanding

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Nanku and Shiv Charan Singh*". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.
[2] Should be 'cases of incendiarism'.

the Regiment, thinking it would show the sepoys that they still put confidence in them, ordered the several station guards to be increased, and the sentries to be doubled.

SEPOYS GET SUSPICIOUS

Para 4—This order appears to have had quite a contrary effect to that intended, for the sepoys immediately caught hold of it as a grievance, and said that they were being punished for refusing to bite the cartridges. Mr. Ricketts, hearing this, went to the Officer Commanding, and suggested, that the extra sentry should be taken off; but he was told in reply that, the order could not then be cancelled, as it had been entered in the Order Book, but that the following day, as the fair would be over, the extra sentries should be removed.

Para 5—Two or three days previous to the outbreak, the following circumstance occurred, which plainly shewed the state of feeling among the sepoys. A bill to the amount of 2,000 Rupees was cashed, and as the money was being taken out of the treasury, the sentry was heard to (say) "I will let the money go this time, but no more shall be taken out." The above was brought to the notice of the Magistrate by the Deputy Collector, Hamid Hussun Khan, but it does not appear that any further notice was taken of the matter, probably from the fear of precipitating events. This state of things went on until the eventful morning of Sunday 31st May, when the Regiment broke out into open mutiny and commenced the murderous attack upon the Europeans, who were, at the time, assembled in the Church. This circumstance has been fully related by the late Mr. Jenkins in his letter to Secretary to Government North-Western Provinces, written from Mohomdee (Muhamdi) on 2nd June. . . .

THE OUTBREAK

Para 8—Whilst the party were outside the Church, the mutinous sepoys kept firing at them from some distance, but did not make any advances upon the small number of Europeans assembled, their chief object, after the first outbreak, apparently, being the plunder of the Government Treasury and in which direction they were seen hastening in separate parties. As soon as the bungalows were set on fire, and there being no

longer any hope of successful opposition, Mr. Jenkins told the *Tuhseeldar*, that he purposed proceeding to Powayan with the rest of the party; and desired him to go to the city and make the best arrangement he could for restoring order, and that when the Regiment had marched from the station, he was to let him know. With the exception of the *Tuhseeldar* no other Government official, or any person of influence in the city proceeded to the assistance of the authorities.

PRISONERS SET FREE

Para 9—About this time, the sepoys went to the jail and let the prisoners loose. The Government property is said to have been chiefly plundered by the Jail Guard and *Burkundazes*.[1]

OUTBREAK AT TILHAR

Extract from Letter No. 21 *of* 1858 *from G. P. Money, Magistrate and Collector of Shahjahanpur, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, dated* 9*th September* 1858.

. . . *Tilhur*—The news of the mutiny of this station[2] reached Tilhur towards the evening, whereupon Gholam Mohomud Khan (Ghulam Muhammad Khan), one of the "*Ruees* (*Rais*)" went to the *Tuhseeldar*, and told him he had better quit the place, and he then caused the gang of prisoners which were there, employed in building the Government school, to be released. . . .[3]

OUTBREAK AT JALALABAD

Extract from Letter No. 21 *of* 1858 *from G. P. Money, Magistrate and Collector of Shahjahanpur, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, dated* 9*th September* 1858.

Jelalabad—At Jelalabad when the news of the mutiny reached that place, the prisoners were released by order of

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Shahjahanpur District*, pp. 1—3.
[2] Referring to *Shahjahanpur*.
[3] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Shahjahanpur District*, p. 6.

Ahmudhyar Khan (*Tuhseeldar*), but no further open demonstration of rebellion then took place; this was probably owing to the fact of the mutiny not having spread to Futtehgurh, from which Jelalabad is only 24 miles distant. As soon as Nuwab Gholam Kadir Khan arrived from Bareilly, after being appointed *Nazim*, Ahmudhyar Khan came to Shahjehanpoor to pay his respects and requested to be allowed to remain as *Tuhseeldar* of Jelalabad. This being granted, he returned to his post,—about a month after he forwarded a *Nuzurana* to Nuwab Khan Buhadur Khan, and petitioned to be made *Nazim* of the *pergunnah;* he obtained a *sunnud* of appointment, which was afterwards found among the papers in the *tuhseelee* of Jelalabad on the arrival of the British force towards the end of April.[1]

COMMUNICATIONS DISRUPTED THROUGHOUT ROHILKHAND

Letter from R. A. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilcund, to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief etc., dated Nainee (*Naini*) *Tal,* 5*th June* 1857.

The uncertainty of the communication between this place and any of the stations in the plains within or without Rohilcund makes me doubtful as to the arrival at their destination of letters which have been addressed by me to the Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces. I therefore consider it my duty to address Your Excellency direct, and to inform you of the immediate and urgent necessity for the presence of a force of not less than 1,000 European Infantry with a proportion of Artillery and some 400 Cavalry, who can be depended on, that we may re-establish our supremacy in the Province of Rohilcund. The whole of the troops at Bareilly have mutinied and instead of following the lead to Delhi, have rallied under the green flag and have set up as Nawab, Khan Bahadoor Khan, the head and representative of the family of Hafiz Rahmut Khan, the former Chief of the Rohilla class[2]. The example has been followed at Moradabad at which place (though I have not certain information) I believe another Pathan has been set up as ruler. I may conjecture

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Shahjahanpur District*, p. 7.
[2] 'Clan' would be more appropriate.

without reasonable doubt that the Regiment at Shahjehanpore has mutinied, and I know that the districts of Bijnour and Budaon are thoroughly disorganized and under anarchy. Under these circumstances it is utterly impossible to make any successful demonstration with the 66th Goorkhas from Almorah, and our efforts at this place must be restricted to ensure our defence against any attack which may be attempted from below. I am confident that the thorough subjugation of the entire revolted Province will follow on our receiving the aid which I now beg Your Excellency to send us. As Political Agent, I have authorized the Nawab of Rampoor to occupy Moradabad, if he can, and to open out our communication with Meerut and Delhi, I believe him to be a staunch friend, but I doubt his influence with his Pathan subjects; but he may gain it by money, as they are thoroughly mercenary soldiers with little of the ties of nationality.

Every day is of importance.

Necessity will, I believe, be sufficient apology for the informality of this address.[1]

BADAUN

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT BADAUN

English Translation of an account of the Rebellion at Badaun from June 1, 1857 *to March* 1858 *as given by Bihari Lal, Sub-Deputy Inspector, Parganas Faridpur and Bisalpur, District Bareilly, resident of Badaun, at that time residing at Badaun, dated 4th May* 1858.

On June 1, 1857 Sunday[2] at 2 hours past in the evening the rebel army stationed at Bareilly reached Badaun. Its strength was 2 Companies of Foot-soldiers, 100 Horsemen and 2 field pieces. The Collector, the Magistrate, the Salt Control Officer, Mr. Daniel, a merchant, Master Daniel, his son, fled away to some place when they heard of them. The rebels on their arrival fired 4 cannon shots and thus created a row in the town. Shortly after we saw flames coming out from the side of the bungalow of the Magistrate, which was an indication

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1857-58, Nos. 2-9. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] From the foregoing documents (pp. 191, 197, 200), 31st May was Sunday.

that the building was set on fire. After this they set the bungalows of Mr. Wilson, the Deputy Collector, and of the previous Magistrate of Badaun, situated in the close vicinity of the town, on fire. Next they set the bungalows of the Anglo-Indians and of Mr. Daniel on fire. It is believed that the residents of Sarai Jalandhari, Sarai Nai, Ibrahimpur and *Muhalla* Upar Para and others looted all that they found in the private bungalows, jail, courts, schools and the road *malkhana* without the fear of God and of the Day of Judgement. Saif Ullah Khan and Muhammad Saeed Khan *zamindars* of Sarai Jalandhari on whose land the Court and the Jail buildings stood, carried away the tents, the wooden furniture and the tiles and the iron bars to their own places.

On the 2nd June 1857 the rebel soldiers stationed themselves here, looted the Govt. Treasury and picked up quarrels with all the people. They demanded 7000 Rupees from Bhola Nath *Sahukar* and fired shots at his door which had been closed for fear of them. He unwillingly consented to pay 1000 Rupees only. Now the residents of Badaun played a fine trick. They sent a man from the Shaikhupur[1] side who looked awfully agitated and he told the rebels that the English army had reached near Shaikhupur. They were so perturbed that they left the city, joined their own friends and made hasty preparation to leave for Bareilly with the Govt. treasures and the treasurer. When leaving, they set fire to the Govt. office which created a great uproar. Now there was no administrator and the people had to make personal efforts to save their lives and property. The market was closed and the doors of the houses were shut and nobody stirred out.

The Thakurs of Bera, Salimpur[2], Bela Dandi,

[1] *Sheikhupur*, Pargana *Ujhani*, Tahsil *Budaun*, District *Budaun*—This large village stands near the right bank of the Sot, which is here crossed by a ferry at Choncha-ghat, leading to the city of Budaun, a distance of some three miles to the north-east. It stands in 28° 1′ N. and 79° 7′ E., a mile south of the provincial road from Budaun to Muttra and half a mile east of the branch metalled road leading to Qadir Chauk. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 257).

[2] *Salempur*, Pargana *Salempur*, Tahsil *Dataganj*, District *Budaun*—The place which gives its name to the pargana is a village lying in 28° 1′ N. and 79° 26′ E., at a distance of two miles south-east from the tahsil headquarters and 19 miles from Budaun. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 249).

Naksania[1], Sajhani[1], Idanro[1] and of other places first plundered the *Munsif's* court at Dataganj[2], burnt its records and looted the *Munsif's* belongings. As they were in great numbers with a large strength, Munshi Chet Singh, the *Tahsildar* of Dataganj, was much perplexed and this news spread throughout Badaun. Chet Singh's brother Lala Munni Lal thought out a new plan; he persuaded the sawars of Badaun *Faujdari* to go to Dataganj and realise their pay from the local treasury and also to escort Munshi Chet Singh to Badaun. Accordingly the sawars went to Dataganj with the result that the Thakurs of the *ilaqa* thought that they were sent for keeping intact the administration. Munshi Chet Singh considering the exigencies of the situation gave one bag of money to each of the sawars and asked them to carry it safely to Badaun where their pay would be distributed. Now Munshi Chet Singh and the *Munsif* of Dataganj came to Badaun safe under the escort of these sawars. But the sawars dishonestly carried the bags of money to their homes and did not hand them over to Munshi Chet Singh. When the rebels learnt that the *tahsil* was vacant they attacked it and took away all the Govt. and the private property of the *Tahsildar*, burnt the records to ashes and threw them into the well. They carried away the chairs, cots, doors and almirahs to their own houses on bullock carts. After this they appointed Hari Singh[3] as their ruler and called him king and four other persons named Kirat Singh of Salimpur, Param Sukh, Sanwal and one other person of the Changra caste as his *wazirs* and councillors. They announced that those who had taken the *zamindary* of Rajputs on highest bids and were not themselves Rajputs should be made to give them up. Accordingly all such persons were turned out of their homes and their property looted. Many of them fled away to save their lives. One of them

[1] The names of these places are not clearly decipherable in the Urdu text.

[2] *Dataganj*, Pargana *Salempur*, Tahsil *Dataganj*, District *Budaun*—The headquarters of the tahsil are located in a small town standing in 28° 2′ N. and 79° 24′ E., on the road from Budaun to Bela Dandi ferry on the Ramganga and thence to Fatehganj and Shahjahanpur, at a distance of 17 miles from Budaun. Other roads lead north to Sadullahganj and south-west to Baksena and Usehat. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 199).

[3] Name not comprehensible in the Urdu text.

Munshi Karjimal *Rais* of Badaun *Ilaqadar* of Goyyan's[1] property namely grains, sugar, cattle and crops worth about 5000 Rs. were plundered. They perpetrated many such irregularities.

Maulvi Razi Ullah the *Tahsildar* of Bisauli a few days before had proceeded to Badaun on leave and thus left Bisauli. In the meantime the rebellion broke out. The money in the treasury was still there. Aziz Khan Pathan resident of Bisauli laid hands on this treasury. When Khan Bahadur Khan deputed Abdul Ṛahman Khan as the *Nazim* of Badaun and he demanded this money Aziz Khan refused to comply with his orders. He himself proceeded to Bareilly and handed over 5000 Rs. to Khan Bahadur Khan and kept the residue with himself.

Munshi Jwala Sahai the acting *Tahsildar* of Sahaswan remained in the *tahsil* with the help of the *zamindars* and *Raises*. He tactfully saved the Govt. Treasury and the *tahsil* records. The *Raises* engaged the sawars and *sipahis* for their personal safety. When the army of the *Nazim* of Badaun reached Sahaswan the *Tahsildar* did not hand over the treasures on the advice of the *Raises*. He then handed over the treasures to these *Raises* for safe custody and himself shifted to Badaun.

The Thakurs of the neighbouring area plundered it. First Thakur Lachhman Singh demanded money from the local *Sahukars* in order to provide for protection and for keeping sawars. But these niggardly people did not give anything. As Lachhman Singh was the leader of the rebels the people of Ujhani did not act up to his advice. Therefore he did not keep off the rebels. On the other hand he helped them. The plunderers broke open the doors of the houses.

Maulvi Majid Ali, *Tahsildar* of Gunnaur[2], distributed the salaries of all the peons and the *Amla* people of the *tahsil* and drew his own salary from the treasury which did not contain a very large sum of money. Then he left Gunnaur for Badaun

[1] Not clearly legible in the Urdu text.

[2] *Gunnaur*, Pargana *Asadpur*, Tahsil *Gunnaur*, District *Budaun*—The place which gives its name to the westernmost tahsil of the district is merely a large village on the road from Budaun to Anupshahr. It stands in 28° 14′ N. and 78° 27′ E., at a distance of some three miles from the banks of the Ganges, about 49 miles from Budaun and three miles from the Babrala railway station, with which it is connected by a metalled road of recent origin. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 205).

and appeased all the rebels and the malcharacters by his soft manners and courteous behaviour towards them.

Those who were present at the time in Bilsi[1] say that the recalcitrant Thakurs collected about five or six thousand people and plundered the town for seven days together without any fear and carried away the plundered property on bullock carts to their own places. All the *Sahukars* could do nothing but watch this helplessly. Lachhman Das *Sahukar* was killed.

The residents of Islamnagar lived peacefully together; neither they plundered anyone nor were they themselves plundered.[2]

THE OUTBREAK

.....*In Budaon the mass of the population rose in a body*, and the entire district became a scene of anarchy and confusion. The ancient proprietary body took the opportunity of murdering or expelling the auction-purchasers, and resumed possession of their hereditary estates.....the rural classes would never have joined the sepoys, whom they hated, had not these causes of discontent already existed. They evinced no sympathy whatever about the cartridges, or flour said to be made of human bones, and could not then have been acted upon by any cry of their religion being in danger. It is questions involving their rights and interests in the soil and hereditary holdings, invariably termed by them as '*Jan see azeez*'—dearer than life—which excite them to a dangerous degree.[3]

* * *

[1] *Bilsi*, Pargana *Kot*, Tahsil *Sahaswan*, District *Budaun*—A town of comparatively recent origin and still more recent decline situated in 28° 7′ N. and 78° 55′ E., at a distance of 16 miles north-west from Budaun and some nine miles from Sahaswan. It is connected with both places by unmetalled roads, but a metalled road runs south-west to Aliganj on the road from Ujhani to Sahaswan. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 172).

[2] Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 26.

[3] Edwards, William : *Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion in Rohilcund, Futtehghur, and Oude*, pp. 16-17.

Kaye, John William : *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, 1857-1858, Vol. 3, p. 287.

English fugitives' version of the Outbreak at Badaun (Extracts).

BADAUN AGITATED

This day, for the first time since the first of June, I have writing materials at my disposal. I shall therefore endeavour to record, as correctly as I can from memory, a narrative of the events that have occurred to me since that sad day, the first of June, when it pleased God that I should become a wanderer and a fugitive. I must premise that shortly after the outbreak and massacre at Meerut, about the 19th May, so far as I can recollect, the spirit of disorder began to show itself in the Budaon District in Rohilcund, of which I was Magistrate and Collector—*the infection having spread from the tracts on the right bank of the Ganges, which were by that time in open rebellion.* Bands of marauders sprang up, as it were by magic, and commenced plundering on the roads, and sacking and burning villages....

As soon as the disturbance began I doubled the Police force in my district, Horse and Foot, on my own responsibility; but notwithstanding my endeavours to maintain the peace, the disorders daily increased. *In the Etah District across the Ganges, immediately opposite to Budaon, they had reached a most alarming height; all our communications had been cut off with Agra, Calcutta, and the south;* the runners being unable to convey the mails along the chief lines of road. *In the district of Moradabad, immediately adjoining Budaon to the north, the sepoys of the regiment broke open the jail and let out a great number of the prisoners.*

NAJJU KHAN[1] ACTIVE

I was informed of this fact by a short note from Campbell, the Joint Magistrate, telling me to look out for myself, as among the liberated convicts, was a notorious villain, Nujjoo Khan* who was under sentence of transportation for life for an attempt to murder Court, (Mr.), Joint Magistrate of Budaon and in which he very nearly succeeded, having maimed him for life. I had succeeded in apprehending this miscreant, who had eluded our Police force for more than two years, and in

[1] This name is given as 'Mujjoo Khan' elsewhere. (pp. 411–412).

* "Nujjoo Khan has since become a rebel leader of note and his capture has just been reported by the force now at Moradabad in Rohilcund under Brigadier Jones"—Foot-note in the Original.

bringing him to justice; he was consequently highly exasperated with me, and, as Campbell informed me, had started at once towards my station with the intention of murdering me....

On Monday, the 25th of May, I received certain information that the Mohammedans of the town of Budaon, who were on that day assembled for prayers on (the) occasion of the Ede (Id) festival, were to rise at noon and create a riot, which would probably have resulted in the plunder and destruction of the place.....

BRITISH APPREHENSIVE OF TREASURY GUARDS

...I had every reason to distrust the sepoys forming my Treasury-Guard, who belonged to the 68th Regiment N. I., at Bareilly; and it was by no means comfortable to sit in the close vicinity of these gentlemen, who at any moment might break out into open mutiny and murder me. My Police were little more to be depended on, and I felt my isolation greatly....

ATTACK ON BILSI APPREHENDED

Upto the 30th, matters went on from bad to worse, the disorder being considerably aggravated by the impossibility of my leaving the station to proceed to the immediate scene of disturbance, as I had no officer to whom I could make over charge of the treasury. On the afternoon of Saturday the 30th, I learnt that the important town of Bhilsea (Bilsi) was about to be attacked by the rebels, and I at once sent off an express to the Commissioner at Bareilly, entreating him to send me some aid; as my Police, the old establishment as well as the new levies, were quite unable to meet the crisis, or at all events would not exert themselves.....

REVOLUTIONARIES FROM BAREILLY ON WAY TO BADAUN

About half-past two I got up in order to wake him[1], when just as I was leaving my room, a *Chuprassee* (*Chaprasi*) rushed up to me, saying that the horseman I had sent off to meet the detachment had just returned with the terrible intelligence

[1] Reference is to Phillips, Magistrate of Etah.

that the road from Bareilly up to within eight miles of Budaon was covered with convicts escaped from gaol—the sepoys forming the Bareilly Garrison having on Sunday forenoon broken out into open mutiny, massacred the Europeans, fired the station, and broken open the great central gaol, which contained nearly four thousand of the most desperate characters in India. He further stated that a detachment of the mutineers were in full march to Budaon, to join the Treasury-guard there, and plunder and burn the station. This was indeed terrible news, and the excited manner of the sowar and the condition of his panting horse, showed that the tale was too true, and that he had ridden for his life to give me the intelligence.

.....It was, however, quite hopeless to expect to defend the station against the mutineers, who, on their arrival, would be at once joined by the 100 men forming the Treasury-guard. I could therefore only hope and it scarcely amounted to a hope, to keep things quiet until the mutineers might arrive from Bareilly.

AUCTION PURCHASERS REPLACED BY ANCIENT PROPRIETORS

In Budaon the mass of the population rose in a body, and the entire district became a scene of anarchy and confusion. The ancient proprietary body took the opportunity of murdering or expelling the auction purchasers, and resumed possession of their hereditary estates.....

EUROPEANS INTEND TO ESCAPE TO NAINI TAL

To return to my narrative of events on the fatal 1st of June. About noon, I collected all my guests into the drawing-room, and we all joined in hearty prayers to God for his mercy and protection in our desperate circumstances. I trust that we were heard; but what has been the fate of all those present, except myself and Mr. Gibson, I know not. I then earnestly advised the two Donalds, Mr. Gibson, and the Stewarts, to leave me and make for the hills, while there was yet time, pointing out that our safety was far more endangered by remaining together and attracting attention than by separating. My own duty was clear, to remain at my post as long as any semblance of order could be maintained; they were under no

such obligation, and had only to consult their own safety. All my arguments and entreaties, however, were in vain. They were quite paralysed, and seemed to feel that their only hope was in sticking close to the Magistrate for protection. The day, which was a very hot one, wore on most gloomily. Every moment reports of one complexion or another were being brought to me of risings in the town, the defection of individuals in the Police, and of the near approach of a large body of mutineers from Bareilly to murder me, plunder the treasury, and break open the jail.

NEWS OF OUTBREAK

About 4 P. M., the native officer of the Sepoy-guard over the treasury, composed of one hundred men of the 68th Native Infantry, which corps had mutinied at Bareilly the previous day, came to report all right. I took him aside, and inquired the real state of affairs. He denied, with the most solemn oaths any person of his persuasion could take, all knowledge of the Bareilly mutiny;.....

TREASURY GUARD IN OPEN DEFIANCE

.....Had I placed myself in the hands of the Guard, they would immediately have murdered me; for I subsequently ascertained that a messenger from the regiment at Bareilly had reached the Guard about four in the morning, to inform them of what had occurred there, and prepare them for the advance of a body of mutineers to Budaon in the evening. The Guard waited for my expected arrival at the *kutcherry* for above an hour and a half, and then finding that I was not coming, they would be restrained no longer, but broke out into open mutiny. A party of them might easily have been sent to my house to seize and destroy me, but not a man would consent to leave the immediate neighbourhood of the treasury, lest the plundering should commence in their absence, and they should lose their share of the spoil.

BADAUN JAIL BROKEN, POLICE JOIN REVOLUTIONARIES

Their first act was to break open the gaol, distant about 100 yards from the treasury, and release some 300 prisoners

who were confined within. A tumultuous noise and shouting about 6 P. M. announced to me that the work of destruction had begun; at the same moment information was brought (to) me that the mutineers from Bareilly were entering the station, and that all my Police had thrown away their badges and joined them. The released prisoners then came shouting and yelling close up to my house. I felt my work was then over; that the ship had sunk under me, and that it was now time to try and provide for my own safety. My horse, a small grey Cabul (Kabul) galloway belonging to my wife and constantly ridden by her, on whose speed and endurance I knew I could depend, had been standing all day saddled; I at once mounted him, and rode slowly away from the house, followed by Messrs. Donald and Gibson.

REVOLUTIONARIES ASSEMBLE IN BADAUN

The town, then full of mutineers, lay between us and the road to Moradabad, by which I had hoped to escape to the hills; I was therefore anxious to give the mutineers time to get to the treasury, which I knew would be their first point, and then endeavour to make a circuit round and thus fall into the Moradabad road.....

ROHILKHAND UNDER KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

This is the first messenger who has reached us from the outer world since the 13th of June. He informs me that poor Mr. Stewart, my clerk, and his family are as yet safe and in hiding near Budaon; *that Khan Bahadur Khan is in power at Bareilly, and has assumed the Government of Rohilcund;* that poor Hay, Robertson, and Raikes, were among those massacred at Bareilly on the 31st of May; and that he had himself seen their dead bodies dragged through the city; but that several Europeans had escaped to Nynee Tal (Naini Tal) among them the Commissioner Alexander and Colonel Troup....

REVOLUTIONARIES BACK TO BAREILLY WITH TREASURE

I received, about the same time, a communication purporting to be from some of my friends in Budaon, stating that

the mutineers had decamped from thence with the treasure, after firing the place and destroying all the buildings, and had gone back to Bareilly, and urging me strongly to return, as there was no longer any danger. I despatched a reply, saying that I was quite willing to do so, provided they would send me a sufficient force for my protection to the bank of the Ganges to conduct me to Budaon; and stating that I would remain at Puttealee (Patiali)[1] till I heard it had arrived. I sent by the messenger also a note to my wife at Nainee Tal[2], telling her what had occurred, and that I was safe thus far.....[3]

CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPER'S VERSION

BADAUN WITHOUT A GOVERNMENT

Let it be known to the readers that although there was considerable disturbance and maladministration in Badaun, but the heathen Collector of this station was bent upon the maintenance of the army and keeping the administration intact. He did everything he could but still he was extremely agitated and had lost his mental equilibrium. On Shawwal 5, when he heard of the coming of the rebel soldiery he was so confused that he precipitately fled away. As soon as he had left, the rebel soldiery entered Badaun, opened the gates of the gaol, released the prisoners and burnt the *kothis* and bungalows. The Englishmen, the Eurasians and the Christians were no longer to be heard of. Then the rebels took possession of the Govt. treasures and marched off to Bareilly. This was followed by a period of absolute anarchy in which every person took up arms. Day and night the people remained vigilant and had abjured rest and sleep.

Although the neighbouring villages and the countryside became the scene of robbery, murder and affray, and the riffraffs and the rabble got the upper hand, the poor and the

[1] *Patiali*, Pargana *Patiali*, Tahsil *Aliganj*, District *Etah*—The village, in 27° 42′ N. and 72° 5′ E., lies on the old bank of the Ganges, 22 miles to the north-east of Etah. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, 1911, p. 201).

[2] Spelt as 'Nynee Tal' above.

[3] Edwards, William : *Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion in Rohilcund, Futtehghur and Oude*, Extracts from pp. 1-33.

good-charactered were robbed, still at Badaun proper, by the blessings of God's chosen buried here and because of the excellent arrangement made by the virtuous divine and mystic, Maulvi Fazal Rasul, no untoward occurrence of any importance took place. He, to the risk of his own life, exerted himself to save the people from the ravages of the plunderers and the dacoits and to ensure peace and security to the people of Govt.; for 16 or 17 days this state of affairs prevailed and the town was without any Govt.[1]

COLLECTOR'S VERSION OF THE OUTBREAK AT BADAUN

Narrative of Occurrences at Badaun by C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Collector and Magistrate, dated Badaun, the 23rd November 1858.

25TH TO 27TH MAY, 1857

The news of the outbreak at Meerut, and of the simultaneous disturbances in the country circumjacent to that station, would appear to have become known in the Budaon *Zillah* about the 15th of the month.....

MAGISTRATE'S ATTEMPT TO CHECK POPULAR AGITATION

The seeds of anarchy are easily sown, and the Magistrate to arrest the *popular agitation, which he doubtless saw was progressing*, strove both by politic as well as defensive measures to ward off the storm of rebellion from his district.....

1ST JUNE, TREASURY GUARD IN OPEN REVOLT

Intimation was received on the morning of this day in Budaon, of the march of a portion of the Bareilly mutineers for Budaon. Mr. Phillips left to join Mr. Bramley at Puttialee (Patiali), and in the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Edwards, the Magistrate, determined upon evacuating the station.

[1] *Habib-ul-Akhbar*, dated 3rd Ziqaad 1273 A. H. (Friday) corresponding with 25th June 1857. Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

The Sepoy Guard stationed at the treasury had meantime broken into open mutiny, (their conduct had been most insubordinate for some days previous) seized the treasure under their charge, released the prisoners in the jail, and commenced a desultory fusillade with their muskets. They were joined as a matter of course, by all the bad characters in the city, and all kinds of excesses were committed.

2ND JUNE, REVOLUTIONARIES FROM BAREILLY REACH BADAUN

The mutineers from Bareilly then reached Budaon, and set fire to the bungalows, and took possession of the Government treasure.....

.....Most of the inhabitants of Budaon meantime had joined with and entertained the mutinous troops from Bareilly.....

POPULAR SUPPORT TO REVOLUTIONARIES

When the mutineers came to Budaon from Bareilly,the inhabitants of Surai Jullundri (Sarai Jalandhari), Surai Miran, Naee Surai and Surai Nahr Khan and *mohulla* Brahempoor (Barhampura); all *mohullas* in the city of Budaon, and those of Nugla Shurkee (Nagla Sharqi), Rusoolpoor (Rasulpur) and *of other adjoining villages united with them in plundering the furniture and property in the bungalows of the European officers and residents in the station*, and one Mirza Munsoor Beg (Mirza Mansur Beg), who afterwards became a noted *Risaldar* under the rebels, plundered the Government Dispensary and the College, both situate in the city. The villagers of Nugla Shurkee (Nagla Sharqi) also, in unison with the residents of the Brahempoor, Puttialee Surai and Naee Surai—*mohullas* of Budaon, plundered and destroyed the records of the two *Moonsiffees* as also those of the *Kotwalee*.

OUTBREAK THROUGHOUT THE DISTRICT

On the news of the outbreak at the *Sudder* Station becoming known in the *pergunnahs* of the district disturbances broke out in every direction, and anarchy and misrule completely obtained the upper hand. The roads were no longer safe for

travellers, and opportunity was taken by the bands of armed men, who scoured the country in all directions, not only to satiate their lust of plunder, but to settle old feuds by an appeal to arms, or more frequently by the committal of cruel murders.

MOVEMENT BECOMES WIDESPREAD

In the *pergunnahs* of the Goonour (Gunnaur)[1] *Tuhseel*, the Aheers; in *pergunnahs* Kote[2], Bilsee Khass, Oojhannee (Ujhani)[3], Budaon, Dattagunge (Dataganj)[4] and Ooseith[5], the Thakoors; in the villages of *pergunnah* Bissowlee (Bisauli)[6],

[1] *Gunnaur*, Pargana *Asadpur*, Tahsil *Gunnaur*, District *Budaun*—The place which gives its name to the westernmost tahsil of the district is merely a large village on the road from Budaun to Anupshahr. It stands in 28° 14′ N. and 78° 27′ E., at a distance of some three miles from the banks of the Ganges, about 49 miles from Budaun and three miles from the Babrala railway station, with which it is connected by a metalled road of recent origin. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, 1907, p. 205).

[2] Apparently *Kot* Pargana, Tahsil *Sahaswan*, District *Budaun*—Kot is the most central pargana of the district, and comprises the eastern half of the Sahaswan tahsil, lying to the south of Bisauli and Islamnagar. To the east are Satasi and the Budaun pargana, and to the south Ujhani. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, 1907, p. 221).

[3] *Ujhani*, Pargana *Ujhani*, Tahsil and District *Budaun*—The capital of the pargana is a town of considerable size lying in 28° 0′ N. and 79° 1′ E., on the west side of the metalled road leading from Bareilly and Budaun to Kachhla ferry and Muttra, at a distance of eight miles from the district headquarter. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, 1907, pp. 258-259).

[4] *Dataganj*, Pargana *Salempur*, Tahsil *Dataganj*, District *Budaun*—The headquarters of the tahsil are located in a small town standing in 28° 2′ N. and 79° 24′ E., on the road from Budaun to Bela Dandi ferry on the Ramganga and thence to Fatehganj and Shahjahanpur, at a distance of 17 miles from Budaun. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, 1907, p. 199).

[5] Apparently *Usehat* Pargana, Tahsil *Dataganj*, District *Budaun*—This pargana occupies the southern portion of the tahsil and the south-eastern corner of the district. To the west lies Ujhani, to the north Budaun and Salempur, to the east is the Jalalabad tahsil of Shahjahanpur, and to the south the Ganges, beyond which are the districts of Etah and Farrukhabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, 1907, p. 268).

[6] *Bisauli*, Pargana and Tahsil *Bisauli*, District *Budaun*—The headquarters of the tahsil of this name are located in a small town lying in 28° 18′ N. and 78° 57′ E., at a distance of 23 miles from Budaun, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road, entering from the south-east. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, 1907, p. 174).

the Mahomedans and Thakoors; and in those of Suheswan (Sahaswan) the Aheers, Thakoors, and Mahomedans, banded themselves together and made raids upon one another's villages.....

.....Bands of marauders from the north-western *pergunnahs* of the district also went up to, and shared in the plunder of the town of Chundousee (Chandausi) in Moora-dabad.

In the scenes of rapine and violence which took place at this period the following individuals and villages would appear to have been conspicuous in their own respective localities:

IN GOONOUR (GUNNAUR)

The Aheer *zemindars* of Neore Beora, Bheraothee[1] and other adjacent villages of the same brotherhood, Shurfoodeen (Sharfuddin) of Nuglah Ajmeree (Nagla Ajmeri), and Seetaram Aheer of Budrowlee (Badrauli);

KOTE (KOT) AND BILSEE KHOS (BILSI KHAS)

Anund Singh, *zemindar* of Bilsee, Lekhraj Singh and Thumun (Thamman) Singh *zemindars* of Goodhnee, Soobha Singh and Sewaram *zemindars* of Reolee, Narain Singh, son of Kirpal Singh of Bhitoura, Bhao Singh of Sertoul, Seeta Pusya of Dhurehra, and Futteh Singh (Fateh Singh) *zemindar* of Rehria;

OOJHANEE (UJHANI)

Luchmun Singh of Oojhanee (Ujhani), Badam Singh of Sunjurpoor (Sanjarpur), Bhoop Singh of Thutoulee (Thatauli), Chetta Singh, *zemindar* of Sirsowlee, Man Singh, Madho Singh of Busema, Hurhur Singh (Har Har Singh) of Kukora[2], and Jugmohun (Jag Mohan) Singh of Kuchoura (Kachaura);

[1] *Bhiraoti*, Pargana *Rajpura*, Tahsil *Gunnaur*, District *Budaun*—Bhiraoti is a purely agricultural place, lying in 28° 24′ N. and 78° 27′ E., near the eastern border of the pargana, and to the north of the inferior branch road from Gawan to Dhanari station, at a distance of six miles east of the former and ten miles north of the tahsil head-quarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, 1907, p. 171).

[2] *Kakora*, Pargana *Ujhani*, Tahsil and District *Budaun*—A village of considerable size and importance, standing some three miles from the bank of the Ganges in 27° 53′ N. and 79° 3′ E., at a distance of 14 miles south-west from Budaun and eight miles south from Ujhani, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, 1907, pp. 216-217).

BUDAON (BADAUN)

Bhaee Singh of Khunuk, Dhunjee Singh of Rufeeabad (Rafiabad), Jaimul Singh, Sooburn Singh (Shiva Baran Singh) of Rusoolpoor[1], Tulsee Singh (Tulsi Singh) and others of Nugla Shurkee (Nagla Sharqi);

DATAGUNGE (DATAGANJ) AND OOSAITH (USAITH)

Surdar Khan, Muhrab Khan (Mahrab Khan) and other Putthans (Pathans) of Kukrala and the Thakoors of Datagunje under Keeruth Singh (Kirat Singh), Bekhtawur Singh (Bakhtawar Singh) and others;

BISSOWLEE (BISAULI)

Futteh Singh and others, *zemindars* of Rehria, Nubbee Khan (Nabi Khan) of Hutra, the Thakoor *zemindars* of Leekree (Likri), and Uzeez Khan (Aziz Khan) of Bissowlee (Bisauli) and Nehal Singh *zemindar* of the same place;

SUHESWAN (SAHASWAN)

Hydur Khan (Haidar Khan) and Futteh Ally Khan of Suheswan, Ramanund *Hissodar* of Kurria Maiee, Soomer Singh (Sumer Singh) of Bubrala (Babrala), Shere Singh of Murkhoole, Narain Singh of Peepree, Goolab Singh and Luchmun (Lachhman) Singh of Bhois;

ISLAMNUGUR (ISLAMNAGAR)

Shahamut Ally (Shahamat Ali), Meer Khan, Nasar Ally, Dhun Singh, Budan Singh and others.[2]

[1] Apparently *Rasulpur Kalan*, Pargana and Tahsil *Sahaswan*, District *Budaun*—This is the largest village of the pargana, and lies in 28° 11′ N. and 78° 38′ E., between the Chhoiya and Mahawa rivers, which unite about a mile to the East. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, 1907, p. 237).

[2] Department—XXIV, File : "Narrative of Events attending the

CONTEMPORARY DIARIST'S VERSION

Extract from Diary of Occurrences in the Badaun District from the 18th to the 21st May 1858 inclusive.

18TH MAY, DISTURBANCES AT ISLAMNAGAR

In *pergunnahs* Datagunje and Budaon all well. A petition from Rao Buldeo Singh, a land-holder in *pergunnah* Kotesahul Bhan, (situate between Sahiswan and Bissowlee), states the country in his direction to be entirely freed from rebels, but adds that a party of them is plundering and creating disturbances in the Islamnugur *Pergunnah*.

19TH MAY

Dara Singh *Thanahdar* of Oojhanee (Ujhani), reports that Sadoollah Khan resident of Sumbhul, Baboo Ram Narayun late *Wuakeel* in the *Moonsifee* of Chundausee (Chandausi), and one Mukdoom Buksh (Makhdum Bakhsh) also a resident of that place, together with a following of some thousand men are plundering and destroying in *parh.* (*pargana*) Islamnuggur, demanding black-mail from all persons of any substance, and destroying the houses of such as refuse to comply with their demands.[1]

* * *

Extract from Diary of Occurrences as reported on the 25th May 1858.

NEWS FROM ISLAMNAGAR

Shurufooddeen the acting *Tehseeldar* of Budaon in a petition dated 23rd instant reports that he sent a man the day before to Islamnugur for intelligence. The spy had just returned, and reported to him that the rebels were in number

Outbreak of Disturbances at Badaun"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Badaun District*, pp. 1-4.

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Makhdum Bakhsh.*" Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 54.

600 with 4 guns in the *qusbah* of Islamnugur. That on the previous day the (22nd) the Thakoors had made an attack on them under cover of large herds of cattle which they drove before them to protect themselves from the fire of the rebel Artillery. That a large number of the cattle had been killed, together with six men of Thakoor Dara Singh. That the Thakoors considering themselves worsted in the fight had in a measure dispersed in consequence; and that the rebels after burning several of the villages in the neighbourhood had again retired upon Islamnugur. Shurufooddeen concluded his report by saying that he believed the rebels contemplated a move upon Bissowlee (Bisauli) and he begged that speedy measures might be taken for their extirpation, as the peace of the already settled *pergunahs* was likely to be disturbed if the rebels were allowed to gain further head.

Jhao Lall *Thanadar* of Bissowlee in a petition dated 23rd instant reports that he has learnt from his *Jumadar* at the Wuzeergunje *Choukee* that several of the bad characters of Noura and Sydpoor are ripe for an emeute and that they had the day previous to the report actually stopped and turned back from between Wuzeergunje and Bissowlee a suwar who had been sent to the latter place from Budaon. He makes the same application for assistance as the *Tehseeldar* of Budaon.

I can myself speak from experience of the turbulent character of the Mahomedan population in *mouzah* Sydpoor, Hutra, and other villages situate just off the road between Bissowlee and Wuzeergunje.

Dara Singh writes on the 24th instant from *mouzah* Roodaeen (Rudain) (distant about 4 miles on the high road from Islamnugur) that he had collected his forces first at Kirpa Maiee, and advancing from thence had had an engagement with the rebels at Sukha Maiee, that some three men on his side had been killed, that he did not follow up the rebels because the town of Islamnugur would have suffered in the conflict and that he had removed to Roodaeen that day as he had heard that the rebels meant to attack and destroy that place. I ordered him in reply not to mind the destruction of the town of Islamnugur and if he felt himself strong enough to attack the rebels in their position there to do so.

I may add that I do not believe that portion of Dara Singh's report, which is indicative of his having had any

success against the rebels. I believe the version of the affair furnished by Shurufooddeen to be the more correct one.[1]

* * *

Extract from Diary of Occurrences in the Badaun District as reported on the 27th May 1858.

REVOLUTIONARIES RETIRE TO RUDAIN

I have nothing of any importance to communicate to-day. A messenger sent in by Dara Singh from Roodaeen arrived to-day with a petition from that Thakoor giving an account of his flight, with the rebels at Islamnugur and saying that as his followers were much dispirited by their defeat he had judged it prudent to retire upon Roodaeen—which is 5 *Koss* from Islamnugur. The messenger brought in a couple of enemy's round shot from which it would appear that the rebels have guns of six and three pound calibre. Later in the day Dara Singh's messenger was followed by one from Shurufooddeen the acting *Tehseeldar* of Budaon, who reported that Dara Singh had arrived at that place. I immediately wrote for Dara Singh to come here, as 'it is necessary to keep these Thakoors united, and make them show a bold front to the rebels, who will otherwise undoubtedly extend their ravages to the south-eastern *pergunahs* of the district, in which there is for the present a semblance of order.'[2]

PILIBHIT

OUTBREAK AT PILIBHIT

Narrative of Occurrences at Pilibhit by C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate of Budaon (Badaun), dated Budaon (Badaun), the 23rd Nov. 1858.

NEWS OF BAREILLY OUTBREAK REACHES PILIBHIT, OCCURRENCES AT THE LATTER PLACE

.....It would appear that men had arrived from

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Makhdum Bakhsh.*" Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 54.
[2] *Ibid.*

Bareilly either during the night or early in the morning, bringing intelligence of everything that had occurred there, and I had left the *tuhseelee* and *kotwallee* but a short time before symptoms of insubordination began to exhibit themselves amongst the Government servants. It was the 1st of the month, and some pay was, if I remember right (for I was not present at the spot) being distributed. A *Naik* of the *kotwallee* went up to the *Bukshee*, and deliberately took up a bag of a thousand rupees. The *Kotwal* ordered him to put it down, he refused, and the *Kotwal*, a determined man and who has since proved his loyalty, would have shot the rebel dead but for the remonstrances of the *Tuhseeldar*, who very truly told him that the commencement of bloodshed would probably result in all our lives being sacrificed. Whilst this was going on within, the space between the *tuhseelee* and *kotwallee*, at the entrance of Drummond Gunje, was filled by a surging multitude of Mahomedans, and the *Tuhseeldar*, seeing that there was every chance of the treasury being plundered, and the majority of the *Police* and *tuhseel* people being in a state of insubordination, sent the *Kotwal* to me to report matters; I was just on my way back to the *tuhseelee*, having indeed got as far as the School House, when I was met by the *Kotwal* who refused to let me go further, merely remarking at the time, as others were present, that there was no use in my going into the town. Arrived at my house he told me the exact state of affairs in the city, and added that he considered that the *Tuhseeldar*, who was not at all a favorite with the Mahomedans in the city, was in danger of his life. An idea then occurred to me by which I thought, that in the event of the emeute being only of a temporary nature, I might obtain some kind of security for the repayment of the treasure, which I expected momentarily to hear had been plundered, as well as be the means at the same time of getting the *Tuhseeldar* away safely from the press by which he was thronged at the *tuhseelee*. Ever since the early morning of the day the principal Mahomedans of the town had been with me, making great professions of loyalty to the state, and offering to give me all the assistance in their power, on my requiring it. I proposed now to these men to make over charge of the treasure at the *tuhseel* on the part of Government to them, for them to render an account of it hereafter. They readily assented to this proposition, and also undertook to see that the *Tuhseeldar* was allowed to come

safely out of the mob. The rabble that were clamouring at the *tuhseelee* were all adherents or dependents of one or other of these men, and as I felt sure that the treasury would in any case be plundered within the hour, in which case the event would probably have been attended with the murder of the *Tuhseeldar*, I thought it the better course to make over to these men, as a trust on the part of Government, for them to hold what in any case could not be retained by any force which I had at my command. These men then proceeded to the *tuhseelee*, and entered into occupation of it, and the *Tuhseeldar* was allowed to leave the city and join me at my house which he did with, if I remember right, but two attendants. The rebels, however, for they proved themselves to be such hereafter most thoroughly, had hardly been in possession of the money above twenty minutes when they proposed to remove it to their houses. During this proceeding, as might have been expected, tumult ensued amongst them, and several of the bags were carried off by men in the crowd, and one man was cut down by some one of his fellow rioters. I was at my house whilst this took place, and until a desultory firing and uproar commenced in the town. The *Kotwal* then recommended that we should leave, which we did some 20 men in all, Sowars and *Burkundazes* who rode on ponies; at this stage many men who had received no particular kindness at my hands behaved remarkably well in standing by and accompanying me, whilst others, from whom the same might have been expected in a higher degree, behaved shamefully.[1]

* * *

Certificate by A. Bremner, Asstt. Supdt. Canals, to Abdul Rahman Khan of Pilibhit, dated Naini Tal, Ist January 1859.

THE TALE OF BREMNER AND HIS FAMILY

Certified that on 6th June 1857 being deserted by all

[1] Department-XXIV, File : "Narrative of Events at Pilibhit prior to the Outbreak of Rebellion in the Rohilkhand Division; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra 'Appendix to the Narrative of Occurrences etc. in the district of *Bareilly* being a narrative of events at *Pilibhit*', pp. 2 and 3.

my men I went with family to the house of my *Mutsuddei* and asked him if he could point out any means by which we might be saved from the hands of the *Budmashes* who were bent on our destruction. He left us and returned with Abdurrahman Khan who pledged his word that he would do his utmost to defend us, and putting me in the centre of his party consisting of his relatives and friends took us to his house forcing his way through a dense crowd that had assembled for the most part to kill us. The next thing A. Khan (Abdur Rahman Khan) did was to bring my wife and children in a litter, safe and sound in the face of our enemies. He kept us in a place of security. He treated us ever after with great respect. He also sent five carts to bring in our property, but this could not be done as the rebels had taken it away. It is to be observed that some of the persons at the head of the rebels were relatives of A. Khan and altho' they and many others had unanimously determined to kill us all if possible, yet he firmly adhered to us notwithstanding the persuasions and entreaties of several persons to prevail upon him to give us up, rather than cause bloodshed, (they said) among his own relatives. The reports of the rebels having collected for the purpose of attacking us were not infrequent, yet such was the undaunted spirit of this Pathan and he has resolved to die or save us. A force was sent from Bareilly for our apprehension, but the brave party of A. Khan (Abdur Rahman Khan) kept it at a distance. Independently of what Abdurrahman Khan did for us, he protected the Kurmis, or rather the whole city from being plundered and saved the lives of several persons who might have fallen a sacrifice to the wild fury of the rebels were it not for him. On the 10th August 1857 rumour was evidently spread that the *bunjaras* who had long threatened to plunder the city were at hand and the *Nizam's*[1] force was accordingly sent out to repel them, but it turning out a false alarm, on the return of the force, they surrounded Enayatgunje (Inayetganj) giving out that the *Nizam* had ordered the Gunje to be plundered and to fall on us also. On hearing this Abdurrahman Khan went directly to the *Nizam* and gave him to understand that if the Gunje were to be looted he would

[1] Appears to have been misspelt for 'Nazim'.

certainly side with the Kurmis as long as he had his head on his shoulders. The *Nizam* called back his men.

ABDUR RAHMAN ASKED TO SUPPLY FORCE TO NAZIM

On the first arrival of the *Nizam* he sent for A. Khan and told him that as he was the principal man of the city, it behoved him to enter service and raise some force otherwise he would not consider him friendly to the Nawab[1]. A. Khan declined to the dissatisfaction of the *Nizam* and he related to me on his return what passed. After due consideration I told him that his party was, comparatively speaking, very small, and would be reduced to almost nothing when the opposite party rose to power by taking service. It was therefore advisable for the interest of the British Government, our safety, as well as for that of the people of the city in general that he should accept the *Nizam's* offer. He did so and his friends and relatives followed his example.

Abdurrahman Khan often intended to put me in possession of the city, but the Thakur of Deoria[2], the Puwayan Raja etc., would not send in their men or guns; he might have taken the city unaided, but then he would have not been a match for the whole of the Bareilly force. Abdurrahman Khan once went to Sherpur[3] putting us in the house of his brother (a place of security) in order to get aid for the purpose of taking and keeping possession of the city of Pileebheet (Pilibhit). The only thing he could obtain from the *zamindars* of Sherpur was that he took upon himself, provided we were to be sent, to keep us with him. I was sent to Sherpur accompanied by two of A. Khan's brothers Moulvi Fukhruddin Khan and Gulam Rabbani Khan and some armed men, this was done not because A. Khan wanted (in) courage to keep us in his house, but wished to see us less exposed to danger by being removed from Pileebheet.

[1] Referring to 'Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan'.

[2] *Deoria*, Pargana and Tahsil *Bisalpur*, District *Pilibhit*—The village of Deoria stands in 28° 23′ N. and 79° 56′ E., on the road leading from Bisalpur to Puranpur, at a distance of ten miles north-east from the former and nine miles south-east from Barkhera Kalan. (*District Gazetteers*, Pilibhit, 1909, p. 190).

[3] Apparently *Sherpur Kalan*, Pargana and Tahsil *Puranpur*, District *Pilibhit*—It stands in 28° 30′ N. and 80° 12′ E., on either side of the road leading from Puranpur to Dhanaraghat, at a distance of two miles east from the former and 26 miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Pilibhit, 1909, p. 236).

KHAN BAHADUR'S ORDER TO SEND BREMNER TO BAREILLY

A few days prior to our leaving Pileebheet for Sherpur, the *Nizam* received an order from Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan to send us to Bareilly escorted by a force that had been sent for that purpose. A. Khan entreated the *Nizam* to allow us to remain with him, but to no purpose. The altercations on this occasion grew so hot that it was apprehended, it would have terminated in bloodshed, as A. Khan had already grasped the belt of his sword and others of his party cocked their arms. But Abdurrashid Khan and Karimulla Khan the worst characters of all the rebels of Pileebheet and who were rank cowards on all such occasions had resort to entreaty, so much so that they put their caps upon the feet of Abdurrahman Khan begging him to send us to Bareilly.

The *Nizam* at the same time making use of his persuasions, A. Khan at last consented, provided he would be allowed to escort us himself. A. Khan came to me with tears in his eyes and told me what had occurred, he also informed me that his uncle Mohammad Bashir Khan was just about to start for Bareilly in order to bring a *Parwanah* directing the *Nizam* to permit us to remain at Pileebheet; at the same time intimating that he would not take us beyond Nawabgunje if he could help it, and that if the *Parwanah* could not be obtained, and that if it should so happen that we should have to go to Bareilly, he would not return alive if any mischief befell us (it was as well we did not go as far as Bareilly as there were men placed on the road to kill us all, so we could well get into the city). As I believe A. Khan to be a man of his word I placed implicit faith on his word, we (self, wife and three children) accordingly prepared to start. We did not go beyond Nawabgunje. The *Parwanah* being obtained at some expense we, therefore, returned to Pileebheet. This caused the *Nizam* to suspect A. Khan and told him that he would not consider him as sincere unless he promised to accompany him to wherever

he might lead his force; to this as a matter of necessity, A. Khan complied. It was on this occasion that A. Khan considered it advisable to send us to Sherpur. His two brothers, Maulvi Fakhruddin Khan and Gulam Rabbani Khan, with some armed men accompanied us to Sherpur. These two persons also accompanied us within three marches of Birmdeo on our way to Naini Tal after our escape from the rebels and living 15 days in the jungle. Any gentleman who may show favours to Abdurrahman Khan, I will consider it as a 'personal favour'.[1]

MORADABAD

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT MORADABAD

Letter from C. B. Saunders, Magistrate and Collector, Moradabad, to the Officiating Secretary to Government North-Western Provinces.[2]

FLIGHT OF THE OFFICERS OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT FROM MORADABAD

It is with feelings of no ordinary pain and regret that I have the honor to report, for the information of the Government, that it became necessary, on the 3rd June, for the officers of the British Government, both Civil and Military, and other Christian inhabitants of the place, to retire from Mooradabad, and to seek their personal safety in a hasty retreat upon either Meerut or Naineetal.

The above measure was not had recourse to until it became fully apparent that no further advantage to the public interests could be obtained by our remaining longer at our posts; but that, on the contrary, our continuing to do so under the circumstances, after Mooradabad had become perfectly untenable through the breaking out into open mutiny of the 29th Native Infantry and of the detachment of Artillery, and plunder of the Government Treasury by the Guard in whose custody it had been placed, would only, in all probability, have resulted in a very serious sacrifice of human life.

[1] "Letter of A. Bremner in possession of Abdul Rahman who resided at Pilibhit". (Photostat copy obtained from the descendant of Abdul Rahman).

[2] No date is given here in the Printed Text. Presumably it was written before 30th June 1857.

The disturbed state of Rohilcund in general, and of my own district in particular, and the excited and turbulent condition of the Mahomedan population of the neighbouring native state of Rampore, coupled with the painful intelligence which had reached us, the previous day, of the outbreak of the troops at Bareilly, and of the massacre of many British officers at that station, warned us that there was no longer any possibility of our being able to retain our position at Mooradabad with advantage to Government or honour to ourselves, and that any further attempts to do so would merely result in an indiscriminate massacre of the European population.

COMMUNICATIONS INTERRUPTED

It is not improbable that, owing to the disturbances in the Doab, and consequent interruption to the *dak* communication between Mooradabad and the seat of the Government during the past fortnight, the difficulties which have from day to day been encountered by the local officers in retaining their position at Mooradabad, and the endeavouring to restore peace and good order to the district after much[1] emeute on the 19th May, when a portion of the 29th Native Infantry proceeded to the district gaol and released the prisoners, may not be fully known to the Lieutenant-Governor. Daily reports, in a demi-official form, were forwarded by me to the seat of Government, respecting the state of feeling among the troops and in the district generally, and the different eventful occurrences which from time to time took place in my district; but I presume that but a few of these communications ever reached their destination, as no replies were ever received, and the *daks* were apparently systematically stopped and plundered in the Allyghur (Aligarh) District.

It will be hardly necessary, I conceive, for me on the present occasion to mention in detail all that occurred during the interval between the breaking open of the gaol on the 19th May, and our subsequent retreat from the district on the 3rd and 4th of June. It may, however, be as well for me to state that we had succeeded by great exertions in putting a stop to the system of open plunder and rapine which had been commenced by organized bands of the Goojurs,

[1] The word can also be 'such'.

Mehwattees (Mewatis) and even Jats, who had been led to believe, from the tales told them by the released prisoners, that a general massacre of the Civil Authorities had taken place at the time of the gaol outbreak, and that constituted authority was at an end, and who hence considered that they might commit any amount of atrocity with impunity.

COUNTER MOVES OF THE BRITISH

Several expeditions were carried out against these marauders with perfect success by the Civil Authorities, with the aid of detachments of the 29th Native Infantry, and Irregular Cavalry, at Amroha[1], and also in the neighbourhood of Chuglut and Hussunpore (Hasanpur)[2], and peace had been almost completely restored to the district by the end of May, and we were very sanguine of being able to retain our posts, and weather the storm in safety. A large force of the Sappers and Miners who had deserted from Meerut, were attacked on their way through the district to their homes, and made to lay down their arms, to the number of upwards of sixty stand. A party of twenty sepoys of the 20th Native Infantry returning to their homes with treasure plundered from the Government coffers at Mozuffernugger (Muzaffarnagar), were also attacked and their ill-gotten gains taken from them; two of the party having been killed and twelve or thirteen apprehended.

SERVANT OF RAMPUR NAWAB COMMUNICATES TO THE MORADABAD AUTHORITIES THE NEWS OF THE BAREILLY OUTBREAK

Unfortunately, however, the news of the outbreak and massacre at Bareilly on Sunday, the 31st May, reached Mooradabad early on the 2nd June, intelligence of the same having

[1] *Amroha*, Tahsil *Amroha*, District *Moradabad*—The ancient city of Amroha stands in 28° 54′ N. and 78° 28′ E., at a distance of 19 miles west-north-west from Moradabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Moradabad, Vol. XVI, 1911, p. 175).

[2] *Hasanpur*, Tahsil *Hasanpur*, District *Moradabad*—The place which gives its name to the western tahsil of the district is a considerable town standing in 28° 43′ N. and 78° 17′ E., at a distance of 42 miles by road from Moradabad and some nine miles south from Gajraula station, with which it is connected by a metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Moradabad, Vol. XVI, 1911, p. 215).

been communicated to us, at his master's request, by the confidential servant of the Nawab of Rampore. The change of tone and feeling in the Regiment during the next day became most apparent; and a similar alteration was perceptible in the demeanour and conduct of the ill-affected among the community at Mooradabad.

On the morning of the 3rd June, the sepoys refused admission to the *cutchery* building, being in an exposed and unsafe position, in the event of the Rampore insurgents coming down to attack them, a contingency which they professed to consider not unlikely.

TREASURE IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

After consultation, it was agreed that, the treasure being already in their power, it was perfectly immaterial, as they had made up their minds to possess themselves of it, whether they helped themselves to the money from the Government treasury building or from the tumbrils, except that, in the latter case, it would remove all temptation to the *budmashes* of the city to come out and join in the disturbance.

I regret to say that a sum of about 75,000 rupees has fallen into the hands of the mutineers. I was enabled to destroy the whole of the stamps in store whose value exceeded 4 rupees, during a brief interval of want of attention on the part of the native officers and sepoys who were removing the treasure; but with that exception, the whole of the Government funds at Mooradabad fell into their hands. It would appear that the sepoys had been under the impression that there had been a much larger sum in the treasury, for they were evidently much disappointed at the amount, and seizing the treasurer, carried him up to the guns, and threatened to blow him away unless he disclosed where the remainder had been placed. I succeeded in rescuing him from the awkward position in which he was placed; but the most ill-affected and turbulent among the sepoys endeavoured to cut off the retreat of Mr. Wilson, the Judge, and of myself, and a few of the number deliberately put their percussion-caps on their muskets, and levelled their pieces at us. Some of the native officers, however, rushed forward, and reminding the men of the oath they had previously taken not to injure us, persuaded them to desist from their intention of shooting us.

EUROPEANS ESCAPE TO MEERUT

Under these circumstances, the Regiment and Artillery detachment having deliberately appropriated the Government treasure, the opium, and all the plate chests, and other valuable property of private individuals which had been sent for security to the Government Treasury, and from information received it being evident that the Police had ceased to act, and were in concealment, and that the bad characters of the town, and the disaffected, would attack us, it became necessary for us to make arrangements for our speedy departure, and we accordingly summoned the officers of the Irregular Cavalry on leave from their regiments, whose service had been previously placed at our disposal, and disclosed to them our intention. They volunteered to escort us in safety to Meerut, and by far the greater number fulfilled their promise, and have since been rewarded by the Military Authorities at this place by general promotion to higher grades in their respective regiments.

Mr. J. C. Wilson, the Judge of Mooradabad, Mr. J. S. Campbell, the Joint Magistrate, Dr. H. M. Cannon, Civil Surgeon, and myself, with our respective wives, and (an) European discharged Artilleryman, of the name of Green, have reached this place in safety. I regret to say that up to the present time we have received no information regarding the safety of the remainder of the European community of Mooradabad. We gave due notice of our intention to proceed to Meerut to the officers of the 29th Native Infantry, and requested them to join us; but, although we waited for upwards of an hour before we started, and for some time at the point of rendezvous at the Gangar[1] bridge, four miles from Mooradabad, which we had agreed upon, I regret to say that they did not, any of them, accompany us on the journey. The great majority of the officers had expressed an intention of riding off to Nainee Tal, and I am in hopes that the whole of the officers, and the three or four ladies still remaining at Mooradabad, may have taken their departure in that direction, where I have little doubt but that the 66th Goorkhas will remain loyal, and defend the European community at present residing at Nainee Tal.

[1] Appears a misprint for 'Ganges', printed as 'Gangon' in *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*; (See page next to this).

I cannot conclude this report without expressing the obligations under which I feel to those who have shared with me the labours and anxieties of the past eventful period, and for whose ready and cordial co-operation throughout I cannot feel too grateful.... Had the troops at Bareilly but remained staunch, the 29th Regiment Native Infantry would not have fallen from their loyalty and allegiance to the Company.

In conclusion, I would beg to express a hope that the Government will exonerate the officers attached to the Mooradabad District from all blame in having at length felt compelled, by dire necessity, to forsake their charge. My own conscience acquits me of having deserted my post one moment before absolute necessity compelled me, as well for the interests of Government as for the sake of humanity, to leave, and I trust that the Government verdict will equally absolve me from the charge of having neglected my duty on the present occasion.[1]

OUTBREAK AT MORADABAD

Letter No. 88 *from R. H. Dunlop, Offg. Magistrate of Moradabad, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand), dated Moradabad Magistracy, the* 18*th November* 1858.

May 11*th*—A sowar arrived with news by letter from Meerut of the outbreak on preceding day....

May 12*th*—A parade called, when the sepoys were promised that they would not be required to use the new cartridges.

May 18*th*—70 mutineer sepoys of the Sappers and Miners arrived from Mozuffernuggur (Muzaffarnagar), and camped at the Gangon bridge, three miles from Moradabad.

May 20*th*—Syud Goolzar Alee (Saiyid Gulzar Ali) etc., burnt the *tehseel* and *thannah* of Amroha, killed the *Thannadar* and *Jemadar*, and plundered Rs. 17,000 of Government revenue.

May 21*st*—Promiscuous fighting commenced among the *zemindars*, chiefly by attempted dacoities on the part of the *Moollahs* and Puthans.

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 5 in No. 1, pp. 8-10.

May 24th—250 *Jahadees* arrived from Rampore at the call of Moulvee Munnoo. Mr. Wilson met them with a Company of the 23rd Native Infantry and District Sowars, dispersed them, and the Moulvee Munnoo was shot in the evening.

May 25th—Mr. Wilson destroyed the house of Goolzar Alee at Amroha.[1]

* * *

Extract from the Narrative of Occurrences at Moradabad, Part I, by J. C. Wilson, Commissioner on Special Duty, late Judge, dated Camp Moradabad, the 26th October 1858.

NAWAB NIAMAT-ULLAH HOSTILE TO BRITISH GOVT.

After removing Baboo Tara Chund Pyne and his family to the house of Monshee Doorga Pershad (Munshi Durga Prasad), Zillah Visitor, in the neighbourhood, I ventured out to see what was going on abroad.

An old pretender was now seen going towards the cantonments, with a few Mussulman followers, to tamper with the sepoys. It was Nawab Niamutoolah Khan, formerly in Government employ, (viz., *Moonsiff* of Nugeenah[2] in the time of Mr. Judge Okeden, and subsequently a political pensioner).[3]

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Extract from the Narrative of Occurrences at Moradabad Part I by J. C. Wilson, Commissioner on Special Duty, late Judge, dated Camp Moradabad, the 26th October 1858.

The native troops mutinied at Bareilly at 10 A. M. on the 31st May. The folks of Moradabad were informed of it on the very next day, viz., Ist June. On the 2nd June I was convinced that the native troops did mutiny at Bareilly, so that on that day, while I was going to the post office, I heard a

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, pp. 1-2.

[2] *Nagina*, Pargana and Tahsil *Nagina*, District *Bijnor*—Nagina, though no longer the captial is the principal town of the district, and stands in 29° 26′ N. and 78° 26′ E., at a distance of 19 miles from Bijnor, with which it is connected by a metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, 1908, p. 267).

[3] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District* Part I, p. 7.

Mussulman *Burkundaz* repeating an Oordoo (Urdu) stanza to another *Burkundaz*: "*The fowler this day announced to the captive birds, 'Ye all shall obtain freedom next day.*" I guessed the above hint, that there was something rotten in the state of affairs, and something serious would surely happen the next day. I was somewhat alarmed now, and so I went to the Lines, without exciting any one's curiosity, to glean some information there. I saw there several low Mussulmans, emissaries from Mujjoo Khan and Abbas Alee Khan, two Nawabs of Moradabad, tampering with the native soldiers, praising and telling them false stories, prejudicial to the interests of the British Government. I immediately returned, unperceived, to the Post Office. I then went to Lieutenant Warwick, who was dining with Messrs. Powell, Hill, Warwick (Junr.) and Phillip. Lieutenant Warwick being a very jolly old gentleman, who always joked with me, asked me in his usual jocose manner, some news, and enquired of me if, like Mr. Hill, I distributed sweetmeats to celebrate the British victory at the Hindun river. I answered him in the affirmative; but informed him that the 29th Native Infantry would, in a day or two, certainly mutiny again. Upon this the old gentleman, with his party, began to enquire of me seriously further. But Mrs. Warwick, a Eurasian lady, and step-mother of Mr. J. Warwick, Junr. (Junior), contradicted my words, and desired the party not to listen to me, as I had only come to frighten them. Her words, half English and half Hindoostanee, so much offended me, that I took leave and returned home. Mr. J. Warwick, however, is one of the Christian clerks, who survived the massacre at Moradabad. He is now Head Clerk of the Judge's office. He, when I was going away, requested me to let him know immediately if anything serious might happen. The officers as usual passed their evening amidst consultations in the compound of Mr. Campbell. *At last the morning of the calamitous 3rd June dawned, on which the 29th Native Infantry were resolved to throw off the British allegiance.* For my own part I passed a very uneasy night with Baboo Tara Chund Pyne, the Sub-Assistant Surgeon, and Moonshee Doorga Pershad, the Zillah Visitor. Early in the morning I went towards the cantonments; saw there the emissaries of Mujjoo Khan, and every preparation on the part of the 29th Native Infantry to bid adieu to the British Officers, whom they had solemnly sworn never to desert. I hastened to Mr. J. Warwick, who, regardless of any danger, was teaching

a native boy, and superintending the masonry works of his bungalow. I told him now distinctly that in a few hours there would be perfect mutiny, and that he had better discharge all his laborers. He told me that the sepoys would harm no Christian residents, as he had been solemnly assured to that effect by Sookha Ram *Havildar*, of Artillery. However I made him to believe that he must dread the attack of the city Mussulmans. He replied, "Don't be concerned, *Baboo*, about the city Mussulmans; if they dare approach us, we will give them a good lesson with our rifles." At last, perceiving great confusion in the *cutcherry* compound, he dismissed the workmen, and went to his father, Lieutenant Warwick, to acquaint him with the impending danger. It is a pity that these gentlemen made no preparations to bolt, but remained at Moradabad, confiding in the fidelity of their native servants and friends. The 3rd of June was a Hindoo holiday, and Messrs. Wilson and Saunders were distinctly told now by the sepoys to make over the treasure to them, and leave the station. Their remonstrances were not at all heeded by the sepoys. They were accordingly obliged to send for the keys from the Deputy Collector, Mr. Kitchen, who had taken refuge in the town.[1]

VILLAGES AFFECTED IN MORADABAD DISTRICT

English Translation of the Petition[2] *of Hori Lal Peshkar, dated June* 16, 1858.

Compliments—I beg to submit the accounts of the devastation of *pargana* Rudrapur, Kurpur Kham *Tahsil* after the tyranny and loot done by the malcharacters and *badmashes* during the rebellion last year. Some of the villages were totally depopulated and their residents shifted to certain newly populated places. I have penned down all that I have learnt about these villages and this can be ascertained from the tyrannised residents of both the *parganas* at the time of your triumphant return in the next winter. For fear of the rebels, I have been moving from place to place incognito since the outbreak and have thus gathered the information which I beg to submit for your perusal—

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, pp. 11-12.
[2] Presumably addressed to 'The Commissioner'.

Accounts of the devastation of the areas, the flight of its inhabitants, together with the names and places of residence of the plunderers and rebels.

. *Rudrapur Proper, Rampur Kalatpur, Pargana Rudrapur*—This village was plundered by Johari Khan Mewati, *Chaprasi* of the *Tahsil Kacheri* (Court), Rudrapur, resident of Bharai, Samand Khan Pathan, resident of Bhoora Lal, Mian Jan, Bhai Jan, Mangal Khan Mewati, resident of Inayet Ganj, hamlet of Rampura, Jagat Pur, Karam Ali *Faqir*, resident of Rampura, and Ali Sheikh *Barqandaz* of *thana* Rudrapur who acted as leaders and allied themselves with other groups of rebels. They took away all the plundered property they could lay their hands on. But nobody was killed.

Thana and Godam (Godown) Rudrapur owned by the Government—This was plundered by Samand Khan, resident of Bhoora (illegible), Man Sukh Kurmi, resident of Sooa, *pargana* Nawabi and the Afghan rebel leaders of Bilaspur and Daras at the head of a large following. They carried away the leaves of the doors of the godown and the beams, planks and doors of the Govt. rest-house (*Sarai*). Besides the articles of the above-named godown, Nawab-Zada Muhammad Raza Khan has discovered some by search. He must have reported this to you.

Mulsi and Mulraghar Pur—The above-mentioned *badmashes* looted this village and carried away 150 cattle belonging to Ilahi Bakhsh and Sultan *Muqaddam* and the other residents of the above-named village, to the *ilaqa* Naoabad. Some of the residents fled to the *ilaqa* Naoabad because their cattle were taken away and the remaining are still there. But the cattle have not been restored to them. This is why there has been no disturbance in the village this year like that of the last year.

Kanelra—This village had been entirely depopulated for the last seven years. It has now been repopulated at the cost of immense Govt. money advanced for construction of Karhal *chappar* and as *taqavi*, in the year 1263 *Fasli*. About 30 ploughmen have come from the *ilaqa* Naoabad.... (Mss. illegible)... 1265 *Fasli* that during the rebellion Nasim Khan Pathan resident of *mauza* Khondul Pur with a following of Pathans and Mewatis plundered the *ilaqa* Naoabad and carried all the *chappars* which had been made at the cost of Govt. money away to *mauza* Dabdabha.

All the residents moved away to *ilaqa* Naoabad because of its having been plundered. The above-named village is still absolutely deserted. Nizam Ali *Muqaddam* together with

10 or 12 ploughmen is in *mauza* Indrapur. The remaining village-folk are in *mauza* Dabdabha. It is hoped that with your return and reassumption of authority all these residents will return to this village.

Ratan Pura—This village was plundered by Zain Khan, and Iwaz Khan Mewatis, leaders, residents of Ratanpura. For fear of plunderers and *badmashes*, Mihi Lal *Muqaddam* with all the residents of his village shifted to *mauza* Faizabad, *ilaqa* Naoabad. They will all come back after the re-settlement.

Mohan Pur—This village was plundered by Amir Khan Mewati, Muqaddam Kale Khan, Nur Khan, Fateh Ali, resident of Lama Katra, Ratan Khan, Iwaz Khan Mewatis, *Chowkidars*, residents of Ratan Pura and a group of Mewatis. All its residents have fled to other villages in *ilaqa* Naoabad. The village, at present, is perfectly deserted.

Gudarpur, mauza Patharwi—This village was plundered by Natthoo *Muqaddam* of *mauza* Gundarpuri, Nur Khan, resident of Lungchuria and Barku Dhaniya, *badmashes*, residents of village Masit. But the residents are still there.

Koi Kheri }
Rudra Pur } . . . . . [1]

Kachla—This village had the store of Govt. share of the grain for *Kharif* 1264 which was plundered during the rebellion by Chhiddoo Khan, resident of the same village. He also extorted money from the inhabitants of the village for his own use. He is now staying in *ilaqa* Naoabad.

Bari Dih, Lambardari of Raja Sahib—The above-named Chhiddoo Khan levied money from the inhabitants of this village.

Dopahriya (Mss. torn) the Govt. grain in *mauza* Chaoki—The grain of this . . . (illegible) was carried laden on the carts of the Afghan residents of Darao. Then the money was exacted from the *Muqaddam* and other residents of the village. The names of the mal-characters and plunderers of grain will come to light at the time of investigation. . . .

Sajhni—This village was plundered by the Afghan residents of Darao. Some fourteen or fifteen Mewatis, residents of this village were killed. The rest of the property was carried to *ilaqa* Bowali. This village is still deserted.

[1] No description is given against these villages.

Sonwaira—It is said that the above-named persons plundered Nur Muhammad *Muqaddam* and levied money from the inhabitants of the village.

Sajhnan—It is said that the Afghan inhabitants of the village Darao levied money from the inhabitants of this village and carried away four horses and other belongings of Hari Ram *Muqaddam*.

Swarupi Kalan—The Afghans of Sarai Darao levied Rs. 300/- from Sital Prasad, Budh Sen and Dal Chand *Patwaris* of the village and Rs. 400/- from Abdul Rahman *Muqaddam* and other residents of the above-named village. I have submitted all that I knew. The rest will come to your notice at the time of investigation.

Bari Khakra—It is heard that the Afghans of Darao levied money from this village. This money matter will be revealed at the time of investigation.

Rai Pura }
Banjaran Sarup } . . . . . [1]

Bhagiana Jhalwar—This village was plundered by rebel leaders namely Chhiddoo Khan resident of Kachla, Mirdhan, resident of Darao, Bhima and Dalloo *Muqaddams* of *mauza* Pipra. They had a large body of men with them; one Hori Lal, *Lambardar*, was killed by the mal-characters during this scuffle.

I have penned down all that I knew or could gather from the people of these villages.

The detailed accounts will be given to you on enquiring from the tyrannised people and other residents when you return and resume administrative duties.[2]

BIJNAUR

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT BIJNAUR

Abstract Translation of Saiyid Ahmad Khan's version of the outbreak at Bijnaur.

By and by the mutiny began in Bijnaur; in the roads the

[1] No description is given against these villages.
[2] Moradabad Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 9.
Note—Names of places occurring in this document are written in 'Urdu Shikast' in the Original; hence many of them are incomprehensible.

travellers were looted. On 16th May, 1857 the villages Jhal[1] and Ulenda, police station Bijnaur were devastated. The Gujars looted Devi Das Bajaj. A dacoity was committed in the village Shahbazpur Khadar and the Gujars looted this village. It was the first village which was looted in Bijnaur Distt. On the same date Rs. 16000 of land revenue sent by Chaudhari Pratap Singh *Rais* of Tajpur[2] were received and deposited into treasury. The dak-courier of Mr. Kari Sahib was looted in the Ravli Ghat[3]. These accused were arrested by the efforts and plans of the District Magistrate by appointing *Thanadars* and Mir Turab Ali *Tahsildar* and other Police Officers and some portion of the looted property was also recovered and the people were overawed. But the Gujars did not desist from their activities, especially because the Gujars of other side of the Ganges helped the Gujars of this side in the latter's activities.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GUJAR RIOTS

Though the Gujars had hostile feelings since the beginning of the mutiny yet they found a strange occasion to give expression to those feelings. The Roh tribe who are best in the art of cultivation in this district and are also famous (infamous) for their cowardice, initiated a trouble with the Gujars, when they caught hold of a Gujar woman who was going with her husband and a barber to the locality inhabited by Roh tribe through the border of Shahbazpur, *pargana* Mandawar[4]. Her husband

[1] Apparently *Jhal*, Pargana *Daranagar*, Tahsil and District *Bijnor*—A market town of some importance, standing in 29° 20′ N. and 78° 14′ E., on the south side of the road leading from Bijnor to Nihtaur, at a distance of six miles east-south-east from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 250).

[2] *Tajpur*, Pargana *Burhpur*, Tahsil *Dhampur*, District *Bijnor*—This is the chief town in the pargana, and stands in 29° 10′ N. and 78° 29′ E., on the unmetalled road from Seohara to Nurpur, at a distance of seven miles south-west from the former and 28 miles from Bijnor. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 308).

[3] Apparently *Rauli Ghat*—A ghat on the river Ganges at a distance of about 10 miles from *Bijnaur* town, in the north-west.

[4] *Mandawar*, Pargana *Mandawar*, Tahsil *Bijnor*, District *Bijnor*—This ancient town, which gives its name to a pargana of the Bijnor tahsil, stands on the high ground overlooking the Malin valley to the south, in 29° 29′ N. and 78° 8′ E., at a distance of nearly nine miles north from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 258).

was killed. The barber escaped and reached Basawan Padhan[1] Gujar, of village Shahbazpur and leaving the high officials, he appealed to the Gujars for help. All the Gujars held an assembly and determined to loot and ruin the Roh people. So, the former assembled in Ramiji Wala and attacked Shahbazpur and Abul Khairpur Bankar which were nearer each other; they looted all the houses and burnt most of them. Six persons were killed and were injured and they took away the Gujar woman.

CONFUSION PREVAILS

Since the commencement of the mutiny, the District Magistrate embarked upon best possible means to maintain order in the district. The old sawars of the regiments on leave were called back and recruitment of new sawars was started. The *Thanadars* and other Police Officers were directed to increase the strength of the *Barqandazes* according to exigencies. Chaudhari Nain Singh *Rais* of Bijnaur was directed to go on rounds in the night and secure the protection of the city. Chaudhari Saheb acted as directed. The Collector and Mr. Alexander Shakespear, and Mr. George Palmer also took rounds in some localities in the night. The officials were divided into two parties. The first party was under the charge of Mr. Rahmat Khan, Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate who patrolled during the night. The second party was led by *Sadar Amin* and Mir Saiyid Turab Ali *Tahsildar* Bijnaur. These two parties, took round of the prison, the treasury, in the night, because the disorder was going beyond expectation and even every minute was potent with danger.

A COMPANY OF 29TH REGIMENT SENT TO BIJNAUR

On 18th May '57, a company of *Tilangas* which was going to Moradabad from Saharanpur reached Bijnaur. The *Sadar Amin* received the news that the Company reached Bijnaur after being displeased, and that the *Subadar* and two or four

[1] Perhaps 'Pradhan' is intended.

Tilangas had gone to the residence of the Collector. When the *Sadar Amin* reached the residence of the Collector he came to know that the Company was going to Moradabad due to its transfer there. He found Madah Khan, *Subadar*, was describing the affairs of his fight with the Gujars near Allahbans. It was decided on that day that the stay of the Company at Bijnaur should be planned. Arrangements were therefore made for their stay there. But when their talks among themselves and in market places were known, their stay in Bijnaur was fraught with danger. Subsequently they went to Moradabad.

19TH MAY, MORADABAD JAIL BROKEN CAUSING CONFUSION AT BIJNAUR

The Jail of Moradabad was broken on 19th May and the news of this reached Bijnaur very quickly. Even, some prisoners reached in villages. This news caused much panic in the district of Bijnaur. Around the district in every village the rustics began to assemble. None had the fear of the Government. There was constant danger of a dacoity being committed and the Government treasury plundered. But the show of authority kept up by the tactful patrolling parties, prevented the rustics from taking up courage in their hands.

COMPANIES OF SAPPERS AND MINERS TOWARDS NAJIBABAD

During this time three hundred soldiers of *Safar Maina*[1] rebelled in Roorkee and a Company of *Safar Maina* which was sent to join the Commander-in-Chief's Camp, returned to Roorkee from the way. All of them together marched from Roorkee to Landhaura, and requested the Rani of that place to employ them on condition that they would capture Roorkee etc. for her. She refused to do so. They went to the Nawab of Najibabad[2], to carry out their intentions and reached there on 20th May.

[1] Sappers and Miners.

[2] *Najibabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Najibabad*, District *Bijnor*—The place which gives its name to the pargana and tahsil is a large town standing in 29° 37' N. and 78° 21' E., at an elevation of about 875 feet above the level of the sea, and at a distance of 21 miles north-east from Bijnor. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, pp. 276-277).

MAHMUD KHAN APPROACHED SECRETLY

Some of the officers and soldiers from among these went to *Tahsildar*, Ahmad Ullah Khan, of Najibabad with whom they held some consultations. After some conversation, Ahmad Ullah Khan went to Mahmud Khan with these men, where they held secret consultations. The exact nature of these conversations is difficult to be known But it was rumoured that these soldiers instigated the Nawab to revolt and to establish his supremacy. The nature of the answer of the Nawab too is not known but it is said the Nawab replied that so long as the English officers were present in Bijnaur, he could not dare to comply with their request. He advised them not to create upheavals in the city and *tahsil*. If they went to Bijnaur and created upheaval there and turned away the English officers, he would get good opportunity to establish his rule. These soldiers promised to go to Bijnaur. There is no doubt, that it was the first time when the seed of rebellion grew in the heart of Nawab Mahmud Khan and Ahmad Ullah Khan.

PANIC AT NAGINA

On the 20th May '57, reached Nagina the news of the Moradabad Jail having been broken. The market of Nagina was closed. Maulvi Qadir Ali *Tahsildar* of Nagina with his *Chaprasis* and Munir Uddin, local *Thanadar*, started going round the market and caused the opening of the shops. On the 21st May '57, Munir Uddin, the *Thanadar* of Nagina, informed Maulvi Qadir Ali, *Tahsildar* of Nagina, that the Jail of Bijnaur was broken. He cautioned the *tahsil* staff to be on the alert. The main gate of the *tahsil* was closed, the window was open. The Company of the *Tilangas* was on its way to Moradabad from Najibabad when three soldiers entered the *tahsil* through the window. They demanded grains from the *Tahsildar*; meanwhile many *Tilangas* had entered the *tahsil*. They surrounded the *Tahsildar*, and plundered the treasury.

The *Tahsildar* along with the *Thanadar* hid himself in a house. Many of the *badmashes* of the city joined the *Tilangas*, and looted the property of the *Tahsildar* and plundering the market of Nagina went away. Bhagirath *Kalal* who was very rich was also looted. When they had left the place the *Tahsildar* came out from the hidden place, and restored order in the town.

Property worth Rs.. 10384-14-11 was looted in Nagina.

BREAKING OF THE JAIL AT BIJNAUR

About 1 P. M. some firing was heard in the jail and the jail was heard to have been broken. The Collector, the *Sadar Amin*, Deputy Collector, Saiyid Turab Ali *Tahsildar* with guns and swords ran towards the jail. They hastened towards the direction supposed to be taken by the convicts. They had hardly gone half a mile when the District Magistrate directed the *Sadar Amin* and the Deputy Collector to make arrangements at the treasury for its protection lest it might be plundered. Mr. Palmer also reached there and handing over the key of the treasury went in pursuit of the escaped prisoners with a few sawars. It was believed that the jail had been broken with the view that the prisoners might join hands with the city *badmashes* and plunder the treasury. But the prisoners ran towards the river. In short some escaped convicts were shot dead by the soldiers, others were wounded. The remaining were again imprisoned. The District Magistrate arrived at the treasury and the treasure amounting to rupees 1 lakh and 25 thousand was thrown into a well. Mr. Palmer pursued the prisoners upto the bank of the river.

The breaking of the jail is simply astonishing and requires a deep consideration. There is no doubt that it was the result of a conspiracy hatched by Ram Swarup *Jamadar* who had been previously a *Tilanga* in some *Paltan*. Ram Swarup might perhaps have hastened the breaking of the jail for fear of an attack on the jail from outside and much loss subsequent to that attack. But the fact that if the plan devised at Najibabad was right the *Tilangas* would have reached Bijnaur the same day rather the same time, created doubt in the minds. After the arrival of the British officials, Ram Swarup was being held in high esteem by the Nawab.and day by day he grew more intimate with the Nawab though there were previously no such reasons to promote this familiarity at the Nawab's *darbar*.

VILLAGE BARAMPUR ATTACKED

After this event the Gujars assembled in large numbers in the Mandawar *Pargana*, and determined to plunder the rich Rohs with whom they had estranged relations. They attacked the big Roh village of Barampur[1] *pargana* Kiratpur[2]. Thousands of Gujars of both the sides of the Ganges had assembled and there were some evil doers also with them. They looted that village for eight days and the houses were dug, goods were taken out and those houses were burnt. It all resulted in the loss of some three lakhs of rupees.

MAHMUD KHAN'S ARRIVAL AT BIJNAUR

Before this event the Collector had called all the *Raises* of Bijnaur with their aid to help in the maintenance of order in the district. On the same day, in the evening, Mahmud Khan with his twenty armed Pathan soldiers reached Bijnaur from Najibabad. Outwardly he had reached here on a call, but the thing to wonder at is that he brought empty carts with him to carry away the treasure to Najibabad : and when he met the Deputy Sahib he expressed sorrow that the treasure had been thrown down the well; while in fact he had brought the carts to carry it away to Najibabad. This turned out to be in accordance with the plan arrived at Najibabad and created doubt about the reasons leading to the breaking of the jail.

That night was full of anxiety, in Bijnaur, as the intention of the *Tilangas* to march to Moradabad had not been ascertained. Rather it was believed they would come to Bijnaur. The night passed off peacefully. But the greatest danger was for the English officers, because these faithless to the salt

[1] *Barampur*, Pargana *Kiratpur*, Tahsil *Najibabad*, District *Bijnor*—A considerable village standing in 29° 34′ N. and 78° 12′ E., at a distance of five miles north from Kiratpur and nine miles from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 202).

[2] *Kiratpur*, Pargana *Kiratpur*, Tahsil *Najibabad*, District *Bijnor*—The chief town in the pargana of the same name stands in 29° 30′ N. and 78° 13′ E., at a distance of ten miles north-east from Bijnor and eleven miles from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 251).

were determined to harm the English officers chiefly. They had no grudge against the Indians or the *Ahalkaran* of the officers. The *Sadar Amin* and a few other Indian officers were so much attached to the British that they were prepared to lay down their lives in case the British officers were in danger.

ARRIVAL OF TILANGAS IN DHAMPUR

These *Tilangas* who had come to Nagina marched from there for Dhampur[1]. The news of the mischief which they had committed in Nagina had been communicated to Dhampur also. The *Tahsildar* of Nagina had closed the doors of *tahsil* and the Policemen were alert inside. Fortunately they were not joined by the *badmashes* of the city to incite them on. Rather they were entertained by dishes of fine sweets by Har Sukh Rai Lohai at whose place a marriage party had arrived that day; and the city people provided these *Tilangas* with provisions. The *Tilangas*, therefore, made no mischief but proceeded on to Moradabad.

BRITISH MEASURES TO MANAGE THE DISTRICT

The breaking of the Bijnaur Jail was followed by many mutinous acts and it was widely known that Bijnaur too would be attacked. The rustics were assembled in large numbers especially in the *pargana* Mandawar. The Collector recruited two hundred men through Chaudhari Nain Singh and the city was blockaded, and pickets were stationed at various places. The officers continued to patrol the city in the night. Due to these reasons peace and order could be established in the city of Bijnaur. But the *parganas* were still much disturbed. The army was commissioned from Moradabad and Meerut for the management of these places.

[1] *Dhampur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Dhampur*, District *Bijnor*—The capital of the pargana and tahsil of this name is a considerable town standing in 29° 18′ N. and 78° 31′ E., at a distance of 24 miles east-south-east from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 237).

ARRIVAL OF CHAUDHARI RANDHIR SINGH AND PRATAP SINGH IN BIJNAUR

Among the *Raises*, who had been called with their aids, the unfortunate Nawab Mahmud Khan had already reached. Next day Chaudhari Randhir Singh of Haldaur[1] and after him Chaudhari Pratap Singh of Tajpur also reached and each gave only five sawars by way of aid. But this inadequate auxiliary force could not suppress those riots. But it is a pity, that none of these *Raises* disclosed about the presence of the cannon with them. Had these guns been available, things would not have taken the shape they took henceforward. In spite of calls, Bhup Singh *taluqdar* of Rhed Barhupra[2] did not turn up and even did not send any aid. Nawab Mahmud Khan was anxious to leave for Najibabad. The anxiety was due to the fact that he did not see his desires fulfilled in Bijnaur. That is, neither the *Tilangas* arrived nor did the treasures fall into his hands. Every attempt made to keep him there failed, but after two days he left for Najibabad.

PLUNDER AND RAVAGE RAMPANT

The rustics did not desist from creating disturbances in spite of arrangements that could possibly be made to check them and continued to loot the villages. In village Pratappur, *pargana* Najibabad, a dacoity was committed. A fight ensued. The *Chaukidar* and Chanda Padhan[3] were injured. The Mardhas and the butchers of Akbarabad[4] after forming a big gang first looted the *Patwaris* of Akbarabad, then

[1] *Haldaur*, Pargana *Daranagar*, Tahsil and District *Bijnor*—A small market town standing in 29° 17′ N. and 78° 17′ E., on either side of the road from Daranagar to Nihtaur, at a distance of 11 miles south-east from the district headquarters. A second road runs south to Chandpur, crossing that from Bijnor to Moradabad at Amhera, two miles to the south. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, pp. 247-248).

[2] Apparently *Barhapura*, Pargana *Barhapura*, Tahsil *Nagina*, District *Bijnor*—The place which gives its name to the Barhapura pargana is a small town standing in 29° 31′ N. and 78° 32′ E., at a distance of nine miles north-east from the tahsil headquarters, 16 miles south-east from Najibabad and 27 miles from Bijnor. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, p. 203).

[3] Perhaps 'Pradhan' is meant here, or it is a 'Surname'.

[4] *Akbarabad*, Pargana *Akbarabad*, Tahsil *Najibabad*, District *Bijnor*—

plundered the Jats of Sikandarpur, and then invaded Hajipur. An encounter took place at Hajipur resulting in the death of many people including Buddha *Muqaddam* of Alahiriwala, who had come to the aid of Hajipur men. They, afterwards, looted Rampur and carried on their acts of plunder and ravage indiscriminately.

SUPERINTENDENTS APPOINTED BY THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE

To put a stop to these mutinous activities, the District Magistrate proposed to appoint a few respectable persons, who wielded influence in the district, as Superintendents who should patrol each *pargana* with the party under them and disperse the mob wherever it was heard to have collected. Shafiullah Khan brother of notorious Nawab Mahmud Khan, Mustafa Khan relative of Mahmud Khan, and Saad Ullah Khan *Rais* Barhupura, the ex-thanadar of Nagina were nominated for the purpose as they were respectable men and enjoyed the loyalty of good Pathan soldiers. The scheme in itself was profitable provided a proper personnel to work it out would have been available. The *Raises* of Nagina requested that for the patrolling and *Girdawari* of Nagina, Natthey Khan, who traded in wood, should be appointed with a small party. Had they not made such a request, perhaps Natthey Khan would have come forward as the leader of rebels. Hence the request of the *Raises* was granted and Natthey Khan was put in charge of patrolling and *Girdawari*.

CHANDPUR ATTACKED

On 26th May '57, a large number of Mewatis and Pachandey Jats attacked Chandpur[1] and desired to commit a dacoity.

The place which gives its name to the Akbarabad pargana is a small village standing in 29° 28′ N. and 78° 21′ E., some 18 miles north-east from Bijnor, and ten miles south from the tahsil headquarters, at the junction of the roads connecting Kiratpur with Nagina and Najibabad with Nihtaur. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 198).

[1] *Chandpur*, Pargana *Chandpur*, Tahsil and District *Bijnor*—The capital of the Chandpur pargana is a considerable town situated in 29° 8′ N. and 78° 16′ E., at a distance of 21 miles south-south-east from Bijnor, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*,

The people opposed them; people on both the sides were killed and the city escaped plunder. Another attempt to invade Chandpur was made, but Najaf Ali *Naib Risaldar* dispersed them and peace was restored in the pargana.

THE ARRIVAL OF SAWARS FROM BAREILLY AND OF TILANGAS FROM MORADABAD

Mr. Robert Alexander, Commissioner, had sent 25 newly recruited sawars from Bareilly on 28th May '57, and 40 *Tilangas* of the same regiment who had gone out of control but had come under control again for a few days, reached Bijnaur on 29th May '57.

GUJARS' STRONGHOLD AT MANDAWAR

Mr. George Palmer and Saiyid Turab Ali *Tahsildar* of Bijnaur with these *Tilangas*, whose chief officer was Bahadur Ali Khan *Risaldar*, and with 20 sawars came to Mandawar as the Gujars had become very active and they had planned to raid Muhammadpur[1] and Mandawar.

ACTIVITIES OF AHMAD ULLAH KHAN AND SHAFI ULLAH KHAN

The activities of Ahmad Ullah Khan and Shafi Ullah Khan were not free from suspicion and appeared to be directed towards acquiring overlordship and creating trouble. For example, the *Banjaras* had assembled in the jungle with the intention of rioting. Shafi Ullah pursued, beat them and their property worth Rs. 20,000 was plundered; and he captured a few *Banjaras* and brought them in his own house. He released the *Banjara* women only when the *Banjaras* had assembled in great force. Ahmad Ullah Khan behaved similarly towards the *Banjaras* and captured a few. It is said

[1] *Muhammadpur*, Pargana *Mandawar*, Tahsil and District *Bijnor*—This village, officially known as Muhammadpur Deomal, stands in 29° 27′ N. and 78° 8′ E., at a distance of two miles south-west from Mandawar and six miles from Bijnor, on the road leading from the former place to Raoli ferry over the Ganges. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 266).

he set them free only after accepting some money. A *Padhan* was injured in Kanakpur and goods worth Rs. 10000/- were looted by him.

He marched against the Jats of Burhgarh but when they came to oppose him he ran away. It was the same time when Nawab Mahmud Khan had reached Bijnaur from Najibabad without being summoned and was encamped at Kiratpur. Shafi Ullah brought him with his party to Burhgarh from Kiratpur. The village was looted and was burnt to ashes.

UNEXPECTED ARRIVAL OF MAHMUD KHAN AT BIJNAUR A SECOND TIME

On 1st June '57, Mahmud Khan reached Bijnaur and encamped in the enclosure of the Collector. The signs of rebellion were apparent from his face. He was cherishing the idea of his own rule. The talks before the Deputy Sahib clearly showed his mutinous intentions. After consultations with the District Magistrate it was therefore decided to pack him from Bijnaur, but it was not an easy job. He was sent to the *pargana* of Chandpur on the pretext of a tour of that *pargana* but disagreeing he went to Daranagar[1].

VILLAGES HELPING THE REVOLUTIONARIES BURNT

On 31st May '57, Mr. George Palmer reached Mandawar with his troops and sent for the information from the places where the Gujars were suspected to have assembled and personally with Saiyid Turab Ali *Tahsildar* and Latafat Ali *Thanedar* went to Asukheri, on the banks of the Ganges. On 1st June '57 getting the news of the preparations of rustics in Afzalpur, Mr. Palmer went there along with Saiyid Turab Ali *Tahsildar* and Latafat Ali *Thanedar* and a few *Tilangas* and Sawars and others. He made a charge on them with his

[1] *Daranagar*, Pargana *Daranagar*, Tahsil and District *Bijnor*—The capital of the pargana is a small town standing in 29° 17′ N. and 78° 7′ E., on the high left bank of the Ganges, six miles south from the district headquarters. It is connected with Bijnor by an unmetalled road, and a second runs due east to Haldaur and Nihtaur, while a third goes to Jhal on the road from Bijnor to Chandpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 232).

sawars. The rebels fired their guns and drawing their swords faced the attack. When their fire was replied from this side, they ran away. Many of them were surrounded. Village Fazalpur was set on fire and plundered. About 20 persons were killed and many were wounded. Thirty armed persons were arrested. In addition to Fazalpur, Jahangirpur, Bhojpur, Shaikhpur, Narainpur and Aminpur were also burnt as people of these villages were also siding with the rebellious mob.

GUJARS WARNED

On 2nd June '57 the prisoners taken captive in Mandawar were sent to Bijnaur and the Gujars of the surrounding areas were summoned. The Gujars presented themselves on 3rd June and were asked to write bonds not to commit riots, to return ammunition, and booty. These measures restored peace in the district.

31ST MAY—OUTBREAK AT BAREILLY AND MORADABAD

On 31st May 1857, Bareilly and Moradabad were in open revolt and all the *Sahibs* had left those places. Due to this fact it was not safe for Mr. Palmer to remain there with the *Tilangas* and so he was written to come to Bijnaur. And on the 2nd day of his arrival, the *Tilangas* marched to Moradabad.

CONDITIONS AT BIJNAUR AFTER THE BAREILLY OUTBREAK

For many a day the *dak* was not received from Bareilly. So the officers were in great anxiety. When Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit, Badaun, Moradabad had been in open revolt, how could it be believed that Bijnaur would remain tranquil ? But the Collector continued to manage the district with patience, though the district couldn't be saved from the tide of revolt.

MAHMUD KHAN IN BIJNAUR FOR THE THIRD TIME

Nawab Mahmud Khan, who had gone towards Daranagar, hearing that the Collector was sending the treasure

to Haldaur, returned on 7th June 1857 to Bijnaur with his Pathan followers; some Pathans had arrived from Najibabad also. Mahmud Khan must have had nearly 200 or 250 well armed and equipped Pathans. The Pathans and other men enlisted on the British side were also found leaning towards Mahmud Khan. The idea that the English Rule would be overthrown once for all had taken deep roots in the hearts of all, and that without a shadow of doubt, Mahmud Khan would grace the *Masnad.* Therefore, every inhabitant of this district found it expedient to have relations with Mahmud Khan. The servants enlisted on the side of the British were therefore least trusted to be faithful to the British cause in the event of a danger; rather it was believed they would go over to Mahmud Khan.

REPORTED INTENTIONS OF MAHMUD KHAN TO REVOLT

Chaudhari Pratap Singh, *Rais* of Tajpur, received letters giving full details about the rebellion at Bareilly and Moradabad and also the news of faithlessness of Khan Bahadur Khan. He showed all these letters to the District Magistrate. Mahmud Khan too had got the news about Khan Bahadur, and so he wanted to emulate his example and to carry out his intentions during the night. The authorities did not get any scent of his intentions till then. It was known only when Mahmud Khan did not turn up even though called twice by the Collector. And when he went to the Collector, the latter himself marked some signs of ill-intentions in his face. At 8 P. M. Mohd. Saeed Khan *Muharrir* in the Collectorate, resident of Najibabad, informed the *Sadar Amin* that Nawab Mahmud Khan was determined to create disturbances in the night. Because he was exasperated on hearing the news that the Collector was about to send treasure to Haldaur, there was every likelihood of a bloodshed in the night. The *Sadar Amin* asked Muhammad Saeed Khan to chalk out plans to check the riot and to personally satisfy, along with Wali Mohd., the said Nawab, on his (*Sadar Amin*) behalf that the treasure would not be sent to Haldaur.

EUROPEANS DECIDE TO LEAVE BIJNAUR

On that day the report of the departure of rebel soldiers and two cannon for Bijnaur was received. There was no

doubt about the truth of this news and also that their intention was to loot the treasury. Because the *Tilangas* had not received the share of the plundered treasure in lieu of their help to the mutinous regiment at Moradabad, but were rather taunted at their having not plundered the treasury at Bijnaur and killed the English officers, they returned to Bijnaur to carry out their intentions. In short they were determined to loot the treasury at Bijnaur that night. Consultations were therefore held by British officials in the night regarding the measures to be taken to face the situation on the arrival of mutinous sepoys. At last it was decided that that very night *Mem Saheb* and other Christian ladies and children and some men should go to Muzaffarnagar *en route* to Roorkee, and Mr. Alexander Shakespear and Mr. George Palmer should stay in Bijnaur. Preparations were accordingly made to send the *Mem Saheb* and others. But before sending them it was thought prudent to consult Mahmud Khan also lest something untoward might happen at the time of their departure. Saiyid Khan, therefore, went to Mahmud Khan's Camp and found him arrogant and haughty. Saiyid Ahmad Khan tried to convince him that the treasure would not be sent to Haldaur as reported to Mahmud Khan. From the manner of the talks of Mahmud Khan, Saiyid Ahmad Khan inferred that the former was bent upon mischief and would stake his all. Saiyid Ahmad using persuasive language addressed him thus : "It has been decided that the *Mem Saheb* and other Christian ladies should be sent away and the British officers should follow them in a day or two. If you agree to this proposal, there is no need for you to make disturbances as after their departure you would be the Nawab and sole owner of everything without winning a bad name for yourself." He (Mahmud Khan) retorted : "What is all this humbug that the ladies should go first and then the British officers after a day or two ? If they are to go, they all must go to-night, otherwise some may be killed." During the same day many parties joined Nawab Mahmud Khan from Najibabad.

Finding him bent upon mischief, Saiyid Ahmad Khan asked Nawab Mahmud to accompany him to the Collector. He refused to go and replied, "I have previously told the Collector to leave the district and I am not inclined to go there." Saying this he went away and joined his Pathans. Saiyid Ahmad explained all these things to the Collector.

Consultations were then held as to whom the district should be entrusted. No way seemed to be open except to hand over the district to Mahmud Khan and to send away the British officers and their families.

CHAUDHARIS' REFUSAL TO ADMINISTER THE DISTRICT

Before leaving the district, the Collector asked the Chaudharis, Randhir Singh, *Rais* of Haldaur and Pratap Singh, *Rais* of Tajpur, if they would take the responsibility of managing the district in his absence. They expressed their helplessness. In fact, it was not possible in those circumstances as the inhabitants of the district would not accept anyone but Nawab Mahmud Khan as their ruler. Randhir Singh even gave a negative reply to the question if he could protect the British officers during the period of the stay of mutinous regiment in Bijnaur. In the night things were finally decided and the District Magistrate and Mr. Palmer prepared for their departure from the district. Nawab Mahmud Khan was told that the *Saheb logue* (*log*) had decided to leave the district and he should look after their protection till they reached across the river from where they (the British officers) would report to the Government that the district should be handed over to Mahmud Khan. The District Magistrate then called Mahmud Khan and entrusted to him the charge of the district. Mahmud Khan demanded a written authority for this and the Collector complied with his request.[1]

* * *

Extracts from Letter No. 106 *from A. Shakespear, Magistrate and Collector, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, Bareilly.*

GUJARS SWARMING THE DISTRICT

2*nd*—.....The whole of that part of the country was swarming with Goojurs (Gujars) and escaped convicts, who stopped and plundered every one not even sparing the

[1] "*The Bijnour Rebellion*" By Syud Uhmud Khan, Sudder Ameen of Bijnour, popularly known as "*Sarkashi-i-Zila Bijnaur*"; Abstract Translation from Urdu, pp. 5 to 28.

meanest traveller, and fortunate it was for us, that they had at this time plenty to occupy them nearer home, and that the river, which during the first few days following the outbreak was fordable at many points, suddenly rose, for, before the vast numbers of these marauders, who shortly afterwards appeared on the opposite bank, eager to pillage the rich marts of Daranuggur (Daranagar) and Dhunourah[1], could cross, I had been enabled to collect and guard the boats on the Bijnour side and make arrangements for preserving this district from the threatened inroad.

SHAHBAZPUR KHADAR ATTACKED

3*rd*—On the 16th, the suwars returned from Meerut, bringing me letters confirming the native accounts and the tales told of all they had seen, and of the state of things in the "Dumdumah," was[2] immediately followed by overt acts of violence which until then had been averted. The first case of highway robbery occurred on this day, being committed by the Goojurs of Jhal and Oleynda in open day 8 miles from Bijnour, and this was immediately followed by an attack on Shabazpoor Khudder, a village inhabited by Rowahs, a class of first rate cultivators, which was likewise pillaged by Goojurs.

BRITISHERS SEEK LANDHOLDERS' HELP

4*th*—On the 17th a *Surburah*, sent forward to lay a *Dak* for Mr. Robert Currie, who was on his way to the hills, was attacked and the money taken from him within a few miles of Bijnour, and although measures were taken which resulted in the immediate seizure of the parties concerned in this and in the case of highway robbery, it was quite evident the evil was growing upon us and it was necessary to adopt stringent measures if we hoped to retain our authority. I accordingly required the principal landholders to aid me to the best of their ability.....

[1] *Dhanaura*, Tahsil *Hasanpur*, District *Moradabad*—A market town in the north of the tahsil, situated in 28° 58′ N. and 78° 15′ E., at a distance of 44 miles by road from Moradabad and 16 miles north from Hasanpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Moradabad, 1911, pp. 211-212).

[2] In the printed narrative there is full-stop after Dumdumah and the sentence begins with 'The news was...'

PANICKY CONDITIONS

5*th*—But during this eventful month when the minds of men were so unsettled that the slightest thing affected them, alarm was taken at circumstances which in ordinary times would have passed unheeded. Thus when on the 18th a Company of the 29th Native Infantry, *en route* to rejoin their Corps from duty at Suharunpore (Saharanpur), suddenly made their appearance without any intimation having been received, the fears of the people were greatly excited more especially as the sepoys did not care to conceal their anger at two untoward circumstances which had occurred in the Suharunpore District whilst on their march. The first of these was the unfortunate encounter with the Sermoor (Sirmur) Battalion on its way down the Ganges Canal to Meerut, and the second, the loss of their baggage upon which a band of Goojurs made a sudden descent, wounding some of their rear guard.

ATTACK BY GUJARS APPREHENDED

6*th*—Notwithstanding the dangerous mood in which they were, our position at this time was such that it was simply a choice of evils, and as an inroad of the Goojurs was hourly expected, I was urgent with the *Soobadar* to retain his Company at Bijnour for the usual halting period of 24 hours to enable me to obtain from Moradabad the sanction of the Commanding Officer of the 29th Native Infantry, to their remaining for a few days to assist us in our need. At first I induced them with considerable difficulty to agree to this, but they suddenly changed their minds and when the permission from Moradabad reached me they were well on their way to join their comrades at that station. One of the excuses they made for not remaining was that they were short of ammunition, and with the temper they were in, it was extremely fortunate for us that such was the case.

SAPPERS AND MINERS NEGOTIATE WITH NAWAB OF NAJIBABAD

7*th*—On the 19th, the Moradabad Jail was broken and as the worst prisoners connected with the Bijnour District were

imprisoned there, the return of many of them to their villages caused the greatest alarm and the roads became immediately extremely unsafe, and to add to the sense of insecurity about three hundred of the Sappers and Miners after mutinying at Roorkee, suddenly made their appearance at Nujeebabad. With these a negotiation was opened by Mahmood Khan (known as the Nawab of Nujeebabad) who, though he was anxious to avoid any disturbance at that place, was favorable, as appeared subsequently, to an attack being made on us at Bijnour and we so fully expected their arrival that we began to put the upper storey of my house into a state of defence.

NAGINA TAHSIL TREASURY PLUNDERED

8*th*—Fortunately for us the Sappers came to the determination of making straight for Moradabad, where they hoped to obtain ammunition and the assistance of the disaffected men of the 29th Native Infantry. With this view they marched on the 21st to Nugeenah (Nagina) where they pillaged the *tahseel* treasury of all it contained in cash, stamps and opium,* and after throwing the whole town into confusion and joining the bad characters of the place in looting the Bazar and principal *Mahajuns*, they proceeded on to Dhampore where they hoped to repeat the outrage. Here, however, news of their approach had been received, and the *tahseel* being well adapted for defence they were compelled to go away without securing any treasure. In fact the want of ammunition appears to have increased their anxiety to join, as they supposed, the mutinous 29th Native Infantry at Moradabad, but this Corps had not up to this time altogether thrown off its allegiance though it had been guilty of gross excess in releasing some men of the 20th Native Infantry, who had been confined in the jail at that station. Unfortunately for the Sappers, the 29th was on its good behaviour and apparently anxious to make

* Marginal note in Original—

Cash	10167	0	11
Stamps	.126	14	0
Opium	55	0	0
	10348	14	11

amends when the fugitives from Roorkee arrived, and the result was that I had the satisfaction of learning that they had not long enjoyed their ill-gotten spoil, two Companies of the 29th with some suwars and two guns having gone out against them, and after stripping off their regimentals and relieving them of all their property, had sent them adrift.

BIJNAUR JAIL BROKEN

9*th*—Whilst these events were occurring elsewhere, at Bijnour itself we had much cause for anxiety, our jail having (been) broken on the day when the Sappers entered Nugeenah. The jail miserably insecure and most inadequately guarded by 16 men, contained at this time 341 prisoners including those under trial. I had just finished raising the outer wall 3 feet, and inside alterations were in progress which armed the prisoners with missiles; and about mid-day of the 21st they attacked the main gate, which they soon succeeded in removing from its hinges. *It was clearly a preconcerted affair in which the prisoners were encouraged by the breaking of the Moradabad Jail two days previously,* whilst the extreme alarm which prevailed consequent on this and the presence of the mutinous Sappers in the district made the Guard acquiesce quietly in the attempt, which they believed it useless to oppose. The consequence of this feeling was that many of the Guard were absent at the time of the outbreak, having left their muskets and ammunition in the Guard-room, near the gate of the jail. *Of this circumstance the prisoners were evidently well aware for they at once broke into this place, and there secured* 11 *muskets and several pouches full of cartridges.* When I arrived on the spot, which I did almost immediately, all further egress was stopped, some of the prisoners being shot in the attempt, and Mr. G. Palmer, my Joint Magistrate, coming up shortly afterwards mounted, I dispatched him, with the few suwars, who had by this time assembled, to pursue the fugitives and the result would have been most satisfactory had not the prisoners succeeded in getting on a sandbank in the river before a re-inforcement sufficient to secure them could arrive, night favoring their escape.

10*th*—On this occasion, 215 prisoners escaped, 7 were killed and 126, of whom 12 were wounded, were recaptured or prevented breaking out.

BRITISHERS THROW TREASURE DOWN A WELL

11*th*—This preconcerted plan had, I have no doubt, for one of its objects the looting of the treasury, which was within a short distance, and I therefore at once decided to throw all the coin, except what was actually necessary for current expenses, down a well close at hand, the mouth of which could be defended from the top of the treasury building, and this I accordingly did whilst Mr. Palmer was in pursuit of the prisoners, and had the satisfaction of finding that this measure had a most quieting effect, for all felt that we were altogether unable to guard the treasure so long as it remained above ground.

MAHMUD KHAN AT BIJNAUR

12*th*—After this the Goojurs of the Mundawur *Pergunnah* commenced systematic plundering and great excesses were committed all round Bijnour, which I was utterly unable to prevent. I had already called upon the principal men of the district to assist me in preserving the peace and to send me trustworthy men into Bijnour, but before any of these arrived, on the very day the jail broke and fortunately after the money was down the well, Mahmood Khan arrived with a number of empty carts to carry off (as he told the Deputy Magistrate) the treasure to Nujeebabad[1], and he was much disconcerted when he learnt what had been done with it; as we were ignorant of the change of plan which had led the Sappers to go direct to Moradabad, it may readily be conceived what great cause we had for anxiety at this time, for as the *Chowdrees* of Huldour[2] and Tajpore[3] had not then arrived I had no force

[1] *Najibabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Najibabad*, District *Bijnor*—The place which gives its name to the pargana and tahsil is a large town standing in 29° 37′ N. and 78° 21′ E., at an elevation of about 875 feet above the level of the sea, and at a distance of 21 miles north-east from Bijnor. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, 1908, pp. 276-277).

[2] *Haldaur*, Pargana *Daranagar*, Tahsil and District *Bijnor*—A small market town standing in 29° 17′ N. and 78° 17′ E., on either side of the road from Daranagar to Nihtaur, at a distance of 11 miles south-east from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, 1908, pp. 247-248).

[3] *Tajpur*, Pargana *Burhpur*, Tahsil *Dhampur*, District *Bijnor*—This is

to set off against the Puthans who were evidently in an unsettled and dangerous state of mind. The next two days passed off well, and then I had retainers of the chief Hindoo *zemindars* round me, and having raised some Horse and made arrangements for the safety of the station, I felt myself in a position to act on the offensive. *Bunjaras* had to be dealt with in the neighbourhood of the jungles, Goojurs were swarming all along the river and committing all sorts of atrocities in concert with their brethren of the opposite bank, and the very troublesome and powerful classes of Mewatees and Bilochees were in large numbers along the boundary of this and the Moradabad District.....

NAJIBABAD NAWAB REAPPEARS AT BIJNAUR

16*th*—After the Nuwab found his plans had miscarried, and that the loyal Hindoos were ready to check any overt act of his, he was most urgent to be allowed to return to Nujeebabad. He consequently left on the 23rd, but on the 1st of June he reappeared unbidden and accompanied by at least two hundred well armed Puthan matchlockmen, and it was quite evident he felt it was merely a matter of a few days and then he would be in possession of the district. As his presence in this mood was far from agreeable, I induced him after some trouble to go to settle a matter with some Mewatees a few miles off and I fully anticipated during his absence to be able to do much towards restoring confidence, but all these hopes were blighted by the serious occurrences elsewhere which followed quickly on each other at this time.

BRITISH AUTHORITIES NOTICE DEFIANCE AROUND THEM

17*th*—The first authentic report of the outbreak at Bareilly reached me on the 3rd of June, but it had been rumoured since the 1st, the bad news having flown with its usual

the chief town in the pargana, and stands in 29° 10′ N. and 78° 29′ E., on the unmetalled road from Seohara to Nurpur, at a distance of seven miles south-west from the former and 28 miles from Bijnor. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, 1908, p. 308).

rapidity. I immediately sent out to re-call Mr. Palmer and we at this time had a most gloomy prospect with a force of Puthans in the compound against which we could not hope to stand, whilst a new danger existed in the presence of the sepoys of the 29th Native Infantry, in whose fidelity we could have no trust as the Regiment had distinctly given out that they could only remain loyal so long as the Bareilly Regiments did. When communicating this important intelligence, the Magistrate of Moradabad informed me that their party would probably have to fly on the night he wrote (the 2nd) and recommended me to make for Roorkee without attempting to hold on longer as doing so would be utterly useless. Mr. Palmer came in at once and on the arrival of the sepoys I got rid of them immediately before they had become aware of what had occurred at Bareilly. Their departure on the morning of the 5th was a great relief, for though we had others ready and willing to work us ill, there was some hope of talking them fair and restraining them from proceeding to extremity, but against a rise of disciplined troops we should have been altogether helpless.....

21*st*—Whilst matters were in this state, Mahmood Khan suddenly returned from Jahanabad, in consequence of a report having reached him that I intended to make over the treasure to the *Chowdrees* of Huldour. The idea had been started but never seriously entertained, for the Rajpoots had expressed themselves unable to protect it, and such a measure would at once have produced the crisis which it was of such vital importance to postpone as long as possible.

DEFIANT ATTITUDE OF NAWAB OF NAJIBABAD

22*nd*—The animus shown by the Nuwab in this instance taken in connection with all that was passing around us, proved clearly that he and his retainers were not to be trusted for a moment and that an outbreak might be precipitated by the smallest accident. It was, therefore, highly necessary to keep him in good humour and in effecting this the *Sudder Ameen* of Bijnour, Syud Ahmad Khan[1], afforded me the most

[1] The author of '*Sarkashi-i-Zila Bijnaur*,' and the celebrated founder of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, now Aligarh University.

valuable assistance. This officer's belief is that the Nuwab had been so worked upon by the representations of his advisers that when in great alarm he hastened to see him on his sudden return, he (the Nuwab) was fully prepared to commit himself openly, and even after he had been pacified and assured that there was no intention to make over the treasure to the Huldour *Chowdrees*, he remained for the rest of the day in a very dogged and perverse humour, refusing to come to me though twice sent for.

INFORMATION ABOUT INTENDED RISING OF PATHANS

23*rd*—This was on the 7th of June, and in the evening of that day Chowdree Purtab Singh (Chaudhari Pratap Singh) received authentic intelligence from Moradabad of what had occurred there and at Bareilly, and it became clear that every Christian's life was sought for. I also obtained information of an intended rising on the part of the Puthans on that night, whilst it was confidently believed by the officials about me that the sepoys of the 29th of whom we had got rid on the 5th, having been refused any share in the treasure pillaged at that station (Moradabad) and being twitted with having allowed the Bijnour Europeans and money to slip out of their hands, were on their way back to rectify their mistake.

NAWAB ENTRUSTED WITH THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DISTRICT

24*th*—As this was probable enough and the distance was not great, I determined to send off Mrs. Shakespear and the rest of the party that night across the river, I and Mr. Palmer remaining to see what turn things would take; but as it was clear that to attempt to do this without the knowledge and consent of the Nawab, would not only be impossible but probably occasion an outbreak about mid-night I sent the *Sudder Ameen* to Mahmood Khan to tell him what was in contemplation. On his asking to speak with the Nuwab apart, the reply was that those about him were all Puthans, and had no secrets from each other, but on being pressed he went aside and when the *Sudder Ameen* told him of our intentions to send the rest of the party off at once and follow ourselves afterwards, he replied that he could not (no) longer answer for his followers,

and that all must leave together, and he refused to come to me saying he had already advised our going and had nothing more to say. On hearing this I was satisfied that there was nothing to be done but to quit the district, and as a last resource[1] I asked the loyal Hindoo *Chowdrees* of Huldour and Tajpore whether they could not manage to hold the district against the Nuwab, and eventually, on their expressing their utter inability do so, I prevailed upon the Nuwab to come to me about 2 A. M. of the 8th of June, and then informed him that I had decided to see my wife and the rest of the party across the river, but hoped not to be absent for more than 10 days or so and that I trusted he would do his best to preserve order during my absence, and at the same time I gave him a paper stating that I made over the *zillah* to him for the present and looked to him to keep all public and private property safe until my return. In this document I carefully avoided giving the Nuwab any authority to collect Revenue, but I told him, as he would have to incur heavy charges he would be at liberty to expend money from the treasury.....[2]

RAMPUR

UNEASINESS IN RAMPUR

The year 1857 is famous for the great Indian revolt. From the commencement of the year and even in the last part of the preceding one, mischievous thoughts of revolt were secretly finding their way in the hearts of native soldiers in different regiments of Infantry and Cavalry commanded by English officers. It is not necessary here to mention and enumerate the causes working at that period in the native army, detailed accounts of which are given in Indian histories. The sum and total of all is that in May, 1857 the native army quartered at Meerut Camp mutinied while on parade grounds and after murdering cruelly their English officers with their innocent wives and children setting the whole of the camp on fire and plundering

[1] Appears misprinted for 'recourse' or 'resort'.

[2] Department—XXIV, File : "Narrative of Events attending the Outbreak at Bijnaur"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Bijnaur District*, pp. 1-6.

the magazine and the city *fled towards Delhi which was agreed upon beforehand to be the centre of revolt.* It was only an initiative movement and after that there was a general rebellion all through the length and breadth of N. W. Provinces now called the U. P. of Agra and Oudh. All the native army took arms against their employers and ruthlessly murdered every and any European male, female and child that came in the way and began to concentrate themselves at Delhi, Lucknow Cawnpore etc. Later on signs of rebellion began to show themselves in Rohilkhand also. In Bareilly Khan Bahadur Khan collecting some army of rebels, plundered the whole city and began a reign of terror there. The Commissioner and Agent for Rampur and other British officials seeing this state of things and being powerless to resist the rebel army fled towards Nainital and fortifying the place as far as they could, found an asylum there and lived there until the end of the mutiny depending for the *rasad*, communication, money and everything upon Rampur State.

In the Bijnor District, Mahmood Khan, a petty landholder and Nawab of Najeebabad, took possession of the whole district and collected an army of rebels. The District Officers fled with their lives towards Dehradun and Mussoorree. The British officers in the Moradabad District saw this state of things in other districts.

Moradabad was also not free from rebellion where the native army with the help and cooperation of the Jail Guard broke open the prison, released all the prisoners therein and murdered some of the officers concerned. The others seeing this state of things left the city and went away to Garhmukteshwar and Meerut.

In short, in the whole of the Rohilkhand Division, Nawab Mohammad Yusuf Ali Khan, the then farsighted and brave ruler of Rampur only remained loyal and faithful to the British Government. He was surrounded on all sides by rebels of his own religion who would have urged him on to revolt had he not been a strong and wise ruler and a firm and staunch friend of the English. The Nawab had several very hard duties to perform and to contend with many difficulties in their performance which lamed[1] his energies to the utmost

[1] 'claimed' would be suitable here.

but with great wisdom, skill and sound policy he overcame them all.

The first of them was to prevent the Rampur Pathans from open revolt. Though there was no open rebellion here but owing to their close relations with Bareilly and Najeebabad rebels they were frequently urged on to join them by their agents secretly.....[1]

KUMAUN

OUTBREAK IN KUMAUN

Extract from Letter No. 258 *from Major H. Ramsay, Commissioner of Kumaun, to William Muir, Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, dated Nynee Tal (Naini Tal), the* 22*nd July* 1858.

I have now the honour to submit the report required by your Circular No. 212, dated 30th April.

Mr. Colvin's letter is enclosed.

MEERUT OUTBREAK NEWS REACHES GARHWAL

2*nd*—The news of the Meerut mutiny reached me, then in the snowy ranges of Gurhwal, on 22nd May. I hastened back to Almorah, made what arrangements appeared advisable with Colonel MacCausland, and then proceeded to Nynee Tal to do what was possible for the preservation of order at the foot of the Hills, to get funds and procure supplies.

TRADE PARALYSED

3*rd*—My applications to Bareilly and Moradabad for money were too late, the sepoys having determined upon protecting the treasuries for themselves, and no larger sums could be taken out of them. The Buheree (Baheri) *Tehseel* officers had helped themselves, and I got no money; the *Bunjarahs*, collected in large numbers, had closed the roads in Rooderpore (Rudrapur), and all trade was at a standstill. I secured as much grain as I could in the Bhabur (Bhabar), and waited the course of events.

[1] Mss. "*Rampur Darbar and* 1857" prepared under the authority of the Ex-Nawab of Rampur. Rampur Collectorate Records Room.

EUROPEANS FROM BAREILLY REACH THE HILLS

4*th*—On the Ist June the Bareilly refugees reached Huldwanee (Haldwani), and those of Moradabad who came to Nynee Tal, arrived at Kala Doongee (Kala Dhongi) on the 4th June. All who started, except Sergeant Staples from Bareilly, reached the Hills in safety, and from the 6th June we were, for nearly a month, cut off from all communication with the plains. Early in July a *dak* line was established across the Hills through Mussooree.

ENCOUNTERS IN LOWER KOTA

5*th*—Soon after the 10th June, the most complete disorder prevailed in the plains, and large hordes of dacoits from Rampore and the Moradabad District filled the Bhabur villages of lower Kota; they stole the cattle, removed thousands of maunds of grain, and did as much damage as possible. Our strength at that time was not sufficient to protect the whole of the Bhabur; I therefore confined my efforts to the Chukhata District in the vicinity of Huldwanee. The Hill cultivators of the Bhabur returned to the Hills after a few attempts at resistance, in which about 20 rebels were kille d. I could not offer any efficient resistance, and the rebels having in a few days plundered the villages, the country was left a desert.

RAMPUR REVOLUTIONARIES' ATTACK ON TAHSIL

6*th*—On 27th June, the rebels again collected below upper Kota. I sent a party under Dhun Singh to defend the place, but Mustoo Khan of the Rampore Territory came with an overwhelming force of Horse and Foot. Dhun Singh and some others were killed, the *tehseel* was plundered of the few rupees (about 400) in deposit, and the rebels at once retired without destroying the villages.

EXCITEMENT AMONG HILL PEOPLE

7*th*—About the middle of June the evil-disposed of the Hill people especially on the borders of the plains, began to show that they were sensible of our weakness, and as I had

no District Police, I felt the necessity of resorting to extreme measures to preserve order; for I foresaw that if any part of the Province became disorganized, our position at Nynee Tal would be most critical, and if one *pergunnah* got into disorder, the probability was others would soon have followed the example.

MARTIAL LAW PROCLAIMED

8*th*—As soon as I saw the danger alluded to above, I proclaimed Martial Law in Kumaon. In the first few cases of dacoity, I sentenced to long terms of imprisonment : this was not sufficient, and I gave longer sentences, but without success, and at last I sentenced some dacoits to capital punishment. This was made known throughout the Province; the bad characters were frightened, the good men felt safe, and the country remained as peaceable as in former years.

9*th*—It soon became evident after the arrival of the Rohilcund refugees, that there was no prospect of immediate relief. Our funds were alarmingly small, and we had then no prospect of assistance. Mr. Colvin and I drew up a scale of allowances, by which we paid every European monthly. Advances were made on receipts, and nearly all have been adjusted.

EUROPEAN LADIES AND CHILDREN SHIFTED TO ALMORA

10*th*—The Rampore Nawab did all in his power to preserve order in his own territories, and assist us; but from the information we received, it appeared quite possible, and even probable, that at the "Bukr Eed," in the end of July, a disturbance might take place at Rampore, and if the Nawab had been killed the victorious party would at once have attacked us. The presence of many ladies and children would have hampered us a good deal in the event of being attacked, and though that was only a chance, contingent on other events, I preferred a timely, though it might be an unnecessary, retreat to the chance of a discreditable flight. I accordingly sent over the ladies and children, about 200, to Almo ah, and when the Eed festival passed over they all returned to Nynee Tal : this was the only occasion on which anybody had to leave Nynee Tal from first to last.

HALDWANI OCCUPIED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

11*th*—The Police Sowars and *Burkundazes* (belonging to the Plains), ran away on 9th September, and only Hill *Burkundazes* remained, but the police stations at and near Huldwanee were maintained till 17th September, when a party of rebels, mustering about 1,000 Horse and Foot, took possession of the place. On the 18th, Captain Maxwell with a party of Goorkhas, and about 40 Cavalry, composed of officers, and 8 Irregulars, defeated the rebels, killing about 150 of them. Up to the beginning of September the 66th Goorkhas and 8th Irregular Cavalry had protected Huldwanee; but the climate became so dangerous after the rains ceased, (that) I thought it imprudent to risk the lives of such valuable men, and recalled them.

12*th*—The Police after this retired to the entrance to the Hills and kept parties moving about the lower part of the Huldwanee District. On the 6th October the rebels, in number about 5,000 again took possession of the place; it was not deemed advisable to attack them, and an attempt was made to entrap the Cavalry portion of the force. Although we failed in securing the Cavalry, we created such an alarm that the rebels fearing an attack, were seized with a panic during the night, cut their heel ropes, and went off helter-skelter, leaving their grain and some other property behind them. One sowar was caught next morning and hanged....[1]

NAINI TAL

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK IN NAINI TAL

One would have supposed that with Simla and Mussoorie as beacon lights, Nainee Tal would have escaped the Hill station panic. It came, however, at last. Its cause was an express, received by Captain Ramsay that 3000 of the Bareilly rabble, raised by Khan Bahadur Khan, had crossed the Kitcha (Kichha), distant 20 miles from the foot of the Hills, and with the Terai intervening. The ladies were in haste packed off to Almora. This panic occurred in the early part of August.

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Kumaun Division*, pp. 1-3.

The falsity of the rumour was soon discovered—the ladies retraced their steps and all became settled down as before.

In the following month the residents were alarmed by reports of the near approach of Kooley Khan[1], with a force of about 3000 men, on the banks of the Kitcha. Thereupon 50 Goorkhas, under command of Captain Melville and Lieutenant Chapman, together with all the Irregular Cavalry (the men who escorted the officers from Bareilly) under Ensign Becher, were despatched to Huldwanee (Haldwani) on the road towards Bareilly. At 3 A. M. Captain M. wrote word "Enemy approaching—strength not known". A Company of Goorkhas was therefore ordered down under Lieutenant Graves, also the new Police levies under Mr. Reade. And the Militia were warned to start for the scene of action on the warning gun being fired.

All officers on leave from Nainee Tal, including the Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Colvin, had been instantly ordered over from Almorah to meet and join in the coming bloody strife, when lo! all our dreams of *tunda moorghies*, flasks of rum (nothing better now-a-days), etc. etc. made up in handy parcels, were dispelled by a second dispatch from the Captain, to say that the cause of the false alarm had been some shots fired in the night by some *zemindars* to frighten tigers.

But Nainee Tal was destined for another alarm. On the 17th September intelligence was brought that Huldwanee had been taken by a portion of Bahadur Khan's army. The report was confirmed by the arrival of native functionaries and other fugitives. To attack the enemy a force of 280 Goorkhas, 70 of the new Levy, and the remnant of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, with a portion of the European Militia were told off, and marched.

On reaching the foot of the Hills, signs of the enemy's handy-work soon became apparent, they had burnt down one village, gutted the dawk bungalow at Kart godown[2]; and destroyed upwards of 150 *palkees*, *dhoolies*, and other property. Information came in as the troops advanced, that Huldwanee was occupied by the enemy, and they intended to give us battle. Preparations were now made for the attack, our little army advanced in capital order. The Cavalry were in front,

[1] Correct name may be 'Kaley Khan', 'Kala Khan', or Ouli Khan.

[2] Apparently spelt for *Kathgodam*—about 20 miles from *Naini Tal*, and a railway terminus.

skirmishers on both flanks scouring the jungle, and the main body of the Infantry advanced by the road. Ere long Huldwanee came in sight, and the enemy were seen drawn up in line in front of the place, 5 or 6 deep with flags waving defiantly over their heads; it was impossible to ascertain their numbers; but from all accounts, and the shew they made, they could not have been less than 550 or 600 strong. Our force advanced steadily towards them; when within a couple of hundred yards the Cavalry received the order to unmask the Infantry, proceed round the village, and take the enemy in rear, while the Infantry attacked them in front. No sooner did the enemy see this arrangement than they began to waver; the Infantry then gave one loud cheer, and charged the whole mass, but the brutes broke and fled instantly, and now commenced the fun; the gallant little Goorkhas doubled up to the rascals, and brought them down by dozens. As the jungle was thick on both sides of the road, the enemy got amongst the bushes, but the Goorkhas spread themselves out in skirmishing order and hunted out the rascals wherever they could find them; the pursuit was kept up for miles. The Cavalry had, in the meantime, galloped up to the main body of the fugitives; they were caught and hacked to pieces; it was incessant cutting and thrusting for some five miles, until not a man could be seen, for those that escaped had fled into the jungle, which was very dense, and it was impossible to follow them there. The Infantry pursued them until they were dead beat.[1]

[1] Carey, W. H.: *The Mahomedan Rebellion*, pp. 116-117.

CHAPTER FOUR

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

BAREILLY

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT BAREILLY

Extract from the Narrative of Occurrences at Bareilly by J. F. D. Inglis, dated Bareilly, 30th November 1858.

DELHI KING PROCLAIMED AS INDIA'S RULER

Khan Bahadoor about 4 P. M. accompanied by Mobarek (Mubarak) Shah Khan, Ahmed Shah Khan, and a number of his supporters, now made a procession through the city, with men in front of their elephants proclaiming that the Government of the English was at an end, and that the King of Delhi was now the ruler of India. The people were also directed to return to their houses and reopen their shops, which had been shut since the morning. Fuzl Huq *Tuhseeldar* of Nuwabgunje (Nawabganj)[1], Jaffir (Jafar) Ali *Thanadar*, and many other Government employees came in this evening, and tendered their allegiance to Khan Bahadoor.

ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES OF KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

On the morning of the 1st June, Khan Bahadoor issued orders for all the *Amlahs* to attend at the *cotwali*, and proceeded to take measures for securing the authority he had usurped; all the Government officials were ordered to continue at their posts and carry on their duties, under pain of severe punishment in case of their refusal....

[1] *Nawabganj*, Pargana and Tahsil *Nawabganj*, District *Bareilly*—The small town of Nawabganj was originally known as Bijauria. It stands in 28° 32′ N. and 79° 38′ E., at a distance of 18 miles north-east from Bareilly, just west of the point where the metalled road crosses the Pangaili. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 246).

A DURBAR IS HELD

A *Durbar* was appointed for 2 O'clock P. M., and all the chief men in the city were ordered to attend. The *Cotwal* was directed to see to this. After holding *Durbar* in the city, Khan Bahadoor, accompanied by Mobarek Shah Khan, Ahmed Shah Khan, Akbar Ali Khan, Soba (Shobha) Ram and many others of the chief men, mounted on elephants, with a great crowd of the mob, on foot and horseback, proceeded in state to the cantonment to pay a congratulatory visit to Bukt (Bakht) Khan, Mohamed Shuffi (Muhammad Shafi), and the leaders of the rebel troops. On their arrival at the edge of cantonments near the Collector's *Cutcherry*, the *sepahis*, being uncertain of their purpose, fired at them. Khan Bahadoor then stood up in his *Howda*, and waved his handkerchief in sign that he came as a friend. After some delay a message was sent to him from Bukt (Bakht) Khan, saying that he could not be allowed to enter cantonments attended by all the rabble of the city, but that he and a few of his chief supporters must come alone if they wished to come. On this the crowd was sent back, and Khan Bahadoor, attended by Mobarek Shah Khan, Ahmed Shah Khan, Madar Ali Khan, Karamut Khan, and Soba Ram went on; he was received with a salute of eleven guns. Bukt Khan at first received him with great coolness, and refused to receive his *nuzzer* (*nazar*) of Rs. 1,000 but was prevailed to do so by Ahmed Shah Khan. After sitting for a short time, Khan Bahadoor took his departure leaving presents for the leaders of the troops.

COUNCIL HELD BY KHAN BAHADUR FOR RESTORING PEACE AND ORDER

On reaching his house in the city, Khan Bahadoor held a council composed of Madar Ali Khan, Mobarek Shah Khan, and Karamut Khan, to take into consideration the measures necessary for restoring some kind of order in the city and the district. This matter was forced on his attention by the reports that came in from the district, which was now one scene of anarchy and violence. The minds of the native population had been prepared for the outbreak, by the rumours sedulously circulated throughout the district, during May. The news of the mutiny of the troops spread like wild-fire, and wherever

the intelligence reached, the people at once rose, not so much in rebellion against the British Government, as against all Government of any kind, every man prepared to wreak his vengeance on his private foe, or to take violent possession of land to which he considered he had a claim. To give one instance out of many that occurred: The Thakoors of Akka had had a dispute about a wall, had fought among themselves, and had been punished by imprisonment. They had been released before the mutiny. On the day of the outbreak the party who conceived themselves injured attacked the others, killed the four sons of the leader on the other side, cut off the hands and feet of the father, and placed him in a cart with the dead bodies of his sons, and flung them all into the Ramgunga.

SHOBHA RAM APPOINTED AS DIWAN

After much discussion it was determined to appoint a *Dewan* under Khan Bahadoor, whose duty it should be to look after the Police and revenue of the district. Through Madar Ali Khan's influence Soba (Shobha) Ram was selected as the *Dewan*, his knowledge acquired in the service of the British Government in the Commissariat, added to his influence from his wealth, also operated in his favour....

ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS BY KHAN BAHADUR

On the morning of the 2nd June, Soba (Shobha) Ram attended *Durbar*, and was appointed *Dewan* by Khan Bahadoor, his allowance was to be a share of whatever remained after payment of the expenses of the Government; other appointments were made at the same time; Madar Ali Khan, and Neaz Mahomed Khan were appointed Generals with salaries of Rs. 1,000 a month. Moulvie Khan was appointed *Komedan* and given the farm of the Shahi[1] *Pergunnah;* Moolchund was appointed *Naib* to Soba Ram on 500 a month; Hoori Lall

[1] *Shahi*, Pargana *Shahi*, Tahsil *Mirganj*, District *Bareilly*—The small town of Shahi stands near the left bank of the western Bahgul, in 28° 33′ N. and 79° 19′ E., on the road leading from the Sankha bridge on the Moradabad road to Shishgarh. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 265).

(Hori Lal), son of Soba Ram, was appointed Paymaster on 1,000 Rs. a month; Ali Hossain Khan, son of Madar Ali Khan, was made Commandant of Cavalry on 500 a month; Deen Dyal (Din Dayal), Superintendent of Roads, was made a *Darogah* of the gun foundry on 200 a month. Syfoola (Saifullah) Khan, Jailor, was made Superintendent of Jails, on 500 a month; and many other inferior appointments : any man promising to bring 50 or a 100 men was appointed *Komedan*. Ruja-ol-dowlah (Raza-ud-daula), a singer of the Court of the King of Oudh and now residing at Bareilly, was appointed A. D. C. to Khan Bahadoor, and Master of the Ceremonies : his experience in the Court of Oudh made him an authority in these matters, he regulated all receptions, *Durbars* etc.; he advised that an *urzee* (*arzi*) should be sent at once to the King of Delhi, by Khan Bahadoor, narrating what had been done, and soliciting the appointment of *Nazim* of Kotethir[1];—the *urzee* was accordingly drawn up by Ruja-ol-dowlah (Raza-ud-daula) and sent off.[2]

ROLE OF SHOBHA RAM AS DIWAN

Sobha Ram, the prisoner, was a man of wealth and position. He joined the rebel Khan Bahadoor Khan on the 4th or 5th day of the outbreak. There is no judicial proof that he had already, prior to the 31st of May, negotiated with Khan Bahadoor Khan nor any proof of the assertion that his attendance was compulsory.

But inasmuch as he did not ostensibly join the rebel until the 4th or 5th day he (speaking judicially) was not concerned in the murders of the Europeans nor had he previty of the same.

SHOBHA RAM'S HIGH POSITION IN REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

He by his open secession carried wealth and administrative ability to the counsels of the rebel band, who without

[1] Spelt for *Katihar*, not to be confused with *Katihar Junction on N.E.Rly.*

[2] Department-XXIV, File : "Narrative of the Outbreak of Disturbances at Bareilly"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Bareilly District*, pp. 2-4.

him, wanted (in) both money and respectability. He proceeded to organize a civil administration. He appointed Revenue Collectors, realized the Revenues, gave the Besulpoor (Bisalpur) District in farm, gave the contract for sale of *Abkaree* (*Abkari*) or liquor and drugs in farm to his own relative* at 60 Rs. per day, entertained a large office establishment, countersigned the orders of Khan Bahadoor Khan and generally used his seal of office. He levied troops, enrolled them, paid them and appointed his own son Paymaster, received applications for appointments, raised the Hindoo flag of rebellion, invited the Thakoor population to join in alliance. Generally did all those acts which can be done by native rulers. These facts were proved by the evidence of most respectable parties, by the depositions of his own relatives, his sub-treasurer, by the evidence of two persons who were employed by him as subordinates and by his own admission in his own hand-writing made before me in court and by certain Persian papers bearing the seal of Khan Bahadoor Khan, countersigned by Sobha Ram and by other papers signed by him, Sobha Ram, only.[1]

KHAN BAHADUR GETS DIRECTIVE FROM DELHI KING

English Translation of the Delhi King's Farman to Khan Bahadur Khan, dated 17th Ziqaad 1273 A. H. corresponding with 9th July 1857.

Your petition dated 11th Shawwal 1273 A. H. (4th June 1857) telling of the dislocation of Govt. and the beginning

* Phoondun Lall (Phundan Lal)—relative of Sobha Ram; Toolshe (Tulsi) Ram; Rampurshad; Eashurmun; Cheit Ram; Ahmad Husain; Jhaw Lall (Jhau Lal)—relative of Sobha Ram; Purmesree Dass (Parmeshwari Das); Gunga Pershad (Ganga Prasad); Chedah (Chheda) Singh; Dhumma Mul—Rebel Treasurer; Golam Aheyah (Ghulam Yehiya); Sheo Narain; Horey Lall (Hori Lal)—Paymaster Rebel Troops; Dhumma Mul—Rebel Treasurer; Budloo Singh—servant of Sobha Ram; Rao Misr Byj Nath (Baij Nath); Gunga Pershad; Chedah Singh; Cheit Ram; Brij Lal Mookhtiar; Darogah Moolchund; Kunhaya Lal—Collector Treasurer; Chotey Lal Sankur; Dhumma Mul—Rebel Treasurer; Gholam Aheyah; servant of Sobha Ram; Darogah Moolchund".—Note in Original.

Note—The above noted list of persons appointed by Shobha Ram, contains some names which have been repeated.

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 15th July 1859, Nos. 413 G—Q. National Archives, New Delhi.

of a general disturbance and of your pre-occupation in securing efficient administration in Bans Bareilly and its surrounding country of the Katihar[1] territory, with the help of two *paltans* and one regiment of Cavalry, together with your request of the grant of a *farman* for carrying out the Govt. and soliciting permission to keep an army in that part in order that the refractory elements and the disturbers of peace may not have power to ruin the subjects, was perused by me on 7th Ziqaad 1273 (Ist July 1857). As it is my desire to resuscitate and replenish the country and the ryot, I am pleased to grant your request and issue an order for the officers of the army posted there. This may be handed over to them and the appointment of *Tahsildars*, *Thanedars* and of the *Amla* may be made with their co-operation. *The administration should be so carried out as to rejuvenate the country-side and to improve cultivation and to enable the Zamindars and Malguzars...(Mss. torn) to exert themselves in improving agriculture and arranging for the payment of the dues of the Govt. This will contribute to your good name and services to the state.* The soldiers should also be regularly paid. Among other necessary things, you should also care to see that on all occasions and in all cases nothing should be done contrary to the *Shariat* or the Mohammedan Law and every one of the subjects and the soldiery should also strive in achieving this object.[2]

[1] The old name of Rohilkhand.

[2] *Habib-ul-Akhbar*, 24th Ziqaad 1273 A. H. corresponding with 16th July 1857. Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Contradictory Version—

cf. Narrative of Events, N. W. P., 1857-58, p. 7 : 'Events at Bareilly'.

"On the 21st June, a *Firman* from the King of Delhi was received by Khan Bahadoor in reply to the petition sent by him on the 2nd; he was appointed ruler of Kutehir with full authority in all revenue and police matters. Copies of this *Firman* were sent to all the *Tuhseelis* and *Thannahs* and one was set up at the *Cotwali*. Many persons however doubted whether the *Firman* was a genuine paper from the King of Delhi. They thought it was impossible that a reply to the petition of the 2nd of June should have been received so quickly, now that all the *daks* were stopped. It had however an effect with the mass of the people and brought many adherents to Khan Bahadoor."

KHAN BAHADUR SETS UP ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Extract from the Narrative of Occurrences by J. F. D. Inglis, dated Bareilly, 30th November 1858.

COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE FORMED

After the troops left, Khan Bahadoor made some attempt to regulate the disorders prevailing in the city and the district. He called a council composed of Soba (Shobha) Ram *Dewan*, Madar Ali Khan, Ahmed Shah Khan, and Mobarek Shah Khan, who had returned from Futteh Gunge (Fatehganj)[1]. After some discussion it was decided to appoint a Committee for the trial of all cases in the first instance. The members were,

Karamut Khan—a descendant of Hafiz Rehmat Khan and relative of Khan Bahadoor.

Akbar Ali Khan—a relative of Khan Bahadoor, formerly *Sudder Ameen* of Mattra[2]; dismissed for taking bribes; he was head of the Committee and received a salary of Rs. 1,000 a month; all revenue matters were made over to him.

Cazy Gholam Humza—*Cazy* (*Qazi*) of the city of Bareilly.

Pundit Ojhar Tegh Nath—A friend of Soba Ram, appointed Head Pundit.

Mozuffer Hoosain Khan—Descendant of Hafiz Rehmat, subsequently appointed *Sudder Ala*.

Jaffir (Jafar) Ali Khan—A wealthy *zemindar*.

[1] *Fatehganj East*, Pargana and Tahsil *Faridpur*, District *Bareilly*—The small town of Fatehganj East, so called to distinguish it from Fatehganj West or Bhitaura, stands on the provincial road from Bareilly to Shahjahanpur, in 28° 4' N. and 79° 38' E., in the extreme south-east of the tahsil, at a distance of eleven miles from Faridpur and 24 miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 234).

Fatehganj West, Pargana *Karor*, Tahsil and District *Bareilly*—Fatehganj West is the name given to the combined villages Bhitaura and Naugaon, which stand in 28° 27' N. and 79° 18' E., at a distance of twelve miles north-west from Bareilly on the road leading to Moradabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 235).

[2] Probably spelt for *Mathura*.

Jymal Sing (Jaimal Singh)—Thakoor of Keara[1], sat on the Committee for about 2 months.

Kulb (Qalb) Ali Shah—An influential Mahomedan of the old city.

This Committee continued to carry on business during the whole of Khan Bahadoor's reign.

Khan Bahadoor after settling[2] the Committee, proceeded to appoint *Tehseeldars* and *Thanadars* for the district, and officers for the army he was raising.

MEASURES TO IMPROVE FINANCIAL CONDITION

The next day the Council met again; the state of the finances forced itself on their attention; all the money in the treasury had been taken away by the mutineers, as well as some that had been brought in from the *Mofussil*; and also the sums that had been extorted from Misr Bijnath and Kunyah (Kanhaiya) Lall. The treasury was consequently empty; part of the *Rubbi Kista* had been collected before the outbreak, and what was due could not be reckoned on. The Council therefore determined to levy a tax on the city; to give some shew of legality to this, Khan Bahadoor called for a *Bywasta*[3], from some *Pundits* and for a *Futwa* from the *Mooftis*. The question propounded to them was, "If a Raja or Nuwab is in want of money for public purposes, how much of his subjects' moveable property may he take." Pundit Ojhar Tegh Nath, Mooftee Enayat Ahmed (Mufti Inayet Ahmad) and Moolvie Amanat Hoosain (Maulvi Amanat Husain), having considered the question, replied that a ruler in such circumstances might call upon his subjects for 1/10th of their wealth.

On receipt of this answer Khan Bahadoor appointed a Committee under Khoshi Ram to assess the tax. The Committee was composed of:

[1] *Kiara*, Pargana *Karor*, Tahsil and District *Bareilly*—The large village of Kiara stands in the extreme south of the tahsil in 28° 45' N. and 79° 25' E., at a distance of some seven miles due south of Bareilly. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 238).

[2] 'Setting up' would have been more suitable here.

[3] Spelt for 'Vyavastha'.

Kummoo Mull (Kammu Mal), Banker,
Ram Pershaud, *Mahajun*,
Ram Lall, do.
Doorga Pershaud (Durga Prasad),
Karinda of Raja Ruttun (Ratan) Singh,
Doorga Pershaud, *Gomashta* of Muttra Dass (Mathura Das).

The Committee sat in the house of Kunyah Lall (Kanhaiya Lal) and after taking an estimate of the property possessed by the *Mahajuns* and others, sent in a statement fixing the amount of the tax at 1,07,000 Rs. to be paid in 4 instalments, one in June, one in July, one in August and the last in September. On this Khoshi Ram was appointed to collect the first instalment at once; he was afterwards dismissed and Emam Ali and Syfoolah (Saifullah) Khan were ordered to collect the remaining portion; they proceeded to do this by the most violent measures, cows' bones were placed before the Hindoos, plates of iron were heated and those who refused to pay were seated on them; by these means they collected in all, with the first instalment, 82,000 Rs. The balance was remitted, on the people bribing Soba (Shobha) Ram; the money thus obtained was applied to the expenditure on account of guns and powder.[1]

NEW COINAGE ISSUED

Extract from the Narrative of Occurrences by J. F. D. Inglis, dated Bareilly, 30th November 1858.

...By plunder and confiscation Khan Bahadoor had managed to collect a great quantity of silver ornaments etc. This was useless to him in its present form, and he therefore determined by the advice of his Council to issue a coinage of his own; after much discussion it was determined to issue rupees of the coinage of Alum Shah, but with a change of date; accordingly a mint was set up in Rampershaud's house which

[1] Department-XXIV, File : "Narrative of the Outbreak of Disturbances at Bareilly"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Bareilly District*, pp. 5-6.

had been confiscated on his refusing to serve as Treasurer. A small quantity of silver money was issued; it was good silver and full weight, and passed readily for 16 annas the rupee.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events upto 7th March 1858.

A Rupee struck by Khan Bahadoor has been also transmitted to Government, the obverse is a mere copy of Shah Alum's and of the Company's old Furruckhabad rupees, the reverse reads "the 73rd year of the auspicious reign struck at Bareilly 1274". It is not clear to what reign the first date can allude, as Shah Alum ascended the throne in 1759 A. D.[2]

VALUE OF THE NEW RUPEE FIXED

In Bareilly the Nawab has ordered that a rupee should carry 40 Double Paisa and all money-changers and bankers who fail to obey this order should be destroyed. The order was at once obeyed and no delay or objection was made.[3]

[1] Department–XXIV, File : "Narrative of the Outbreak of Disturbances at Bareilly"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Bareilly District*, p. 11.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for the Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 7th March 1858. * Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Habib-ul-Akhbar*, 17th Ziqaad 1273 A. H. (Friday) corresponding with 9th July 1857. Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

FORCE UNDER KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

Extract from the Narrative of Occurrences by J. F. D. Inglis, dated Bareilly, 30th December 1858.

MEMORANDUM SHEWING THE PAY OF THE WHOLE FORCE UNDER KHAN BAHADOOR (KHAN BAHADUR)

Nature of Service	Number of Men	Average Rate of Pay	Amount	Total Amount for One Month	Total Amount Spent in 10 Months
Cavalry					
Sowars	4618	20	92,360		
Resaldars	89	Different rates	4,600		
Naib Resaldars	46	50	2,300		
Vakeels	46	30	1,380		
Neshan Burdars (Nishan Bardars)	46	25	1,150	1,01,790	1,017,900
Infantry					
Sepoys	24,330	6	145,980		
Koomadans (Kumedans)	57	100	5,700		
Oolusdars (Ulasdars)	48	50	2,400		
Toomendars (Tumandars)	243	25	6,075		
Buxee (Bakhshi)	57	30	1,710		
Vakeels	243	8	1,944	1,63,809	1,638,090
			GRAND TOTAL, spent in 10 months,		26,55,990.

There being no regularity in the payment of the salaries to the troops, a *chundee* was allowed to those who were resident of Rampoor and other parts of the country; 2,000 Rupees or more were paid daily in part of their wages. In some of the regiments a sepoy got 1 anna per diem and some 2 annas; a *Koomadan* received 1 Rupee; a *Oolusdar* 8 annas; *Toomendar* 4 annas; and some sowars received 8 annas and some 4 annas.

Some of the regiments received orders every month or every 2nd month on the *Tuhseeldars* or *Thekadars* of the different *pergunnahs* for their pay; they generally went and plundered the *tuhseelees* of more than the amount of the order.

Some of the Commanding Officers of the Infantry and Cavalry furnished lists of their men and orders were passed for the payment, though the number entered in the list was generally more than the number of men, actually in service.

More or less 2,000 Rupees were paid daily from the month of July 1857, on account of *Chundee*, making a total of 6,08,000 Rupees to the end of April 1858.[1]

* * *

LIST OF CAVALRY REGIMENTS UNDER KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

No.	Name of Resaldar	Number of Men in each Resalah
1.	Tufuzul Hosen Khan (Tafazzul Husain Khan)	93
2.	Jafur Ali Khan	61
3.	Syad Imdad Hussen (Saiyid Imdad Husain)	10
4.	Vulee Mahomed (Wali Muhammad) Khan	66
5.	Kurramut Hussen (Karamat Husain)	41
6.	Masoom Ali	37
7.	Waheed Yar Khan	53
8.	Mirza Ameer Beg	202
9.	Goolam Mohyoddeen (Ghulam Muhiuddin)	101
10.	Sadik Ali Khan	11
11.	Ameer Shah Syad	75

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, Appendix B to the *Bareilly Narrative*, p. 15.

No.	Name of Resaldar	Number of Men in each Resalah
12.	Niaz Ali Khan	46
13.	Ahmed Hussen Khan	70
14.	Omran Vullee Khan	60
15.	Mahomed Dullab Khan	75
16.	Mobarick (Mubarak) Shah Khan	51
17.	Muluk Golam Mahomed (Malik Ghulam Muhammad)	94
18.	Shuffit Khan[1]	96
19.	Nizam Ali Khan	25
20.	Meer Ahmed Hosein	86
21.	Mahomed Ukber (Muhammad Akbar) Khan	62
22.	Surfuraz (Sarfaraz) Khan	81
23.	Kurreem Oddeen (Karimuddin)	41
24.	Mahomed Nusseem Khan (Muhammad Nasim Khan)	51
25.	Rampersaud	25
26.	Imadoddeen[2]	80
27.	Moen Oddeen (Muin Uddin)	44
28.	Zaffur Yar Khan (Zafar Yar Khan)	68
29.	Ali Ahmed Khan	12
30.	Salargung Khan (Salar Jang Khan)	80
31.	Shamsha Oddeen Khan (Shumsuddin Khan)	62
32.	Mahomed Ameer Khan	62
33.	Hafiz Mahd. Yakoob (Mohd. Yaqub) Ali	45
34.	Niymoodeen	86
35.	Mohsun Khan	35
36.	Ahmed Ali Khan	73
37.	Ali Mahomed Khan	81
38.	Goolam Sumdanee Khan	1
39.	Khan Shah Khan	47
40.	Ubdoolah (Abdulla) Khan	44
41.	Ubdool Kadar Khan (Abdul Qadar Khan)	66
42.	Golam Moula Khan	—
	Abees Moulun Khan	101
43.	Shah Mahomed Khan	93
44.	Mahomed Khan	92
45.	Nuzzuf Ali Khan (Najaf Ali Khan)	102

[1] Correct name may be 'Shafi Khan' or 'Shafiq Khan.'
[2] May have been spelt for 'Imad-uddin.'

No.	Name of Resaldar	Number of Men in each Resalah
46.	Golam Hyder Khan	55
47.	Mahomed Shah Khan	51
48.	Khan Bahadoor Khan	51
49.	Imdad Hussen	84
50.	Allah Noor Khan	31
51.	Sahebzada Inait	—
—	Russool (Rasul) Khan	33
52.	Shaik Khudabux (Shaikh Khuda Bakhsh)	60
53.	Nusrut Khan (Nusrat Khan)	33
54.	Mahomed Ali Jan	77
55.	Abdool Ruhman Khan	33
56.	Hussun Ali Khan	13
57.	Mozafur (Muzaffar) Ali Shah	41
58.	Syad Muzhur Ali (Saiyid Mazhar Ali)	4
59.	Ali Share Khan (Ali Sher Khan)	100
60.	Mahomed Azeez Khan	26
61.	Ali Hussen Khan	110
62.	Mahomed Ukber Khan	5
63.	Kala Khan	67
64.	Syad Bund Ali[1]	59
65.	Mahomed Ali Khan	47
66.	Mirza Ali Beg	38
67.	Vullait Ali (Wilayet Ali)	16
68.	Golam Ali	19
69.	Golam Hussen Khan	45
70.	Ali Bahadoor Khan	16
71.	Mahomed Rooshun Khan	57
72.	Kiffaitolla Khan	16
73.	Meer Imdad Ali	101
74.	Moobarik Husein	73
75.	Ahmed Ali Khan	12
76.	Goolam Nubee Khan (Ghulam Nabi Khan)	24
77.	Ameer Ali Khan	42
78.	Nasir Khan	14
79.	Mumdoo Khan (Mamduh Khan)	4
80.	Mouzzumalla Khan	5

[1] May have been spelt for 'Saiyid Bande Ali'.

No.	Name of Resaldar	Number of Men in each Resalah
81.	Hafiz Mahd. Hussen Khan	11
82.	Mahomed Nubee Khan	26
83.	Mahomed Shuffie (Muhammad Shafi)	95
84.	Syad Ali Jan	20
85.	Hubeeboola Khan (Habib-ullah Khan)	45
86.	Shahzada Sooltan	60
87.	Doorga Sing	30
88.	Mahomed Eykoob Ali (Muhammad Yaqub Ali)	26
—	Niaz Ali Khan	29
	TOTAL	4,618

LIST OF INFANTRY REGIMENTS UNDER KHAN BAHADOOR (KHAN BAHADUR) WITH THE NAME OF THEIR COMMANDING OFFICERS

No. of Regiment	Name of Koomadan	Number of Men in Each Pultun or Regiment
1.	Enait Olla Khan (Inayet Ullah Khan)	954
2.	Bukhshish Ali Khan	790
3.	Mahomed Ali Shah	572
4.	Enait Hosein Khan	168
5.	Munsoor Ali Khan	654
6.	Ahmed Hosein	413
7.	Tafuzzool Hosein	1,243
8.	Enait Olla Khan 2nd	501
9.	Saraz Oddeen Khan	756
10.	Kootub Hosein	205
11.	Ameer Khan	111
12.	Moosaheb Ali Khan (Musahib Ali Khan)	360
13.	Ameer Hyder	115
14.	Mohib Olla Khan	600
15.	Mohsun Khan	313
16.	Surnam Sing	844
17.	Mirza Munnoo Beg	68
18.	Goolamee Khan	286
19.	Azuf Olla Khan (Asaf Ullah Khan)	618
20.	Sumsam Ali Khan	372

No. of Regiment	Name of Koomadan	Number of Men in Each Pultun or Regiment
21.	Ameer Khan	762
22.	Fyz Mahomed Khan	453
23.	Shumbhoo Sing	98
24.	Sadut Olla Khan	383
25.	Abdool Nabee Khan	405
26.	Tafuzzool Hosein Khan	39
27.	Golam Hyder Khan	477
28.	Hossun (Hasan) Raza Khan	397
29.	Akbur Ali	423
30.	Goolam Mahomed Khan	914
31.	Ahmed Beg	355
32.	Mahd. Hussen Ali Khan	441
33.	Mahomed Hosein	540
34.	Kassim Khan (Qasim Khan)	253
35.	Goolam Hydar Khan	527
36.	Aluf Beg	889
37.	Rahut Ali Khan	110
38.	Kundun Sing	1,403
39.	Amjud Ali Khan	591
40.	Roghonath (Raghunath) Sing	361
41.	Beharee Sehoy (Bihari Sahai)	775
42.	Ahmed Hosein Khan	432
43.	Azmut Olla Khan	513
44.	Nadir Hosein	382
45.	Enait Khan	224
46.	Nuthoo Khan	381
47.	Body Guard	73
48.	Wuzzeer Khan (Wazir Khan)	435
49.	Mahomed Noor Khan	32
50.	Mirza Saheb of Lucknow	237
51.	Ahmed Yar Khan	207
52.	Karum Hosein Khan	63
53.	Ram Bux	68
54.	Golam Shah Khan	31
55.	Walee Mahomed Khan	574
56.	Mahomed Ali Khan	119
57.	Gunners	300
	TOTAL	24,330

STATEMENT OF KHAN BAHADOOR'S ARMY

Infantry Regiment

A band of 10 Sepoys was called *Dusta*
„ 100 „ *Toomun*
„ 500 „ *Oolus*
„ 1,000 „ *Pultun* or Regiment

Each *Dusta* had a *Jumadar* on 10 Rs. per mensem.
A *Toomun* had a *Toomundar* on a salary of 25 (Rs.), and a *Naib Toomundar* on (15 Rs.) per month.

A full regiment had 2 *Oolusdars* on 50 each and a *Koomadan* (Colonel) or Commanding Officer, on a salary of 100 or 200 per month. Each *Toomun* had a *Vakeel* on 8 Rs. per mensem, and every Regiment a *Buxee* (Pay-master) on 30 Rupees.

The salary of the sepoys varied from 5 to 8 Rupees per month.

The duty of the *Vakeel* was to write out petitions for the sepoys and for their officers.

A *Buxee* had to prepare Muster Rolls and to distribute the pay of the Regiment.

A band of 100 sowars (troopers) was termed a *Resalah*. A *Resalah* had a *Resaldar* on 100 Rupees; but if the number should be less, the salary was decreased to 1 Rupee for each sowar. No *Resaldar* drew less than 30 Rupees.

A *Naib Resaldar* was allowed for every full *Resalah* on a salary of 50 Rupees, and none for a less number.

A *Duffadar* had the command over 10 sowars on a salary of 28 Rupees per mensem.

A *Vakeel* was attached to each *Resalah* on 30 Rupees; but in those *Resalahs* that had a less number of sowars the salary was 15 Rupees per mensem.

The salary of sowars varied from 15, 20 to 25 Rupees a month.[1]

1 *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, Appendix B to the *Bareilly Narrative*, pp. 17-19.

SHAHJAHANPUR

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT SHAHJAHANPUR

Extracts from Letter No. 21 *from G. P. Money, Magistrate and Collector of Shahjehanpoor (Shahjahanpur), to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand), dated 9th September* 1858.

QADIR ALI KHAN AND GHULAM HUSAIN KHAN PROCLAIMED NAWABS

Para 13—After the sepoys entered the city, they proclaimed Nizam Ulee (Ali), formerly *Cotwal* and then a pensioner of Government, to be *Cotwal*, of the city; his favorite son-in-law (Hedaut Hosein) had this day been released with the other prisoners from the jail. Among the city people who joined the sepoys in the work of plunder, the most conspicuous were Mungul Khan and Uzzoo (Ajjoo) Khan, both noted bad characters, the latter of whom had been imprisoned several times. The sepoys then set up Kadir Ulee (Qadir Ali) Khan and Gholam Hosein Khan to be Nuwabs of the city; that same evening the former of these went in procession towards the cantonments to pay their[1] respects to the *Subadars* of the Regiment, among whom Ghunsam (Ghanshyam) Singh appeared to take the leading part.

Para 14—The villages, which are said to have been chiefly concerned in this work of destruction are as follows : Dillawurpoor (Dilawarpur), Rusruthpoor, Zein-oodeen-nuggur, (Zainuddinnagar), Nubbeepoor (Nabipur), Surrowra (Saraura), Misreepoor (Misripur), Rosur, Azeezgunj, Ullarpoor, Sehramow[2], Dhunneeapoor (Dhanipur), Shahbazpoor,

[1] Should be 'his'.

[2] *Sehramau North*, Pargana *Khutar*, Tahsil *Pawayan*, District *Shahjahanpur*—A small village in the extreme north-east of the district, situated in 28° 20′ N. and 80° 20′ E., on the edge of the jungles along the Ul river. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 218).

Sehramau South, Pargana, Tahsil and District *Shahjahanpur*—This village stands in the south of the pargana, on the east side of the road from Shahjahanpur to Shahabad and Hardoi, in 27° 44′ N. and 79° 57′ E., some ten miles from the district headquarters and two miles south-west from the Khilia railway station. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 219).

Bijlapoor, Nuvada (Nawada), Endapoor, Oldopoora, Karee, Mukrundpoor (Makrandpur), and Choundeira.....

ROLE OF SARFARAZ ALI

Para 16—This evening the sepoys went off in a body towards Bareilly and (a) *Molvee* by name Surfuraz Ulee (Sarfaraz Ali), a resident of Goruckpoor (Gorakhpur), accompanied them; it appears that this man had arrived at the station about 20 days before the mutiny, and doubtless was chiefly instrumental in exciting the sepoys to revolt; Surfuraz Ulee was frequently in the habit of coming to Shahjehanpoor where he had several disciples in the city, among the number Koodrut Ulee[1] (*Naeb Foujdaree Surishtahdar*)[2] and his brother Neaz Ulee (Niaz Ali) both of whom are with the rebels.....

OVERTHROW OF BRITISH RULE PROCLAIMED

Para 19—On the following day (1st June) the Nuwab Kadir Ulee Khan and Nizam Ulee, *Cotwal*, began to make their own arrangements for nominating the subordinate officers, first appointing as many of the former servants of Government as they could muster, and whom they found willing to take service. Hamid Hussun Khan (Deputy Collector) and Nizam Ulee Khan (formerly *Tuhseeldar*) gave their advice in the different arrangements to be carried out. These two men took possession of the sum of Rs. 4,900, which was part of the amount which had arrived the day of the mutiny from the *tuhseelee* of Julalabad[3], and divided it among several Government servants as their pay for the past month. The money was paid away in public at the *cotwalee*, and the sowars and *Burkundazes*, who were willing, were kept in their former situations. As soon as the news of the mutiny at Bareilly reached this place, the Nuwab Kadir Ulee Khan headed a procession

[1] Spelt for 'Qudrat Ali'.

[2] Spelt for 'Naib Faujdari Sarishtadar'.

[3] *Jalalabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Jalalabad*, District *Shahjahanpur*—The place which gives its name to the Jalalabad pargana is a considerable town standing in 27° 43′ N. and 79° 40′ E., at a distance of 20 miles south-west from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, pp. 165-66).

through the town proclaiming the overthrow of the British Rule, and Proclamations were put forth by order of Nizam Ulee, *Cotwal*, stating, that for the future the name of the English should not be mentioned, and anyone being heard to do so, should lose his life.....

GHULAM QADIR SUPERSEDES QADIR ALI KHAN

Para 21—Kadir Ulee Khan during the short time he held the office of *Nazim* committed great oppression, one instance of which I hear of his having caused the death of a "*Sonar*" who refused to give up the jewels, which had been pledged to him by the Nuwab. On being superseded by Gholam Kadir Khan, he proceeded to Bareilly to lay his case before Khan Buhadur Khan, and remained there about two months.

41ST REGIMENT FROM SITAPUR ENCAMPED AT AZIZGANJ

Para 22—About the 8th June the mutinous 41st Regiment from Seetapoor (Sitapur) passed through the station *en route* to Futtehgurh (Fatehgarh), (and) encamped at Azeezgunj (Azizganj).

GHULAM QADIR KHAN TOWARDS BAREILLY

Para 23—On the first breaking out of the mutiny, the Nuwab Gholam Kadir Khan was absent in Oude, at a place called "Bansee"[1], and he was speedily informed of what had occurred through Muhzur Kurreem[2], (*Foujdaree Surishtahdar*), and invited to come and assume charge of the district. He arrived at Shahjehanpoor about 15th June, and the following day proceeded to Bareilly in company with the following persons, Abdool-raoof Khan, (formerly Deputy Inspector of Education), Nukhshbund Khan (Nakshband Khan), Fyzab

[1] Apparently *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).

[2] Spelt for 'Mahzar Karim'.

Khan, Willaut Ulee Khan (son of Fyzab Khan), Gholam Ulee Khan, (*Muhurrir*, Magistrate's Office), Nasir Khan, (resident of *Mohulleh* Khulleel)[1], Nizam Ulee Khan (of Shahbaznugur[2]), Nizam Ulee Khan, (*Cotwal*), Seetul Singh, Doulut Raee (Daulat Rai), Zahoor Khan, Mohomud Hossein Khan (*Bukhshee* of *Chowkeedars*), Fuzul Khan, Hukeem Muhzur Ulee Khan and Wajid Ulee (formerly *Nazir* in *Moonsiff's* Office). They presented themselves before Khan Buhadur Khan, and petitioned that Gholam Kadir Khan might be appointed *Nazim* of the district of Shahjehanpoor.

OTHER APPOINTMENTS

Para 24—Their request was granted, and in addition, the following appointments were made: Nizam Ulee Khan (of Shahbaznugur) *Naeb Nazim*, Khan Ulee Khan, (*Tuhseeldar* of Beesulpoor[3] in Bareilly District), who had taken the treasure from the Shaee[4] *Tuhseelee*, and presented it as a *Nuzurana*, was also appointed *Naeb Nazim;* and Hamid Hussun Khan, (formerly Deputy Collector) a third *Naeb Nazim;* the salary of each *Naeb Nazim* was fixed at 500 Rupees per month. Abdool-raoof Khan was made Commander of the forces, on a salary of 400 Rupees, and Seetul Singh (*Dewan*), on 200 Rupees.

ARRANGEMENTS UNDER GHULAM KADIR KHAN

Para 25—The party returned to Shahjehanpoor on 23rd, and commenced to make arrangements for carrying on the Government. Several Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry were raised. The following are the names of those who were most active in raising the Cavalry and after whom the *Risalahs* were named. Zahoor Khan, Usrar (Asrar) Khan, Koodruth-oollah (Qudrat Ullah) Khan, Mehndee Ulee Khan, Nuwab

[1] 'Muhalla Khalil'.

[2] *Shahbaznagar*, Pargana and Tahsil *Shahjahanpur*—A very large village standing in 28° 55′ N. and 79° 53′ E., some three miles north-west from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 219).

[3] Spelt for *Bisalpur*.

[4] Appears to have been spelt for *Shahi*.

Hushmut (Hashmat) Khan, Hydur Khan, Ultaff (Altaf) Khan, Fujjo Khan and Rujub Ulee (Rajab Ali) Khan. The following, who are noted characters, also had command of regiments of Infantry :—Willaut Ulee (Wilayet Ali) Khan (son of Fyzab Khan), Nasir Ulee Khan, (afterwards killed at the battle of Ullagunj) Ulee Hussun (Ali Hasan) Khan and Mungul Khan, (brother-in-law of Abdool Raoof Khan).

Para 26—Besides these, Zahoor Ahmud and Raoof Ahmud (brother) and both in Government employ, the former being *Peishkar* of Hattras (Hathras)[1] in the Allygurh (Aligarh) District, and the latter a *Mohurrir* in the *Foujdaree* Office at this station, took a most active part in the rebellion; they were in constant attendance on the Nuwab, and had unlimited power; they are both of them now with the rebel force in Oude.....

Para 29—On the resignation of Abdool-raoof Khan, Wajid Ulee, (formerly *Nazir* of *Moonsiff's* Office), was appointed to the chief military command, which he continued to hold until the arrival of the British forces.....

Para 31—On the resignation of Hamid Hussun Khan, orders were received from Nuwab Khan Buhadur Khan to appoint Nujeeb Khan *Naeb Nazim* in his stead.....

Para 36—Gholam Mohomud Khan was appointed *Nazim* of that part of the district by Khan Buhadur Khan, which appointment was obtained through his friendship with Syfoola (Saifullah) Khan, (formerly Jailor at Bareilly), and who had great influence with the Nuwab. He was further directed to raise troops of Horse and Foot.....[2]

* * *

[1] *Hathras*, Pargana and Tahsil *Hathras*, District *Aligarh*—The important city of Hathras stands in 27° 35′ N. and 78° 3′ E., on the provincial road from Aligarh to Agra, at a distance of 22 miles south from the former. (*District Gazetteers*, Aligarh, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 244).

[2] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Shahjahanpur District*, pp. 1-6.

Letter No. 21 *from G. P. Money, Magistrate and Collector of Shahjehanpoor (Shahjahanpur), to R Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkand (Rohilkhand), dated 9th September* 1858.

LIST OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS WHO TOOK SERVICE WITH THE REBELS

Number	Name	Office held under the British Government	Office held under the Rebel Government
		REVENUE	
		Sudder Office	
1.	Kudrut Ulee (Qudrat Ali)	*Naeb Serishtehdar*	*Peishkar* of Tilhur[1].
2.	Abid Ulee (Abid Ali)	*Nazir*	*Nazir*, and lately *Thanehdar* of Kutra[2].
3.	Ulee (Ali) Ahmud	*Ahulmudh*, Mehrabad	*Munsurim*, Neelam.
4.	Ubul Hussun (Abul Hasan)	Ditto, Pawayan	*Tukseeldar*, Pilibheet (Pilibhit).
5.	Kalkapurshad	*Munsurim*, Neelam	Commandant of Infantry.
6.	Khursheid Hosein	*Naeb Nazir*	Not known, a resident of Bareilly.
7.	Hubeeb-ool-rehman	*Mududgar* (*Madadgar*)	Sowar.
8.	Itquad Ulee (Aitqad Ali)	Do., *Rozenameh Nuwees*	Do., Went to Delhi to join in the "*Jehad*".
9.	Shaab-ood-deen (Shahab-uddin)	Ditto, Mehrabad	Not known.

[1] *Tilhar*, Pargana and Tahsil *Tilhar*, District *Shrhjahanpur*—The important town of Tilhar stands in 27° 57′ N. and 79° 44′ E., on the main road from Shahjahanpur to Katra and Bareilly, at a distance of twelve miles from the headquarters of the district. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 237).

[2] *Katra*, Pargana *Katra*, Tahsil *Tilhar*, District *Shahjahanpur*—The town of Katra, properly called Miranpur Katra, is a place of considerable size, standing in 28° 1′ N. and 79° 40′ E., on the provincial road from Bareilly to Fatehgarh, which is here joined by that from Sitapur and Shahjahanpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 185).

Number	Name	Office held under the British Government	Office held under the Rebel Government
10.	Fyz-ood-deen (Faiz-uddin)	*Roznamcheh Nuvees*, Tilhur	Not Known.
11.	Krishn Sahae	Ditto, Pawayan	Ditto.
12.	Ahmud Khan	*Dufturee* (*Duftari*)	Held the same situation.
13.	Fyz-oollah Khan	*Muhafiz Duftur*	Dismissed, and whilst his case was under investigation fled to the Rebel Camp, and is reported to have been killed as spy.
14.	Ulee Mohomud (Ali Muhammad)	*Dufturee*	*Jemadar*.
15.	Enait-oolah	*Mohurrir Duftur*	Not known.
16.	Mool Chund	Ditto, Do	*Mohurrir*.
17.	Villaut Ulee Khan (Wilait Ali Khan)	Ditto, Do	Not known.
18.	Doorgapurshad	Ditto, Do	Ditto.
		Deputy Collector, Regulation IX 1833	
19.	Kiffaut Ulee Khan (Kifait Ali Khan)	*Munsurim Paymaish*	Case pending.
20.	Uleem-oollah Khan (Alim-ullah Khan)	*Mohurrir*, Shahjehanpoor	Not known.
21.	Bhujun Lall (Bhajan Lal)	*Wasil Bakee Nuvees*	Held the same situation.
22.	Churn Beharee Lall (Charan Bihari Lal)	*Seea Nuvees* (*Siah Navis*)	Ditto.
23.	Jankeepurshad	*Qanoongo*	Ditto.
24.	Buldeo Sahae	Ditto	Ditto.
		Tilhur	
25.	Ram Sahae	*Peshkar*	Held the same office.
26.	Moonnoo Lall	*Seea Nuvees*	Ditto.

Number	Name	Office held under the British Government	Office held under the Rebel Government
27.	Girdharee Lall	*Qanoongo*, Negohee[1]	Ditto.
28.	Shunkur Sahae (Shankar Sahai)	Do., Kheira Bujheireh (Khera Bajhera)[2]	Ditto.
29.	Buldeo Sahae	Ditto. Julalpoor[3]	Ditto.
		Mehrabad	
30.	Ahmudyar Khan	*Tuhseeldar*	*Nazim* of Julalabad District, executed on 28th April 1858.
31.	Omrao Singh	*Qanoongo*	Held the same office.
		Pawayan	
32.	Cheim Ram[4]	*Peishkar*	*Ulushdar* in one of the regiments.
		FOUJDAREE (*Faujdari*)	
		Sudder Office	
1.	Muhzur Kureem (Mahzar Karim)	*Serishtehdar*	*Muftee*; Reward of 1000 Rs. proposed for his apprehension.

[1] *Nigohi*, Pargana *Nigohi*, Tahsil *Tilhar*, District *Shahjahanpur*—It is a place of no great size, standing in 28° 6′ N. and 79° 52′ E., on the east side of the road from Shahjahanpur to Pilibhit, at a distance of 15 miles north from the former. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 204).

[2] *Khera Bajhera*, Pargana, Tahsil *Tilhar*, District *Shahjahanpur*—This is the western most pargana of the tahsil, and comprises the country between the Bahgul and Ramganga. The former, save for a large westerly bend through the pargana, forms the eastern boundary, separating it from Tilhar and Katra; while the latter for the greater part of its length forms the boundary between this district and Budaun, though the deep-stream rule applies only in places. The southern border marches with Jalalabad, and to the north is the Faridpur tahsil of the Bareilly district. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, pp. 189-90).

[3] *Jalalpur*, Pargana *Jalalpur*, Tahsil *Tilhar*, District *Shahjahanpur*—The nominal capital of the Jalalpur pargana is an agricultural village standing in 28° 9′ N. and 79° 42′ E., about a mile west of Khudaganj, which has long supplanted it as the foremost place in the pargana. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 173).

[4] Correct name may be 'Chet Ram'.

Number	Name	Office held under the British Government	Office held under the Rebel Government
2.	Shumu Khan	*Naeb Serishtehdar*	*Serishtehdar Muftee's* Court.
3.	Khub Chund	*Nazir*	*Naeb Dewan*, Reward 200 Rs.
4.	Gouree Shunkur (Gauri Shankar)	2nd *Naeb Serishtehdar*	*Serishtehdar.*
5.	Rauff Ahmud (Rauf Ahmad)	*Izhar Nuvees*	Son-in-law to *Muftee*, held several offices, Reward of 200 Rs.
6.	Fuzul Emam (Fazal Imam)	*Purwaneh Nuvees*	*Purwaneh Nuvees.*
7.	Doorgapurshad	*Nukhsha Nuvees (Naqsha Navis)*	*Mohurrir.*
8.	Vuzeer Khan	*Naeb Nazir*	*Nazir* Ditto.
9.	Ruheem Bukhsh	*Kulundur Nuvees (Qalandar Navis)*	*Mohurrir* Ditto
10.	Hedaet-oollah Khan (Hidait-ullah Khan)	*Naeb Purwaneh Nuvees*	*Purwaneh Nuvees.*
11.	Fuzul Hosein Khan	*Mohurrir*	*Mohurrir Muftee's* Court.
12.	Muthrapurshad (Mathura Prasad)	*Muhafiz Duftur*	*Muhafiz Duftur Muftee's* Court.
13.	Suleem-oollah Khan (Salim-ullah Khan)	*Naeb* Ditto.	*Izhar Nuvees.*
		Cohoalee	
14.	Gholam Nubee	1st *Mohurrir*	*Mohurrir.*
15.	Roostum Khan	*Jemadar*	*Jemadar.*
		THANEHS (Thanas)	
		Puthra	
16.	Yarmohomud Khan	*Jemadar*	*Itlaq Nuvees.*

Number	Name	Office held under the British Government	Office held under the Rebel Government
		Kant[1]	
17.	Nutthoo Khan	*Jemadar*	*Thanehdar.*
		Tilhur	
18.	Shahbaz Khan	*Mohurrir*	Sowar.
19.	Unvur Ulee (Anwar Ali)	*Jemadar*	Ditto.
		Kutreh[2]	
20.	Uleem-oollah (Alim Ullah)	*Mohurrir*	*Vukeel.*
21.	Sheirundaz Khan (Sherandaz Khan)	*Jemadar*	Sowar.
22.	Hussun Khan	*Jemadar, Chokee* Khudagunj[3]	*Jemadar.*
23.	Lullapershad[4]	*Mohurrir*, Ditto Jounra.	*Tumundar.*
		Powayan	
24.	Karamut Khan	*Jemadar*	*Duffadar.*

[1] *Kant*, Pargana, Tahsil *Shahjahanpur*, District *Shahjahanpur*—This is the western pargana of the tahsil, and is bounded on the east by Jamaur, the dividing line in most places being the Garai. To the north lies Tilhar, to the west Jalalabad and to the south the district of Hardoi. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 182).

[2] Apparently spelt for *Katra* (*Miranpur Katra*).

[3] *Khudaganj*, Pargana *Jalalpur*, Tahsil *Tilhar*, District *Shahjahanpur*—A thriving little town standing near the right bank of the Garra in 28° 9′ N. and 79° 43′ E., at a distance of twelve miles north from Tilhar and twenty-four miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 193).

[4] Correct name may be either 'Lala Prasad' or 'Lalta Prasad'.

Number	Name	Office held under the British Government	Office held under the Rebel Government
		Puranpoor[1]	
25.	Saad-oollah Khan	*Mohurrir*	*Uraez Nuvees* (*Araiz Navis*).
		Khotar[2]	
26.	Burkut-oollah Khan (Barkat Ullah Khan)	*Mohurrir*	*Ulushdar.*
27.	Ubdool Raheem Khan (Abdul Rahim Khan)	*Jemadar*	*Jemadar* of Infantry.
28.	Meerbaz Khan	Do. *Chokee* Sehramow	Sowar.
		JAIL ESTABLISHMENT	
29.	Ouseiree Singh[3]	*Naeb Jemadar*, Guard.	Commandant of *Nujeebs*.
30.	Gholam Mohee-ood-deen Khan (Ghulam Muhi-uddin Khan)	*Jemadar*, Chalee.	*Duffadar* of Sowars.
31.	Matadeen	*Duffadar, Nujabut*	Ditto, of *Nujabut*.

[1] Apparently *Puranpur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Puranpur*, District *Pilibhit*—The place, which gives its name to the eastern pargana of the district, is a mere agricultural village standing in 28° 31′ N. and 80° 9′ E., at a distance of 24 miles east-south- east from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Pilibhit, Vol. XVIII, 1909, pp. 224-225.)

[2] *Khutar*, Pargana *Khutar*, Tahsil *Pawayan*, District *Shahjahanpur*—The capital of the Khutar pargana is a large and decidedly straggling village situated in 28° 12′ N. and 80° 16′ E., at a distance of fourteen miles from Pawayan and thirty-one miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 194).

[3] Probably spelt for 'Ishwari Singh'.

Number	Name	Office held under the British Government	Office held under the Rebel Government
		BUKSHEH KHANEH (*Bakhshi Khana*)	
32.	Mohomud Hosein Khan	*Bukhshee* (*Bakhshi*)	*Naeb-cotwal*. Still at large.
33.	Chotey Lall	*Mohurrir*	*Bukhshee* of the forces.[1]

* * *

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, Appendix B to *Shahjahanpur Narrative* No. 1, pp. 13-15.

Letter No. 21 *from G. P. Money, Magistrate and Collector of Shahjehanpoor (Shahjahanpur), to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand), dated 9th September* 1858.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL PERSONS NOT IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOY, WHO JOINED THE REBELS

Number	Name	Residence	Nature of service taken, and subsequent order
1.	Nuwab Kadir Ulee Khan		Vide report para 21; Reward of 1,000 Rupees proposed for his apprehension.
2.	Gholam Hosein Khan		Vide report para 13.
3.	Gholam Kadir Khan		Vide report para 23; Reward of 3,000 Rupees proposed.
4.	Nezam Ulee Khan (Nizam Ali Khan)		*Naeb Nazim;* was killed at the battle of Bichpúreea.
5.	Kasim Ulee Khan	Town of Shahjehanpoor	Commandant; killed at ditto. *Tuhseeldar* Shahjehanpoor; Reward of 100 Rupees; presented himself on the strength of the G.C.O. No. 1068, dated 28th April 1858.
6.	Neaz Ulee Khan (Niaz Ali Khan)		*Rissaldar* of Cavalry.
7.	Rujub Ulee Khan (Rajab Ali Khan)		
8.	Nujeeb Khan (Najib Khan)	Julalabad	*Naeb Nazim;* Pending Investigation.
9.	Usrar Ulee Khan (Asrar Ali Khan)		*Rissaldar.*
10.	Kudruth Ulee Khan (Qudrat Ali Khan)	Town of Shahjehanpoor	Presented himself on the strength of G. C. O. No. 1068 dated 28th April; Security 500 Rs.
11	Uzmuth Ulee Khan (Azmat Ali Khan)		Ditto. Ditto.

Number	Name	Residence	Nature of service taken, and subsequent order
12.	Fuzul Ulee Khan, *urf* Fuju Khan		*Rissaldar.*
13.	Villaut Ulee Khan (Wilayet Ali Khan)		Commandant; Reward 100 Rs.
14.	Zahur Khan		*Rissaldar.*
15.	Nuwab Hushmuth Ulee Khan (Hashmat Ali Khan)		Do. Vide para. of report.
16.	Mungul Khan (Mangal Khan)	Town of Shahjehanpoor	Commandant Vide Magistrate's report No. 16, dated 23rd June 1858; Reward of 1,000 Rupees proposed.
17.	Gholam Ulee Khan		*Rissaldar.*
18.	Ulee Husun Khán		Commandant.
19.	Villaut Ulee Khan		*Rissaldar.*
20.	Shahjehan Khan		Ditto.
21.	Mehndee Ulee Khan (Menhdi Ali Khan)		Do.; Reward of 500 Rs. proposed.
22.	Gholam Mohomud Khan (Ghulam Muhammad Khan)		*Nazim* and Comdt.; Reward 500 Rs. proposed.
23.	Khadim Hosein Khan		*Tuhseeldar* Tilhur; Reward 500 Rs. proposed.
24.	Kifaeth Ulee Khan (Kifait Ali Khan)		*Nazim* Tilhur; Reward 200 Rs. proposed.
25.	Hedaeth Ulee Khan (Hidait Ali Khan)	Tilhur	Ditto. Ditto.
26.	Gholam Hosein		*Naeb Nazim* Ditto.
27.	Abdool Guffur Khan (Abdul Ghafur Khan)		Ditto and *Ulushdar;* Still at large.
28.	Reaeth Ulee Khan[1]		*Nazim* Tilhur; Reward 200 Rs. proposed.
29.	Vahud Ulee Khan[2]		Headed the forces to Nyneetal; Since dead.

[1] Apparently spelt for 'Riyaet Ali Khan'.
[2] Probably spelt for 'Wahid Ali Khan'.

Number	Name	Residence	Nature of service taken, and subsequent order
30.	Fyz Mohumud Khan (Faiz Muhammad Khan)	Kutreh (Katra)	Commandant; Still at large.
31.	Gholamee Khan	Luchmeepoor[1]	Ditto. Ditto.
32.	Beharee Shah (Bihari Shah)	Town Shahjehanpoor	Ditto, Shahjehanpoor.
33.	Ahmudyar Khan	*Muhulla* Bhurgaon	Presented under G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April 1858.
34.	Mohumud Hosein Khan		Ditto. Ditto.
35.	Syud Neaz Ulee (Saiyid Niaz Ali)		*Serishtehdar*; Reward 100 Rs. proposed.
36.	Rampu shad		Presented under G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April 1858.
37.	Seetul Singh (Sital Singh)		Presented under G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April 1858.
38.	Doulut Rao (Daulat Rao)	Town	*Bukhshee;* killed at Bichpureea.
39.	Gholam Husun Khan		*Daroga* of Pilibheet.
40.	Ahmudjan Khan		*Nazir* of Julalabad; Since hanged.
41.	Surufuraz Ulee (Sarfaraz Ali)		*Moonsiff;* Since transported for 14 years.
42.	Syud Mohomud Hosein (Saiyid Muhammad Husain)		*Muftee* Pilibheet; Case pending.
43.	Nusur Ulee Khan[2]		Commanding at Tilhur; Is still at large.
44.	Sultan Hosein Khan, nephew of Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly		*Moonsiff* Tilhur; Ditto.

[1] Apparently *Lachhmipur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Bisauli*, District *Budaun*—A village situated in 28° 23′ N., and 78° 59′ E., at a distance of six miles north-east from Bisauli and about a mile from the Dabtara station on the Oudh and Rohil- khand Railway. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, pp. 226-227).

[2] Correct name may be 'Nazar Ali Khan' or 'Nasir Ali Khan'.

Number	Name	Residence	Nature of service taken, and subsequent order
45.	Ussud Ulee Khan (Asad Ali Khan)		*Rissaldar.*
46.	Ultaff Ulee (Altaf Ali)		Presented under G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April 1858.
47.	Nezam Ulee Khan (Nizam Ali Khan), Pensioner	Town	*Cotwal;* Is still at large; Reward 500 Rupees.
48.	Fyzab Khan		*Aide-de-camp;* Presented under G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April 1858.
49.	Khan Ulee Khan		*Naeb Nazim;* Reward 300 Rs. proposed.[1]

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, Appendix B to *Shahjahanpur Narrative*, pp. 20-21.

BADAUN

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT BADAUN

ABDUL RAHMAN APPOINTED NAZIM

At last on the 23rd of Shawwal in the afternoon, Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan, the ruler of Bareilly appointed the religious minded, highborn Nawab Abdur Rahman as the *Nazim* of Badaun. He took over charge of the Govt. and attended to the needs of all, both the plebeian and patrician. It was announced in the town that the Civil Govt. had been formed but the army was yet to be equipped and that all those who wanted to get employment should be present at the Court of the *Nazim* with their sword and musket and that the officers would be awarded according to ability, work, and personality.

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT STRENGTHENED

Upon this a large number of people of all classes and kinds came up and got themselves enlisted within a short period. *Risaldars*, *Kumedans*, Foot-soldiers and Horsemen to the strength of about 2,000 were recruited. The Govt. of the town was so well managed that malefactors were almost annihilated. A body of rustics, who attacked Shaikhupur[1], one of the *mohallas* of Badaun and tyrannised its residents, were adequately punished. The *Nazim* with his army went to the spot and, besides these ruffians, put 307 persons to the sword and burnt their villages. (Ends with prayer for the success of the *Nazim* and of the religion of the Prophet).[2]

[1] *Sheikhupur*, Pargana *Ujhani*, Tahsil and District *Budaun*—This large village stands near the right bank of the Sot, which is here crossed by a ferry at Ghoncha-ghat, leading to the city of Budaun, a distance of some three miles to the north-east. It stands in 28°1′ N. and 79° 7′ E., a mile south of the provincial road from Budaun to Muttra and half a mile east of the branch metalled road leading to Qadir Chauk. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 257).

[2] *Habib-ul-Akhbar*, 3rd Ziqaad 1273 A. H. (Friday) corresponding with 25th June 1857. Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Extract from the Narrative of Occurrences by C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate, Badaun, dated 23rd November 1858.

BISAULI UNDER AZIZ KHAN

About the same time in the north-west portion of the district, one Azeez Khan proclaimed himself *Soobah* of Bissowlee (Bisauli), being joined by the *Paishkar* of the Government *tuhseel* there, and other servants of Government. He again was dispossessed for a time by Thakoor Nehal Singh, but he succeeded eventually in obtaining possession of the greater portion of the money in the *tuhseel*, and making off with it to Khan Bahadoor Khan at Bareilly. The Thakoors of the neighbourhood also, about this same time, banded together to plunder Bissowlee and came as far as the village of Nijra on the banks of the Soto (Sot), about a mile from Bissowlee, destroying wantonly during their stay there the Government bridge over the river; but Chundun (Chandan) Singh, *zemindar* of Bhanpoor in Kote interfered and made peace between the parties, that in Bissowlee at this period being under the command of Azeez Khan. In the neighbourhood of Budaon, Bhaee Singh of Khunuck (Khanak), led a band of Thakoors against the city, but was repulsed.

17TH JUNE : FORMATION OF REVOLUTIONARY GOVT. UNDER ABDUL RAHIM

The Thakoors of the adjoining villages attacked Shekoo pore (Shaikhupur), but were repulsed by the *zemindars* of that place. On the same date the *Nazim* Abdool Ruhman Khan[1] arrived in Budaon from Bareilly with Fussahut Oollah (Fasahat Ullah) as his *Naib*. He immediately set about organizing his establishment. Zoolfekar Oodeen (Zulfiqaruddin) the former *Foujdaree Sherishtadar* took office under the rebels as Deputy Magistrate, and Tufussul Hoosein (Tafazzul Husain) a former, but pensioned, *Tuhseeldar* as Deputy Collector; Ruzee Oollah (Razi Ullah) *Tuhseeldar* of Bissowlee (Bisauli) under (British) Govt. became *Tuhseeldar*

[1] In the printed Narrative, the name is given as Abdul Raheem Khan, though 'Abdul Rahman Khan' appears correct.

of Budaon under the rebels. Mahomed Hoosein, another pensioned *Tuhseeldar*, also became a Deputy Collector and his brother Ahmud Hoosein, formerly Naib Revenue Sherishtadar became *Sherishtadar* under the rebels. Those two men, the latter particularly, were most inveterate in their hatred to us. Uzmutoollah (Azmat Ullah) Khan was appointed *Bukshee* of the *Fouj*, and Saifoollah Khan, formerly also a *Tuhseeldar* in Government service, *Sipah Salar* or Generalissimo. Wuleedad (Walidad) Khan, Monsoor (Mansur) Beg, and others were nominated *Rissaldars;* Choudhrees Sifut Ally (Sifat Ali), Tufussool Hoosein (Tafazzul Husain) and others *Koomedans;* Luchmun Singh made *Tuhseeldar* of Oojhanee (Ujhani), Badoollah Khan appointed *Kotwal* of Budaon, and so on with other inferior posts.

AMLAS ORDERED TO RESUME DUTIES

The *Nazim* then issued *perwanahs* to all the former *Sudder* and *Mofussil Omlahs* (*Amlas*) calling on them to attend to their respective duties. All, with one or two exceptions, complied for fear of the consequences of a refusal, but many took an early opportunity to throw up their appointments.....

COLLECTION OF MONEY

The *Nazim* now commenced to demand money from the villages adjacent to Budaon, some of the *zemindars* paid while others again refused. The *Nazim* upon this sent Sowars and *Peydahs* (*Pyadas*) to enforce his demands, and burnt as a punishment, the refractory Thakoor villages of Khunuck and Rufeeabad (Rafiabad). He then commenced to collect any Government treasure which had been left in the district, and for this purpose Ruzeeoollah, the *Tuhseeldar* of Budaon, was sent to Cheyt Singh, late *Tuhseeldar* of Datagunge (Dataganj), and the latter made to furnish a list of the *Chuprassies* to whom the treasure from his *tuhseel* had been disbursed. Such of these men as had not absconded were apprehended, and made to refund what had been paid to them by their late *Tuhseeldar*. A force also was sent to Suheswan (Sahaswan) to collect the money there, but Hydur (Haidar) Khan would only give up a small portion of it, retaining the larger share for himself.

MANAGERS APPOINTED BY KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

Omrao Singh *talookadar* of Hutoolee (Hatauli) and the *zemindar* of Rudoolee (Rudauli) of Datagunge, were appointed managers of Datagunge by Khan Bahadoor Khan. The *zemindars* of the *pergunnah* however refused to acknowledge their authority, and collecting together in a large body under their own leaders with one Hurloll (Har Lal) Singh of Buksanah (Baksana) at their head, under the title of Dhapoodham[1], advanced with the intention of attacking Budaon. A combat ensued on the skirts of the city, in which the Thakoors were worsted, and they fell back.

DIFFERENCES AMONG REVOLUTIONARIES

The *zemindars* of the Bissowlee *Pergunnah* refusing to acknowledge the authority of Nubee (Nabi) Khan of Huthra, the *Tuhseeldar* of Bissowlee under the rebels, a gun, which had arrived from Bareilly, was despatched with troops, the whole under command of Fussahut Oollah (Fasahat Ullah) to coerce them. A fight took place near Wuzeergunge (Wazirganj) with the Thakoors of Rehria under Futteh Singh in which the Mahomedans were worsted, and Fussahut Oollah wounded; but being shortly after reinforced by another gun and fresh troops under Niaz Mahomed Khan from Aonlah[2], they returned to the charge, and this time overpowered their late victors....

About this same period Azeez Ahmud (Aziz Ahmad) of Rampoor, having obtained from Khan Bahadoor Khan the farm of the Suheswan *Pergunnah* came and established himself there with a couple of guns and an armed force, and assumed the title of *Chuckladar* of Suheswan.....

SEPTEMBER : MUHAMMAD YAR KHAN AS NAIB NAZIM

Mahomed Yar Khan came to Budaon in this month as *Naib Nazim*, and Ruhm Ally Khan also arrived there, a fugitive

[1] Appears spelt for 'Dhanudham'. (see p. 318).

[2] *Aonla*, Pargana and Tahsil *Aonla*, District *Bareilly*—The town of Aonla stands in 28° 16′ N. and 79° 10′ E., at a distance of 17 miles south-west from Bareilly, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 186).

from the country across the Ganges, and proceeding from Budaon to Bareilly obtained from Khan Bahadoor Khan the farm of the Bissowlee and Islamnugur *pergunnahs*. He appointed one Ashruf Ally as his *Naib Chuckladar*, and Hoosain Ally as *Tuhseeldar*, and these commenced forthwith to realize the revenues of the *pergunnahs*.....

OCTOBER : BALA RAO EN ROUTE TO SHAHJAHANPUR

Early in this month Niaz Mahomed Khan, the Rebel General, marched to Ooseith. On the road a *Rissalah* of his under command of Bedar Khan plundered the village of Khurkoulee, having murdered first in return for some supposed slight the son of Zalim Singh, the Thakoor *zemindar* of the place. Early in this month also, fugitive rebels, Horse and Foot, under command of Bala Rao, the nephew of Nana Rao, crossed over into the district from Malagurh by Anoopshuhur (Anupshahr) Ghat on the Ganges, and passed onwards to Shajehanpore.

The Rebel General Niaz Mahomed Khan paid a visit to Suheswan, and levied fines from the merchants there.

Bhooreh Khan obtained from Khan Bahadoor Khan the lease of the Datagunge *Pergunnah* and commenced, with the assistance of the Thakoors, to collect the revenue there.

WALIDAD KHAN IN BADAUN

Wuleedad (Walidad) Khan of Malagurh and Ismael Khan came to Budaon from Bareilly; and obtaining funds from Suheswan, proceeded onwards to Futtehgurh (Fatehgarh).

Towards the close of the month Mr. J. C. Wilson, the Special Commissioner, came to Koolia Nugria in the Soron *Pergunnah* of Etah to arrange for the escape from this side of the river of Captain Gowan. Abdool Ruhman Khan the *Nazim* of Budaon hearing of his being in that neighbourhood proceeded with troops to Kuchla Ghat and remained encamped there for some fifteen or 20 days.....

MUBARAK SHAH KHAN SUCCEEDS ABDUL RAHMAN

About the 10th of this month Abdool Ruhman Khan was either dismissed from his post of *Nazim* of Budaon, or threw

it up from some causes, of his own accord. He was succeeded by Mobaruck Shah Khan as *Nazim*, and Ahmud Shah Khan as *Naib Nazim*. Mooneer (Munir) Khan was appointed Superintendent of the Ghat, and Ferukh (Farrukh) Khan *Rissaldar*.

ENCOUNTER AT KACHHLA GHAT

On or about the 20th of the month shots were exchanged with the British troops on the opposite bank of the Ganges, and those of the rebels stationed at Kuchla Ghat. Ahmud Shah Khan and Mooneer Khan fell back from Kuchla to Oojhanee, and some of their followers fled into Budaon.

DECEMBER

A portion of the rebels who had been defeated by our force at Gungeeree (Gangiri)[1] crossed over into this district, and came into Budaon. About this same time the *Nazim* stationed troops at all the principal *Ghats* on the Ganges to watch for the approach of any force from the opposite bank.

DATAGANJ, BADAUN FARMED TO ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN

About the 20th of this month Abdool Ruhman Khan, the former *Nazim* of Budaon, obtained from Khan Bahadoor Khan the farm of the *pergunnahs* of Datagunge and Budaon; Ahmud Shah Khan and his brothers, large and influential *Maufeedars* in this district, being securities for Abdool Ruhman Khan. The expedition to Futtehgurh being just about this time contemplated, a fine of 40,000 Rs. was levied by the rebel General from the *Mahajuns*, *Bunyahs*, and others of Budaon to meet the expenses of it.[2]

* * *

[1] *Gangiri*, Pargana *Gangiri*, Tahsil *Atrauli*, District *Aligarh*—The place which gives its name to the Gangiri pargana is a small town situated in 27° 51′ N. and 78° 26′ E., on the south side of the unmetalled road from Aligarh to Kasganj, at a distance of 26 miles from the district headquarters and 16 miles from Atrauli. (*District Gazetteers*, Aligarh, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 235).

[2] Department–XXIV, File : "Narrative of Events attending the Outbreak of Disturbances at Badaun"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Badaun District*, pp. 4-8.

English Translation of an account of the Rebellion at Badaun from 1st June 1857 to March 1858 as given by Bihari Lal, Sub Deputy Inspector, Parganas Faridpur and Bisalpur, District Bareilly resident of Badaun, at that time residing at Badaun, dated 4th May 1858.

ACCOUNT OF BADAUN AFTER THE FLIGHT

Everyday it was rumoured that Dhanudham i. e. the Changra caste people were coming from Dataganj for the plunder of the town. In fact the Thakurs of *mauza* Khotak[1] and Sher Ali with Musalman *Chaudharis* of *mauza* Khera Nawada wanted to plunder the gentry of the town and thus to satisfy their own craze for such a work. But Maulvi Fazal Rasul's good administration saved Badaun from mishaps. The said Maulvi is one of those good natured and saintly persons who are rare these days. On Shawwal 23, 1273 Hijri corresponding with June 16, 1857, Abdul Rahman—the nephew of Khan Bahadur Khan—was appointed *Nazim* of Badaun and Fasahat Ullah the Government pleader was appointed his Chief Adviser in carrying on the administration. The next morning 2 horsemen came from Shaikhupur and requested the *Nazim* and the residents of the place to help the people of Shaikhupur against their assailants, the people of Sirsauli[2] and other neighbouring villages who were plundering them fearlessly. Shaikhupur people had left the place for fear of their life and the doors of their houses were removed by the rebels. Upon this Maulvi Fazal Rasul, the residents of Sarai Jalandhari and the Musalmans of Gorami set out to punish them. They were followed by *Nazim* and Fasahat Ullah who boasted of their bravery. The people of Sarai Jalandhari and Musalmans of Gorami surrounded the plunderers and killed them in great numbers. About 700 people were slain and those who took to flight were saved from death. After this the *Nazim* went to Sirsauli, set fire to the town and looted the cattle and other belongings of the people. The next day the *Nazim* held his court in the *tahsil* premises. The Government servants who were present in the town were called and they attended. The order of Khan Bahadur Khan was promulgated in the town.

[1] Appears to have been deciphered for '*Khanak*'. (See p. 313).
[2] Name of the place not clearly decipherable in the Urdu text.

VARIOUS OFFICIALS UNDER REVOLUTIONARY GOVT.

The different departments were arranged as follows :—

Maulvi Zulfiqar-uddin the previous *Sarishtedar* was appointed Chief Officer of the *Faujdari*. Fazal Husain *Rais* of Badaun was made Deputy Collector, Fasahat Ullah was appointed *Naib*, Maulvi Razi Ullah was made *Tahsildar* of Badaun. Such persons, who had acquired significance during the rebellion because of their following or position, as Choudhary Sher Ali, resident of Katra, Saifullah Khan, Muhammad Saeed Khan, resident of Sarai Jalandhari, Chaudhary Tafazzul Husain resident of Sarai Chaudhary, Bedar Shah resident of Sarai, Lachhman Singh, resident of Ujhani, attended the meeting with the *Nazim*. Maulvi Muhibb Ali, the late Deputy Collector, presented himself and gave an offering of 5 Rupees to the *Nazim*, with the request that he should be appointed a *Naib*. But Fasahat Ali (Ullah) stood in his way.

NAZIM'S MEASURES TO BRING ROUND THE THAKURS

It has also been heard that he handed over the inkpot and the coin to the *Nazim* without his demand. Bhai Singh *zamindar* Khotak had been here up to that time. Chaudhary Sher Ali who had an ill-will against him told the *Nazim* secrelty that Bhai Singh did not present himself out of disloyalty. Thereupon the *Nazim* sent Mansur Ali Beg with a *Risala* of Cavalry and Infantry to bring the Thakur captive from *mauza* Khotak. When he reached the place he alone went to Bhai Singh and stayed with him in the night, took the promise of his (Bhai Singh) coming over to the presence and then returned the next morning to Badaun. Two days after Bhai Singh presented himself. Although Bhai Singh was getting disloyal yet the *Nazim* appointed him *Tahsildar* of Dataganj in order to keep the administration intact. The Thakur saw that his opponent Sher Ali wielded great influence, and therefore refused to act as *Tahsildar*, for he thought it would be difficult for him to carry on his duties successfully under those circumstances.....[1]

[1] From here there is an account of the differences beween the Thakurs led by Bhai Singh and the Nazim. The Nazim writes to Khan Bahadur

.....Then the *Nazim* wrote to Khan Bahadur and according to his request he sent his servant Jai Mal Singh Thakur to Badaun. This man brought the Thakurs and The *Nazim* of Badaun to terms. Bhai Singh was established in village Khotak. Bhurey Khan *Chakledar* was appointed from Bareilly to administer Dataganj. The Thakurs made friends with the *Chakledar* and gave the revenues of their own lands and of Bangaon[1] to him and themselves realised thousands of rupees as bribe on pretext that they were *Chakledar's* friends and associates.....

DELHI KING'S FARMAN PROMULGATED

Fasahat Ullah and Maulvi Tafazzul Husain brought a *Farman* addressed to Khan Bahadur Khan by the King of Delhi and said that it was a copy they had received from Bareilly. The summary of the *Farman* was "By God's grace *Kufr* and *Shirk* (the rule of the heathens) have been purged from Hindustan and Islam[2] has been established. As you have carried on the administration of Bareilly and Shahjahanpur nicely that part of the country has been given over to you. You should now carry on the administration according to the tenets of the religion and should pray wholeheartedly for the stability of the King's rule."

Saif Khan, resident of Sarai Jalandhari was, made *Sipahsalar*, Walidad Khan, resident of the above-named Sarai, Bedar Shah, resident of Qila and Mirza Mansur Ali Beg were made *Risaldars* of high rank, Amir Ahmad, nephew of Fasahat Ullah, Tafazzul, resident of Sarai Chaudhary, Sifat Ali, resident of *mohalla* Sotha and Muhammad Saeed Khan resident of

Khan who sends Jai Mal Singh Thakur to bring about rapprochement between the Thakurs and the Nazim.

[1] Apparently *Bangaon*, Pargana and Tahsil *Jalalabad*, District *Shahjahanpur*—The village of Bangaon was once of some importance as giving its name to a pargana which was transferred from the Farrukhabad district and amalgamated with Jalalabad in 1842. The place stands in 27° 37' N. and 79° 34' E., about two miles to the east of Pirthipur Dhai and some eleven miles from Jalalabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 158).

[2] *Islam* in these documents is broadly used in the sense of peace, and *Kufr* and *Shirk* in the sense of the English opponents.

Sarai Jalandhari were appointed *Kumedans*. The *sipahis* of the old gaol and those of the new *Paltan* demanded their salaries. As the treasury was empty and dues had not been realized from the *zamindars*, the problem was how to meet the expenses of the army. For some days nothing could be settled and at last it was decided that the treasures left by the Englishmen at Sahaswan should be called for and distributed. Saifullah Khan, *Risaldar*, was sent with two Companies and one *Risala* to bring the treasures from Sahaswan. The *Raises* of Sahaswan said that they would not allow the treasures to be carried to Badaun for they had to pay the soldiers they had kept for the protection of their town, from the treasury. Saifullah Khan stayed there for 15 days and kept the negotiations open. But they did not give him any money except only Rs. 700 spent on the diet. After this, *Dastaks* were issued on the *zamindars* of Badaun.

Fasahat Ullah set out with his men, a *Risala* of Cavalry and one field piece, for the realisation of revenue at Bisauli. When he reached Wazirganj[1] he demanded Rs. 500/– from each of the *zamindars*. Five sawars were sent to *mauza* Rasarya close to Saidpur[2]. The Thakurs of the place were strong and they treated these *sipahis* despatched by the *Nazim* rudely, then they collected a body of 2,000 musketeers and attacked Wazirganj.....[3]

Now[4] there was a rumour that Bakht Khan intended

[1] *Wazirganj*, Pargana *Satasi*, Tahsil *Bisauli*, District *Budaun*—Wazirganj is the chief place in the pargana, but is nothing else than a large village. It stands in 28° 13' N. and 79° 4' E., by the side of the road from Budaun to Bisauli, at a distance of two miles south-west from Saidpur, 13 miles from Budaun, and nine miles from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 273).

[2] *Saidpur*, Pargana *Satasi*, Tahsil *Bisauli*, District *Budaun*—This large village stands some distance to the east of the unmetalled road from Budaun to Bisauli, in 28° 14' N. and 79° 2' E., being 16 miles north-west from Budaun and seven miles from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 248).

[3] From here onwards is an account of Nazim's measures to retrieve the attack on Wazirganj by Thakurs. He communicates the news to Khan Bahadur Khan, who sends Niaz Ali Khan of Rampur, known as General with 4000 Foot soldiers, Horsemen and 5 pieces of Artillery. This General commits depredations and extorts money from zamindars and others.

[4] The end of September 1857 after the 'Fall of Delhi'.

crossing the river on this side after his flight from Delhi, with the defeated army and the artillery, and would go to Bareilly after plundering Badaun. The *Tahsildar* of Badaun named Azmatullah Khan, a relation of the *Nazim*, who had been appo nted in place of Razi Ullah, informed the *Nazim* and the General of this news. The next day both these *Badmashes* came to Badaun with their army and in the morning 500 Horsemen who had detached themselves from Bakht Khan's army reached Badaun. They encamped near the *Sarai* and tried to take their rations from the Bazar by force but as the General had already awarded punishments for such misdeeds, they desisted from doing so.

After some days Maulvi Tafazzul Husain resigned, and Abdul Rahman *Nazim* went for the control of the road on the Ganges and the General who was really a dunce went to Sahaswan. At Sahaswan he received the news that "the Ahir residents of Bharauti[1] have kept four cannon and 10,000 men and ammunition ready for a battle; Chhiddu Singh, Ahir, has taken permission from the English for giving a fight".....[2]

Mubarak Shah Khan, a malcharacter resident of Bareilly came as the *Nazim* of Badaun and he issued stamp paper of the same type as the English had issued. The brother of Mubarak Shah Khan became his *Naib*. Fasahat Ullah and the General felt angry because of Mubarak Shah Khan's coming and so they went to Bareilly and got the contract for Badaun, Dataganj, Bisauli and Usaith but not of Sahaswan, Gunnaur and Islamnagar whose *theka* had already been given before to some one else.

Previously, Mohd. Yar Khan, resident of Bareilly, *Peshkar* of *pargana* Nawab-ganj, was appointed *Naib*. Fasahat Ullah acted as councillor and courtier for some days and after coming from Bareilly he acted as the officer of *Adalat* having powers to decide cases of loan, loss, plunder etc. Bhurey Khan, the *Chakledar* of Dataganj, was dismissed. But Bhurey Khan, on the strength of Thakurs of Dataganj, who were associates

[1] Can be read as '*Sarauti*' also in the Urdu Text. Spelt as '*Bharauni*' or '*Sarauni*' elsewhere in this document. But Bharauti is correct.

[2] An account of the General's (Niaz Ali Khan's) attack on Chhiddu Singh follows.

of the *Chakledar*, did not allow Abdul Rahman Khan to intervene and kicked Khan Bahadur's order. Abdul Rahman Khan wrote to Bareilly and orders were given from Bareilly to General to turn out Bhurey Khan from Dataganj. Accordingly he set out for Dataganj with his army of Foot-soldiers, Horsemen and four cannons. He reached Dataganj four *gharis* before sunset. Bhurey Khan was in the *tahsil* premises and Kirat Singh and other Thakurs were with him armed. The General called him to his place but Bhurey Khan did not respond. Banney Khan[1], son of Bhurey Khan, struck one of the soldiers and wounded another with his sword because they had used harsh words. Therefore the sawars killed Banney Mian and gave such a sword cut on the shoulder of Bhurey Khan that he had to run inside the house and Kirat Singh and others fired one gunshot and fled away. The horsemen and soldiers entered the house and took Bhurey Khan captive. They also plundered all his belongings to the extent that they took off all the clothes of his concubine and left her naked. As Bhurey Khan had received a severe wound, he went to Badaun with the dead body of his son, himself suffering from pangs of death and died on reaching Bareilly.

Abdul Rahman Khan and the General stayed in the *tahsil* premises and issued orders for the Thakurs and Rajputs. Kirat Singh, the leader of Dataganj Thakurs who had plundered the *tahsil* property in the beginning of the rebellion was first to present himself. He gave a *nazar* of Rs. 500, a man, a *ghariyal*, and two or three chairs and an almirah of the *tahsil* which he had taken home.

He also promised that he would have all the Govt. dues realised. The General stayed there for about a week, realised immense money from the Rajputs and appointed his own men as *Thanedar* and *Tahsildar*. Then he returned to Badaun.

In the meantime the English had re-established their administration in Farrukhabad. It was learnt that the English army was at Farrukhabad and there was only a small body of men at Surajpur Ghat. Therefore the General made up his mind to attack Surajpur Ghat and made an announcement in the town that all Musalmans who are prepared for *jihad* should accompany him. The men of the army said that they

[1] Can be read as 'Nabi Khan' also in the Urdu text.

would do so only if their arrears of five months' pay were paid. As there was only a sum of Rs. 5,000 in the treasury, the General could say nothing. He consulted Fasahat Ullah and Salim Ullah his advisers and it was decided that three lakh should be demanded from the *Sahukars* of Badaun. Firstly they refused but for fear of chastisement and disrespect and due to injury done to the person of Mohan Lal Sahukar, the *Sahukars* and traders at last consented to give more than Rs. 50,000. Har Sahai, son of Het Ram Chaudhary, distributed the amount of individual contribution according to status and placed the list he had drawn for the approval of the General who exacted the amount from each through Har Sahai. A copy of the date-wise list for the *Roznamcha* (diary) which I had secreted in a thatch at the time of my flight was burnt when the house was set on fire and I do not recollect the items. One or two persons who were considered well-to-do in the village, however, hid themselves and were saved. Behari Lal and Asharfi Lal sons of Munshi Kanji Mal, deceased, who outwardly looked well dressed but were really poor, saved themselves by hiding in the town for a day and fleeing away to *mauza* Khotak, the next day.

After the General had replenished the treasury, he set out for Surajpur Ghat with the *Risalas* of Mansur Ali Beg, Bedar Shah, one thousand men of Abdul Rahman Khan and six cannon. About 2,000 *jihadis* were also collected. The General and Abdul Rahman Khan set off from Badaun and encamped first at Usaith. The Musalmans of the neighbouring villages and some Thakurs, ready to risk their lives, accompanied them.

The army of the General took to flight after being severely defeated by the English and hundreds of men were drowned in the Ganges and the Musulmans of Badaun had fled back to their homes. A few days after, the story of the disaster of General's army came to light and it was learnt that all the cannon of the General were captured by the English. His treasures were carried with the cannon. About 30 persons who were relatives of Nisar Ali Khan were killed by cannon shots and hundreds of his soldiers were sent to hell. The General's horse was blown off from the cannon-shot but he himself was saved. He received a small wound in his leg, fled and reached Abdul Rahman Khan in Usaith. Both of them then went to Badaun. Although their defeat was their

own misfortune still they wreaked vengeance on the weak. Himmat Singh, Thakur of Kadhol[1], had given shelter to a Christian and had sent him after some days to some safe place in British Rule.

Pannoo Lal, late *Thanedar* of Dataganj with six or seven Thakurs escorted him. On their return, the General came to know this secretly. Besides, Pannoo Lal sent an order from the English to his brother, through a *Chaukidar* who passed it to a *sipahi* of the *tahsil*. The latter gave it to Mirza Inayet Yar Beg, the *Peshkar* of *Tahsil* Dataganj and some time back the *Muharrir* of *tahsil* Badaun, who gave it to the *Nazim*. The latter handed it over to the General.

This *parwana* said, "Your petition has been received here. The English will shortly set out for that area. You should make an effort to create disturbance in the rebel administration through the Thakurs." Nobody saw the *parwana* and therefore it cannot be said with certainty that it was genuine. The General, however, kept it a secret and called Himmat Singh, Kirat Singh, Munnoo Lal[2], Bakhtawar Singh and Kedari Singh for consultation. They came without any fear and were put into prison. Bakhtawar Singh and Pannu Lal were subjected to such rigours that they were half-dead. The next day Mithoo Lal[3] was seated on an ass and paraded. Then on Phagun 13, he was blown off from the gun. Then he said to the Thakurs to give Rs. 40,000, otherwise they would be blown off from the gun. In short, they were kept in the prison for 2 months and then were sent to Bareilly. Shyam Bihari Lal, sometime *Muharrir*, *thana* Gunnaur, Madari Lal and Shiv Sahai[4] in the service of the English Govt. in *Subah* Avadh shifted to *mauza* Barabaidar[5] for fear of the General. Fifty persons of Badaun, too, were brought captive by the General's order for not paying the Govt. dues to the *Nazim*. They were acquitted after a realisation of Rs. 36/8/- as fine. After this, the petition which Bhai Singh and Dharam Singh had sent to the English was

[1] Not comprehensible in the Urdu text.
[2] It has been spelt as 'Pannu Lal' above; can be read as 'Nannhu Lal' also.
[3] This should be 'Pannu Lal' if he is the same man as referred to above.
[4] Can be read as 'Sat Sahai' also.
[5] Name of the place not clearly decipherable.

intercepted. But both these Thakurs were freed after a month by paying bribes to *Ahalkars*.

As I had sent petitions to the English and had been submitting the diary (*Roznamcha*), a search was made for me for 20 days, but I had already fled from Badaun to Moradabad in March 1858 and had left my house and property and have since been at Moradabad.[1]

FASAHAT ULLAH, MUHAMMAD YAR AND FAZAL AHMAD AS OFFICIALS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT BADAUN

Letter No. 161 *of* 1859, *from C. P. Carmichael, Offg. Magistrate of Badaun, to J. H. Batten, Offg. Commissioner of Rohilkhand, Moradabad, dated Badaun, the* 11*th August* 1859.

In my two last weekly reports I have omitted most inadvertently to report to you the capture of the three noted rebels : Fusahut-Ollah, Mohomud Yar Khan, and Fuzl Aumud.

2*nd*—The first of these men, who was the first as the[2] ablest *Wukeel* in the Judge's Court at Bareilly before the mutiny, and who was possessed of great local influence here was the immediate cause of the introduction of the Rebel rule here, bringing over with him from Bareilly the *Nazim*, Abdool Ruhman Khan, and himself, whilst ranking as *Naib Nazim*, taking the lead in all matters tending to the establishment of the Rebel Govt. After a short interval of time he resigned his office in favour of the second individual Mohomud Yar Khan, contenting himself with constituting himself a Native Judge here, but retaining at the same time in reality all the great power and influence which he had brought to bear so successfully in behalf of the rebels on his first assumption of power.

3*rd*—Mohomud Yar Khan was *Naib Nazim* of Budaon, and is like the first prisoner, of the class excluded from the amnesty.

4*th*—The third prisoner, a relative of the first, was the Head-Sherishtadar in the Rebel Court, and was by his

[1] Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 26.
[2] The phrase is faulty in construction.

position, as well as by his kinsmanship with the first prisoner, intimately associated with the chief rebels in all their designs and actions.

5*th*—These three men were all, as I informed you demi-officially immediately on receiving intimation myself of the circumstance, apprehended by Mr. Carnegy, the Dy. Commissioner of Lucknow, in that city, on information with which I furnished him. *Papers were found in their possession shewing that they were in correspondence with notable rebels at Lucknow* who had been admitted to the benefits of the amnesty, and one paper also was found of a decidedly treasonable character. I enclose copy of the abstract of proceedings (in English) as held in Lucknow.

6*th*—In conclusion I beg to state that these men are now under trial before me, that I have very sufficient documentary evidence to convict them on, and that I have every just expectation of obtaining equally good oral testimony. Before sending up the cases to the Judge and Special Commissioner, I will submit an abstract of the evidence and grounds of commitment, in each, to you.[1]

PILIBHIT

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT PILIBHIT

EX-CHAKLEDAR OF MUHAMDI DISTRICT APPOINTED NAZIM OF PILIBHIT BY KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

.....Eazl (*sic*,-Fazl) Huc (Haq) was lately *Chuckladar* for the Mohumdee District. He was a native of Shahjehanpore, and formerly *Tehseeldar* of the Budaon District. On the outbreak he was appointed *Nasim* (*Nazim*) of the Pilibheet District by Khan Bahadoor Khan. This man had five hundred Cavalry attached to his force.[2]

[1] Department-XXIV, File No. 19 : "Bestowal of a reward of Rs. 3000/- on the Avadh Police for effecting the capture of Fasahat Ullah, Mohd.Yar Khan and Fazal Ahmad"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
[2] *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, November 1, 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.

MORADABAD

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT MORADABAD

Extract from Letter No. 88 *from R. H. Dunlop, Officiating Magistrate of Moradabad, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand), dated* 18*th November* 1858.

ABBAS ALI PROCLAIMS HIMSELF RULER

June 3*rd*—23rd Native Infantry appropriated all the Government treasure, and the Europeans fled to Meerut and Nynee Tal (Naini Tal). The *cutcherry* was burnt, and all the bungalows plundered by the mob. Abbas Alee proclaimed himself ruler in Moradabad. Mujjoo Khan, Ditto Ditto.[1]

June 4*th*—Abdool Alee Khan, uncle of the Nawab of Rampore, arrived in the morning.

June 6*th*—The Nawab of Rampore arrived to take charge, and left same day.

June 7*th*—A report arose that the Europeans from Meerut were coming. The Mussulmans collected to fight under Mujjoo Khan and burnt down the Church.

MAJJOO KHAN BECOMES RULER

June 8*th*—Abdool Alee fled on hearing approach of Bareilly Brigade. Messrs. Hill, McGuire, and others were made Mussulman.

Mujjoo Khan was placed on the *Musnud*.[2]

PROCLAMATION OF MAJJOO KHAN, AND HIS DIFFERENCES WITH ABBAS ALI'S PARTY

Extract from Narrative submitted by J. C. Wilson, Commissioner on Special Duty, dated Moradabad Camp, 26*th December* 1858.

.....Bukht Khan gave charge of the district of Moradabad to Mujjoo Khan at 8 P. M. On the 17th June, on which

[1] 'Ditto, Ditto' is according to the printed text.
[2] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, p. 2.

night the Bareilly Brigade marched from Moradabad, Mujjoo Khan issued a proclamation by *tom-tom* "*that the people were God's; the country the King of Delhi's and Mujjoo Khan was Viceroy of Moradabad;* and that whoever shall fail to attend next day the *durbar* of the Viceroy, he shall be guilty of treason, and shall be blown away from a gun." Abbas Alee, with his father Assud Alee (Asad Ali), followed Bukht Khan, and by his entreaties succeeded in getting a *sunnud* from Bukht Khan, appointing his father Viceroy of Moradabad. On his return to Moradabad, some Mahomedan nobles sided with Mujjoo Khan, and some declared for Abbas Alee Khan. In fact the rebel Government was about to be ruined by faction, when an event occurred by which political differences were set aside. Moosee Ruzza acted as *Cotwal;* Neaz Alee, Deputy Collector, as Magistrate; Abool Fuzzul (Abul Fazal), as Secretary of State; and Mujjoo's sons, as Generals and members of the Administrative Council. The event alluded to was, that the residents of Beejna sent a challenge to Mujjoo Khan, that they would plunder the town. To avert this common danger Mujjoo Khan reconciled himself to all his enemies. The town's people were ordered by Mujjoo to arm themselves against their common foe. Every *mohullah* sent a party, so that a sufficient force collected in the direction of Beejna, under Kulla, a wrestler.....[1]

CHARGES AGAINST MAJJOO KHAN BY BAKHT KHAN

Extract from Letter No. 88 *from R. H. Dunlop, Officiating Magistrate of Moradabad, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand), dated* 18*th November* 1858.

.....Bukht Khan seemed highly offended with Moulvee Alum Alee (Maulvi Alam Ali) for protecting a number of Christian clerks, and not murdering all of them, as the Mahomedans did at Bareilly. Mujjoo Khan, the new Nawab of Moradabad, was then summoned by Bukht Khan, and the following charges were preferred against him:—Ist, Forbearance in not causing the murder of certain Christians at Moradabad;

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, p. 21.

2nd, Connivance at the distribution of the Moradabad Government treasure among the sepoys of the 29th Native Infantry from his own coffer. Mujjoo Khan being thus charged, was confined in the Quarter Guard.....[1]

RAMPUR NAWAB TAKES CHARGE OF MORADABAD ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH

Rampur News.

Nawab Yusuf Ali Khan, the ruler of Rampur, has taken over the district of Moradabad which was once included in his hereditary dominions. He has appointed a *Nazim* for that district. Its Govt. has become intact within such a short period. All the Hindus, Musalmans, merchants and bankers of the place feel safe and secure. They are happy and offer prayers. To Chandausi, the *pargana* of Moradabad some of whose residents had for some time been in great trouble and straits at the hands of the infidel plunderers, he had also deputed an *Amil* with an army in order to extinguish the fire of tumult and disturbance. Within a period of two days, such excellent arrangements have been made that mal-administration has been totally wiped out.[2]

BIJNAUR

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT BIJNAUR

The letter of the Collector to Nawab Mahmud Khan, dated 7th June 1857.

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION ENTRUSTED TO MAHMUD KHAN

"The administration of the district is entrusted to you so long the Govt. wants. It is your duty to manage the district well and look after the property of Collector and Joint Magistrate left in their *Kothis* and in the Govt. office.—D/ 7th June 1857."

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, p. 17.
[2] *Habib-ul-Akhbar*, 10th Ziqaad 1273 A. H. (Friday) corresponding with 2nd July 1857. Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

The herald was done in the name of N. Mahmood.[1]

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT NAJIBABAD

Extracts from Letter No. 106 *from A. Shakespear Magistrate and Collector, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilcund (Rohilkhand), Bareilly, dated Bijnaur, 2nd August*/58.[2]

MAHMUD KHAN AS PENSION-HOLDER

31*st*—After the death of Bumboo Khan, his sons Mahmood Khan and Jullal-oodeen (Jalaluddin) Khan with whom we have now had to do, received a pension of Rs. 1,000 a month for the support of the family, many members of which attained to responsible posts under Government....

MAHMUD KHAN PROCLAIMS HIMSELF RULER

33*rd*—On the 8th of June, the day of our departure Mahmood Khan proclaimed himself in the following terms :—"*The people are God's, the country the Padshah's and the order (or Government) Nuwab Mahmood Khan's*", in which his own name was substituted for the "Company", the usual proclamation running thus, "The people are Gods, the country the Padshah's, and the order (or Government) The Sirkar Company Buhadoor's....."

AUTHORITY FROM BAHADUR SHAH SOUGHT

34*th*—One of the first things done by the Nuwab was to take up the treasure from the well and dispatch it to Nujeebabad, and then, having stopped the *daks* placed guards at all the ferries, and increased his forces as much as possible, he proceeded to dispatch a confidential servant to Delhie to obtain authority from the Ex-king to his holding the district in his name. These proceedings naturally alarmed the Hindoos, but matters did not reach a crisis until Uhmud-oollah (Ahmad

[1] '*The Bijnour Rebellion*' by Syud Uhmud Khan, Sudder Ameen of Bijnour, popularly known as '*Sarkashi-i-Zila Bijnaur*'; Translation from Urdu Text.
[2] The letter is dated 2nd August, though the date has been crossed out.

Ullah), the Nuwab's nephew and *Tuhseeldar* of Nujeebabad, came to open feud with the *Chowdrees* (*Chaudharis*) by marching in force upon the town of Sherekote[1], with a view to punishing Oomrao Sing of that place.

NEW WEIGHTS INTRODUCED

35*th*—At this time amongst other acts of direct treason towards the British Government the Nuwab directed the abolition of the established weights throughout the district ordaining that in future instead of the *Seer* being held to weigh 80, its equivalent should be 100 *Tolahs*, the form of the weight being altered and a stamp with these words "*Mohur-i-Shahee*", (Imperial stamp) being placed on each.

NAWAB'S RIVALS

36*th*—"The Nuwab's party, however, found a dangerous opponent at the commencement of his rule in Mareh Khan, who being a noted *Budmash* had collected a large number of bad characters, and lost no time in pillaging a wealthy *Muhajan* of Sherekote. All classes, except the worst, were at first unanimous in their wish to deprive Mareh Khan of this dangerous power, but Uhmud-oollah soon found it more to his advantage to make a friend of him as with his assistance the fall of the Hindoos would be more speedy....

38*th*—Whilst this was occurring at Sherekote, Mahmood Khan remained at Bijnour with only a few followers, and the youngest of the Huldour (Haldaur) *Chowdrees* taking advantage of this, suddenly made his appearance on the morning of the 6th August, and with the assistance of the *Chowdrees* of Bijnour attacked the Nuwab, who, finding himself unable to hold his own fled precipitately to Nujeebabad. The result was that though the town of Bijnour was saved, all public and private property outside fell into the hands of the rabble who had

[1] *Sherkot*, Pargana and Tahsil *Dhampur*, District *Bijnor*—This large and straggling town stands on the high left bank of the Khoh, in 29° 16' N. and 78° 34' E., at a distance of four miles north-east from Dhampur and 28 miles by road from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 305).

joined the *Chowdrees* simply with the hope of plunder and were altogether beyond control.

39*th*—...And consequently on the 7th August, I addressed the *Chowdrees* directing them to consider themselves responsible for their respective properties, and the quiet of the district, forwarding an intimation to this effect to the Nuwab, and prohibiting him from leaving Nujeebabad or interfering any further in the management of affairs, as he had so grossly exceeded the authority given him on my departure. My object in this was to strengthen the hands of the loyal Hindoos and leave the Nuwab without excuse. At the time of writing I was of course not aware of the events of the 5th and 6th, which had given temporary success to the Hindoos, but on this favorable change being known, it became desirable to delegate the entire management of the district to Muhd. Ruhmut Khan, the Deputy Collector, and Syud Uhmud (Saiyid Ahmad) Khan, the *Sudder Ameen*, two officers who throughout had proved themselves conspicuously loyal, and not having succeeded in quitting the district were available on the spot. Under the authority thus conveyed, these officers assumed charge on the 16th of August, and the daily reports forwarded by them showed that they acted with zeal and judgment; but circumstances had just occurred at Nugeena (Nagina), which so much aggravated the ill feeling between the Hindoos and Moosulmans that the Mahomedan flag was raised by the Nuwab, and this attempt to recover our lost prestige was brought to a sudden close by the advance of the Moosulmans to within a few miles of Bijnour on the 23rd of August. A large Jat village was then burnt and plundered by them and as there was no sufficient body of Hindoos at Bijnour to oppose them, the greater portion having gone to Nugeena, it was considered hopeless to attempt to hold the place, and the Government officials above noted retired to Huldour, where they continued until after the fall of that place on the 27th idem. In the meantime, the Moosulmans under the order of Uhmud-oollah had been to Nugeena to punish the Hindoos there, and on this occasion the entire *mohullah* of the Bishnoees was sacked and burnt; after which an advance was made on Huldour, where the Hindoos having gone out to meet their opponents sustained a complete defeat, and after retiring to the town were only saved from total destruction by the breaking out of fires in all directions, which prevented the

Moosulmans from following up the blow. Uhmud-oollah then marched to Bijnour, of which he took possession without opposition, the Jat *Chowdrees* having fled across the river....

41*st*—In the hope of effecting an adjustment, it was proposed to appoint Jullal-oodeen Khan, the younger Nuwab, Plenipotentiary, but Uhmud-oollah, was so opposed to this as detracting from his authority that it was finally arranged on the 13th of September, that a council should be appointed consisting of Uhmud-oollah, Uhmudyar Khan (better known as Kullun Khan), Shuffee-oollah (Shafi-ullah), Akhoon-ubdool Ruhman and Uhmud Shah of Nujeebadad by whom matters were to be referred for final orders to Mahmood Khan, and an attempt was made by Sad-oollah Khan (late *Moonsiff* of Umrohah[1] and father-in-law of Jullal-oodeen) to induce the *Chowdrees* to meet him and come to settlement, but this fell to the ground, as the principal Hindoos would not meet him....

ARRANGEMENT OF VARIOUS TAHSILS MADE

43*rd*—About this time a most wanton massacre of unoffending Hindoos, chiefly *Putwarees*, was committed at Sherekote, and the Moosulmans so completely asserted their supremacy that they were now all powerful throughout the district. As was to be expected, however, disputes immediately arose as to the division of authority, the notorious Mareh Khan, backed by all the bad characters of the district, wishing to supersede Uhmud-oollah Khan's authority altogether; but it was at last arranged that Mahmood Khan should have an allowance of Rs. 12,000 a month, that the Nugeena, Dhampore and Chandpore *tuhseels* should be made over to Mareh Khan and Ghuzunfur Ali Khan—the Nuwab's eldest son; and Nujeebabad and Bijnour *tuhseels* put under Uhmud-oollah; 8,000 Rs. of the allowance to the Nuwab being contributed by the former and the remainder by the latter. This arrangement continued in force until the 22nd of February 1858.

44*th*—In the meantime Bhoodh Sing[2] of Huldour, having reached Meerut, most urgently pressed the feasibility of a re-occupation of Bijnour,.....

[1] Spelt for *Amroha* in *Moradabad* District.
[2] Spelt probably for 'Budh Singh' or 'Bodh Singh'.

REVOLUTIONARIES FROM DIFFERENT DISTRICTS

46*th*—The prospect of the Moosulmans was now considered so favorable that several noted rebels of the Moozuffernugger (Muzaffarnagar) and Meerut districts came over and joined them, and amongst the rest came the noted Goojur Chiefs Kuddum Sing (Kadam Singh) and Dulail Sing, the *Cazee* of Thana Bhown (Bhawan), Inayut Ali, and the outlaw Ruza Hussun (Raza Hasan), otherwise, known as Chootun (Chhuttan). Three of the Delhie Princes (so called) also came over, and the rebels now took it into their heads to make raids across the river, which they did with some success on several occasions. Chootun burnt the *chowkee* of Dhurumpoora[1], killing four *Burkundazes* and carrying off two horses; Sirdar Khan, and Dulail Sing Goojur surprised a picket of our Cavalry at Runjeetpore, and took away horses and accoutrements; Dulail Singh burnt the *chowkees* of Allahabas and Bhookurharee; Cazee Inayut Ali pillaged the Police outposts of Nijabutpore seizing two *Burkundazes*, one of whom was killed, and the other made a Moosulman and, being encouraged by these petty affairs, a considerable force with two guns, under Inayut Ali, Dulail Sing and Chootun crossed on the 5th of January 1858, burnt the *thanah* at Meeranpore proclaiming the Nuwab, and retreating to their own side of the river before our troops could intercept them. Two days after this the rebels made a similar move in the extreme north of the district, surprising the Ganges Canal *Chowkee* at Myapore and carrying off a lad employed in the Electric Telegraph Office and other Government servants. After burning the bungalow, and proclaiming the Nuwab at Kunkhul[2] and Hurdwar, they re-crossed the river, but when on the 9th emboldened by their success they were again rash enough to come over under Shuffee-oollah

[1] Apparently *Dharampur*, Pargana *Dibai*, Tahsil *Anupshahr*, District *Bulandshahr*—A village in the south of the pargana, lying five miles to the south of Dibai, with which it is connected by a village road and 34 miles from Bulandshahr. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 228).
[2] *Kankhal* and *Jwalapur* form the neighbouring towns of *Hardwar* with which they are united. The town of Kankhal lies between the east bank of the canal and the river (Ganges), about a mile south from the Mayapur headworks. (*District Gazetteers*, Saharanpur, Vol. II, 1909, pp. 252-258).

(Shafi-ullah) they were met and signally defeated by a small party sent out from Roorkee under Captain Boisragon.

FRESH ARRANGEMENTS MADE

47*th*—This failure had the effect of dispersing the rebels considerably, and Uhmud-oollah to regain his influence gave out on the 16th of January, that all rent-free holdings resumed under our rule would be released, but this does not appear to have helped him much, and the disputes between the several leaders were still so great, that a fresh arrangement became absolutely necessary. This was accordingly made on the 22nd of February and by it Mahmood Khan's eldest son Ghuzunfur (Ghazanfar Ali) Ali Khan was declared heir apparent, the Nuwab's own allowance was reduced to 8,000 Rupees per mensem; Uhmud-oollah was nominated to represent the Nuwab; Shuffee-oollah and Mareh Khan were made Generals and a *Jagheer* in the Sherekote *Pergunnah* valuing 19,000 Rupees per annum was assigned to the latter with an allowance of 600 Rupees a month, and a promise of further reward on the conquest of the Dooab being completed. Kullun Khan was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and stipends set apart for all members of the Nuwab's family....[1]

NAJIBABAD NAWAB GRANTED FARMAN BY DELHI KING

Translation of a Farman[2] from Delhi, addressed to Muhammad Khan, Nawab of Najibabad, bearing the Seal "Abu Zafar Siraj-uddin Muhammad Bahadur Shah, Padshah-i-ghazi 1253 *A. Hijri and Ist of reign."*

Amir-ud-dowlat, Zia-ul-Mulk, Muhammad Mahmud Khan Bahadur, Muzaffar Jang, our own special servant, worthy of kindness and protection, the object of our favours.

[1] Department-XXIV, File : "Narrative of Events attending the Outbreak of Disturbances at Bijnaur"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Bijnaur District*, pp. 7-10.

[2] This Farman was brought from Delhi by Amdoo Khan on July 28, 1857, who had been deputed by Nawab Mahmud Khan to lodge his protest there as a result of a rumour that Khan Bahadur Khan had requested the King for granting him the govt. of Katihar. (*cf. Sarkashi-i-Zila Bijnaur*, pp. 40-41).

Know ! The petition of that especial servant, containing full particulars respecting the disturbed state of all the *pergunnahs* of that *zillah* from the act of plunderers and rascals, and the method adopted for putting a stop to the same by entertaining as many Footmen and Horsemen as possible, and calling to mind the hereditary services of that faithful one towards our royal house, and requesting that our royal attention may devolve upon that *zillah* as of old, has been perused, and all has become known. Of a truth the forefathers of that especial servant have ever been the objects of favours to former emperors; but that especial servant has always been looked upon by us with particular favour, inasmuch as you left me no service which was becoming, unperformed for Mirza Shah-rukh, deceased, the light of our royal eyes. (This is an allusion to civilities rendered on a shooting expedition, which Mirza Shah-rukh, the emperor's son, made some 10 or 12 ago years[1] to Rohilkhand.)

Therefore you are entitled to our especial kindness.

If you, in addition to your former good acts, render still more efficient service, then will the royal favour be increased, and your request that the arrangement of the whole *zillah* be made over to you shall be complied with. Until a perfect *sunnud* be issued, you are to keep in deposit the revenues of the district, after paying the troops and the revenue officers, and you are to remit the balance to us.

With reference to the large amount of treasure, chattels, and horses, which came into your hands after the flight of the British officers, you must send them at once with an account current by the hands of Mathura Das* and two of the royal sowars, in order that the real value of your professions may be at once tested, and that you may obtain promotion.

28th Zu'l Kadat, 21st year of our reign, corresponding with the 21st July 1857.[2]

* * *

[1] This appears a printing mistake for 'years ago'.

* "This is the name of the old treasurer, and father of the present Bijnore treasurer."—Note in Original.

[2] *The Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah, Titular King of Delhi*, 1858, No. 34, p. 16.; for Persian Version of the same *cf.* "*The Bijnour Rebellion*," by Syud Uhmud Khan (Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan), Sudder Ameen of Bijnour, popularly known as "*Sarkashi-i-Zila Bijnaur*" (Agra 1858); pp. 42-43.

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICIALS BY NAJIBABAD NAWAB

Translation in English of Summary of Events as submitted by Durga Prasad, Record Keeper of the Bijnaur Collectorate, dated Jan. 2, 1858.

I am submitting herewith a summary of the events which took place in the district of Bijnore at the hands of Nawab Mahmud Khan after your leaving this place. For a couple of days or so he acted in conformity with the English methods. His own men namely Ahmad Ullah Khan, Azmat Ullah Khan, Karim Ullah Khan, Shafi Ullah Khan came to Bijnaur. Azmat Ullah Khan was made *Pesh Dast* and Ahmad Ullah Khan became the Joint (Administrator). Shafi Ullah Khan was appointed *Tahsildar* of Najibabad, Ibad Ullah Khan of Nagina, Karim Ullah Khan of Dhampur; and Habib Ullah Khan was appointed *Bakhshi* of the army. Similarly every one was given a high post—Command or Superintendence. The recruitment of the army began and the government mail service was stopped. Every member of his family bruited about rumours of the rebel victory on the hillock near Delhi and the English defeat at the Meerut Battery. A thatched barrack in front of the Collector's Court was made for the army and the soldiers billeted also in the Court Rooms and in front of the office. They made *chulhas* (ovens) and cooked food there. All the chattels and furniture of your *Kothi* and of the bungalows of the Joint Magistrate, of Mr. Lumber, Mr. Johnson and of the Doctor were taken away on carts to Najibabad, and Ahmad Ullah Khan twice transported the Govt. Treasure to Najibabad.....[1]

REVENUE ARRANGEMENTS AT BIJNAUR

Translation of a petition from Behari Lal, Nazir of the Collector's Office, Zillah Bijnour (Zila Bijnaur), dated 30th November.

On the 24th November, I addressed you a petition, describing the state of things in the district of Bijnour. Yesterday, Choudhree Ram Sahai who is a native of Bijnour proper, arrived here. It appears that the total strength of the rebel

[1] Bijnaur Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 7/1, File No. 46/59 (old).

troops consists of between six and seven thousand men, of which five thousand are at Nujjeebabad (Najibabad) and about one hundred or one hundred and twenty-five men are stationed at the ferry of Daranuggur Roolee[1]'. A portion consisting of about 1,000 men are with the rebel Maree (Mareh Khan), and another with Ahmed Oolah Khan. Nawab Mahomed Mahmood Khan is at Nujjeebabad; Maree Khan in the direction of Chandpoor[2] and Ahmed Oolah Khan towards the ferry of Chandee etc. There are only about eight or nine guns with them. They have divided the duty of collecting the revenue in this way that for the *tuhseels* of Dhampore[3], Nugeena (Nagina) and Chandpoor, the revenues are appropriated by Maree Khan, and the son of Nawab Mahomed Mahmood, and Ahmed Oolah Khan is in possession of the *tuhseel* of Bijnour and Nujjeebabad. But inasmuch as in consequence of misrule and the tyranny of the insurgents the people and landholders have been broken down, nothing has been realized from the generality of the villages. But the revenue has been forcibly collected from those villages of which the proprietary rights belonged to the *Sahookars* and the gentry. Many of the *Raees* have come over from there. Choudhree Purtab Sing of Tajpore has gone over to Meerut. In like manner, other men of lesser note, have also come over. At Bijnour and Nujjeebabad no *Sahookar* has remained, in consequence of the oppression of the Nawab. All have quitted those places. Many of the Mohomedans of the higher class have also sent away their families to different places. And now that the rebels expect that their heads will be soon trampled upon by the hoofs of the horses of the brave soldiers of the Government, their livers have dissolved into water and the generality of them seek safety in flight. But wherever they

[1] Spelt as '*Raolee*' elsewhere in this document; (p. 340).

[2] *Chandpur*, Pargana *Chandpur*, Tahsil and District *Bijnor*—The capital of the Chandpur pargana is a considerable town situated in 29° 8′ N. and 78° 16′ E., at a distance of 21 miles south-south-east from Bijnor, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 227).

[3] *Dhampur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Dhampur*, District *Bijnor*—The capital of the pargana and tahsil of this name is a considerable town standing in 29° 18′ N. and 78° 31′ E., at a distance of 24 miles east-south-east from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 237).

may go, they will meet with the punishment fit for their acts. By the grace of the Almighty they must be annihilated. Maree Khan is a convict of the Government; and a notorious bad character. His misdeeds have procured for him the fame (infamy) of the arch fiend. This scoundrel also escaped at the time of the escape of the other convicts. By cast (*sic*,-caste) he is a weaver. Ahmed Oolah Khan is the Nawab's sister's son, and during the time that Mr. Charles Gubbins was Collector of Bijnour, that officer appointed him *Tuhseeldar* of Nujjeebabad, at the recommendation of the Nawab.

The troops of the Government are encamped at Meeranpoor (Miranpur), and Roorkee and at Mooana (Mawana)[1] opposite the ferry of Raolee and Chandee Ghat. It is hoped that the district, across the Ganges will be soon settled. The numerical strength of the rebels has been much diminished. They will certainly take to flight on the approach of Government troops. But wherever they will go, they will meet with the punishment they merit for their crimes and misdeeds. Whatever may come to my knowledge here-after, will be duly communicated.[2]

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT'S PROCLAMATION ABOUT GRANT OF MUAFIS

Ahmadullah Khan's Parwana to Tahsildars calling for a list of Muafidars, dated Jan. 16, 1858.

As, by divine grace, this part of the country has come to our possession, we desire that so long as it remains in our hands and in those of our progeny, all those *muafis* (rent-free lands) which had been confiscated during the rule of the British and rents have been fixed on them, should be made rent-free or

[1] *Mawana*, Pargana *Hastinapur*, Tahsil *Ghaziabad*, District *Meerut*—Mawana Kalan, the headquarters of the tahsil, so called to distinguish it from Mawana Khurd, a village lying four miles to the west, is situated in latitude 29° 6′ north and longitude 77° 56′ east, near the right bank of the Fatehgarh branch of the Ganges Canal, at the point of junction of four unmetalled roads leading to Meerut, Kithor, Bahsuma and Phalauda, at a distance of 17 miles from Meerut. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, Vol. IV, 1922, p. 269).

[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 29th Jan. 1858, Nos. 31-32. National Archives, New Delhi.

muafis both for the present *muafidars* and for the future generations. No rent should be realised from them for the current year and henceafter, as these poor people are accustomed to pray to God. You are therefore enjoined by to-day's order that you should inform all these *muafidars* to send their applications for the grant of the *muafi*, giving details of the area of land, its *Jama* (yield) and the name of the village, to our presence. After investigation, these lands will be released and made rent-free.[1]

Proclamation issued by the Nizamat Court of Muhammad Ahmad Ullah Khan Bahadur, Zila Najibabad, dated March 4, 1858.

Robkar dated February 23, 1858 of the Court of Nawab Muhammad Mahmud Khan Bahadur ordered that the *muafidars* of all the *muafi* (rent-free) lands be granted an exemption of half of the *Jama* (rent) and the exemption of the other half be granted only to those *muafidars* who would accompany our army to the other side of the Ganges for the massacre of the *Kafirs* and would get a *sanad* (certificate) of their presence from the Government entitling them for this exemption and that the descendants of those who would be martyred would get this concession. Now, out of compassion for the poverty of the *muafidars*, we consider it proper to exempt them from the full payment and a call for a list of *muafidars* from each *tahsil*, giving the names of the *muafidars* and their lands and that each *muafidar* should give an undertaking to the effect that he would supply armed men to the army at the time of need. This notice for the information of all people is being issued in order that all those who have to apply for their *muafis* should come to the presence at the headquarters of the army with their applications within fifteen days and the orders will be passed after an investigation of their claims.[2]

[1] '*The Bijnour Rebellion*' by Syud Uhmud Khan, Sudder Ameen of Bijnour, popularly known as '*Sarkashi-i-Zila Bijnaur*'; Translation from Urdu Text, pp. 124-125.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

COMMUNAL PROBLEM IN ROHILKHAND

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated Sept. 17, 1857.

In Rohilkund, Khan Bahadoor Khan who had assumed the Government of the province has been beaten by the Hindoos at Bareilly; and from Bijnour the Hindoos have beaten back the Nabob of Nujeebabad and petitioned for the return of the Civil Officers, adding that they were holding and would continue to hold the country for the British Government against all comers.....[1]

ATTEMPT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO CREATE COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES AT BAREILLY

Letter from George Couper, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh (Avadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, dated Lucknow, December 1st, 1857.

With reference to the Chief Commissioner's letter to His Lordship the Governor General dated 14th September in which he stated that he had authorized the sum of Rs. 50,000 to be expended in an attempt to raise the Hindoo population of Bareilly against the Mahommedan rebels, I am directed to submit the accompanying extract of a letter from Captain Gowan dated the 14th ultimo from which His Lordship in Council will perceive that the attempt was quite unsuccessful, and has been abandoned without the expenditure of any portion of the amount in question.

Copy of Captain Gowan's Letter :

I have been quite unsuccessful in my attempt to induce the Thakoors round about here to collect together any number of men. I had been led to suppose that they were inclined to render effectual aid to Government, but find that the extent of aid goes not beyond professions of goodwill for the present and boastings of what they would do if they were backed by a well-appointed European force which force could do very well

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, September 17, 1857, p. 300. National Library, Calcutta.

without them and would only be hampered by their presence. I have consequently not spent any money whatever and not drawn any cheques upon Government for any purpose.[1]

KHAN BAHADUR'S PROCLAMATION FOR COMMUNAL AMITY

In this collection will be found recorded the translation of a Proclamation issued by the rebel chief, Khan Bahadoor Khan, at Bareilly, to the Hindoo Rajas, and printed at the Government College Press, by Syud Qootab (Saiyid Qutab) Shah, late a Persian Teacher in the Bareilly Government College, on a salary of Rs. 30/- per mensem. Mr. J. C. Wilson, Commissioner on Special Duty, in submitting this document, observed that it threw some light upon the manner in which the followers of Islam had inveigled the Hindoos to join them in the mutiny, and that the Mahomedans only required to be deprived of their guns, for the Hindoos to rise against them....

JAIMAL SINGH ALLURED TO ARREST KHAN BAHADUR AND OTHERS

Mr. J. C. Wilson, Commissioner on Special Duty, brought to notice, the good services rendered by Jeymull Singh, *zemindar* of Keeara, near Bareilly, who had been denounced by Mr. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilcund, as guilty of complicity with the rebel chief Khan Bahadoor Khan, before the mutiny took place on the 31st May 1857. But on that date, Jeymull Singh saved the lives of pensioned Sergeant Farrier, and the whole of the Hardy family, and extended his protection to them until they were rescued in December last. He had now offered to arrest for the British Government, Khan Bahadoor Khan, the rebel Rajah of Mynpoory (Mainpuri) and the other chief rebels, who were congregated at Bareilly, on a guarantee that he should not be made to suffer in consequence of anything which had occurred in connection with the rebellion. Mr. Wilson requested authority to grant the guarantee solicited by Jeymull Singh, provided the said arrests were

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, No. 25. National Archives, New Delhi. Copy and Photogravur in *'Freedom Struggle in U. P.'* Vol. I, pp. 472-473.

effected within one week after the British troops entered Bareilly. The Governor General was pleased to accord his sanction to this request.[1]

KHAN BAHADUR'S EFFORTS TO AVOID COMMUNAL RIFT

No very important event has occurred in this Division, so far as our advices inform us. Efforts of all kinds are still being made to raise the Hindoo population against us, extending even to threats of forcibly converting to Mahomedanism those who show any sympathy with the British Government. There is a native rumour that in order to secure the services of a body of mutineer sepoys, Khan Bahadur has consented to share his usurped authority with their leader one Narain Sing. Coins are however struck in the name of the Mahomedan Chief alone.[2]

* * *

Extract from the Narrative of Events for the week ending 7th March 1858.

Khan Bahadoor has issued a Proclamation referring to the call formerly made upon the Hindoos to unite in expelling the British To the present papers a lithographed list is appended purporting to give the names of many persons both Hindoo and Mahomedan who had given in their adhesion in consequence. The roll embraces many persons who are believed to be perfectly loyal and there can be little doubt, the measure is a device to compromise influential men and so to secure their assistance. All "well disposed" persons (it is said in the Proclamation) are exhorted to imitate the example of those whose names are cited and to show their adhesion to the rebel cause by their acts.[3]

* * *

[1] Foreign Department, Agra Narrative 1853 to 1860, Narrative of the Proceedings of the Governor General during the 1st Quarter of 1858, Collection Nos. 9 and 11, Foreign Proceedings, 22nd Feb. 1858, Nos. 37 and 38, and Foreign Proceedings 13th March 1858, Nos. 99 to 100. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 21st Feb. 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Letter No. 88 *from C. B. Saunders, officiating Commissioner, Delhi, to R. Temple, Secretary to Chief Commissioner for the Punjab, dated Delhi,* 17*th March* 1858.

I have the honor to forward for the information of the Chief Commissioner, a copy of a Vernacular Proclamation issued by Khan Buhadoor Khan, Nowab of Bareilly, calling upon the Hindoos to unite and make common cause with the Mahomedans against the British. A copy of an English translation is also annexed. This document has been placed on record at the Ex-King's trial. I have deemed it right to submit a copy for the perusal of the Chief Commissioner and of the Government, as being a very peculiar document, somewhat ably drafted and worthy of attention.

KHAN BAHADUR'S PROCLAMATION

"With the approving sanction of God—the Lord of the Nation. Exposition of a letter written regarding the victory of the faith. All you Rajahs are famed for your virtues, noble qualities and liberality, and are moreover the protectors of your own faith, and of the faith of others. Keeping your welfare in view, I humbly submit that God has given you your bodily existence to establish His different religions, and requires you severally to learn the tenets of your own, different religions, institutions and forms, and you accordingly continue firm in them. God has moreover sent you into the world in your elevated position, and given you dominion and government, that you may destroy those who harm your religion. It is incumbent therefore on such of you as have the power, to kill those who may injure your religion, and on such as have not, to engage heartily in devising means for the same end, and thus protect your faith, for it is written in your scriptures that martyrdom is preferable to adopting the religion of another. This is exactly what God has said, and what is evident to everybody. The English are people who overthrow all religions. You should understand well that with the object of destroying the religions of Hindoostan, they have for a long time been causing books to be written and

circulated throughout the country by the hands of their clergymen, and exercising their authority have brought out numbers of preachers to spread their own tenets. This has been learnt from one of their own trusted agents. Consider then what systematic contrivances they adopted to overthrow our religions. For instance, first, when a woman became a widow they ordered her to make a second marriage. Secondly, the self immolation of wives on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands was an ancient religious custom; the English had it discontinued and enacted their own regulations prohibiting it. Thirdly, they told people it was their wish that they (the people) should adopt their faith, promising that if they did so, they would be respected by Government, and further required them to attend churches and hear the tenets preached there. Moreover, they decided and told the Rajahs that such only as were born of their wives would inherit their Government and property, and that adopted heirs would not be allowed to succeed, although according to your scriptures, 10 different sorts of heirs are allowed shares in the inheritance. By this contrivance they will rob you of your governments and possessions as they have already done with Nagpore and Lucknow. Consider, now, another of their designing plans. They resolved on compelling prisoners with the forcible exercise of their authority to eat their bread. Numbers died of starvation, but did not eat it, others ate it and sacrificed their faith. They now perceived that this expedient did not succeed well, and accordingly determined on having bones ground, and mixed with flour and sugar, so that people might unsuspectingly eat them in this way. They had moreover bones and flesh broken small and mixed with rice which they caused to be placed in the markets for sale, and tried besides, every possible plan to destroy our religions. At last, some *Bengallee*, after due reflection, said that if the troops would accede to the wishes of the English in this matter, all the *Bengalleese* would also conform to them. The English, hearing this, approved of it, and said, "certainly this is an excellent idea" never imagining they would themselves be exterminated. They accordingly now ordered the Brahmins and others of their army to bite cartridges, in the making up of which fat had been used. The Mussulman soldiers perceived that by this expedient the religions of the Brahmins and Hindoos only was (*sic*,–were) in danger, but nevertheless they also refused to bite them.

On this the English now resolved on ruining the faith of both, and blew away from guns all those soldiers who persisted in their refusal. Seeing this excessive tyranny the soldiery now in self-preservation began killing the English, and slew them wherever they were found, and are now considering means for slaying the few still alive here and there. It is now my firm conviction that if these English continue in Hindoostan, they will kill everyone in the country, and will utterly overthrow our religions. But there are some of my countrymen who have joined the English, and are now fighting on their side. I have reflected well on their case also, and have come to the conclusion that the English will not leave your religion to both you and them. You should understand this well. Under these circumstances, I would ask what course have you decided on to protect your lives and faith. Were your views and mine the same, we might destroy them entirely with very little trouble, and if we do so, we shall protect our religions and save the country; and as these ideas have been cherished and considered merely from a concern for the protection of the religions of all you Hindoos and Mussulmans of this country, this letter is printed for your information.

All you Hindoos are hereby solemnly adjured by your faith in the Ganges, Toolsee and Salugram (Saligram), and all you Mussulmans by your belief in God and the *Koran*, that as these English are the common enemies of both, that you unite in considering their slaughter extremely expedient, for by this alone will the lives and faith of both be saved. It is expedient then that you should both coalesce and slay them. The slaughter of kine is regarded by the Hindoos as a great insult to their religion. To prevent this, a solemn compact and agreement has been entered into by all the Mahomedan chiefs of Hindoostan, binding themselves that if the Hindoos will come forward to slay the English, the Mahomedans will, from that very day, put a stop to the slaughter of cows, and those of them who will not do so will be considered to have abjured the *Koran*, and such of them as will eat beef will be regarded as though they had eaten pork, and if the Hindoos will not gird their loins to kill the English, but will try to save them, they will be as guilty in the sight of God as though they had committed the sins of killing cows and eating flesh. Perhaps the English may for their own ends, try to assure the Hindoos that as the Mussulmans have consented to give up

killing cows from respect for the Hindoo religion, they will solemnly engage to do the same, and will ask the Hindoos to join them against the Mussulmans; but no sensible man will be gulled by such deceit, for the solemn promises and professions of the English are always deceitful and interested. Once their ends are gained, they will infringe their engagements, for deception has ever been habitual with them, and the treachery they have always practised on the people of Hindoostan is known to rich and poor. Do not therefore give heed to what they may say. Be well assured you will never have such an opportunity again. We all know that writing a letter is equivalent to an advance half way towards fellowship. I trust you will all write answer approving what has been proposed herein. This letter has been printed under the direction of Moulvee Syud Kootub Shah (Maulvi Saiyid Qutub Shah) Sahib at the Bahadooree (Bahaduri) Press in the city of Bareilly."[1]

* * *

Translation of a Proclamation issued by Khan Bahadoor (Bahadur) Khan the Rebel Nawab of Bareilly found in his house on the 8th May last[2].

Whereas the infidel Franks (i. e. Europeans) are bitter enemies of the life, property and religion of all the Hindoos and Mahomedans, it is therefore proper for both these classes of men to use every effort in protecting them. If the Hindoos and Mahomedans join together, the extermination of Europeans, who are few in number and scattered, will appear very easy. The Mahomedans are already engaged on their part in attaining this end; but the Hindoos are careless of this important point. The reason for this appears to be no other than the prevalence of the practice of cow-killing among the Mahomedans, which is opposed to the tenets of the Hindoo faith. Hence their dissatisfaction. As even among the Mahomedans this practice is not enjoined by the word of God, inasmuch as its abandonment does not call to question their conduct as true believers, and as the protection of cow

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, Nos. 21-23. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] The 'year' is not given in the Original.

from slaughter is considered an act of grace in the Hindoo religion, it is resolved, that if the Hindoos shall exert themselves in the murder of these infidels and expel them from this country, they shall be rewarded for their patriotism with the extinction of the practice of slaughter of kine throughout my dominions. For the present so much of the purport of this Resolution is ordered to be brought into effect, that, with the exception of slaughter of cows at the public shambles, no cow shall be killed at any *mohilliah* (*mohalla*) of this town in which the Hindoos may be residing; but the entire prohibition of this practice is made conditional with the complete extermination of the infidels from India. If any Hindoo shall shrink from joining in this cause the evils of revival of this practice shall retort upon him, and if any person shall be guilty of acting contrary to the requirements of this proclamation, he shall be imprisoned for six months with a fine.[1]

SHIA-SUNNI UNITY PREACHED

Translation of the Proclamation of Khan Bahadur calling upon all to unite against Europeans.

Proclamation for the religious and faithful promulgated by authority.

Let it be known that at present it is indispensable for both the Hindoos and Mahomedans to direct their united efforts to the extermination of the Christians—enemies of lives and faith, and that it is the duty of every wise and vigorous Mussulman youth to take part in the crusade both according to religious books and the opinion of all orthodox *Ullema* particularly those of Delhie and that whoever at this juncture playing the coward will not answer our Call and (not) assist the faithful to the best of his ability by life and property, shall certainly bring upon

[1] Foreign Department Consultations, May 1858, Nos. 749-53: 'Proclamation of Nawab Khan Bahadoor Khan'. National Archives, New Delhi. The exact date of this is not known as it is mentioned that it was found in Khan Bahadur's house after the fall of Bareilly. It is probable that the necessity of this proclamation arose in the month of March 1858, when there was some disaffection amongst the Thakoors. It was apparently at this time that Khan Bahadur re-utilised the proclamation of Rani of Jhansi in March 1858.

himself the wrath of the Almighty and prove himself a useless creature both in this world and the other.

Ye Mussulmans consider when, according to the words of the Prophet "Those who die for their honor and property are martyrs" you get martyrdom simply by dying in defence of your honor and property, is it not worth the dignity of a thousand martyrs to die in such a noble cause ? God forbid, if the Christians overcome the faithful, thousands of His creatures shall be indiscriminately slaughtered, hundreds of thousands obliged to leave their houses and property, innumerable respectable women Sydanees[1] dishonored, innocent children murdered, the religion of Islam totally destroyed, the custom of bewailing for Hossein entirely set aside and every surviving individual forced to adopt Christianity. Fye! What Mahomedanism is that to which infidelity is so much superior ? Is it not forbidden for one Moosulman to fly from before the infidels ? Now here in this town you are a hundred to one Christian and still display cowardice. Don't you survive this shame, raise your whiskers, and consider yourselves the very essence of bravery, greatness and faithfulness and above all friends of your co-religionists ? Consider how often do you kneel to God in the course of a day and how readily do you turn away from the paths of righteousness whenever He puts you to the slightest trial merely for your short lives and the advantages of this transient world and still hope to be forgiven. Verily you are first like those who desert their masters in the day of battle and hope to be invested with honorary dresses (dresses of honour) when the victory is gained.

For God's sake attend to this, wash your bodies, put on fine clothes, apply perfume, perform the customary ablutions before prayer, take whatever arms and weapons you can get and on Sunday the 14th of the month proceed to the Aysh Bagh (Public garden) for the support of Islam and the welfare of God's creatures; and being certain that every step you put in this way shall be of more real benefit to you than all the niceties of this world and your adoration in the whole of your life grace the Army of Islam by your presence and please yourselves by the following promise "Verily I shall favor my followers." Be sure if you repent of your past sins and with

[1] Appears to have been spelt for 'Saiyidanis'.

a true heart put your trust entirely in God and act according to His commands, obey God, your Prophet and your Ruler you shall be victorious as He Himself sayeth "Verily I give victory to the faithful." If you die in the cause of God you shall be freed from the pangs of death, miseries of the grave and fears of the day of justice and adopted in His service and favored with a place near Him. Followers of God, bring to your mind all the stories related in the *Koran* and you shall find that whenever it pleaseth God to let His vengeance fall on any nation He especially provideth for the safety of His followers; hence one might hope that if all the sinful rise up in the cause of God without having in view any worldly advantage they might be the objects of His particular favor. Victory depends on these considerations only and not on any whimsical notions. Be not discouraged by one or two battles that have been lost, for you might suffer a thousand reverses but the Will of God must ultimately prevail as His orders cannot be altered; rely on your own deeds, if others are in the wrong there is no occasion why you should not follow the course of righteousness. By God I have undertaken the task of proclaiming God's orders for God's sake only and not from any selfish motives of bequeathing my name to posterity or deriving any personal advantages therefrom so that anybody elected by the general voice of the faithful shall be our leader (*Peshwa*). For the present the Govt. only provides for the subsistence of the indigent and poor, but as soon as the victory is gained and the crisis is over everyone who rises up in defence of his faith shall receive adequate reward in the shape of honor and riches according to his merits. If even now when you see, that the advantages of both the worlds are combined in one act of bravery, you do not take courage, you shall have reason to regret.[1]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 27th May 1859, Cons. No. 81, pp. 57-60. National Archives, New Delhi.

CHAPTER FIVE

STRUGGLE IN ROHILKHAND

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS INTO ROHILKHAND

From Nynee Tal—On the 17th[1] instant the Civil Authorities at Moradabad and Bijnour got scent of a body of the 20th N. I. insurgents, who having robbed the city and treasury of Mozuffernuggur (Muzaffarnagar), were crossing with their booty into the Rohilcund Division; they immediately assembled all their troopers, and by good luck easily captured the loot, which they sent off to Meerut, as being the only safe place, and confined the robbers in the jail at Moradabad where they were doomed not to remain long, for two Companies of the 29th N. I. stationed at Moradabad, vowed they could not submit to allow their brave *bhaees* in arms to suffer such wanton disgrace, and set forth with a hearty *bismillah* and opened the jail gates, to the satisfaction of the murdering insurgents and released every man jack of them. The following day a large body of sowars from Rampore made a desperate effort to plunder the city of Moradabad, and would have succeeded but for the gallant conduct of these very sepoys of the 29th N. I.; so it is presumed, this matter will counterbalance their previous defiance of authority. Ever since these occurrences, the public *dak* from Moradabad has been successfully stopped, travellers robbed and murdered, which has increased the anxiety and fear of the residents here for there is no more news now, either from Agra, Meerut or Delhi and I would suggest all papers being sent via Bareilly, which line of road is well protected and very quiet, and ladies and gents are daily travelling the road.[2]

EUROPEANS HANGED BY ROHILLA CHIEF

.....It is also reported that Mr. Robertson, the Judge, and Dr. Hay, the Civil Surgeon of Bareilly, and two officers

[1] This date appears to be wrong. It may be 7th.
[2] *The Hindu Intelligencer*, 8th June 1857, p. 182. National Library,

whose names are not mentioned have been hanged by a Rohilla Chief.....[1]

SEPOYS SUPPORT KHAN BAHADUR

It is reported at Nynee Tal, that the force of sepoys collected at Bareilly amounts to 7,300, who give their support to the new king of Rohilkund, Khan Bahadoor Khan. He is said to have caused the murder of all the inhabitants of a native Christian village, a few miles from Bareilly.[2]

RELEASED PRISONERS ACTIVE IN ROHILKHAND

News dated July 28, 1857.

.....A letter from Nynee Tal informs us that no less than 6,000 convicts are at liberty in the district of Rohilcund.[3]

BIJNAUR IN CONFUSION

Extract of Letter from R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, to F. Williams, Commissioner of the Meerut Division, dated Naini Tal, the 23rd Septr. 1857.

As in your demi-official letter of the 15th instant, to which I reply by return of post, you have mentioned that you have been in communication with the General Commanding the Division, with reference to instructions regarding the reoccupation of Rohilcund, I have the honor to annex the accompanying copy of a letter addressed by me on the 5th June to the Commander-in-Chief, and of a reply No. 77A received from the Adjutant-General's office, and I shall be obliged to you to lay the same before the General Commanding the Division for his information.

2*nd*—The state of things in the Province has of course in the interim much changed, and it cannot be supposed that writing

[1] *The Dacca News*, July 18, 1857, p. 276. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, July 23, 1857, p. 238. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *The Friend of India*, July 30, 1857, p. 724. National Library, Calcutta.

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from this isolated position and upon hearsay reports, I shall be able to offer a very accurate or satisfactory relation of the present exact state of things. It is nevertheless right that I should give all the information it has been in my power to obtain.

3*rd*—The district of Bijnor is in a state of disorganization and confusion, mainly attributable to the duplicity of the conduct, if not positive rebellion, of Mahmood Khan the titular Nawab of Nujeebabad. This man having been, on account of his tyranny, opposed by the Hindoos, was at first defeated by them; but on subsequent occasions having attacked the Hindoos, who had become disunited, in detail, he has had success, defeating them at Huldour and continuing his course of oppression. The comparative superiority in number however of the Hindoos, their exasperation, and the feeble resources of the Mahomedans in the district of Bijnore, are such that it will need but very little aid of a regular force to restore order and tranquillity, so far as the thorough subjugation of the Mahomedans is concerned.[1]

FLIGHT OF NAWAB MAHMUD KHAN FROM BIJNAUR

The next day (August 6, 1857), Chaudhary Maharaj Singh of Haldaur attacked Nawab Mahmud Khan and came to Bijnaur with Chaudharis Nain Singh and Jodh Singh. They entered Bijnaur at 5-30 P. M. with 4000 men, one cannon and a number of swivels. The Nawab was taken unawares and had to face them with a small troop of about 400 Foot-soldiers and 30 or 40 Horsemen. The battle took place at Bokhara Ka Bagh. Mahmud Khan found it useless to face such odds and after some fighting he left the field. He fled from Bijnaur with his youngest son on an elephant and his eldest son, Ghazanfar Ali Khan also followed him in hot haste, bare-footed on horse-back. They went to Najibabad via Mandawar where Ahmadullah Khan had already arrived shortly before, from Sherkot. The Nawab's troops scattered

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1857-58. Nos. 2-9. National Archives, New Delhi.

after his flight and only a very small band of followers remained with him.[1]

ATTEMPT TO ATTACK NAINI TAL

Letter from Colonel McCausland, Commanding in Kumaun, to Brigadier-General Chamberlain, dated Almora, August 8, 1857.

I have the honor to report, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the Commissioner of Kumaon having intimated to me that 3,000 Pathans, under the command of a rebel named Kallee Khan[2], Commander of Khan Bahadoor's forces, had made a move from Bareilly, towards Nynee Tal (Naini Tal), with a view to plundering and destroying that station, Captain Ramsay and myself deemed it expedient to direct all ladies and children, amounting to nearly 200, to retire on Almorah; and I proceeded on the 2nd instant, with all the disposable men of the 66th Goorkhas, to Nynee Tal, for its protection. Kallee Khan arrived within thirty miles of the hills, but hearing we were ready to give him a warm reception, he retreated to Bareilly, and is not, I think, likely to trouble us again. I have, however, left 500 men of the 66th Goorkhas, with six guns, at that post for the present, under the command of Captain Maxwell, of the Artillery.[3]

RAMPUR NAWAB'S APPLICATION TO DELHI KING

65*th*—In a translation of the Diary of the Court of Delhie for 30th August 1857 published in the *Delhie Gazette* of 28th October 1858, appeared an item of intelligence notifying the arrival at Delhie and introduction at Court of the *Vakeel* of the Nawab of Rampore, who it was stated, had presented 101 Gold *mohurs* on the part of his master, and an *urzee* praying for patronage.

66*th*—The Commissioner with reference to this statement while forwarding a *Khut* (*Khat*) from the Nawab of Rampore

[1] *The Bijnour Rebellion*, by Syud Uhmud Khan, Sudder Ameen, popularly known as '*Sarkashi-i-Zila Bijnaur*'; Abstract Translation from Urdu Text.

[2] Correct name may be 'Kaley Khan' or 'Kala Khan'.

[3] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 5 in No. 5, p. 254.

on the subject, explained that the fact related to a man who had been sent to Delhie at his (the Commissioner) express desire in order to obtain intelligence; and that the individual in question, having been captured, as a means to effect his own release, gave out that he was an emissary from Rampore to the King of Delhie and in that capacity presented a *Nuzzur* (*Nazar*).

67*th*—Mr. Alexander added that the circumstance was at the time of the occurrence brought to his notice, that neither at that time nor for a moment since has there been the slightest ground to suspect the Nawab's faith or truthfulness and that he had no hesitation in acquitting the Nawab of any double dealing or treasonable correspondence.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER NIZAM ALI KHAN ATTACKED BY THE BRITISH

26*th*—In this collection will be found an interesting report by Mr. W. M. Low, Offg. Joint Magistrate of Bareilly, describing a most successful attack on the rebels under Nizam Ali Khan at Sirpoorah, on the 30th August last in which the enemy were defeated with the loss of upwards of 300 men killed, all their guns (4), 3 elephants and the whole of their ammunition, camp equipage and baggage. Ali Khan was amongst the slain.....[2]

PRAYERS AGAINST THE BRITISH RULE

Extract from a Letter No. 21 *of* 1858 *from G. P. Money, Magistrate and Collector of Shahjahanpur, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, dated* 9*th September* 1858.

Para 50—When the report of the fall of Delhie[3] reached

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, 1853-1860, Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government N. W. Provinces in the Foreign Department for the 4th Quarter of 1858, Collection No. 29, Foreign Proceedings : 15th December 1858, Nos. 128 to 130. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, 1853-1860, No. 3 of 1858, Narrative of the Proceedings of the Governor General for the 3rd Quarter of 1858, Collection No. 11 regarding Bareilly District, Foreign Proceedings : 20th Sept. 1858, Nos. 168 to 171. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Fall of Delhi on 20th Sept. 1857.

Shahjehanpoor, there was considerable consternation among the principal rebels; and, to allay this feeling, Qazee Surfuraz Ulee (Qazi Sarfaraz Ali), who held the office of *Moonsiff*, attempted to hoist the Musulman flag; but he could not find sufficient supporters. This plan failing, he together with the *Mooftee*, (Muhzur Kureem), assembled at the Eedgah (Idgah) and for three successive days prayers were offered up that the British Rule might not be restored.[1]

RAMPUR PATHANS STILL HOSTILE TO BRITISH

Extract of a Letter from R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, to F. Williams, Commissioner of Meerut District, dated Naini Tal, the 23rd September 1857.

14*th*—I have not made mention of the Rampoor *Jagheer* which contains a military population, and which should of course be taken into account in the consideration of the possible force from enemies. I do not believe a single Rampoor Pathan subject, beyond the Nawab and perhaps 3 or 4 of his confidants, is either friendly or to be trusted; but as the Nawab has, with some tact, contrived to keep his subjects generally from desertion, and open hostility when they had the example on all sides, and no appearance of British force to contend with, it is presumable that we need not expect attack from Rampoor, when we are in force, and after the fall of Delhi.....[2]

BAREILLY, BADAUN AND SHAHJAHANPUR UNDER KHAN BAHADUR

Extract of a Letter from R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, to F. Williams, Commissioner of Meerut Division, dated Naini Tal, the 23rd September 1857.

5*th*—The districts of Bareilly, Shajehanpore and Budaon are under the usurped rule of Khan Bahadoor Khan of the first mentioned place. From what I can learn, in the two latter districts, which are under *Nazim's* or Viceregents there is little exercise of Mahomedan authority without the towns, and the Hindoos are too powerful in both these districts to be

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Shahjahanpur District*, p. 8.
[2] Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1857-58, Nos. 2-9. National Archives, New Delhi.

lorded over by Mahomedans, and backed by a superior standing army.

6*th*—The army so called of the usurper will be found I believe chiefly confined to the city and district of Bareilly.

7*th*—The number of its Infantry has been variously reported to me as 20,000, 25,000 and 30,000. The lowest figure is probably the nearest truth, probably not one-third of that figure are armed with matchlocks, nor the whole with swords. The ranks comprise all ages from grey beards to beardless boys. I believe few regular Infantry deserters will be found among them. The rebels of the Jail Guard will have given the sole model for discipline.

8*th*—The Cavalry, according to the account which I most trust, may number 2,500. They are probably more efficient than the Infantry, because Pathans are commonly horsemen, and because the ranks number many who have either mutinied, deserted, or taken discharge from the Irregular Regiments of our service.

9*th*—The Artillery is contemptible, possibly 10 recently cast brass guns, carrying no distance.

10*th*—It is quite on the cards that at the intelligence of the fall of Delhi, or of the advance of a British force, two-thirds of his whole force will desert Khan Bahadoor Khan.

11*th*—The only military service approaching to the name of an engagement with the enemy, which I can anticipate will be either at Bareilly, or at any other place to which the rebels may retire.

12*th*—The force which I originally ventured to name to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief would be ample to restore our supremacy, and take vengeance on our enemy, if aided, as I may suppose it would be, by the descent of part of the Goorkha Regiment from this place.

BRITISHERS' PLAN TO CONCENTRATE AT BAREILLY

13*th*—I am however of opinion that there would be ground for apprehension for the safety in these times of any European at outstations, not garrisoned by troops, specially at Moradabad, Budaon or Shahjehanpoor, in which Mahomedans and Pathans abound. If, therefore, it should not be found convenient, after the defeat of the rebels, in consequence of troops having to march into Oudh to garrison those towns,

I think European officers should concentrate, for the time at Bareilly, with such force as could be spared; 500 Europeans, a Sikh or Goorkha's Regiment, and a battery would be for the occasion a sufficient garrison. The affairs of the other districts might be temporarily administered by native local officers, under orders from Bareilly.[1]

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN MORADABAD

Extract of a Letter from R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, to F. Williams, Commissioner of Meerut Division, dated Naini Tal, the 23rd Sept. 1857.

4th—In Moradabad the public peace is fairly preserved by the Nawab of Rampoor who has been acting nominally an independent part, as if occupying the district on his own account; but really in subserviance to the interests of our Government. He will be, I feel assured, ready to give up the charge of the district to officers of our Government at the first requisition, and at the same time to withdraw, or disband the levies he has raised, to enable him to keep order in the district. I am not therefore apprehensive of any show of resistance to a regular force in that district, but it will require the exhibition of authority, backed by force, to restore order and restrain the many who are at heart disaffected. There would of necessity therefore be required a regular force to be cantoned, if a resident European officer is at once to administer the affairs of the district.[2]

STEPS TO PROTECT NAINI TAL AGAINST REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from Colonel R. G. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Fort William, October 3, 1857.

In acknowledging the receipt of a letter from the Officer Commanding in Kumaon to the acting Adjutant-General of the Army, dated the 8th of August, 1857, (transmitted with your endorsement of the 26th September, 1857), reporting

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1857-58, Nos. 2-9. National Archives, New Delhi.
[2] *Ibid.*

the steps he has taken to protect Nynee Tal (Naini Tal) being plundered and destroyed by a body of Pathans, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the same has been laid before Government.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES DISPERSED AT HALDWANI

Force sent by Khan Bahadoor Khan from Bareilly to attack Nynee Tal dispersed by Captain Ramsay on the 8th[2] ultimo at Huldwanee. Lieutenant Home killed by accident, at blowing up Malagurh. Fugitives from Muttra said to be going towards Bareilly.[3]

KHAN BAHADUR'S ATTACK ON HALDWANI

Memorandum of Intelligence, dated Fort Agra, October 6, 1857.

Nainee Tal—A letter from Major Ramsay dated the 18th September, contains the following particulars of the repulse of an attack made by Khan Bahadoor of Bareilly, on Huldwanee (Haldwani), at the foot of the Nainee Tal Hills. "On the 17th, the Huldwanee *Thanna* was driven off by Khan Bahadoor's army, which took possession of the place. In the evening they advanced farther on, but were met by Major Ramsay's people and driven back to Huldwanee. A party of 150 Goorkhas and 80 levies, with sowars and Volunteer Cavalry, to the amount of about 60, went down during the night. They reached Huldwanee at 6 in the morning, when the enemy was found drawn up in front of the *Mundee*. They stood until "our army got within 400 yards of them, when the Goorkhas gave a cheer, which put all to flight :" 114 were counted dead on the field. We had *Naib Ressaldar* killed, and 1 Goorkha wounded. Two flags and the enemy's baggage came into our possession.

News of the bombardment of Delhi had been forwarded to Nainee Tal, by the Nawab of Rampore.[4]

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 111 in No. 5, p. 293.
[2] This date appears wrong. It may be 18th (September).
[3] *The Dacca News*, Octobcr 24, 1857, p. 449. National Library, Calcutta.
[4] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 59 in No. 2, pp. 77-78.

EUROPEANS SERVING WITH THE REVOLUTIONARIES

News dated Thursday, October 1, 1857.

The same journal (*The Phoenix*) mentions that the H. M's 75th captured a European, late of the Bengal Artillery, of the name of Slae who was serving with the rebels. He rendered himself particularly conspicuous by abusing the European soldiers, who, by way of retaliation we suppose or to flog him, stripped him of his clothes and discovered that he was a European, skin being quite fair. His face and hands had been coloured. This is not the only European who has been discovered with the rebel army. To the credit of those who are known by the soubriquet (illegible) of "adventurers"—not one has been found in the rebel ranks.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES' INTENDED MOVE ON NAINI TAL

Narrative of Events by Colonel R. G. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India, dated October 8, 1857.

Bareilly—Nothing from this place itself : but it is reported that the Officer Commanding in Kumaon hearing that a move was intended on Nynee Tal (Naini Tal) by a force of 3,000 Pathans, desired the ladies and children to retire to Almorah, proceeding himself with all the disposable men of the 66th Goorkhas to Nynee Tal. On the insurgents arriving within thirty miles of the foot of the Hills, finding a warm reception prepared for them, they retired to Bareilly, and are not likely to make a second attempt : 500 of the 66th Goorkhas and 6 guns have been left at Nynee Tal for the present.[2]

KHAN BAHADUR PROVIDES HELP TO WALIDAD KHAN

Copy of a Letter from W. Muir to J. W. Sherer, dated Agra, 23rd October 1857.

.....I have a reliable native letter from Bareilly. It gives the following information:

[1] *The Friend of India*, October 8, 1857, p. 962. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 1 in No. 5, p. 248.

WALIDAD KHAN AT BAREILLY

"Wulleedad with 500 followers reached Bareilly on the 5th instant and waited on Khan Bahadoor. The latter gave him 4 *Pultuns*, 1,100 Cavalry (the numbers you know in these accounts are not worth much) and two guns for the reconquest of Malagurh. The troops refused to go without pay; and the Nawab himself displays no great anxiety to expose his person to danger. But he was arranging for a nephew to go in command; and the troops were expected to start on the 16th; whether they will get the reach of the Ganges is doubtful: —but my letter of yesterday will have shown that both the Meerut and the Bolundshuhur authorities are on the alert.

The Malagurh man's "*Naib*" spoke of going to Furruckabad to get more troops there.

Wulleeded remains at Bareilly.

Bukht Khan with the Nana's brother (who is followed by a personal guard of 400 persons) has gone via Budaon to Furruckabad.

Khan Bahadoor is trying to collect 1¼ anna of the Revenue balances. But he meets with an obstinate resistance from the Hindoos. The Thakoors of a village in Shahjehanpore (I rather think it is J. Barnes' famous *Khundur*) attacked and killed above 100 of his troops when they demanded payment and the Aheers of Gonour (Gunnaur) in Budaon showed so determined a front that the Bareilly sepoys slunk away without attempting to enforce their demand.

FORCE RETREATING FROM NAINI TAL DISPATCHED AGAIN TO THAT PLACE

The force sent against Nynee Tal had been defeated with loss. On its return to Bareilly, the Khan was much displeased and ordered them at once back again. They clamored for their pay but did not get it. A large force, however, has, the writer says, set out with 4 guns for Nynee Tal. There is not much danger for our friends there. The news of Nipal (Nepal) troops being expected at Nynee Tal had reached Bareilly. Intelligence of the occupation of Lucknow by Havelock was also known there, Both Hindoos and Mahomedans are deserting Bareilly by thousands and living in the villages.

Khan Bahadoor retains 10 *Pultuns*, some Cavalry and 2 guns at Bareilly. He has in all 30 *Pultuns* (you may calculate as you please) and 21 guns. But his troops are ill armed, some have muskets, some swords, some clubs. Many cannot use a gun. The Artillery-men are also unskilful.....[1]

HALDWANI AND BHAMAURI OCCUPIED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Extracts from Letter from H. Fraser, the Chief Commissioner of North-West Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Agra Fort, October 31, 1857.

October 17—With (the) exception of the Nawab of Rampore, few in Rohilcund believe that Delhi has fallen. On the contrary, it is given out by many that the British troops there have been beaten back by the mutineers, aided by a large body of their brethren from Bombay. Five thousand mutineers and rebels, with some guns from Bareilly, have taken possession of Huldwanee and Bhamourie at the foot of the Hills with the view, they say, of attacking Nynee Tal, but Major Ramsay is in high spirits and ready to meet them, if bold enough to enter the Hills; and if aided by Goorkhas said to have been sent by Bahadoor Jung (Maharaja Jang Bahadur), I have no doubt that he will make a good account of his opponents, and may perhaps be able to beat them back, though his true policy—a policy which I have pointed out to him—should merely be to hold his own for the present.....

KHAN BAHADUR PROCEEDS AGAINST ISLAMNAGAR

October 22—.....Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly is said to have proceeded against the Islamnaggur and Kutchla (Kachhla) people, who have collected in large numbers to oppose him, but will not I fear be successful. The troops at the foot of the Hills who have been threatening Major Ramsay have fallen back under the impression that a combined movement was about to be made against Bareilly on our part from Lucknow, Cawnpore, and Nynee Tal....[2]

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th Dec. 1857, No. 42. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Further Papers (No. 7, in continuation of No. 5) relative to *Ine*
1857 Inclosure 1 in No. 9, pp. 190 to 191.

BRITISHERS APPREHENSIVE OF KHAN BAHADUR'S FORCES

Letter from Alexander to the Officiating Secretary to the Government, North-Western Provinces, dated Nynee Tal (Naini Tal), December 8, 1857.

REVOLUTIONARIES OCCUPY BANDIA

In continuation of my letter of the 21st ultimo, I have the honor to report, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, that a large body of Khan Bahadoor's troops now occupy a position at Bundiah and its vicinity, on the high road from Bareilly to Haldwanee.

2*nd*—It has not yet been practicable to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the exact number of the main body. They have been reported to me as 4000 with two guns, and as 8000 to 10,000. I do not think it likely that they number more than 4000 or 5000 men with two guns.

COMMUNICATIONS DISRUPTED

3*rd*—The object of the force would seem to be less that of attack than of interruption of our communication with the plains. Communication with Bareilly direct is, of course, cut off by the mere presence of the main body on the road; but, besides this stoppage, the tactics of the body have been to detach a sufficiently strong mounted party to patrol and infest the road to Rampore and Moradabad, between Kalla Doonghi (Kala Dhongi) and the Moondea[1] and Bazpore *thannahs*, by which means, supplies, coming from Rampore and Moradabad, were first intercepted, and have now been quite stopped, and the post has been intercepted and made uncertain as to time of arrival, etc.

KALA DHONGI THANA ATTACKED

4*th*—Only yesterday, a party of these sowars managed

[1] Apparently *Mundia*, Pargana and Tahsil *Bisauli*, District *Budaun*—A small market town in the east of the pargana, lying in 28° 21′ N. and 78° 53′ E., on the west side of the road leading from Bisauli to Chandausi in Moradabad, at a distance of some four miles from the tahsil headquarters and 27 miles from Budaun. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 228).

to surprise the Kalla Doonghi *Thannah* at daybreak, and to murder the *Thannahdar* and nine other persons, including two of my Cavalry videttes, who had not the opportunity of escaping to the hills.

5*th*—This state of things is, I believe, as much a cause of personal vexation to the Nawab of Rampore, as it is of detriment and inconvenience to the refugees at this place.

NAWAB OF RAMPUR HESITANT TO FACE REVOLUTIONARIES WITHOUT BRITISH FORCES

6*th*—I have strong doubts, from what I hear from third parties, of the Nawab's troops fighting for him on our side if led out against this army. The Nawab himself writes, that he does not apprehend difficulty in subduing this particular force, and that he will order his troops out against them, if so directed by me; but that, as a matter of policy, he considers it would be precarious and imprudent, because it would be open defiance of Khan Bahadoor, whose army is much stronger than his, and who would thus have the excuse he has wished for to attack Rampore as the country of an enemy. In short, he writes that, unsupported by troops of our Government, he should not be able to hold his own against Khan Bahadoor Khan, and that the service he might be held to have hitherto rendered by a temporizing policy, necessarily imposed upon him, would be undone by his defeat.

7*th*—I gave the Nawab credit for much sagacity, and I do not attribute to him, or to the few about him, want of heart and courage; but, if I admit the reasonableness of his policy, it is not possible to say how long the inconvenience resulting to us may last.

8*th*—I cannot but believe that relief to us under the altered state of things, brought about by the fall of Lucknow, might be feasible at no risk, with comparatively small force, to hold what we may call our own, and to support the Nawab, if the larger brigade, which is to reconquer the entire province, cannot be soon sent into it.

9*th*—I do not know what force might be spared from Delhi, Umballa (Ambala) and Meerut, but I believe that with 300 Europeans, 500 Sikhs, and a battery of European Artillery, we might make head-quarters at Moradabad, and administer the affairs of that district, and near the *pergunnahs*

of Budaon and Bijnour, if not the whole of the latter district, with safety and satisfaction, while the security and convenience of all who remained at Nynee Tal, would be, at the same time, ensured.

10*th*—We have had sufficient proof of the courage of Khan Bahadoor's army, to feel secure against attack if concentrated at Moradabad, in the force I have specified, and who should then form a rallying point for the Hindoos, who dare not now avow their desire for us, and yet who could bring strength to our side by their open desertion of that of the rebels.

11*th*—If the Chief Commissioner would acknowledge the feasibility of what I propose, I could assure him, that the move of the troops from the *Ghaut* to Moradabad, might be made without risk, or show of opposition; and arrangements should be made beforehand for timely supplies.

RAMPUR NAWAB'S ROLE

12*th*—I have not hinted of this proposition to the Nawab; but it has been lately forced on my consideration by the stress which the Nawab has laid in his letters on the necessity for support. Before, however, it could be executed, if favorably entertained by the Chief Commissioner, it would be, of course, necessary to make secret preliminary arrangements with the Nawab, as much would depend on the assurance he should give us to peaceful entry into, and occupation of, Moradabad. His cautious character would prevent his concealing any difficulties which might offer themselves to his mind in the execution of the project.

13*th*—I am well aware that the Chief Commissioner's time must be fully and anxiously occupied, and should not needlessly be taxed by ill-timed or undigested projects; but I have made that (*sic*,) contained in this letter, in the conscientious discharge of the duty which lies on me, of suggesting what, after deliberate consideration, I may believe to be the earliest and most practicable mode of commencing the re-occupation of a part of the province in which I hold the chief executive appointment.

14*th*—I am, of course, writing under the impression that no accession of strength could be permitted to the rebel force now in Bareilly from Oude, or the Doab, and that the crossing of a fugitive force into it, would be the signal of pursuit by a

conquering army. I have only desired to state my views that, if a brigade of sufficient strength cannot, for some time, be spared to enter the province, a much smaller force would be found sufficient to hold, with advantage, that part which the circumstances of the Nawab's conduct, and its position, have made exceptional to relieve the European population of Nynee Tal, to form a nucleus and a rendezvous for the numerous well-affected of the Hindoos, and would reduce to a narrow limit the field of actual war operations, which, I may presume, would be considered a desirable consummation.[1]

HALDWANI ATTACKED BY BAREILLY REVOLUTIONARIES

The following is the latest description of the state of affairs at Nynee Tal.

Nynee Tal, January 2—On the 1st instant the Bareilly insurgents, about 1000 strong, with two very small guns, attacked Huldwanee (Haldwani), in the hope apparently of again destroying our stores. But the Goorkhas were at hand.

The rebels drew up about 250 yards off, and fired four rounds from their guns. Captain Baugh immediately let the Goorkhas loose at them, and the Bareilly men fled in such haste that it was impossible to come up with them. Twenty, however, were killed.[2]

* * *

News dated Friday, January 15, 1858.

The Bareilly rebels have at last mustered courage to attack the Nynee Tal troops at Huldivanee (Haldwani) ...The rebels, 2,000 strong, attacked on the 1st of January, but were beaten off....[3]

* * *

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 76 in No. 2, pp. 65-67.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, January 21, 1858, p. 19. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *The Friend of India*, January 21, 1858, p. 57. National Library, Calcutta.

Narrative of Events, dated Fort William, January 23, 1858.

REVOLUTIONARIES ALONG THE GANGES GHATS

Rohilcund—It is said that there is great disorder, and much dissension among the rebels in this province, especially since the re-occupation of Futtehghur (Fatehgarh). Many of the chiefs have left, some for Lucknow, and others for Central India, and others are in a great state of alarm and confusion. Bodies of insurgents are still collected, however, on some of the *Ghauts* on the Ganges, as reported under Allyghur (Aligarh) and Bolundshuhur (Bulandshahr).

SUPPLIES FROM THE PLAINS STOPPED

On the 1st January, a party of the Bareilly insurgents, 1000 strong, with two guns, attacked Huldwane (Haldwani), but were driven off with loss, by a party of 66 Goorkhas and Nepaul Goorkhas. A strong party of the insurgents is still posted on the road between Bareilly and Huldwane : reported to be about 4000, with two guns.

The object of this force seems to be less that of attack, than to prevent communication between Nynee Tal and the plains. Supplies from the plains have been stopped and the latter post rendered uncertain. The Nawab of Rampore, who has proved himself a most faithful subject and ally, expresses no doubt but that he would subdue this force with his own troops, and is ready to order them out, if directed; but the expediency of his doing so is doubtful.[1]

NAINI TAL TARAI AREA IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

Nynee Tal is still in a state of siege. The Rohilkund rebels occupy the Teraie betow[2] (*sic*,) the station. The male residents have formed themselves into a corps, raised some hill

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 2, pp. 33-34.

[2] Misprint for 'below'.

levies and called for aid from Jung Bahadoor from whom some hundreds of Gurkhas are expected.[1]

MIRZA KOCHAK AND WALIDAD KHAN GIVEN OVATION AT BAREILLY

The Delhi Gazette says—"Meerza Kochuk, the son of the King of Delhi, with the arch-traitor Wulee Dad Khan of Malagurh in the Boolundshuhur (Bulandshahr) District, who were in Furruckabad (Farrukhabad), guests of the Nuwab Raees, have arrived at Bareilly; as they gave false accounts of the proceedings at Futtehghur (Fatehgarh), they were received with demonstrations of great joy. But a few hours were sufficient to upset all that their lying reports had occasioned, and Khan Buhadar Khan is now sitting in Bareilly, with two *tolahs* of opium in his pocket and a black ribbon round his neck, in token of his approaching departure to a better world.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events, dated Fort William, January 23, 1858.

Bareilly—It is said that Meerza Koohuk[3], the son of the King of Delhi, and also Walee Dad Khan, who were guests of the Nawab of Furrackabad (Farrukhabad) have, since the re-occupation of Futtehghur (Fatehgarh), joined Khan Bahadoor Khan, at Bareilly.[4]

FIGHT AT BAHERI[5]

Intelligence has just been received that Colonel McCausland with 800 Infantry, 200 Cavalry and 2 guns attacked

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, January 14, 1858, p. 11. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *The Friend of India*, January 21, 1858, p. 57. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] May have been spelt for 'Mirza Kochak'. (See para above and p. 383).

[4] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 2, p. 32.

[5] *Bareilly*—The Chaumahla, Tahsil *Baheri*, District ... tahsil stands in 28° 46' N. ...

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have arrived at Bareilly where they receive pay at the rate of one anna a day. Religious standards have been raised in various places both for Hindoos ("*Mahabir Ke Jhundee*") and for Mahomedans to which all classes are exhorted to flock.

Several farms of the revenue of different tracts of country are reported to have been sold for large sums and the farmers are not scrupulous in exacting again revenue already paid. This and a heavy war cess upon the city of Bareilly appear to have given general dissatisfaction.

The number of guns possessed by Khan Bahadoor is stated to be about 40—but this does not probably include those belonging to minor insurgents.

STRENGTH OF KHAN BAHADUR KHAN'S FORCES

As to Khan Bahadoor's forces and their disposition, the accounts are most contradictory. A very clear and detailed account from a native at Mooradabad estimates them at about 4000 Cavalry, 24,000 Infantry and about 300 Artillery, but this does not include the men at Shahjehanpoor and Budaon. At the latter place it is known a considerable force is assembled; possibly also the forces under the Nawab of Nujeebabad, who holds Bijnore, are not taken into calculation. It is probable the bulk of the force is pressed towards the Ganges—all the *Ghats* of which as will be seen by the reports from the Meerut, Agra and Cawnpoor Divisions are strongly guarded and large supports are posted at short distances in the rear. One considerable body, however, it will be seen threatens aggressive operations against Furruckabad. At Bareilly itself it seems probable not above 4000 to 5000 men are retained and about 2000 or 3000 have been detached towards Nynee Tal.

SHOBHA RAM AS COMMANDER OF KHAN BAHADUR'S FORCES

The Chief Commander of Khan Bahadoor's Troops is one Sobha Ram. Tej Sing, Raja of Mynpoory (Mainpuri), Waledad Khan of Malaghur, and the Nawab of Furruckabad also hold command of independent bodies.

Of the constitution of these forces this much is known that the Horse contains a large admixture of our own Irregular Cavalry. The trained Artillery-men are very few indeed, while

the Infantry are an ill-disciplined and half-armed rabble capable of little but plunder and rapine. They are all said to be miserably paid, discontented and dispirited but their aggregate numbers are unquestionably large and it may be anticipated they will be able to give some trouble while the main body of our own troops are occupied at Lucknow.[1]

GANGES GHATS IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

2000 MEN HOLD GHAT OPPOSITE ANUPSHAHR

The *Ghats* of the Ganges are held by various parties of rebels opposite to Anoopshahr[2], Ramghat and Rajghat, supported by various bodies inland at Kutora[3] and Asudpoor[4] at the latest accounts which reach to the 12th February. All these parties had been strongly reinforced especially those at Asudpoor and Anoopshahr and it is said that there are now 2000 men at the former place. The rebels threaten to cross, which, as the Ganges is almost everywhere fordable, they easily might do unless kept in check. A small British force at Anoopshahr is watching them.

GRANDSON OF CHUHAR RANI ARRESTED

On the 6th a notorious rebel, grandson of Chuhur Ranee of Anoopshahr was arrested at that place, and sent into Bulundshahr....[5]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Anupshahr*, Pargana and Tahsil *Anupshahr*, District *Bulandshahr*—The chief town of the tahsil stands on the right bank of the Ganges, at a distance of 25 miles east of Bulandshahr, with which it is connected by a metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 179).

[3] Appears misspelt for *Kakora* in Pargana *Ujhani*, Tahsil and District *Badaun*.

[4] *Asadpur*, Pargana *Asadpur*, Tahsil *Gunnaur*, District *Budaun*—The capital of the pargana is a small agricultural village of no importance, lying in 28° 10′ N. and 78° 28′ E., at a distance of four miles south of Gunnaur and 40 miles from Budaun. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 164).

[5] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Bulandshahr District for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

BATTERIES ERECTED OPPOSITE ANUPSHAHR

Nothing has been received from any of the districts of this Division, except from Bulandshahr and Allyghur, and the only item of importance is from the former district. This states that on the 18th instant, the rebels opposite Anoopshahr commenced erecting batteries on the river side. A few rounds however from our guns at Anoopshahr compelled them to desist.[1]

PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY FIROZ SHAH

Translation of a copy of a Proclamation issued by Firoz Shah, Ex-King of Delhi, at Bareilly, on the 18th February 1858.

Be it known to all Hindoos and Mussulmans of Hindoostan, that power and dominion are one of the greatest blessings of Providence and that this blessing cannot long be enjoyed by a deceitful tyrant.

For some years past these wicked Christian *Kafirs* commenced tyrannising over India, intending to cause the spread of Christianity by violence, and to do away with the religion of Hindoos and Mussulmans, but it pleased God to turn the minds of the people against them, so much so, that all of a sudden they became intent upon destroying them; and of a truth they are very nearly annihilated, but owing to the loss of power and dignity, they have collected themselves here and there, in wretched plight, and are making useless efforts to regain their power. Please God in a short time they will be so annihilated as not to leave a single trace behind them. Let it be known to all Hindoos and Mussulmans of India, that owing to the circumstances mentioned above, there exists the bitterest enmity between the natives and the English; and if after all that has past (passed), the latter regain their former power in India, it is certain that they will destroy the religion, honor, life, and property of every one. I therefore give a short account of the resolutions passed with the joint concurrence of the Judicial Council, the Supreme Court, and the

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Meerut Division for the week ending 21st Feb. 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Parliaments in hope that our Indian brethren, becoming aware of their evil intentions, will join together in extirpating them. When the army mutinied for the sake of their religion and killed without mercy these *Kafirs* with their swords, then with regard to the cause of the mutiny, and the loss of life, their Priests and Sages came to the following resolution, viz., that if the former Governors had properly looked to the following points there would have been no rebellion:

1*st*—"The Government took measures for protecting the heirs and descendants of the former Rulers instead of extirpating them. They ought to have taken them, on the pretence of conveying them to England, on board a ship, and to have drowned them in the sea."

2*nd*—"They ought not to have preserved the religious books of any tribe in Hindoosthan, but they should have taken them by force and burnt them."

3*rd*—"They ought to have deprived all natives of the power of holding a single '*Biswah*' of land."

4*th*—"They ought to have intermarried with the daughters of natives of rank, compelling the parents by force, and bribing them with money, to give them their daughters, so that in a few years they would all have become one."

5*th*—"They ought not to have taught artillery practice to any natives of India."

6*th*—"They ought not to have left arms or weapons in the hands of the natives."

7*th*—"They ought not to have given service to anyone, unless he had eaten food with them."

8*th*—"They ought not to have permitted the Hindoos to relate their religious tales, or granted permission to Mussulmans to preach sermons."

9*th*—"They ought not to have permitted the erection of Mosques and Temples."

10*th*—"Decisions in the Civil Courts ought to have been passed according to the precepts of the Christian Religion."

11*th*—"The marriage ceremonies should have been made over to the English Clergy, instead of allowing the old customs of '*Nikah*' and '*Bhowree*.'"

12*th*—"Hindoo and Mussulman systems of medicine ought not to have been allowed to be practised."

13*th*—"(Wanting in the copy furnished to me)."

14*th*—"They ought not to have allowed the Hindoo

and Mussulman *Faqueers*, unless specially permitted by the Clergymen, to make Proselytes."

15*th*—"They ought not to have allowed Midwives, but insisted that English medical men should attend women in child birth.

"These points were not at all regarded by the English Government, but the superstitions of the perfidious natives were on the contrary respected and encouraged. The consequence is that these very people rebelled : that if the foregoing measures are adopted there will be no fear of any disturbance for a thousand years to come."

Oh men of Hindoostan ! see now these Christians. How great is their enmity against you? You have been told of the future schemes of the English as related above. Now you must wash your hands, and try your best to save your religion and lives by murdering all Europeans, make your resolution firm and by the blessing of God you will succeed.

I, the writer of this Proclamation, give you a short account of facts as follows. Hear it attentively and act up to it. Before the rebellion broke out I had gone to Mecca, and on my return, when I arrived at Bombay, having been informed of the wretched condition of these ill-disposed Christians I thanked God; and as I am by nature a believer in Islam, and a lover of justice, and a hater of oppression, when I left Bombay on my way back to this part of India, I persuaded the people on the road, as far as Gwalior, to make a *Jahad*, and to kill all Christians, and to this effect I took pledges from a great number of native chieftains and warriors. A small force accompanied me from Gwalior, and I had intended to fight, as soon as I had matured my plans; but the religious fervour of my troops became so great, that they paid no attention to discipline. They consequently unadvisedly advanced on Agra and commenced fighting with the ill-starred infidels at that place* and notwithstanding that they were inferior in numbers to the enemy, they fought well and bravely, and though they were apparently defeated, yet in reality; having killed about a thousand of the *Kafirs*, they obtained a victory, my property was lost and my relatives and friends were dispersed.

* "An allusion to the battle on the Agra Parade on the 10th October 1857"—Note in Original.

From that day to this, my time has been employed in preparing to fight again, and for three or four months I have been very successful in inducing several princes and other natives of rank, and warriors of every part of the country, to join with me in extirpating the wicked *Kafirs*, and by the grace of God *I have been able to collect* 150,000 *tried soldiers and recruits*, and they have taken solemn oaths not to desert the cause; and therefore in a very short time we shall be able to clear the country from the presence of the *Kafirs*. Everywhere ammunition is stored, and money is collected. The only thing which remains to be done is for me to commence operations.

The object in view is purely of a religious nature, therefore it is made known to all Hindoos and Mussulmans, that whoever is so fortunate as to possess the grace of God, he will join us in this religious war. After the receipt of this Proclamation, it is expected that all will join the "*Jahad*".

The weak and old can join by their prayers for our success; the wealthy, and old should assist us with their wealth, whilst those who are strong and in good health should exert themselves in the field of battle.

On joining the "*Jahad*" everyone must remember the following points:—

1*st*—Those who are servants of the *Raees* of Lucknow, our young kinsman, Mirza Burjees Qudur Bahadoor (Birjis Qadar Bahadur), and those who are servants of the Nawab Khan Bahadoor Khan of Bareilly, will not join in this war, without obtaining first the consent of those chiefs; for those chiefs are ready to expel the *Kafirs*. Deserting those chiefs is in fact, therefore, adding strength to the infidels.

2*nd*—All should join in this religious war, not for the sake of this world's goods, but in hopes of reaping the fruits of eternity.

After attaining ascendancy and power, by the blessing of God, they will also get high situations in this world.

3*rd*—The delay that has occurred hitherto in expelling the English has been caused by the Will and Order of Providence, for the army mercilessly murdered women and children in violation of the orders of their *Sirdars* and *gave themselves up so much to plunder that they turned victory into defeat.* They likewise oppressed the people, and did not mind the orders of their leaders.

Now having relinquished all these sinful acts and formed

your minds for doing good, you should join in the "*Jahad*" and you will obtain complete victory.

4*th*—The people of all grades should regard themselves as equals, for in religious matters all brothers should equally defend the faith. It is not my object to wage this war for worldly gain, and therefore having placed reliance in the precepts of religion, I gird myself with bravery and enthusiasm, and having wrapped around my head the cerements of the grave (*Kuffun*), and having armed myself with the sword of "*Jahad*" I rise repeating the holy "*Bismilah*" and relying on the blessing of God, I am sure of obtaining victory.

I do hereby call you again and again to come and join me for the sake of God. I will inform you of the date and is and[1] which I march out of the city. Those who are anxious to join are requested to do so without delay.

Sacrifice your life for your beloved, for death will some day take it from you. Oh Hafiz, do you decide which is the better of the two courses.

Printed at the Bahadoor[2] Press in Bareilly, by the order of the Nawab, the Ruler of Kuthair (Katihar), under the superintendence of Moulavie Qutab Shah, by Darogah Shaikh Neeaz Allee, dated the 3rd Rajab 1274 Hizeree, (18th February 1858).[3]

FIROZ SHAH'S PROCLAMATION CIRCULATED

...One native letter states that the Mahomedans of Rohilcund have decided on making a final stand at Chundouse[4], and this story derives some support from another rumour that Khan Bahadoor had sent his family and treasures away from Bareilly.

A very singular proclamation, lithographed in the latter city in the name of Mirza Feroz Shah, of the Royal Family of Delhie, has been circulated under the authority of Khan Bahadoor throughout Rohilcund. It is ably conceived as

[1] Obviously a printing error for the phrase 'the date on which I march out...'

[2] Apparently, 'Bahaduri Press.'

[3] *The Dacca News*, 8th May 1858, pp. 233-234. National Library, Calcutta.

[4] Apparently, spelt for *Chandausi*.

an address to the most vehement passions of the Mahomedan population, and contains just such an admixture of truth as may suffice to give credit for its assertions generally. A translation by Mr. F. B. Outram, the Assistant Secretary, is annexed. The rebels have as yet given no indication of the course of action they are likely to pursue.[1]

* * *

Agra Correspondent's Letter dated 26th April 1858.

The Proclamation issued lately at Bareilly by Feroze Shah, a son of the king of Delhi, but for the production of which credit is given to Wazeer Khan, late Sub-assistant Surgeon of Agra, is worthy of Nesselrode, and shews a fine appreciation of the gullability of the Indian authorities....

Meetings of Mahomedans are permitted in the city on the plea of its being a particularly religious season among them.[2]

ENTRENCHMENTS AT KACHHLA GHAT

So far as can be ascertained the rebel forces at the *Ghats* have rather decreased; some have certainly been withdrawn towards Bareilly, but at Suheswan (Sahaswan) reinforcements are said to have arrived. On the 23rd one Ram Bahadoor, a notorious rebel, with 50 men crossed the Ganges and burnt a village near Soron, our levies behaved ill. At Kuchla Ghat entrenchments are being thrown up on either side; the rebels have apparently got one or two additional small guns.[3]

WALIDAD KHAN TO CROSS THE GANGES

Telegraphic Message from Oldfield to Muir, dated Agra, March 6, 1858.

Daniell telegraphed that he expected Walleedad Khan

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 10, 1858, p. 440. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 28th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

with 4,000 men and three guns will cross the Ganges at Kuchla[1], and 200 Cavalry at Kudwargunge. Brigadier Showers has directed some troops from Allyghur (Aligarh) to take up an advanced position, to keep them in check.[2]

EVENTS IN ROHILKHAND DIVISION

REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES IN BIJNAUR DISTRICT

No new facts of much importance have transpired regarding the movements of the rebels. The report from the Magistrate of Bijnour, to which allusion has been already made, describes the rebels of his own district as much disheartened and their forces as far from formidable. They have only three large bodies of men which are as follows viz., about 3000 undisciplined troops with six guns under Shufeeollah (Shafi-ullah) Khan, a nephew of the Nawab of that place, are at Nujeebabad. The fort of Pathurghur[3] in the same neighbourhood is also held by a small garrison and furnished with 6 guns. A second force under another nephew (Ahmed Oolla Khan who was at the outbreak our *Tuhseeldar* of Nujeebabad) is at Nagul Ghat; it consists of two thousand men and a few guns and is intended to keep in check a detachment of Cavalry and Horse Artillery which Brigadier Coke has posted at Lookdur on the right bank. Besides these 2 assemblages, an independent collection about 1000 strong with 2 guns exists at Daranuggur Ghat near the town of Bijnour; its leaders are a notorious plunderer named Mareh Khan, two fugitive chiefs of the Meerut Goojurs, and the *Kazee* of Thannah Bhowan (Bhawan) in Moozuffernuggur.

This account tallies with information received from other sources and it is believed the only other forces the rebels possess

[1] *Kachhla*, Pargana *Ujhani*, Tahsil and District *Budaun*—This village, of no great size but of some importance on account of its position, lies in 27° 56′ N. and 78° 53′ E., on the banks of the Ganges at a distance of 17 miles from Budaun. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, pp. 215-216).

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 12 in No. 9, p. 119.

[3] *Pathargarh*—It is situated at a distance of about 6 miles in the south-west of the Najibabad railway station on the unmetalled road from Najibabad tahsil to Kot Kadir.

in the Bijnour District are a few detached parties placed over the country for Police purposes.

From the Nuwab of Rampore recent intelligence has not been received. It has however been thought advisable to detain in Calcutta Mehndee Ali Khan, a kinsman and rival claimant to his throne just arrived from England whose presence at Rampore would have been dangerous at this crisis....

AGGRESSIVE OPERATIONS OF REVOLUTIONARIES ALONG THE GANGES GHATS

The chief force of the insurgents appears to be concentrated in the Budaon and Bareilly districts. The *Ghats* in the former are strongly guarded and the rebels have even ventured on aggressive operations of a somewhat serious character. Walidad Khan of Malagurh, his sons, Sumund Khan, father-in-law of the late Nawab of Jhujjur, Mohsun Ali Khan, Ahmed Yar Khan are the leaders in this quarter. Two of the Delhi *Shahzadas*, Mirza Kochuk and Mirza Feroz, are also said to be with them. They are supposed to have in all about 5000 or 6000 men and six or eight guns at the *Ghats* near Kasgunje[1] and have given out that they intend crossing simultaneously in three Columns by the Kuchla, Bichpoorie (Bichpuria)[2] and Soorujpoor[3] Ghats.

ROHILKHAND REVOLUTIONARIES REINFORCED FROM LUCKNOW

At Budaon, Oojhanee and Shahjehanpore the rebels are also believed to be in some force—there is little doubt some troops have arrived from Lucknow to their assistance. Of the actual force at Bareilly no reliable information has been received. Fuzil Huk is now at Buheree (Baheri)...[4]

[1] *Kasganj*, Pargana *Bilram*, Tahsil *Kasganj*, District *Etah*—This, the most important town in the Etah district, lies 19 miles to the north of Etah in 27° 48′ N. and 78° 39′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 183).

[2] A Ghat on the *Farrukhabad* side of the river Ram Ganga, in village *Rasulpur*, Pargana *Amritpur* and Tahsil *Aligarh* of *Farrukhabad* District.

[3] *Surajpur* is a Ghat in village *Bihat Nagaria*, Pargana *Kampil*, Tahsil *Kaimganj*, District *Farrukhabad*.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract

MOBILIZATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

Futtahool Akbar (*Fatahul Akhbar*) *of the* 25*th of Rajub* (*Rajab*) 1274 *A. H.* (*corresponding with* 11*th March* 1858).

REVOLUTIONARIES ASSEMBLING AT BAREILLY

In these days there is a strange collection of people in this town, *every body is ready to join the crusade against the infidels and thousands of persons are gathering like locusts from various towns and villages.* The Nabab has now ordered to raise 72 battalions in addition to those that have been already enlisted and of these 20 are being raised by Ismael Khan who enlists the *Poorbeahs*, inhabitants of Baunswara[1] and while the rest are being levied at the several *Nizamuts*, 4 or 5 in each Moreover various chiefs and princes from different parts of the country such as Nabab Bungush (Nawab Bangash) of Furruckabad, Vuleedad (Walidad) Khan, Hyder Alee (Haidar Ali) Khan, the Nawab of Jhuggur (Jhajjar) etc. etc. are here encamped with their respective followers. At present Nana Rao with 2 or 3 thousand followers is coming to this town for holding a conference with our Nabab on some military affairs. This temporary occasion to the population of this town has caused a rise in the prices of grass and gram. Preparations are going on for sending conquering armies to all sides and accordingly 3 or 4 thousand Horse and Foot with two pieces of cannon have been ordered for Nyneetal (Naini Tal), it is hoped that the infidels will soon evacuate it.

SHOBHA RAM AS DIWAN EXERTS

Roy (Rai) Sobha Ram *Dewan* of Kutahar (Katihar) is so heartily engaged in drilling and disciplining the army that it is impossible for me to describe, and everything to which he pays the slightest attention is speedily accomplished, for instance all the officials for a long time past were every day thinking of preparing an Artillery but yesterday the *Dewan* considered

Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[1] Appears to have been spelt for *Bainswara*, in *Avadh*.

the question a little and immediately distributed 8,000 Rs. to the workmen and, promising to give them 17,000 more, ordered them to cast 25 pieces of cannon in the course of 7 or 8 days and allotted an estate yielding a revenue of 1,25,000 Rs. especially for the expenses of the Artillery. He has often observed that he will never dismiss a single individual from this Army whether Horse or Foot and that he is their guarantee for this and as well as for a regular payment of their daily allowance (*Chundee*) and pay. Certainly he alone knows the worth of a soldier who collects an army; whenever any *Ressaldar*, *Kumaidan* etc. resigns his post, the *Dewan* first of all admonishes him and then allows him to do whatever he likes. The review of the Cavalry is not yet over. God be praised, how generous and kind is our Nabab, he never dismisses any good Horseman on account of his horse being deficient in height but simply tells him "I give your pay, purchase another horse of the full size." Formerly all those Horsemen whose horses were not of the standard height were apprehensive of their being dismissed, now all of them are very glad. Up to this time all the proceeds of the country have entirely gone to the Army and all necessary expenses deferred, even the allowance of the *Khandan* given by the English have not been paid in full and no attention has been paid even to the following important consideration that it is always necessary for every ruler to keep some 10 or 20 Lakhs of Rs. in hand. In reality I do not know whence is this Army to be paid without any resources to meet the demand; in the office (I) see no other work performed but the paying of the Army. Indeed it is true that God himself provides for those who rely on Him only. In short it is impossible for me to describe, how all officers with their subordinates are busy in the performance of both financial and political duties.

ARMY WARNED AGAINST ABUSES PREVAILING IN IT

The Army never acts with the slightest promptitude and activity and if it were to wake from its sleep of indolence and *leave off luxurious habits for a time, it can extirpate the English, not only from India but from all parts of the world.* They say that owing to the coming in of a great number of strangers in this country particularly in the town of Bareilly, adultery, fornication and drunkenness have so much increased that there is no wonder, if we incur the wrath of the Almighty as the poet Moulana

Rome (Rumi) says "Rain never falls where alms are not given and plaging (*sic*,) arise where adultery prevails". The *Cotwal* of the city states that he is really at a loss to find out whence so many whores and ill-behaved boys have come to this town and that as most of these have been employed by officers of rank it has become very difficult for him to adopt any measures against such characters. It is said that through the influence of whores 2 pimps have got employments as *Akkas* and some derive the pay of 1 or 2 situations at a time, but to us it appears to be altogether false for these persons never serve anybody. We have also heard that some of the Commandants have dancing parties in their tents while out in the field. What, have they considered the English completely extinct and have they no idea of their returning and falling upon them at any time? This is certainly a grave mistake and great neglect of duty. Once upon a time the Army of Moses confronted the infidels who soon found out that they were quite unable to cope with it. A certain philosopher who was amongst them told them that they should send some beautiful harlots into the Army of Moses for this will bring on them the anger of God and that it was the only means of their not being overcome. They acted accordingly to this and saved themselves from ruin as that stratagem spread dismay and confusion in the army of the Prophet. Hence it is necessary for those who have taken the field against the infidels and who are well aware that there is no other recourse but fighting, to repent of their past sins and to make up their minds never to do anything that has been prohibited; if not, they shall be punished by defeat and miserable deaths. Our duty is simply to admonish you, do as you like.

RAMPUR NAWAB APPROACHED FOR HELP BY THE BRITISH

It is said that at present the Nabab of Rampore is not at good terms with the English and that he will soon give them a direct reply. The English have ordered him to send the army stationed at Moradabad, to them, with 1 or 2 lakhs of Rs. in cash, and if this army be unwilling to serve, is to disband it, by taking its arms; moreover they further require him to fulfil his promise by the conquering of Bareilly so that he might thus secure the confidence of the Company; as this

has been rumoured several times I think that the Nabab gave them the following reply: "The arms belong to the soldiers themselves, I cannot take them, nor can I disband the army for, were I to do so whence am I to raise another for the defence of my own kingdom ? As for the sum required much has been spent in purchasing supplies for you and for this I can submit a full account. Had you come down from the Hills when there were not (*sic*,) troops in the town of Bareilly, it would have been very easy to capture it and I would have joined you with all my heart, but now it has 100,000 *soldiers to defend itself besides the inhabitants of towns and villages etc.etc. all ready to sacrifice their lives in its defence*, that under these circumstances it is impossible even for you to conquer it and as for myself *what can I do when my own servants do not obey my orders ?" The pith and marrow of all this is: repay all that has been given in the shape of supplies or else leave the country.* – We have been informed by a trustworthy authority *that the Nabab is by no means a real friend of the English* but Saadut Allee Khan, Alee Bux Khan, Gholam Alee Khan *Ressaldar*, Abbas Khan, Yousuf (Yusuf) Khan and others have from selfish motives adopted the cause of the English while all the rest (the inhabitants of Rampore and the army included) are their enemies.

Doubtless all Principalities were brought to ruin by the machinations of its managers. By God, fate is unalterable, no measures can avert it.[1]

WALIDAD RETURNS TO BAREILLY

REVOLUTIONARIES' MOVEMENT UNDER RAHIM ALI

A considerable body of the enemy, under Ruheem Ali, of Khylea, has been, during the past week, moving about the opposite bank of the river near Ramghat. Waledad Khan is believed to have been with them for a short time, but has now returned to Bareilly, or to the bodies of rebels near Furruckabad (Farrukhabad). On the 13th, a few Horsemen made a demonstration of crossing, but fell back on being opposed by the Police. The chief object of the rebels appears

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 27th May 1859, Cons. No. 81, pp. 170-171. National Archives, New Delhi.

to have been to collect revenue, in which they had not previously had much success in that quarter.

The presence of this enemy, however, prevented General Penny, on his downward march, from reducing the number of troops in the district; but subsequently he considered it necessary to withdraw the bulk of H. M.'s 64th Foot.

More recently, spies report Ruheem Ali Khan's forces as consisting of ill-armed Irregular levies, but with a few guns.

The Ganges was very low till the 17th, on which, and the succeeding day, it rose considerably; so much so, as to render many fords impassable,—and several persons were drowned in attempting to cross. On the 19th, the water again fell rapidly. A permanent increase in the volume may, however, now be looked for, from the melting of the Himalayan snow.[1]

BAREILLY FULL OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Bareilly is now full of rebels, many of the Delhi notorieties having gone there to swell their ranks. Khan Bahadoor Khan is yet loath to believe that troops can be spared by His Excellency before the Oude affair is settled, to bring him to his senses.....[2]

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN ROHILKHAND

Bulletin dated 29th March 1858.

In Shajehanpoor the leader is, by one account, Ismael Khan, by another Moollan Khan, force 10,000 of all arms and 8 guns.

The Nana with his family joined this force with about 500 men, and intends to go to Bareilly where Khan Bahadur Khan has ordered the Government College to be got ready for him.

5000 men with 6 guns, leader not named but supposed to be Fuzul Huk (Fazal Haq), are watching Huldwanee

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Bulandshahr for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 18th March 1858, p. 84. National Library, Calcutta.

(Haldwani). This force, it is said, has retreated to Nawaubgunge (Nawabganj). The Rajah of Kasheepoor (Kashipur) has joined it.

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS AT BAREILLY

4000 men and 6 guns, leader not named, are at Bareilly, 1000 of which are guard of Khan Bahadur Khan. A gun is displayed at the *kotwalee* as having been taken from the English. The Nawab Raees of Futtehgurh (Fatehgarh) and other rebel chiefs are at Bareilly.

3000 men and 2 guns leader Neaz Mahommed (Niaz Muhammad) are at Kutchla Ghat. They are badly equipped.[1]

KHAN BAHADUR'S POWDER MAGAZINE EXPLODES

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Agra, April 2, 1858.

The intelligence from Bareilly, by more than one messenger, is reliable, that, on the 24th of March, Khan Bahadoor's powder magazine exploded destroying adjacent houses and sixty-three lives. The Nana reached Bareilly on that date with his family, fourteen carts, and 500 Horse and Foot. Khan Bahadoor was laid up with fever.....[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade to the Secretary to Government with the Governor General, dated Agra, April 3, 1858.

Captain Eden writes from Patna on the 31st March, that 500 sowars with two guns had left Kotah, in the direction of the north-east, and had got to a distance of 16 (sixteen) miles the previous day from Bareilly. The Nana arrived at Bareilly with 400 Horse and Foot, fourteen hackeries, and his family on the 24th March; he is in the house of Lekrai[3]

[1] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 4 in No. 12, p. 137.

[3] Given as 'Lekhraj' by E. A. Reade in his bulletin. (See p. 432).

(Lekh Rai). The explosion of Khan Bahadoor's powder magazine is confirmed; sixty-three persons were killed. Khan Bahadoor is ill with fever. The evacuation of Pilleebhet (Pilibhit) by the rebels is confirmed[1]. This message will be communicated to Sir John Lawrence.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT KACHHLA GHAT

Telegraphic Message from Major Eld, Allygurh (Aligarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 26th March 1858.

Latest news gives strength of enemy at Kuchla from four thousand men with four light and one heavy guns. At Beroul Ghat eight hundred Light Cavalry mutineers. A *Subadar* with five hundred Cavalry and two hundred Infantry gone towards Kadirgung[3]. Several villages on this side burnt by the enemy. Water in Ganges low, and people crossing with loads on their heads. *Chowkies* placed by the enemy at different *Ghats*. Rebels at Chawsee opposite Anoopshuhur (Anupshahr) have been reinforced by Rahim Alee Khan Thylea Walla[4] with four guns and 1600 (sixteen hundred) men and they now amount to about 3000 (three thousand) and making every effort to collect revenue.[5]

NANA TO JOIN THE FORCE AT KACHHLA

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, April 1, 1858.

NIAZ MUHAMMAD TOWARDS GUNNAUR

Allyghur—On the 27th March, there were between 3,000 and 4,000 men, with five guns, at Kuchla; and Nyaz Mahomed,

[1] See p. 433 of this book, also.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 10 in No. 12, p. 138.
cf. Further Papers No. 8, Inclosure 1 in No. 12, p. 135, also.

[3] *Kadirganj*, Pargana *Nidhpur*, Tahsil *Aliganj*, District *Etah*—This village lies on the bank of the Ganges 32 miles north-east of Etah, in 27° 48′ N. and 79° 7′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 182).

[4] This name has been spelt as 'Khyleawala' elsewhere; (p. 387).

[5] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

with five guns and 5,000 men, at Sahaswan, said to be coming to Goomour[1]. Raheen (Rahim) Ally, with a considerable force was at Chumaree. It is reported that the Nana, with 500 men, had reached a village near Bareilly, and sent a message to Khan Mahomed Khan[2], asking for an asylum, which the latter granted and offered him the command of his army which the Nana accepted, and promised to join the force at Kuchla in a couple of days.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES RECEDING FROM KACHHLA GHAT

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 3rd April 1858.

News from Kutchla that rebels are gradually diminishing in numbers. At Surajpoor in *statuquo*[4] with four guns. Our force from Futteyghur which was at Kumpail (Kampil) has returned to Futteygurh. Hume is at Ajeetmull. Riddle at Etawa. Grand Trunk Road apparently all quiet. Eighth King's Regt. left this morning for Bewar.[5]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT DARANAGAR GHAT

The rebels at Daranuggur Ghat are in some force; they are said to include nearly 3,000 men of all descriptions, and give out publicly their intentions to cross. Some parties of sowars have actually come over, but the wide belt of *Kader* (*Khadar*) land on this side renders the crossing of any large force dangerous, and therefore improbable.[6]

[1] Misspelt for *Gunnaur* in *Badaun* District.

[2] Referring to 'Khan Bahadur Khan'. (See p. 429 Footnote 7).

[3] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure in No. 11, p. 130.
cf. Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, dated 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (p. 429).

[4] Appears wrongly received for 'Status quo'.

[5] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[6] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Muzaffarnagar for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

BAREILLY STYLED AS 'BAGHIPUR'

Translation of a Letter from J. C. Wilson, Commissioner, Meerut, to The Nawab of Rampur, dated 12th April 1858.

I have sent the reply to your letter which I think will have reached you. By to-day's post I received your letter dated the 8th of April with the news of the gathering of mutineers of various districts in Bareilly, and apprehension and anxieties which you have from them. Having received your welfare I am very much pleased. A body of soldiers is sent to join the Brigade at Roorkee with orders of entering Najibabad crossing the Ganges at Asuf Gadh (Asafgarh)[1] and will reach Moradabad to assist you after defeating the furious rebels there.

Though the rebels of Lucknow and other districts have gathered in Bareilly, (*Bareilly has now become Baghipur*) but you need not have any fear from them.

You should take care to keep off the furious rebels with bravery and of the safety of your faithful subjects. The Brigade is ordered to assist you in Moradabad. I think you remember the matter directed to Hosein Bux Khan *Risaldar*. In future please call it by the name of '*Farishta*'. It is heard that there are many regarding *Farishta* in Rampur. If God pleases I shall soon see you.[2]

A HOT WEATHER CAMPAIGN DISCUSSED

As it becomes more evident that the work is still to do, the propriety of a hot weather campaign is warmly discussed. It is argued on the one hand that to leave the rebels to themselves for five months is to make rebellion an institution. Rohilkhund is valuable and ought to be cleared. Our prestige already shaken will be still further injured by inaction, and chiefs and classes hitherto faithful will be tempted to try their fortune in one last cast against the British power. It is dangerous to keep up excitement till it has become the habit

[1] *Asafgarh*—A village at a distance of about 5 miles from *Amsot* in *Bijnaur* District on the unmetalled road from Laldhang to Asafgarh.

[2] Mss. '*Rampur Darbar and* 1857'-prepared under the authority of the Ex-Nawab of Rampur. Rampur Collectorate Records Room.

of the people, to leave authority as it were too long in the equipoise of victory or defeat. The hot weather, too, is the time when all natives begin to stir. They are too well aware of the hostility of the climate to Europeans, too fully conscious of their own immunity, to leave us to repose. *They will, it is argued, organize Rohilkhund as a base, attack on all points at once, and wear out our patience and our men by an incessant guerilla war.* From Umballa (Ambala) to Patna we must remain on the *qui vive*, a position as harassing and almost as costly as an active campaign while far less complete in its results. *Meanwhile from every part of the country the disaffected will glide by, ways on which no European is ever found, to the support of the insurgents.* Their numbers always large will be swelled threefold, and we shall have at last to conquer a province covered with intrenchments. The events of July shew that Europeans can fight, march and triumph during the hot weather, and there is no reason for delay which is not counterbalanced by the advantages of promptitude. *We are losing revenue, losing order, losing the respect produced by the unbroken traditions of a hundred years.* Above all, every month's delay increases the greatest of our dangers, the chance of a leader arising in the country. *There may be a Hyder Ali in the ranks.* It is a fact without a parallel that among a hundred thousand men all trained to arms, all released from forms, all anxious to be led, no leader has appeared, no man with a brain above that of a vulgar dacoit. We cannot be assured that this unparalleled advantage, an advantage before which that of numbers is as nothing, shall be always on our side.

On the other side it is urged that a hot weather campaign can result only in an expenditure of blood. If we had the force to bring the war to a sudden and final termination it might be advisable enough. That is not certain, and we may but repeat the scenes witnessed for the last twelve months. Everywhere on all occasions we have been victorious in battle, and everywhere our force has been too small to reap the full advantage of success. At Delhi the rebels got away. At Futtehpore, Cawnpore, even at Badshagunge we were unable to annihilate. The garrison of Lucknow is streaming north, west, and south. What guarantee have we for better success in Rohilkhund? The army which barely invested Lucknow will scarcely invest a province. *To say we can thrash Khan Bahadoor Khan wherever we meet him is to substitute phrases for*

realities. Of course we can. *But (Khan) Bahadoor Khan flying southward with his rabble is just as dangerous as Bahadoor Khan granting sunnuds (sanads), levying revenue, and playing host to the Nana at Bareilly*. In neither place is he dangerous to the Empire, but in both cases he and order cannot exist together. Is it not then wiser to wait, save our troops, apply to England for yet larger aid, and then with an army brought up to the highest point of efficiency and triple strength with the weather in our favour, and five months for our plans, pour in overwhelming power into Rohilkhund ? In either case, resistance or flight, the hot weather will melt out troops like snow. Of the Delhi force a clear third were at one time in hospital. Who does not remember how in one week Havelock's force melted into air, and the little army of 1300 men was reduced first to 700 then to 500? Are we likely to be more exempt ? We may be, but anyone who glances at the lists of the P. and O. Company's ships will see how frightfully the fatigues and exposure of six months have struck the officers, always from their temperance the last to suffer. This is perhaps the greatest danger of all. The Europeans must be preserved, lest at the end of the hot weather we find ourselves with new enemies on our hands, a new and more terrible struggle still to be commenced. We do not know that the rebels will gain strength by our pause. It is just as probable that their courage may ooze out, that they may quarrel among themselves, that seeing the North-West tranquillized and garrisoned they may feel isolated and discouraged. At all events the evils of delay are problematical, those of the hot weather campaign apparently inevitable.

The dispute must be settled by a soldier. To outsiders calmly observing our position the balance of evidence is in favour of delay.[1]

FIROZ SHAH REACHES BAREILLY FROM AVADH

Bulletin dated 12th April 1858.

Alygurh 10th—Confirms the above news from Bareilly, reports that Feroze Sha (Shah) Shazadah of Delhi has reached

[1] *The Friend of India*, 8th April 1858, p. 317. National Library, Calcutta.

Bareilly from Oude with wounded sowars. The Bareilly rebels hold Meergunge (Mirganj)[1], 4 Regts. and 2 *Rissalahs* with 5 guns, against the Nawaub of Rampoor's force at Milluk (Milak), 10 miles distant.[2]

MOHSIN ALI KHAN WOUNDED AND KILLED IN ACTION

There is little or no reliable information from this Division. The only event known, is a fire at Gunour, in the Budaon District, by which a rebel magazine was exploded with some loss of life. Mohsun Allee Khan (Mohsin Ali Khan) one of the chiefs who commanded the rebels in action at Kaurour[3], was badly wounded in the action, and is reported dead. A good deal of correspondence fell into our hands, but none, it is believed, of great importance. The enemy's Cavalry consisted principally of Weston's Oudh Police and of the 7th L. C. (Light Cavalry); they were well mounted and armed, but never stood their ground during the whole action. Subsequently some of them fell in with Oodey Singh (Udai Singh), the *Thanahdar* of Busharutpore (Basharatpur), a man of eminent loyalty, and murdered him with several of his attendants.[4]

FORCE AT DARANAGAR IN GOOD STRENGTH

....The Daranugger rebels are now said to be 6,000 in number, with 8 guns; but the men are rabble, and the guns small.[5]

[1] *Mirganj*, Pargana *Sarauli North*, Tahsil *Mirganj*, District *Bareilly*—The capital of the Mirganj tahsil is a mere village standing in 28° 33′ N. and 79° 13′ E., on the road from Bareilly to Moradabad, at a distance of 21 miles north-west from Bareilly. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 239).

[2] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Pargana of *Karor* is conterminous with the Bareilly tahsil which comprises the central portion of the District. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 216).(See p. 407, and para 2 of p. 572, of this book, also.)

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 11th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Meerut Division for the week ending 11th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES STILL AT KACHHLA GHAT

Bulletin dated 16th April 1858.

Aligurh 14th—The rebel force at Kutchla Ghat as usual. The force which had left Suheswan (Sahaswan) for Bareilly has returned there with one of the *Shazadahs*. Four butchers have been hung for killing them in Bhudaon[1]. Brigadier Penny has moved from Sahawur[2] to Pattealie (Patiali).[3]

MEERUT DISTRICT THREATENED BY FORCE AT DARANAGAR

The bridge of boats at Ghurmucktesur (Garh Mukteshwar) has been, for some days in full operation. The rebels at Daranugger (Daranagar) have received an accession of strength; they are now over 6000 men with 8 guns. They continued, up to the 14th, to threaten the Meerut District, but no report has been received of the effect on them of Colonel Jones' operations.[4]

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE ALONG THE GANGES

The rebels were active all along the river side, and using great efforts to make what money they can. One of the sons of the Ex-King of Delhie is said to be opposite to Anoopshehur. The river is rising; the *ghats* well watched and every precaution taken to prevent the rebels crossing, the boats are all on our side.[5]

[1] Apparently, spelt for '*Badaun*'.

[2] *Sahawar*, Pargana *Sahawar*, Tahsil *Kasganj*, District *Etah*—This town lies 24 miles to the north-east of Etah in 27° 48′ N. and 78° 51′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 207).

[3] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Meerut Division for the week ending 18th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Bulandshahr for the week ending 18th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

ATTEMPT TO BURN BOATS

Near Kutchla too, the *zemindar*, Dara Singh, who recently beat off a party of the enemy's Horse who crossed and attacked his village, has gone over and burned a quantity of combustibles they had collected with a view of burning the boats on our side of the river. Nothing else of importance is reported.[1]

JIHADIS IN BADAUN

Narrative of Events from C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate, dated Budaon (Badaun), 23rd November 1858.

18th April—Some 300 *Jahadees* (*Jihadis*), or fanatic Mahomedans, came into Budaon from Bareilly.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES DISLODGED IN BIJNAUR

Extract from Letter No. 106 from A. Shakespear, Magistrate and Collector, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilcund (Rohilkhand), Bareilly, dated Bijnaur, 2nd August 58.[3]

49th—On the 17th of April 1858, all the arrangements being completed we crossed from a little below Kunkhul (Kankhal) near the head of the Ganges canal into the Bijnour District, and within five days all their bright visions were dispelled and the rebels driven homeless wanderers from the scene of their short-lived misrule.[4]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etah District for the week ending 18th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Department–XXIV, File : "Narrative of Events attending the Outbreak of Disturbances at Badaun"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Badaun District*, p. 9.

[3] The date is there in the manuscript but crossed out.

[4] Department–XXIV, File : "Narrative of Events attending the Outbreak of Disturbances at Bijnaur"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Bijnaur District*, p. 10.

found in a jungle on the Nagul road and quickly routed with much loss, after a sharp action, in which the Mooltani Horse were much distinguished, four guns were taken. On the 18th the enemy, after a show of resistance, abandoned the town and fort of Nujeebabad, two guns were taken, two more were found abandoned in the town, and six more in the fort. Mr. Geo. (George) Palmer, C. S., with a small garrison, was left in the fort to pacify the surrounding country.

NANA IN STRONG POSITION AT BAREILLY

Native accounts represent great dismay among the rebels, at the result of Brigadier Seaton's action, much disorder and frequent affrays. The Nana has assumed a leading position at Bareilly and has forbidden cow killing, hung butchers, and done other violent acts, without apparently exciting the resentment of Khan Bahadoor.

ATTEMPT TO ENLIST THE SIKHS

A large body of Seikhs, whose numbers are variously reported, have arrived at Bareilly. They are probably as many as 300 or 400, and appear to have been received at first with much suspicion; since that, however, attempts have been made, but in vain, to enlist them by the Nana and Khan Bahadoor. They are believed to have come from Oudh.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,' dated May 6, 1858.

Rohilkund—Our letters from the Roorkee Rohilkund Field Force are to the 23rd instant (April); on the 18th instant it marched into Nujeebabad and found the city and large fort evacuated entirely; 2 guns were found in the city and 6 in the fort. The city was sacked and then burnt and our correspondent says—it is likely to be in flames for a day or two; another fort was to be blown up. The Nawab had left his blazing palace

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 18th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

and had gone to Bareilly with fifty followers, whilst the rest of the "Brave Army" is wandering about in the dense jungles. The Hindoos we hear from all sides are delighted with the progress of our force and the Mussulmans are neither to be seen nor found....[1]

* * *

Letter No. 115 *from R. Spankie, Magistrate, Saharanpur, to F. Williams, Commissioner Ist Dn. Meerut, dated* 21*st April* 1858.

I have the honor to report that our force was at Nujeebabad on the 19th and found the town and fort empty, a few of the shopkeepers only coming forward. There was some hope of the Nawab's being caught as it was reported that he had been stopped in his flight towards Bareilly by some Hindoos at Dhampore. The Nawab's house was burnt and destroyed and the fort is ruined preparatory to being blown up.

2*nd*—The town of Nujeebabad would appear to have been burnt. It is possible that some of the Hindoos who accompanied the camp were concerned in burning the town as Colonel Jones seems to have done his best to stop looting amongst the soldiery.

3*rd*—The report that the enemy had abandoned Nagul is quite true. They left their camp and heavy baggage standing there and fled.[2]

REPORTED OCCUPATION OF NAGAL

Letter No. 112 *from R. Spankie, Magistrate, Saharanpur, to. F. Williams, Commissioner, 1st Division, Meerut, dated 20th April* 1858.

I have the honor to report that the returns from the *Ghauts* announce the defeat of the enemy at Amshot[3] near Bijnore, with the loss of 10 guns and 8 elephants and 200 men killed.

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* May 6, 1858, p. 428. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, May 1856—October 1858, Judicial, Letters issued to the Commissioners, Book No. 233, p. 252. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[3] *Amsot*—It is at a distance of about 5 miles to the north-east of Asafgarh.

2*nd*—I also hear that Nagul has been occupied by our force watching the Ganges, on this side and burnt, the enemy leaving their guns and camp standing etc. This however requires confirmation.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT JALALABAD

Letter from William Brackets, Allahabad, to Agra, dated 18th April 1858.

We hear from Futtehghur (Fatehgarh) that Khan Bahadur's force or the Nana's has reached Jellalabad (Jalalabad)[2] 10,000 strong, with 8 guns, has bridged the Ram Gunga, and is now in full march on Bithour; this last statement requires confirmation.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Vansittart to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), April 20, 1858.

The enemy is concentrating on Jellalabad, raising earthen fortifications; he intends to await an attack at Jellalabad; his force is some 10,000 men, in separate Columns of 2,000 men, stretching from the Ganges to the rear of Jellalabad; his fortifications are being mapped by my agents. Two days ago the Nana was at Bareilly.[4]

NAJIBABAD NAWAB TO BE HANGED

Service Message from Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, 23rd April 1858.

...Mr. Shakespear writes on the 20th from Nujeebabad (Najibabad) that Jullaloodeen (Jalaluddin), the younger

[1] Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, May 1856—October 1858, Judicial, Letters issued to the Commissioners, Book No. 233, p. 250. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] A town in *Shahjahanpur* District at a distance of 20 miles south-west from the district head-quarters.

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 516. National Archives, New Delhi.

[4] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 5 in No. 14, p. 149.
cf. Further Papers No. 8, Inclosure 1 in No. 14, p. 147.

Nabob of Nujeebabad, with his brother-in-law, forty-five prisoners of less note and two elephants have (*sic*,–has) been captured by the Mooltanee Horse near Nujeebabad. The Nabob was being hanged and his brother-in-law will be tried by Court Martial.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated April 29, 1858.

...The Nuwab of Nujeebabad, Jullaloodeen has been captured by some Mooltanee Horse with forty-five others. The Nuwab is to be hanged, and his brother-in-law will be tried by Court Martial.....[2]

ENGAGEMENT OFF NAGINA

Telegraphic Message from the Commissioner of Meerut to Muir, dated Meerut, April 24, 1858.

Shakespear writes from Nugeena (Nagina), April 21:—
Rebels in immense numbers completely defeated by Brigadier Jones at Nugeena; twelve guns taken; six elephants taken; the rebels on them, who Shakespear hopes, will turn out to have been the chief rebels, killed. Our loss trifling, but Gostling mortally wounded, since dead. Shakespear trusts the result of this action will tend much towards quieting the districts[3].

* * *

Extract from Letter No. 106 *from A. Shakespear, Magistrate and Collector, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilcund (Rohilkhand), Bareilly, dated Bijnaur, 2nd August* 58.[4]

50*th*—Since the fight at Nugeena on the 21st of April, there has not been the smallest show of opposition, and, though

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* April 27, 1858, p. 394. National Library, Calcutta. (See p. 411 also).

[2] *The Friend of India,* April 29, 1858, p. 393. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 16 in No. 14, p. 151.

[4] Date is there in the manuscript but crossed out.

of course cruelly shaken by what they have undergone during ten months of violence and disorder, the people are gradually regaining their confidence in our rule, but it will be long indeed before they can altogether recover the shock they have sustained.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Colonel Baird Smith to the Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, dated Roorkee, April 23, 1858.

The Roorkee Field Force met the Bignore (Bijnaur) insurgents again yesterday, at Nugeena, and routed them utterly, capturing all their guns, ten, and slaying many. Casualties on our side, Lieutenant Gostling, of the Mooltan Horse, killed; Mr. Hanna, a Volunteer, very badly wounded, and eight or ten men killed and wounded; twenty-three guns in all have been captured since the force crossed the Ganges on the 17th instant.[2]

* * *

Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 24th April 1858.

...After a long pursuit the Roorkee Force met the Bijnour rebels on the 22nd[3] at Nugeenah (Nagina)....[4]

* * * *

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, May 1, 1858.

Rohilcund—Brigadier-General Walpole continuing his progress, attacked a large body of rebels on the 22nd April at Sirsee, near Allygunge[5], killed five or six hundred of them,

[1] Department—XXIV, File : "Narrative of Events attending the Outbreak of Disturbances at Bijnaur"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Bijnaur District*, p. 10.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 14 in No. 14, p. 151.

[3] This date is given as 21st April in *Mutiny Narrative* of *Bijnaur District*, para 50. (See para two, p. 405, also).

[4] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, April 27, 1858, p. 394. National Library, Calcutta.

[5] This probably refers to *Allahganj* in *Farrukhabad* District. *cf. Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Shahjahanpur District*, para 42. (See p. 413 also).
Also *cf.* Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mainpuri, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 26th April 1858. (p. 414).

captured four guns and all their camp, etc. The *ghauts* on the Ganges have thus been cleared by General Walpole; the Ramgunga turned, and the bridge over it at Allygunge secured for the passage of the siege-train, which crossed the Ganges at Futtyghur on the 23rd instant.

The Roorkee Field Force, under Brigadier-General Jones, met the Bijnore rebels on the 21st April at Nugeenah (Nagina), utterly routed them, and captured all their guns (twelve). A great many of the enemy were slain, and on our side the casualties were one officer, Lieutenant Gostling killed, and eight or ten men killed and wounded. This force had taken altogether twenty-three guns since it had crossed into Rohilcund. It was at Mooradabad on the 26th April. Guards had been placed at every entrance of the city to prevent plunder, and rebels escaping. The city was quite quiet. The rebel Nazim Khan had been taken alive by Lieutenant Angelo, of Ist Punjaub Infantry, and twenty-two inferior rebels had also been seized.[1]

* * *

Letter from Brigadier General J. Jones, Commanding Roorkee Field Force, to the Depy. Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Noorpoor (Nurpur)[2], *23rd April* 1858.

On the 20th instant I forwarded from Nujeebabad a statement of the operations of the Column under my command to the 19th April, and I now proceed from that date to inform His Excellency of the subsequent events.

DARANAGAR REVOLUTIONARIES MARCH TO NAGINA

On the 20th instant the heavy guns arrived at camp and information reached me that the rebels from Durranuggur (Daranagar), six thousand strong, had marched to Nuggeena

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 14, pp. 147-148.

[2] *Nurpur*, Pargana *Burhpur*, Tahsil *Dhampur*, District *Bijnour*—This small town stands in the centre of the pargana, in 29° 92' N. and 78° 25' E., on the west side of the road from Bijnour to Moradabad, at a distance of 23 miles from the former, and some 13 miles south-west from the tahsil headquarters, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road continuing to Dhanaura in Moradabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Bijnor, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 293).

(Nagina), and there been joined by the nephews of the Nujeebabad Nawab, with their followers and guns.

I moved early on the 21st and crossed the canal which fronts the town of Nuggeena (Nagina) by 8½ O'clock A. M. The enemy was then taking up his position. He was late on the ground, and lost the site I conclude he would have chosen. His left thrown forward rested on the canal communicating with the other bank by a bridge, and his line running at an inclined angle to the canal for between two and three miles, reached a tope of trees which covered his right. He had 2 brass guns on his left, besides some iron pieces, 5 opposite the bridge by which I crossed, and others distributed along his front. I observed considerable bodies of Cavalry in his line, and I am of opinion from what I saw, and have since heard that the numbers given by the spies (10,000 Infantry and 2,000 Cavalry) were not exaggerated.

The Mooltanee Regiment of Cavalry swept round the town by the left, and moving rapidly in pursuit of the enemy's Horse, headed the main body of the fugitives on the principal line of the retreat. Captain Cureton with great judgment drew his men together and concealed them in a tope of trees. Six elephants carrying officers of importance among the rebels, accompanied by 3 guns and a body of Cavalry and Infantry, soon came by; the Mooltanee Regiment charged this body, cutting up the sowars, and capturing the elephants and guns. The Telegraph-signaller taken some time ago by the enemy was retaken here, and was the only person carried by the elephants that escaped death. Captain Cureton led his regiment some miles in pursuit of other parties of fugitives, and left the ground covered with their bodies. In this action the force captured 10 brass guns and 5 of iron, a Return of which I have the honor to enclose. It is difficult to estimate accurately the enemy's loss in men, but it could be little less if not quite 800 killed. I am happy to add, that our loss in obtaining such results is trifling, Lieutenant Gostling being the only officer or British soldier killed.[1]

[1] *Government Gazette*, N. W. P., Vol. I, No. XVIII, Allahabad, Tuesday, June 22, 1858, pp. 243-44.

FORCES UNDER NIZAM ALI ATTACK SEHRAMAU

Extract from Letter No. 21 *of* 1858 *from G. P Money, Magistrate and Collector of Shahjahanpur, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand), dated 9th September* 1858.

Para 32—Another village, (Sehramow)[1], was also attacked by the rebel forces under Nizam Ulee Khan, but they were compelled to get assistance from Barreilly, when a force under the immediate command of Murdan Ulee Khan, (Commander-in-Chief to Khan Buhadur Khan), came and overpowered the Thakoors, several of whom were killed, and their heads cut off, and exposed over the gateway of the Fort....[2]

ISMAIL KHAN JOINED BY RAHIM ALI AND FIROZ SHAH AT GUNNAUR

The rebels all this week were in strong force on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite these districts. But the Ganges rose rapidly throughout the week; and at the close of it, there was little apprehension of any attempt on the part of the enemy to cross, except as fugitives by parties of two or three. Ismael Khan is said to be at Gunour (Gunnaur), detained there by the wound he received in action at Kaurour[3]; he has been joined by Ruheem Ally and the Delhie Shah-Zadah (Shahzada).[4]

FIROZ SHAH'S MARCH TOWARDS SAMBHAL

Translation of a Vernacular Letter from Commissioner, Bareilly, to the Nawab of Rampur, dated Naini Tal, the 23rd April 1858.

Your letter of the 21st of April brought by a sawar (horse-

[1] *Sehramau North* is in Pargana *Khutar*, Tahsil *Pawayan*, District *Shahjahanpur*.

Sehramau South is in Pargana and Tahsil *Shahjahanpur*, District *Shahjahanpur*.

[2] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Shahjahanpur District*, p. 6.

[3] *cf.* Foreign Department, N. W. P. Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 11th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (See p. 395).

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Bulandshahr and Aligarh districts for the week ending 25th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

man) was to hand. In reply to it and the papers relating to Feroz Shah's demand for provisions, you are informed that I very much approve of your suggestion for not complying with it and for resisting his march. If the news of Feroz Shah's march with an army towards Sambhal is true, and if the five hundred men despatched against him, are in your opinion, inadequate for the purpose, then send an additional force to meet the requirements.[1]

RAMPUR FORCE DEFEATED BY FIROZ SHAH

Telegraphic Message from Commissioner, Meerut, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 24th April 1858.

Feeroz Shah has started from Bareilly—one account says to cross to Etah, one account says he has reached Moradabad and beaten the Rampore force. Brigadier Jones licked a great number of rebels completely at Nugeena on the 21st, took twelve (12) guns, six (6) elephants the riders of which, supposed to be chief rebels, were all killed.[2]

MORADABAD SURPRISED BY FIROZ SHAH

Extract from Letter No. 88 from R. H. Dunlop, Officiating Magistrate of Moradabad, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand), dated 18th November 1858.

April 22nd—Feroze Shah surprised the town of Moradabad, and arrived in it via Sumbhul. Before his arrival 1,600 men, residents of Moradabad, had fixed their seals to a *Muhzur* in testimony of their readiness to co-operate with him. Abdool Alee Khan (Abdul Ali Khan) fled to Rampore. His party plundered the houses of Government well-wishers.[3]

* * *

[1] Mss. '*Rampur Darbar and* 1857' prepared under the authority of the Ex-Nawab of Rampur. Rampur Collectorate Records Room.
[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, p. 3.

Extract from Letter No. 350 from Commissioner of Rohilkhand Division, to Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, dated the 6th December 1858.

4th—But the invasion of Feroz Shah on the 22nd April caused the entire frustration of this expectation. Pursuing the same course as the rebels seem even to have taken in any place where order had reigned before, he at once, on the departure of the Nawab's mutinous army and the retreat of the few who remained faithful, made for the treasury and *kutcheries*, sacked the contents of the former, and burnt those of the latter, so that the record of the Nawab's administration was annihilated.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 122 from R. Spankie, Magistrate, Saharanpur, to F. Williams, Commissioner 1st Division, Meerut, dated Saharanpur, 26th April 1858.

I have the honor to communicate that there is nothing of interest from the *Ghauts*.

2nd—There is however a report that either the Nana or Feroze Shah[2] have looted Moradabad and the Rampore Nawab's troops at that place had misconduct (*sic*,) themselves. Our Column was within two marches of Moradabad.[3]

FIROZ SHAH OCCUPIES MORADABAD

It is rumoured that the *Shazadah Feroze Shah, had succeeded in occupying Mooradabad having defeated the Nawab of Rampoor's force* stationed there. . .[4]

* * *

[1] Mss. "*Rampur Darbar and* 1857" prepared under the authority of the Ex-Nawab of Rampur. Rampur Callectorate Records Room.
[2] *cf. Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, p. 3. (See p. 408 of this book).
[3] Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, May 1856-October 1858, Judicial, Letters issued to the Commissioner, Book No. 233, p. 255. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
[4] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 6, 1858, p. 428. National Library, Calcutta.

Copy of a Letter from H. Ramsay, Commissioner, Kamaun (Kumaun), to the Nawab of Rampur, dated Naini Tal, the 27th April 1858.

I was much concerned to hear that Ferozshah had made *Chappa* upon Moradabad and succeeded in over-powering small forces at that station but I have since heard of the victory gained over the rebels by the army you despatched under the command of Kazim Ali Khan and Saadat Ali Khan and it affords me great pleasure to congratulate you on such a successful termination to your anxieties and dangers.

Like ourselves you have had nearly a year of anxiety and you have had to contend with no ordinary difficulties but have nobly overcome all, and by your loyalty and friendship have not only gained the approbation of Government but have won esteem from all European Gentlemen more especially from the residents at Naini Tal to whose comfort your friendship contributed so much. Although this must afford you no small satisfaction you have also the comfort of knowing that your own honour is established while the false men who tried to lead you to dishonour are themselves hopelessly ruined. Accept my hearty congratulations on your success and believe me.[1]

REOCCUPATION OF MORADABAD BY BRITISH FORCES

Letter No. 127 *from R. Spankie, Magistrate, Saharanpur, to F. Williams, Commissioner Ist Dn., Meerut, dated* 29*th April* 1858.

I have the honor to state that nothing of interest has occurred in the last two days.

2*nd*—You doubtless are aware that Mooradabad was quietly occupied by our troops on the 25th. The rebels fled from the place, carrying off with them 3 guns taken from the force of the Nowab of Rampore.

The Ganges river is fast deepening.[2]

[1] Mss. '*Rampur Darbar and* 1857' prepared under the authority of the Ex-Nawab of Rampur. Rampur Collectorate Records Room.

[2] Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, May 1856-October 1858, Judicial, Letters issued to the Commissioner, Book No. 233, p. 257. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

MAJJOO KHAN CAPTURED

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 30*th April* 1858.

Intelligence has been received from the Roorkee Column which was at Moradabad on the 26th. The city was quite quiet and the shops open as usual. Precautions had been taken against plundering. Angelo of Coke's Rifles gallantly seized Mujjoo Khan alive. Mujjoo Khan and four of his men were surrounded, Angelo shot three of them with his revolver and a Seikh shot the fourth. Twenty-eight guns have been taken by the Column since leaving Roorkee, fifteen of these have been brought into Meerut.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated May 6, 1858.

The Government publish a Telegram from Mr. G. Edmonstone, announcing that the Roorkee Column was at Moradabad, on the 26th April. The city was quite quiet,...Angelo of Coke's Rifles, gallantly seized Mujjoo Khan alive....[2]

BRITISH OPERATIONS TO REOCCUPY PLACES

The last narrative reported the occupation of Nujeebabad; the present one relates a series of brilliant operations, by which the northern part of this Division has been rapidly regained.

JALALUDDIN KHAN CAPTURED

On the 20th (April), the Mooltani Horse, who were scouring the country, caught Jalalooddeen Khan, the younger Nowab of Nujeebabad, his brother-in-law, and 45 followers; the former of these, one of the chief leaders of revolt, was at once tried and executed, the others are under trial. The following morning the force moved out to Nugeena, their advance to which city was disputed by a very large rebel army with 12 guns.

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Friend of India*, May 6, 1858, p. 416. National Library, Calcutta.

personal feeling against the Nuwab of Rampore. The latter to prevent open hostility, for he had not force sufficient to cope with Khan Bahadoor, enlisted as far as possible the relatives and kinsmen of those who formed the nucleus of Khan Bahadoor's army. He has thus been able to keep from actual warfare, and at the same time has formed a rallying point for the loyal in Rohilcund. As Sir Colin Campbell is now on his way to Bareilly, we doubt not that both Khan Bahadoor and the Rampore Nuwab will meet with their deserts.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT KACHHLA GHAT REINFORCED

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 26th April 1858.

Daniel writes that the force British (British force) is going to cross at last. I conclude he means General Penny's.[2] The number of the rebels at Kutchla Ghat has increased considerably. Native letter states that Walpole's Column halted at Allahgunge[3] and is waiting for the Commander-in-Chief to join.[4]

KHAN BAHADUR'S ARMY ATTACKS MIRZAPUR VILLAGE

Translation of a Vernacular Letter from Brigadier-General, Roorkee Army, to The Nawab of Rampur, dated Naini Tal, the 27th April 1858.

This morning a petition of *Thanadar* of Hassanpur was received through Gulam Nasir Khan which makes mention of the news, as reported to him by the *Jamadar* of Rehra[5] Chowki, that the army of Khan Bahadur Khan, a rebel of Bareilly, set

[1] *The Friend of India*, April 29, 1858, p. 391. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *cf.* Foreign Department, N. W. P. Narrative 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 25th April 1858. (p. 413).

[3] Apparently *Allahganj*, Pargana *Amritpur*, Tahsil *Aligarh*, District *Farrukhabad*—This small town, in 27° 26′ N. and 79° 45′ E., lies on the east side of the metalled Rohilkhand Trunk road, 13 miles north-north-east of Fatehgarh. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 181).

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

fire to Mirzapur[1] and now intends laying waste the village of Rehra. It appears proper to me that an adequate force, well-equipped with guns and other requisites should be sent to that place, so that the rebels may be thoroughly punished. You are therefore asked to send there your troops also so that the work may begin. Also if it is advisable some troops may be stationed at Moradabad so that, in case my force were to move in any direction, there might be sufficient force to control this station.[2]

BIJNAUR FALLS TO BRITISH AUTHORITIES

Letter No. 55 *from A. Shakespear, Collector and Magistrate, Bijnour (Bijnaur), to W. Muir, Secretary to Government N. W. P., Allahabad, dated Bijnour (Bijnaur), 30th April* 1858.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 195 dated the 26th instant with its annexures and as I have hitherto furnished, owing to press (pressure) of work, only demi-official intelligence for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor General, I now have the honor to supply a concise statement of events since I left Roorkee on the 15th instant with a view to crossing into this district with Brigadier-General Jones' force.

2*nd*—On the day before starting, the force which had been for some time collected at Roorkee was completed by the arrival of the head-quarters of H. M.'s 60th Rifles and on the 15th the troops under General Jones as noted in the margin (given in the foot-note*) made a long march to the

Khadir, situated in 28° 32′ N. and 78° 19′ E., on an unmetalled road leading from Hasanpur to Sirsa Sarai and the Ahar ferry, about a mile from the left bank of the Mahawa, 14 miles south from the tahsil headquarters and 48 miles by road from Moradabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Moradabad, Vol. XVI, 1911, p. 251).

[1] *Mirzapur* is traceable as a place in the map of District *Shahjahanpur* in Pargana and Tahsil *Jalalabad*; but in the context of the events that have been described in this para, *Mirzapur* must be somewhere near *Rehra* which is in Tahsil *Hasanpur* of District *Moradabad*.

[2] Mss. '*Rampur Darbar and* 1857' prepared under the authority of the Ex-Nawab of Rampur. Rampur Collectorate Records Room.

* "H. M. 60th Rifles, Ist Punjab Rifles, (Coke's), Ist Seikh Infy. (Gorden's), 17th Seikh Infy., Austin's Horse Field Battery, Mooltanee Regt. of Cavy., Detail of Sappers."—Marginal note in the Original.

Sheeshoowalee Ghat[1] on the Ganges a little below Kunkhul (Kankhal), where a bridge of boats had been under preparation during the 2 or 3 previous days. Here it was found necessary to halt on the 16th but portions of the troops passed over to the opposite bank during that day and on the morning of the 17th the whole force crossed into the Bijnour District.

BATTLE NEAR AMSOT

3*rd*—The distance from the Ghat to Nujeebabad is 23¾ miles, nearly the whole of the road passing through jungle, a great deal of which is very dense. At the commencement of the march a few clearings were met with belonging to jungle villages, but when we had passed these and come into the difficult ground near the Pelee Nuddee about 6 miles from the Ghat we were made aware of the presence in our fort of a large number of the rebels, who opened fire upon us without our being able to do much in return owing to the heavy jungle. Our guns however soon got to work and the enemy retreated being followed up by the Mooltanee Cavalry who compelled them to abandon four guns. We then resumed our march and before crossing the Rewasun Nuddee found it necessary to dislodge the enemy from Amsote, where they had had a strong picket for some time past, which they reinforced on hearing of our approach. At Amsote, which is the regular halting place halfway between Nujeebabad and Kunkhul, we found a tent standing which had been recently occupied, as appeared by the papers in it, by Uhmudollah (Ahmad-ullah) Khan, the Nawab's nephew and late *Tehseeldar* of Nujeebabad and others of his family.

RETREAT FROM PATHARGARH FORT

4*th*—As it was highly inadvisable to encamp on ground so surrounded by jungle, we marched on until we came to open country at the jungle village of Bhagoowala about 16 miles from the Ghat and 8 from Nujeebabad. From this point we threatened both Nagul and Nujeebabad, but we were relieved from all anxiety regarding the former place by intelligence that

[1] Can be read as *Sheeohoowalie Ghat*; spelt perhaps for *Shishamwala ghat*. (See p. 399, F. N. 3).

this post so long held by the rebels had been deserted. Ordering the force, consisting of Major Smith's Troop of Horse Artillery and Wing of the 1st Punjab Cavalry to cross with the heavy guns and join us without delay, the General moved on the following morning (the 18th) towards Nujeebabad. On approaching the town we found the place deserted and pushing through it with a portion of the Cavalry we saw the enemy flying out of the Fort of Putthurghur where they abandoned 6 guns. One gun we found on the road between the town and the Fort and another in the house of the Nawab's nephew, Uhmudollah Khan. The whole of the force was now brought through the town and encamped on the open plain near the Fort, which the rebels had been doing their best to strengthen by digging a ditch round it and throwing up a curtain opposite the main entrance.

5*th*—Whilst encamped at Nujeebabad I had to regret the occurrence of constant fires. There is a great want of water near Nujeebabad and at this season some portion of the place is generally burnt down so that it is not to be wondered at that on an occasion such as this fires should break out. It is also by no means impossible that some of the many Hindoos who had suffered so fearfully from the Moosulmans, may have been glad of an opportunity to damage or destroy the place, but when so many men were in the town in search of plunder, fires might not unfairly be attributed to the latter circumstances alone. However that may be, a large portion of the place was burnt and it will be long before the loss which has resulted from the folly of their leaders will be forgotten.

JALALUDDIN AND SAAD-ULLAH KHAN EXECUTED

6*th*—Having ascertained that the Nawab's brother Julaloodeen (Jalal-uddin) Khan and his brother-in-law Sadollah Khan, *Moonsiff* of Umroha (Amroha) in the Mooradabad District, had fled to Kote Khadir, within 8 miles of Nujeebabad, I went on the 19th with a force, under command of Major Smith, to that place, but we found that these men and their followers had given themselves up before we could reach, to a party of the Mooltanee Horse. On the following day Julaloodeen was tried and convicted by Court Martial and together with Sadoollah Khan shot by order of General Jones on the 23rd instant.

BRITISHERS DEMOLISH DIWAN KHANA OF NAJIBABAD NAWAB

7*th*—As it was desirable that a distinct mark of the Government's displeasure should be left at the headquarters of the rebellion in this district it was determined to demolish the *Deewan Khana* (or Hall of Audience) at Nujeebabad and this was accordingly done on the 20th on which day also preparations were made for holding the Fort of Putthurghur with a Company of Seiks (Sikhs) aided by the Horse Artillery guns under Major Smith and the Wing of the Ist Punjab Cavalry under Captain Hughes. With such a place of refuge and such a support I was enabled to leave Mr. G. Palmer and to establish my *tehsil* and *thana* at Nujeebabad and the result has been most satisfactory, for by adopting conciliatory measures towards the main body of the rebel Moosulmans we have induced them to put faith in the terms of the Proclamation which I issued on entering the district by which I promised immunity to all such as, not being principals and not having been engaged in any distinct crime in connection with the rebellion, might now return to their peaceful avocations. I was anxious at the time regarding the success likely to attend the re-establishment of *tehsils* and *thanahs* until the district was fully in our possession, still I had no instructions then which would have altogether excused my running risk in the matter (the resolution of the Govt. dated the 13th instant not having reached me until yesterday). The officials would always have had the Fort to fly to and I am now glad to say that the *Kotwal* had been able to go into the jungles with 20 sowars and capture some of the Nawab's relatives without any opposition being shown and I hope soon to find that the bulk of the inhabitants have returned to the town and abandoned the miserable life which fear has led them to adopt. Had no force been left nothing would have induced me to place the *tehsil* and *thanah* officials in such a position of uncertainty.

BATTLE AT NAGINA

Having left my Joint Magistrate to carry out the necessary measures for the pacification of the neighbourhood of Nujeebabad, I left on the morning of the 21st with the main Column under General Jones for Nugeena (Nagina) at which place it was reported that the rebels, having been

joined by the whole of the large force of several thousand men, and some guns under the notorious outlaw March Khan, had collected with the intention of opposing our force. As we approached the canal, which is cut by the road about 2 miles from Nugeena, it was evident that the enemy were assembled in vast numbers, but we were allowed to cross the small bridge at that point unmolested and the enemy were very soon driven from their guns and scattered in all directions. The effect of this complete defeat was at once apparent and when we advanced on the following day to Dhampoor all the principal rebels, including the Nawab of Nujeebabad and his near relations, fled from the neighbourhood of the direct road to Mooradabad leaving that line perfectly clear. Under these circumstances at my recommendation our route was changed and we diverged on the 23rd to Noorpoor (Nurpur) which lies on the main road from Bijnour to Mooradabad District 31 miles from the latter and 23 from the former station: From this point Umroha (Amroha), Buchraon and other towns in the Mooradabad District in which the rebels were reported to have taken refuge, were in a measure threatened and our move had the effect of frightening them out of these places.

REPORTED ARRIVAL OF FIROZ SHAH IN MORADABAD

9*th*—As the next march of the Column would take it out of my district I determined to part company and make my way to Bijnour, and at first hoped that I should return with the escort which was to accompany the 15 guns taken at Nugeena, *but the news of the entrance of Feroz Shah into Mooradabad having reached us on that day*, the General did not deem it advisable to detach any part of his force. Fortunately the effect of the punishment had been so great and sudden that I felt I could fairly undertake to trust to my loyal Hindoos and I had, by permission of the General, the satisfaction of bringing the guns into Bijnour where of course they caused a considerable sensation.

10*th*—I reached Bijnour on the 25th instant, and the force under Captain Sage as per margin (given in foot-note)* which

* "Comy. Seikh Arty., 2-9 pr. guns, Meerutt Light Horse, Squadron Affghan Horse, 100 of the 7th Punjab Infy."—Marginal note in the Original.

had been stationed at Meeranpore in the Moozaffernuggur District watching the Daranuggur Ghat came across and joined me on the following day, the Mounted Police having marched into Bijnour the day previous.

BRITISHERS APPREHENSIVE OF RECURRENCE OF DISTURBANCES

11*th*—The fortunate concurrence of circumstances, which has throughout attended our re-entry into this district, has given such confidence to the loyal Hindoos that I have no reason to anticipate any return of the late misrule, but it will be of course necessary to be well on the lookout when the rebel troops at Bareilly scatter and the Moosulmans of this district, who have betaken themselves to that place, are set upon the move again. They will naturally feel deeply their altered fortunes and may possibly try and disturb the peace again, but the majority of the people must be so delighted to exchange the lately prevailing state of disorder for quiet and security that I do not believe anybody of insurgents could now be brought together by any false representations or hopes of success for I am doing my best to prove to them that our Government is prepared to recognize a wide difference between the men, who have been deluded and the principals, who have so well succeeded hitherto in persuading the Moosulmans that our intention was to destroy them one and all. However absurd it may appear to us, their opinion was most general that such was our determination and when the people found that their chiefs were able to prepare so many guns (27 have been actually taken in the district) and collect such large supplies of ammunition, it was scarcely to be wondered at that the low Moosulmans of the country should give themselves up to the delusion that they would be able to prevail against us. All that is now changed and they are not likely to be so misled again.

BIJNAUR LEADERS' RETREAT INTO HILLS

12*th*—On the 28th Major Smith with his 4 guns and Captain Hughes with his squadron of Cavalry marched into Bijnour having come round from Nujeebabad by Nugeena. Yesterday the 100 Seik (Sikh) Infantry under Captain Sage

went to Nujeebabad as it was necessary to satisfy ourselves regarding the state of the jungles in that neighbourhood; from a report just received from Mr. Palmer, I am assured that "there is no collection of a formidable kind in those jungles. The population have returned to their avocations, traffic is reopened along the hill road and if there are a few stragglers in the forest they are only a few *Shikarees* whom no troops could catch if they were to try, and who will be completely turned out in a few weeks by the rains. The chief men have gone not into jungles but into the hills." This state of things is very satisfactory and will enable the Infantry to leave Nujeebabad and go round so as to meet me at Nugeena or Dhampoor shortly.

ISMAIL KHAN AT HASANPUR

13*th*—I propose going to the south of the district with the available force under Major Smith as soon as possible so as to be ready to check the rebels should they desire to re-enter from the direction of Mooradabad. I heard yesterday from Mr. Inglis that Ismael Khan with 1,500 men was believed to be at Hussunpoor (Hasanpur) and coming along this side of the Ganges. I don't think it likely he will dare to enter this district but if he should we shall, I trust, prove more than a match for him.

14*th*—As it is of course important to keep up our communications towards Meerutt I am forming a bridge of boats at Daranuggur and hope to have it ready in a few days.

15*th*—Mr. G. Palmer, Joint Magistrate and Depy. Collr. (Deputy Collector) of the district, is doing his utmost to assist me in restoring order and I am fortunate in having valuable and true men in the Deputy Collr. (Collector) Mohd. Rehmut Khan, the *Sud.* (*Sudder*) *Ameen*, Syud Uhmad Khan[1] and Toorabali *Tehsildar* in whose favor I shall soon make a report to Govt.

16*th*—I have not thought it necessary to send on the present occasion the weekly return of revenue collections required by your letter under reply. It is sufficient to say that the loyal

[1] 'Saiyid Ahmad Khan' afterwards 'Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan'—Founder of M. A. O. College at Aligarh.

landholders are ready to pay to the best of their ability, but having most of them being absent for (*sic*,-from) their properties for months past and lost in many cases everything they were possessed of, some delay must necessarily occur before they can realize money sufficient to liquidate the Government demand on account of the present *Rubbee* harvest. With regard to this I have given them to understand that no excuses can be listened to, whatever may be decided in respect to payment on account of the last *Khureef* and the *Rubbee* of 1857/8.

17*th*—I trust this summary of events may be deemed satisfactory and that, if it is not so full as it might be, regard may be had to the peculiar circumstanc s in which I am placed, with work of all kinds on my hands and my Joint Magistrate (the only other European Civil Officer attached to the district) at a distance.

18*th*—I beg to annex copy in circular of the notification which, in the absence of instructions from Government, I thought it advisable to issue on re-entering this district.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT BAREILLY REINFORCED

....The communication into Bareilly is open, and the enemy receives reinforcements and stores day by day, his strength is estimated at 10,000 men.....[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES' MARCH UNDER MAULVI AHMADULLAH SHAH TOWARDS SHAHJAHANPUR

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

....Arriving at Lucknow we were engaged by the British who retreated a little and halted at a few hundred yards. Joining with the other force at Lucknow we advanced towards the British Camp and an action took place. Our Cavalry

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 2, Serial No. 1: "Reoccupation of Bijnaur and arrangements made by the Collector"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 1, 1858, p. 411. National Library, Calcutta.

was charged and fought boldly and thus retreating came to the river Gomtee and thence retired into the city. The British following us and opening a heavy fire, we took flight from the city. Moulvee Ahmed-oollah Shah commonly known in the rebellion as the 'Moulvie' with 2,000 (two thousand) troops remained in the Aisbagh (Aishbagh). The rest of the troops retreated to Moosabagh where Ahmed-oollah Shah with 1,000 (one thousand) men and 6 guns arrived. Going back to Aisbagh they fought there the whole day. In the evening Ahmed-oollah Shah leaving his troops there went alone to *Khanqah* in the city. The following morning the action was resumed and the same evening Ahmed-oollah Shah with his force took flight towards Baree 12 or 13 *koss* from Lucknow. He remained there for 8 days. The British troops came to Baree, an action took place and lasted till evening. We were defeated and reached Muhomdee where we halted for 5 days, went to Shahajapoor[1], fought with the British who retreated. Some European soldiers went into the jail and opened fire on us. We then surrounded the jail for 6 or 7 days and the action continued. On the approach of another British force we advanced for two miles and fought with them. Retreating back as far as the city we took flight. Effecting a junction after 4 or 5 days we again marched on Shahajapoor and fought with the British on which occasion we captured two guns but they were recaptured by the British and we took flight. Since that (then) we had several encounters but I do not remember the names of places.[2]

MAULVI AHMAD ULLAH SHAH AT SHAHJAHANPUR

Telegraphic Message from H. Vansittart to G. F. Edmonstone, dated Futtehghur (Fatehgarh), 29th April 1858.

The Moulvie with some regiments offers battle at Shahajanpore.[3]

[1] Spelt for *Shahjahanpur*.
[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th Decr. 1859, Part II, No. 1491; Cons. No. 313. National Archives, New Delhi.
[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th May 1858, No. 544. National Archives, New Delhi.

BRITISH FORCES AT KANTH

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 1st May 1858.

On the twenty-nine (April) the British force had reached Kant (Kanth) one march from Shajehanpore without opposition and the small rebel force said to be at Shajehanpore was expected to vacate it in course of the day. Brigadier Penny was at Neolee[1] on the left bank of the Ganges on the twenty-eight and the *zemindars* had already brought in some of Khan Bahadoor Khan's men. It is expected that the district of Budaon would be entirely in our possession in the course of two or three days.[2]

SHAHJAHANPUR OCCUPIED BY BRITISH FORCES

DEATH OF NIZAM ALI KHAN AND DAULAT RAO BAKHSHI

The Commander-in-Chief having joined General Walpole's Column moved against Shahjehanpore, no opposition was experienced, the enemy in this quarter have been probably dispirited by the death of two of their principal leaders, Nizam Ally Khan and Dowlut Rao Bukshe (Daulat Rao Bakhshi), who it appears both fell at the battle of Allahgunge (Allahganj).

JALALABAD TAHSILDAR EXECUTED

On the 1st of May, Shahjehanpore was occupied when it was found that the beautiful new church had been wantonly destroyed only two days before we entered the place. The Hindoo population are active in giving assistance to our troops and loudly profess their loyalty. The rebel *Tehsildar* of Jellalabad surrendered himself at that place, but his papers

[1] Apparently *Nauli*, Pargana and Tahsil *Chhibramau*, District *Farrukhabad*—This village lies 16 miles due south of Fatehgarh, on the right bank of the Kali Nadi, in 27° 3′ N. and 79° 40′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 238).

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

having fallen into our hands, he was convicted on full evidence of treason and many cruelties, and executed to the great delight of the people. On the 2nd of May, H. E. (His Excellency) the Commander-in-Chief marched for Bareilly.[1]

MAULVI AHMAD ULLAH SHAH SWOOPS DOWN ON SHAHJAHANPUR

....In the meanwhile the station of Shahjehanpore had been seriously threatened, the Commander-in-Chief having marched on the 2nd. On the following day the Moulvie so infamous at Lucknow came down suddenly on the place, from Mohumdee (Muhamdi)[2] with a force estimated at from 8,000 to 12,000 men, mostly Cavalry, an outlying picquet of De Kantzow's Horse was dispersed and several of them cut up, while the week garrison was compelled to retire into the jail, which had been partially dismantled, with a view to erecting more scientific fortifications on its site. Fortunately they were enabled to withdraw with no loss beyond that mentioned, though the enemy plundered the town and massacred many natives supposed to be well affected towards us. The garrison were well provisioned and held out, at the close of the week under review having repulsed the sole attack made by the enemy with heavy loss, and without any casualties among themselves. On the occupation of Bareilly a large Brigade under Brigadier John Jones was at once sent to their relief.

Budaon (Badaun) is still unoccupied and contains various wandering parties of the rebels who, however, are anxious for little save escape. Meanwhile they plunder and create much disorganization.[3]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Shahjahanpur District for the week ending 2nd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Muhamdi*, Pargana and Tahsil *Muhamdi*, District *Kheri*—The headquarters of the tahsil are located in a small town on the road from Lakhimpur to Shahjahanpur, situated in latitude 27° 57′ north and 80° 12′ east, at a distance of some 36 miles west of Lakhimpur and 20 miles from Shahjahanpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Kheri, 1905, p. 218).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 9th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

NANA IN ROHILKHAND BEFORE BAREILLY'S FALL

NANA 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[1] left the bank of the Ganges, and has gone north-west towards Rohilcund. There has been a victory over the Bareilly force at Haldawanee. Head-quarters camp still at Cawnpore.[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated 4th March 1858.

The Nana Saheb is said to have escaped into Rohilkund, and his brother has gone towards Culpee (Kalpi).[3]

NANA AT BIRRA

Telegraphic Message from Ross to Muir, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), February 20, 1858.

Salute fired across the river in honor of Khan Allie Khan on his way to Palee (Pali)[4]. Hurdeo Bux (Hardev Bakhsh) writes that the Nana is still at Birra. Rebels situated much the same across the river.[5]

* * *

[1] 'he' is superfluous.
[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 26 in No. 6, p. 108.
[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 4th March 1858, p. 68. National Library, Calcutta.
[4] *Pali*, Pargana *Pali*, Tahsil *Shahabad*, District *Hardoi*—The chief town of the pargana lies in latitude 27° 32′ north and longitude 79° 51′ east, being situated on the right bank of the river Garra on the route from Fategarh to Sitapur, at a distance of ten miles south-west from Shahabad, 20 miles north-west from Hardoi, 18 miles north from Sandi and 23 miles from Fatehgarh. (*District Gazetteers*, Hardoi, 1904, p. 232).
[5] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 34 in No. 6, p. 110.

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, March 5, 1858.

Futtyghur—The Nana was reported to be still at Birra on the 20th February, and the situation of the rebels much the same across the river.[1]

NANA AT SHAHJAHANPUR

The Nana after moving about on the frontiers of Oude and Rohilkund is now believed to have proceeded to Shahjehanpore *en route* to Bareilly.[2]

* * *

Extract from the Narrative of Events.

.....Information from a reliable source was brought on the 11th March, that the Nana had arrived with 300 or 400 men, Horse and Foot, at Shajehanpore, and was on his way to Bareilly. The enemy had recrossed the Ganges on the 4th March.[3]

* * *

Extract from Letter No. 21 of 1858 from G. P. Money, Magistrate and Collector of Shahjehanpoor (Shahjahanpur), to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand), dated 9th September 1858.

Para 52—When our troops got possession of Futtehgurh, the Nuwab of Furrukhabad, together with Feroz Shah and Ishmaeel (Ismail) Khan, came to Shahjehanpoor with a small force, and remained with the Nuwab for a few days, and then proceeded to Barreilly.

Para 53—About the time of the capture of Lucknow, the rebel Nana Rao Doondee Punt (Dhondu Pant) arrived, and had with him a force of about 500 Cavalry and some

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 6, p. 101.
[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure in No. 7, p. 113.

Infantry, and remained some ten days encamped in the mango grove near the Church. He was accompanied by Ushruff Ulee[1] (brother of Mohomud Ishak, formerly a *Thanahdar* in the Cawnpoor District and who joined Tanteea Topee) and also by Baba Bhutt, his chief personal attendant. From here the Nana went to Barreilly and joined Khan Buhadur Khan.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events, dated March 18, 1858.

Futtyghur—On the 15th of March the Nana was still at Shahjehanpore, and the more important of the rebels were with him. The enemy had also again entered the district, attacked Kumpil[3], and driven off the *thanna* people. General Penny was close at hand.[4]

NANA EN-ROUTE TO BAREILLY

A native correspondent of the *Delhi Gazette*, dating his letter the 16th instant (March 1858), from Moradabad states, that the Nana was five *koss* to the eastward of Bareilly. The houses of the people living there had been taken forcible possession of, for the accommodation of himself and his gang of scoundrels; and a certain worthy named Khan Bahadoor Khan was taking houses at Bareilly for his use. We shall not, we think, be much longer in doubt as to the whereabouts of the miscreant, if he remain above ground.[5]

NANA AT ALIGANJ (DISTRICT BAREILLY)

Narrative of Events, dated March, 1858.

Futtyghur—On the 18th March the rebels crossed the

[1] Spelt for 'Ashraf Ali'.

[2] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Shahjahanpur District*, p. 8.

[3] *Kampil*, Pargana *Kampil*, Tahsil *Kaimganj*, District *Farrukhabad*—This, the chief village of the pargana to which it gives its name, stands on the old cliff of the Ganges, 28 miles north-west of Fatehgarh, in 27° 39′ N. and 79° 20′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 215).

[4] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 8, p. 115).

[5] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, March 26, 1858, p. 290. National Library, Calcutta.

Ramgunga in great force, with four guns; they retired, however, to Baugaon[1]. Their bridge is finished across the Ramgunga. On the 19th instant our Column at Meeran-ke-Serai[2] was called in. Authentic information had been received that the Nana was at Allygunge[3]. At Simirree[4] the rebels remain in the same force as before.[5]

NANA'S INTERVIEW WITH KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 28th March 1858.

....The Officer Commanding at Allyghur (Aligarh), reports on the 27th March as follows: Three or four thousand rebels with five guns at Kutchla. Nyaz Mahomed (Niaz Muhammad) with five thousand men and five guns at Sahurswan[6], Raheem Allee (Rahim Ali) with a large force at Chowrasee, Ganges fordable in many places. The Nana arrived near Bareilly with five hundred men and had an interview with Khan Bahadoor Khan whose protection he asked.[7] And it is said Khan Bahadoor has given him the command of his army which he is to lead to Kutchla Ghat to fight the British

[1] Spelt as *Bangaon* on page 126 of Further Papers (No. 8), 1858, Inclosure 43 in No. 9. May have been spelt for *Baugaon* (*Bhogaon*) in *Mainpuri* District, if *Bangaon* in District *Shahjahanpur* is not meant here.

[2] Spelt as '*Murno-ka-Sarai*' on page 126 of Further Papers (No. 8), 1858, Inclosure 43 in No. 9, But '*Meeran-Ke-Sarai*' appears correct.

[3] *Aliganj*, Pargana *Saneha*, Tahsil *Aonla*, District *Bareilly*—The village of Haidarnagar, better known as Aliganj from the market built by or named in honour of Ali Muhammad Khan, stands on the road from Bareilly to Aonla in 28° 20′ N. and 79° 15′ E., some two miles beyond Gaini and seven miles north-east from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 186).

[4] *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).

[5] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 9, p. 116. *cf. Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. IV, p. 826.

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[7] *cf.* p. 391 of this book (line 5).

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[6] Appears wrongly received for '*Sahaswan*'.
[7] *cf.* p. 391 of this book (line 5).

two days hence. This intelligence is sent for your information (and) is not to be given to the papers.[1]

ARRANGEMENTS FOR NANA AT BAREILLY

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 2nd April 1858.

. . . .*From Bundlekund 28th March*—On the 23rd there were at Bareilly four hundred (*sic*,-thousand[2]) men and six guns, of these two hundred Horse and four hundred Foot form Khan Bahadoor's body guard, remainder occupy the town. *The Nana (it) is said had not joined but the Govt. College was being prepared for him.* He had reached Shajehanpore with his family, two hundred Foot and one gun, and gave out his intention to return into Oude. Other reports state that the Nana has reached Bareilly; the rebel force against Nany Tall (Naini Tal) has fallen back, a fight has been reported in which the Malaghur (Malagarh) Chief was killed, this requires confirmation. It has been reported from Futteygurh under date the first April that the rebels are crossing at Bichpore Ghat[3] half way between Furruckabad and Shumshabad (Shamsabad)[4]. Wulledad Khan is said to have joined them at Mhow[5] opposite Bichpore. . . . .[6]

NANA REACHES BAREILLY

There can be but little doubt that the Nana has been during the week at Bareilly and Shahjehanpore; but it is said has, after leaving his family at the former place, gone westward to join Mohsun Ali Khan, at Allagunge[7].

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
cf. Further Papers (No. 8), Inclosure 1 in No. 11, p. 130. (pp. 390-391 of this book).

[2] See p. 389 of this book, also.

[3] Apparently *Bichpuria Ghat* on Ramganga River.

[4] *Shamsabad*, Pargana *Shamsabad West*, Tahsil *Kaimganj*, District *Farrukhabad*—This town, whose name is often mispronounced Shamshabad, stands on the old cliff of the Ganges, 18 miles north-west of Fatehgarh, 27° 32′ N. and 79° 28′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 255).

[5] *cf.* Further Papers (No. 8), Inclosure 1 in No. 12, p. 136. (See Chap. VIII).

[6] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[7] Perhaps *Allahganj* in *Farrukhabad* District.

No other news of importance has transpired, though warlike preparations on an extensive scale are still reported. 500 Rupees and two villages have been offered for the head of Dara Sing, the loyal *zemindar* of Oorhel, who repulsed the party which crossed at Kuchla Ghat, as mentioned in last week's narrative. A person suspected of corresponding with the British, is said to have been blown away from a gun at Bareilly.

The arrival of a great General and troops from the eastward at Bareilly is rumoured throughout Western Rohilkund; this probably alludes either to the arrival of the Nana or that of some of the fugitives from Lucknow.

FORCE UNDER FAZAL HAQ AT BAHERI

The forces under Fazl Huk, are said to be entrenching themselves at Buheree (Baheri).

Native rumours also describe the rebels as destroying their records, and preparing false ones purposely to embroil with us persons loyally disposed.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 28th March 1858.

The concurrent testimony of many trustworthy informers leaves little doubt that the Nana arrived at Bareilly via Shahjehanpore about the middle of the month. He was accompanied by his family and property, and was received with much cordiality by Khan Bahadoor, who it is even said, has offered him the Supreme Command of the rebel forces in Rohilcund.[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated April 15, 1858.

The Delhi Gazette has received "reliable" information that

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for the Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (See p. 429, also).

Nana Sahib reached Bareilly on the 24th of March. He had with him four hundred Horse and Foot, his treasure and family. The leader of the Rohilcund (Rohilkhand) rebels Khan Bahadoor is not expected to live, he is dangerously ill, a fact which accounts for the inactivity of his troops, and for the presence of the Nana. Sixty-three persons were killed at Bareilly in the recent explosion of the powder magazine at that town.[1]

* * *

Bulletin dated 2nd April 1858.

KHAN BAHADUR INDISPOSED

Bareilly—On 24th March the powder magazine of Khan Bahadur Khan blew up killing 63 persons. Khan Bahadur is laid up with fever and asthma, and is dangerously ill.

The Nana reached Bareilly on the 24th idem with 14 hackeries of his family and effects and 500 Horse and Foot. He is domiciled in the house of Lekhraj[2].

The northern wall of the jail was mined and thrown down by Khan Bahadur's orders on 22nd March. The Nainee Tal force is on the banks of the Deoha, 6 *coss* from Pilleebheet. Sultan-gunje[3] and Rampoora, which harboured the rebels, had been given over to plunder by that force.

Kutchla Ghat—Force as before. The force at Suheswan has in part been detached to Oojainee (Ujhani).[4]

* * *

Extract from 'The Dacca News', dated April 24, 1858.

The following telegram from Agra has been communicated to the Punjab Press by Sir John Lawrence :—

From Bareilly—"The Nana arrived at Bareilly with 400 Horse and Foot and fourteen hackeries, and his family, on 24th

[1] *The Friend of India*, April 15, 1858, p. 344. National Library, Calcutta. (See pp. 389-390 also).
[2] Given as 'Lekhrai' elswhere. (See p. 389).
[3] Name not clearly decipherable.
[4] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

March, he is in the house of Suraj[1]. The explosion of Khan Bahadoor Khan's powder magazine is confirmed, 63 persons were killed : Khan Bahadoor is ill with fever. The evacuation of Phillibheet (Pilibhit) by the rebels is confirmed.[2]

NANA IN CRITICAL FINANCIAL POSITION

A correspondent writes from Futtehgurh:

"....The Nana, too, who has passed on towards Bareilly, is said to be hard pressed for money and the rebel Generals are all quarrelling amongst themselves.

The rumour gathers strength that, on the first advance of English troops, the main body of rebels will abandon Bareilly, and moving down towards the Ganges try, by crossing over at some point, for southern India or Bundelkund....."

"The population of Thakoors is well disposed nor is there any great chance of any local disturbances now that the conspirators know that the struggle for Empire is closed; on the contrary the tone is good and there would be no difficulty in raising several thousand Thakoors....."[3]

TOP LEADERS EXCLUDED FROM THE BENEFITS OF THE PROCLAMATION

News dated Monday, the 5th April 1858.

The Nawabs of Furrukabad and Banda, Tej Sing of Mynpooree (Mainpuri), Khan Bahadoor Khan of Bareilly and Waleedad Khan have been excluded from the benefit of the Proclamation offering a reward of a lac of rupees and pardon to any rebel delivering up Nana Saheb.[4]

* * *

[1] This name has been given as 'Lekhraj' (Vide—Original of Daily Bulletin, dated April 2, 1858, issued by E. A. Reade. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow). (See p. 432 and also pp. 389-390)
[2] *The Dacca News*, April 24, 1858, p. 205. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, April 17, 1858, p. 364. National Library, Calcutta.
[4] *The Hindoo Patriot*, April 8, 1858, p. 106. National Library, Calcutta.

British Proclamation dated 18th March 1858.

"*Proclamation*"—It is hereby notified that the Nawab of Furrukhabad, the Nawab of Banda, Tej Sing, the Rebel Rajah of Mynpoorie, 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, 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]

NANA'S ATTEMPT TO BAN COW SLAUGHTER

Bulletin dated 12th April 1858.

Meerut 8th—States that the Nana Saheb at Bareilly has interfered about killing of kine.[2] He gives out one day that he is going to Haldwanee towards Nynee Tal, and the next that he shall come to Kutchla Ghat.[3] He is said to get 250 Rs. a day from Khan Bahadur Khan. The same letter reports numerous fugitives from Oude into Shajehanpoor. Proclamation has been made that the capture of Lucknow by the British is false.[4]

INTENTION TO ATTACK RAMPUR

Bulletin dated 13th April 1858.

Meerut 11th—Letters from Bareilly and Rampoor report that Khan Bahadur Khan had decided all grain to be stopped in crossing the Ganges. Feroze Shah Shazadah, with Mirza Kochak with 3 (300) or 400 followers had reached Bareilly from Lucknow. The Nana Sahib was with his followers in the Government College, but sees no one but possesses

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, April 15, 1858, p. 356. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] See p. 400, line 13 of this book, also.
[3] See p. 399 heading 'Whereabouts of Nana unknown to the British'.
[4] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

intention to attack Rampoor. Nawaub of Rampoor had called on all his disciples to support him. The Thakoors of Dhatiagunge[1] had rebelled and burnt out the offices of Khan Bahadur. The Begum of Lucknow had sent him a letter to say that Lucknow had been recovered from the English on which a salute was fired. He had ordered entrenchments near the lunatic prison. Some Seikhs (Sikhs) who had come to Bareilly were required to give up their arms. Some consented others refused. Another Shazadah named Korsheyd (Khurshed) Tilluk had also reached Bareilly.[2]

BAREILLY CITY UNDER NANA'S MANAGEMENT

Bulletin dated 16th April 1858.

Aligarh 14th—The latest news at Alygurh from Bareilly is—The Nana has undertaken to manage the city, and has liberated many prisoners. He keeps Darogah Moolchund as a hostage. Thousands are coming from Lucknow to Bareilly, and thence proceeding to Rampoor. Nana Rao has got 10,000 Rs. from Khan Bahadur Khan for the expenses of an expedition against Futtehgurh.[3]

NANA SUPREME AT BAREILLY

Bulletin dated 18th April 1858.

Intelligence from Bareilly during the first week in April represents the Nana as taking the lead in all matters[4] and Khan Bahadur submitting. But the Mahommedans have taken offence at the Nana's shutting up a *Musjeed* (*Masjid*) and there were already dissensions.[5]

* * *

[1] May have been spelt for *Dataganj* in *Badaun* District.
[2] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] See p. 400 of this book: heading, 'Nana in strong position at Bareilly'.
[5] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Bulletin dated 21st April 1858.

Sooltanpoor, Meerut District, 19th—Messengers returning from Bareilly report that the Nana has a complete ascendancy over Khan Bahadoor Khan. He has enlisted the Seiks (Sikhs) who came for service, and replaced some of Khan Bahadur's rabble by mutineer soldiers from Lucknow. The cannon have been mustered, 40 pieces and 10,000 maunds of gun powder.

Nana Sahib gives out that his brother Bala Rao is at Gonda in the Bairraitch (Bahraich) Elaka, and has got Jung Bahadur over to his side, and intends to make an attack on Lucknow. This big talking is supported by certain charms buried at 4 corners of the town of Bareilly with due ceremony which will make it impregnable. It ekes[1] out that Tantia Topee has sent for reinforcement.[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated April 29, 1858.

Another and a more detailed account is as follows :—In Rohilkund the rebels are also feeling the pressure from the force above. The Nanah (Nana) is represented to be lording it over the Rohillah Chief. He has prevented bovicide and the reins of affairs are in his hands.[3]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated April 29, 1858.

....The Nana is said to be in command at Bareilly, but we are suspicious of the statement, as the Mussulman feeling in Bareilly has always been marked. It is more probable that he will try to join his brother who with nearly twelve thousand men lies at Culpee (Kalpi) threatening the passage of Sir Hugh Rose.[4]

* * *

[1] The word is not clearly legible in the Original.

[2] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (See p. 400, also).

[3] *The Hindoo Patriot,* April 29, 1858, p. 132. National Library, Calcutta.

[4] *The Friend of India,* April 29, 1858, p. 389. National Library, Calcutta.

News dated Thursday, April 29, 1858.

The Delhi Gazette says that Nana Sahib now exercised supreme control at Bareilly. He is reported to have dismissed a great number of Khan Bahadoor's worthless troops, and replaced them by fugitives from Lucknow[1]. The late Sub-Assistant Surgeon of Agra, Wuzeer Khan superintends the cannon foundry at Bareilly. According to other reports the Nana has not been well received at Bareilly, and has been compelled to disarm some of his guard.[2]

NANA SAID TO BE IN BADAUN DISTRICT—HIS SECRET MOVEMENTS

Telegraphic Message from Collector, Allyghar (Aligarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 19th April 1858.

The Nana is said to have come to Buddaon (Budaun).[3]

NANA AT BISAULI FORT

Bulletin dated 24th April 1858.

Soron 21st—A scout who had been sent into *Budaon returning reports that the Nana had not come to Budaon.* He reports that Baboo Ram Narayan *Vakeel* of Chundosee (Chandausi) in Mooradabad had come with the title of Colonel, conferred by Khan Bahadur, to Sahuswan (Sahaswan) with 200 Horse; reports the rebel force at Kutchla Ghat to be 1500 with 2 guns.

Khassgunge[4] *22nd*—The spy sent from hence to Budaon reports the Nana to be at Bissowlee between Aonla and Budaon busy in repairing a fort. He had mounted 4 guns on it.[5]

* * *

[1] *cf.* Daily Bulletin dated 21st April 1858 issued by E. A. Reade. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (p.436).

[2] *The Friend of India,* May 6, 1858, p. 414. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Spelt for *Kasganj* in *Etah* District.

[5] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Bulletin dated 25th April 1858.

Soron, April 22nd—Gives account of the fort of Bissowlee, a mile distant from the village of that name in Budaon. The Nana has 200 Horse and Foot superintending the repairs of the fort.

From a scout who left Bareilly on the 16th instant the following particulars have been obtained :—The Nana had got 50,000 Rs. out of Khan Bahadur and has assumed authority to interfere with the butchers, 9 of whom it is said have been killed by him. The Shazadah Feroze Shah (Shahzada Firoz Shah) is stated to be in no way influential, he has 200 Punjaubee Mussulman Horse, and about 200 others with him. The Nana has the remains of two regiments who fought at Bithoor, 500 Horse and 4 guns, other particulars of no interest.[1]

CAVALRY UNDER NANA TO CROSS THE GANGES

Telegraphic Message from Vansittart to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), April 25, 1858.

A positive report that a large body of Cavalry, with the Nana, has moved down to the Ganges, and will cross on or about the spot which I have named to you, and I am disposed to trust this report.[2]

[1] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 17 in No. 14, p. 151.

CHAPTER SIX

LAST ENCOUNTER

KHAN BAHADUR'S ORDER OF THE DAY

Sir Colin showed me a sort of general order emanating from old Khan Bahadoor Khan of Bareilly in Rohilcund, which bears marks of sagacity, and points out the most formidable war we could encounter—a genuine guerilla. He says, "*Do not attempt to meet the regular Columns of the infidels, because they are superior to you in discipline and bunderbust*[1], *and have big guns, but watch their movements, guard all the ghauts (ghats) on the rivers, intercept their communications, stop their supplies, cut up their daks and posts, and keep constantly hanging about their camps, give them no rest.*"....[2]

NANA AT MUHAMDI, KHAN BAHADUR AT PILIBHIT

Nana Saheb is said to have been in the early part of this month at Mohomdie and Khan Bahadoor Khan somewhere in the direction of Pillebheet.[3]

MORADABAD MADE OVER TO RAMPUR NAWAB TO BE ADMINISTERED

Letter No. 88 *from R. H. Dunlop, Offg. Magistrate of Moradabad, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, Moradabad Magistracy, the* 18*th November* 1858.

ENCOUNTER BETWEEN FIROZ SHAH AND RAMPUR FORCE

April 24—A fight took place between Feroze Shah and the Nawab's force from Rampore. He encountered it on the strength of aid promised to him by the town's people, but fled from Moradabad on hearing of the arrival of General Jones's Column at Noorpore.

[1] This appears to have been spelt for 'Bandobast' (Management).
[2] Russell, W. H. : *My Diary In India*, p. 162.
[3] *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, May 31, 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.

MAJJOO KHAN APPREHENDED AND SHOT DEAD

April 25—At 6 A. M. General Jones arrived with his Column at Moradabad. At 10 A. M. Mujjoo's house was surrounded by a party under the guidance of Willayet Hossein Khan. He was apprehended with his colleagues (who resisted the captors) after a protracted search, and was shot at 5 P. M.

April 30—The Commissioner, in company with the Nawab of Rampore, arrived at Moradabad.

May 1*st*—Town of Moradabad illuminated on account of the restoration of Government authority.

May 2*nd*—District of Moradabad made over to the Nawab of Rampore, and the Column marched on to Bareilly.[1]

SHAHJAHANPUR ATTACKED FROM MUHAMDI SIDE

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoory (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 6th May 1858.

Lindsay writes that Shahjehanpore which was held by us with five Companys (Companies) and Dakanzo's[2] Horse was attacked on the third from Mohumdee. We were forced to retreat to the jail. Communication with the Chief[3] cut off.[4]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 7th May 1858.

From various messages which have been received from Futtyghur (Fatehgarh) it would appear that after the force under Sir Colin Campbell had left Shajahanpore a strong band of rebels from Mahomadee in Oude made an attack on the few troops that had been assigned for the protection of the station, surprised and cut off the picquet of De Kantzow's Horse and destroyed many of them. The rebels are reported to have plundered the city of Shajahanpore and to have

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, p. 3.
[2] Appears to have been wrongly received for 'De Kantzow'.
[3] Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell.
[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

massacred many of the inhabitants and to be in possession of the fort which is an old dilapidated building on the outskirts of the city. The rebel patrols are on the river and communication is difficult and dangerous. The Magistrate states in his message of yesterday that not one of the twenty first sent out had returned. The Commander-in-Chief was at Furreedpore (Faridpur) near Bareilly on the 4th instant.[1]

SHAHJAHANPUR AND BADAUN OCCUPIED

Letter No. 130 *from R. Spankie, Magistrate, Saharanpur, to F. Williams, Commissioner, 1st Dn. Meerut, dated 5th May* 1858.

I have the honor to state that nothing of interest is reported from the *thannahs* or *ghauts*.

2*nd*—There is a strong report here that Shahjehanpore and Budaon have been occupied.

3*rd*—The number of arms taken in this district up to date amounts to 54058 of all sorts.[2]

SAHASWAN REOCCUPIED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Bulletin dated 8th May 1858.

Etah 6th May—Mr. Daniell reports that 100 men from the rebels have reoccupied Suhuswan, and that a force is said to have come near to Budaon from Bareilly. The river is not fordable. This is the only obstacle to the enemy invading the Dooab.[3]

THREE-PRONGED MOVE BY THE BRITISH ON BAREILLY

The Rohilcund despatches display a slight improvement. They have been published only ten days after the date they bear. Allowing four days for their transmission from Bareilly, they have been secreted only one week. Though strangely

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] Saharanpur Collectorate Pre-Mutiny Records, May 1856—October 1858, Judicial, Letters issued to the Commissioner, Book No. 233, p. 259. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
[3] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

deficient in details they confirm on all essential points the information already before the public. Indeed, they seem almost to offer a reproach to those who complain of the meagre character of all recent news. The details in our columns and those of the *Delhi Gazette* have been at least as ample as any which have reached the Government.

FIROZ SHAH'S RETREAT UPON BAREILLY

The plan of the Commander-in-Chief, it seems clear, was to reach Bareilly by three converging lines. The first or Northern was traversed by Brigadier John Jones—we think there be five Joneses in the field—who advanced on the 23rd April to Moradabad, through a district the people of which manifested some friendliness to our cause. The city was evacuated on the 27th, Feroze Shah, the Shahzada in command retreating with his troops upon Bareilly. A Deputy Collector named Wilayut Khan informed the General that the leaders were still concealed, and the search was entrusted to Major Coke. Posting some Light Horse so as to command every outlet he searched the city, and ordered Lieutenant Angelo to enter the quarter supposed to be occupied by the Nawab.

This officer having burst open the door of the room in which the Nawab and his sons were concealed, and having captured them, was fired on by the Guard of the Nawab, who were in a room on an upper story, commanding the house in which the Nawab was concealed. Lieutenant Angelo rushed up the narrow stairs leading to this room, burst open the door, and single handed entered the room, shot three men with his revolver, and on being joined by some of his men, captured the rest of the Guard.

Twenty other leaders of note were captured, and the victory on this most essential point was, for the first time in the campaign, complete. Hitherto every leader of mark, triumphant or defeated, has uniformly escaped. From this date little light is thrown on the movements of the Column. The Brigadier's despatch is suppressed, and though warmly praised, he is supposed to have somewhat exceeded his instructions. Indeed there is a story widely believed that he traversed Bareilly contrary to orders, and after his meeting with Sir Colin vowed like the Sergeant in the Chinese war that "he

would never take a fort again, single [redacted] ng as he lived." At all events on 5th May he [redacted] areilly.

The second or Western line was [redacted] Brigadier Penny, who reached Oosait (Usaith or Usehat) in Budaon on the 29th April. Here he was blinded by false intelligence which caused him "to neglect some common military precautions." The Cavalry were sent forward too far in advance, while the advance guard was held back immediately in front of the Artillery, and the Major General with his staff rode on in front. As they approached Kukerowlee[1] Horsemen were seen, but they were supposed to be our own, and it was not till the enemy's guns opened on them at forty yards, while the enemy's Cavalry charged down, that the ambuscade was perceived. General Penny and three of his staff fell at the first discharge. The British Artillery was useless in the imperfect light, and it was necessary to charge with Cavalry. The enemy retreated on the town, which was shelled and fired, and the Column under the command of Colonel Richmond Jones joined the Commander-in-Chief on the place and day appointed.

The third or Southern line was cleared by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin, after the arrival of General Penny's brigade advancing on Shahjehanpore. The town was evacuated, and the Chief leaving a small garrison pushed on to Bareilly. He was aware, he says that the garrison would be annoyed, but it was left because it would be impolitic to leave the district of that name without evidence of our presence.[2]

RAMPUR OCCUPIED BY FIROZ SHAH

REVOLUTIONARIES MUSTER STRONG AT BAREILLY

A friend writes from Agra : "The Nanajee as you are pleased to call him is thinking of crossing over from Bareilly with his family into the Doab at a point on the left bank of the

[1] Apparently *Kakrauli*, Pargana *Bhukarheri*, Tahsil *Jansath*, District *Muzaffarnagar*—A large village in the extreme south of the pargana, about five miles to the north-east of Jansath. To the west of the village runs the left main distributary of the Ganges Canal, which is crossed about two miles to the north by the road from Muzaffarnagar to Jauli and Bijnour. (*District Gazetteers*, Muzaffarnagar, Vol. III, 1903, p. 276). This may be spelt for *Kakrala* in *Badaun* District, also, (pp. 446, 468, 499).

[2] *The Friend of India*, 27th May 1858, p. 481. National Library, Calcutta.

Ganges known as the Sheorajpore Ghaut[1]. The rebel force in Bareilly is estimated at 1,00,000 strong, and is provided with 70 or 72 guns of sizes. This horde is under the leadership of Feroz Shah, son of the Ex-King of Delhi, Khan Bahadoor Khan, Nabob (Nawab) of Kuttheir (Katihar)[2], and the Nanah. The two former are determined to show fight to the C.-in-C.'s (Commander-in-Chief) force, but the latter is watching for an opportunity to escape. The Shahzadah[3] lately marched with a Brigade to Rampore, compelled the loyal Nabob to fly to Nynetal (Naini Tal), and took possession of his territory in the name of the Prophet. Some of the Bareilly rebels are flying to the north. The British garrison in Shajehanpore is besieged by 8,000 rebels with 12 guns and the C.-in-C. is said to be returning from his Rohilkund expedition to Furruckabad for want of provisions. This surely indicates bad management and offers another hopeful season to the Bareilly scamps."[4]

NANA'S MORCHA AT FARIDPUR

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoory (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 6th May 1858.

I have heard from a reliable source that Penny's Column has cut off from Kukralah[5] to Futtygunge (Fatehganj) or Kuthra so as to join the C. I. C. (Commander-in-Chief). The Nana is said to have his "*moorcha*' at Fureedpore[6] (Faridpur).[7]

[1] Appears spelt for *Surajpur Ghat.*
[2] Old name of *Rohilkhand.*
[3] Referring to 'Firoz Shah Shahzada'.
[4] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 20th May 1858, p. 155. National Library, Calcutta.
[5] Apparently *Kakrala*, Pargana *Usehat*, Tahsil *Dataganj*, District Budaun—This small town is the principal place in the pargana, and lies in 27° 53′ N. and 79° 12′ E., on the road from Budaun to Usehat and Farrukhabad, at a distance of 11 miles south-east from the district headquarters, and some two miles east from the river Sot. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 217). (See p. 468 of this book, also).
[6] *Faridpur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Faridpur*, District *Bareilly*—The capital of the Faridpur pargana is a town standing in 28° 12′ N. and 79° 33′ E., at a distance of 13 miles south-east from Bareilly by the provincial road to Shahjahanpur, which here gives off unmetalled branches to Khudaganj on the east and to Bisalpur on the north-east. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 227).
[7] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

BATTLE OF BAREILLY

. . . On the 5th May just outside Bareilly, Khan Bahadoor made up his mind for the final contest. He posted his troops in two lines, the second occupying the suburbs, and the first with most of the Artillery commanding the bridge. The first line was speedily broken, but the second comprised a body of *Ghazees*—the very flower and hope of Mussulman fanaticism.

GHAZIS' ATTACK ON BRITISH FORCE

Some old Cavalry Lines had been occupied by a Seikh (Sikh) Regiment. Such was the vigor with which this Regiment, a most distinguished one (Major Wilde's) under command of Lieutenant McQueen, was attacked by a large body of fanatical *Ghazees*, that they gave way for a few minutes. The *Ghazees* pursuing their advantage, rushed like mad men on the 42nd Highlanders, who had been formed in line in rear of the village to support the Seikhs as soon as the hostile movement was descried. These men were all killed in the very ranks of the 42nd Highlanders in a most desperate hand-to-hand encounter.

One more ineffectual charge upon the baggage, repulsed by Tomb's Horse Artillery, and the enemy retreated, leaving the suburbs in possession of the British. On the same day Brigadier Jones' cannon were heard from the opposite side, and on the 6th that vigorous officer seizing point after point was in the camp of the Commander in-Chief. Not one officer had been killed, and but four are returned as wounded, a remarkable fact when the fierce charge of the *Ghazees* is remembered.

The tide of opinion sets in fiercely against the Commander-in-Chief, and we are writing in the teeth of popular feeling when we suggest that these operations bear traces of his peculiar genius as well as his peculiar defects. *Bareilly was a great city, believed to be the last stronghold of the mutineers, to be filled by thousands of men whose only wish was for death in a struggle with the infidel. A fierce resistance, a contest continued from street to street, was certainly a chance upon the cards.* The Commander-in-Chief from a distance of two hundred miles moved three Columns through an enemy's country with such precision, that the first joined at the time and place specified, and the guns of the second opened as his own ceased after the engagement outside the city. Thus far the capacity for organization displayed at Lucknow was strikingly apparent. It was only after this that the caution

which impairs all Sir Colin's successes, a caution as of a General with Russians or Frenchmen in his front, became equally apparent. The 6th May seems to have been lost. With armies on each side the enemy escaped, and their leaders were not among the slain. We make no pretension to decide on tactics, on military laws, or on the necessities of warfare. But it needs no technical knowledge to decide on the result of a campaign. A battle in which none are slain is not in India a victory. A siege in which the enemy escape is but partially a triumph. We have gained Rohilcund which was not emergently required, *but we have not destroyed the rebels whose destruction and not dispersion is the one essential to our peace.*[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated May 20, 1858.

REPORTED DEATH OF FIROZ SHAH

Some *Ghazees* in Bareilly fought well. Two of them attacked General Walpole and hacked off three of his fingers. Feroze Shah who published a *Jehad* is reported to have been killed. The church and college at Bareilly are not seriously damaged.[2]

* * *

Extract from 'Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette', dated May 31, 1858.

GENERAL WALPOLE ESCAPES DEATH

In the affair at Bareilly on the evening of the 5th instant, General Walpole is said to have narrowly escaped death. The General was attacked by two men belonging to the *Ghazies*, who hacked away at his horse, inflicting a wound which nearly severed three fingers of the General's right hand. They were immediately bayoneted.[3]

* * *

[1] *The Friend of India*, 27th May 1858, p. 481. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *The Friend of India*, May 20, 1858, p. 465. National Library, Calcutta. (See pp. 467, 469 also regarding Firoz Shah's reported death).
[3] *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, May 31, 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.

News dated Thursday, May 27, 1858.

A correspondent of the same journal (*The Englishman*) says; "It appears the battle of Bareilly was a farce; for three hours the troops were kept under a burning sun, looking in the direction of the town. A few *Ghazees* came out and were killed. The Artillery fired into a tope of trees, and then instead of proceeding onward, the Commander-in-Chief pitched tents. This was to wait, as we noticed before, for the heavy guns and baggage."[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, May 10, 1858.

GENERAL PENNY KILLED

Rohilcund—A report, dated 1st May, states that General Walpole's force entered Shahjehanpore without opposition, the people had deserted the place, but were fast returning. A report of the same date also mentions that General Penny had had a battle with the rebels within ten miles of Budaon. and defeated them, and that the General himself was killed, Brigadier-General Jones's force arrived at Bareilly on the 6th May. The enemy were driven back from Bahadoor Sing's bridge, with slaughter, and three guns taken; three-fourths of the town was in our possession, including the most important part of it. Heavy firing was heard on the cantonment side of the city, from which it was known that another Column of ours was there. A party had been sent to communicate with it.[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated 25th May 1858.

Roorkee—A friend at Roorkee, to whom our best thanks are due, sends the following, under date the 10th May—

[1] *The Friend of India*, June 3, 1858, p. 511. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 15, p. 154.

KHAN BAHADUR REPORTED TO HAVE POISONE HIMSELF

"...On the next day (6th May) the Column arrived at Bareilly, and received information that Khan Bahadoor Khan had fought the Chief[1] on the previous day, and got such a thrashing *that he had returned and poisoned himself*, and that Bareilly was evacuated. Accordingly the force moved up to the skirts of the town, and was soon scattered all over the place, with the exception of the 60th Rifles and other Europeans, who set to work at breakfast in a fine topc of trees...."

"One youngster got some of Coke's Rifles well into the city, and very nearly succeeded in performing another feat like that by which he so admirably caught Mujjoo Khan and his sons..."

KHAN BAHADUR WITH LARGE ARMY OUTSIDE BAREILLY

"But I must close with a few camp reports—one is that Khan Bahadoor Khan has a huge army outside of Bareilly on the grand parade ground to the west of Bareilly."

"Another—that the Column is to be attacked at night."[2]

BATTLE OF BAREILLY

(*Russell's Version*).

May 5—*Battle of Bareilly*—Early this morning, the whole army, with a strong advance guard of Cavalry, guns, and Infantry, proceeded to attack the enemy's position. It is curious how little information we can get about Bareilly. It is said that all the way from Furreedpore (Faridpur) till within a mile of the ruined cantonments, the country is as level and smooth as a bowling-green. The result is, that the road is raised above the ground, in order that it may not be flooded in the rains. Outside the cantonments there is a small stream flowing deviously in a deep bed, and the ground is intersected by *nullahs*, so as to be unfavourable for the

[1] Commander-in-Chief.
[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 25, 1858, p. 492. National

movements of regular troops, in various places. Jones is now supposed to be within a day's march on the other side of the town; but there are at least two sides open for the greater part of the rebels to get off, and they are far stronger in Cavalry than we are.

Before we started this morning, I called the *syce*, and told him to keep my best horse close to the litter. Alison and Baird gave the same directions to their servants. This little piece of foresight saved all our lives, although I had a hard struggle for my own. Among all horrible deaths, I think being sliced to pieces as one lay helplessly in a litter has a high place. Knowing that the enemy had thousands of sowars, whilst we had only a few hundreds of Horse, that our line of march would necessarily be very long and imperfectly protected, and that natives are very prone to make flank and rear attacks, it struck me that our position and arrangements would be such as to afford them every inducement to try the effects of a charge; and the result proved I did not miscalculate. We moved slowly, with frequent halts to close up the Column, and to permit the baggage and siege guns and ammunition to join. As the sun rose it gave promise, which was only too well kept, of a day of intense pitiless heat. By nine O'clock in the morning we had not got much more than half way towards Bareilly.

Tortured by flies, smothered in an atmosphere of dust, prostrated by heat, my sufferings were augmented by loss of blood, by recent leech-bites and by a fresh blister. Belladonna had lost its influence over the pain in my injured limb.

Looking out of my portable bedstead, I could see nothing but legs of men, horses, camels, and elephants moving past in the dust.

The trees were scanty by the roadside. There was no friendly shade to afford the smallest shelter from the blazing sun. I had all the sensations of a man who is smothering in a mud-bath.

The constant halts of the Column were most irritating and annoying, but in the midst of one of them I heard some shots fired in front, about noon. The men moved forward at once, and, making my *doly-bearers* avail themselves of an opening between two battalions, I was carried over to the left side of the road, which was blocked up with a mass of men and baggage, of which language can give no description.

By this movement I was enabled to see a little of what was going on.

It appears that we had just come upon a picket or patrol of the enemy, who had abandoned a gun in a small work, which ought to have swept the road. The firing ceased, and the troops still continued to advance. After a time I observed a squadron or two of the Carabineers in the fields to my left, beyond and fringing which were the usual dense woods of mangoes, *peepuls*, and other trees common over all this part of Rohilkhand. I could not quite see the base of these groves, but presently I saw a puff of smoke rise from the midst of them, close to some cottages, and the round-shot, which seemed to pitch into the centre of a squadron of the Carabineers, ricochetted through the fields right towards my *dooly*, to the infinite discomfiture of numerous camp-followers who were engaged in legumihous plundering. The shot stopped within thirty yards of the road. It was followed quickly by another, directed at the Carabineers, which did not come so far. The Carabineers trotted slowly out of the line of fire; and just at that moment I saw Sir Colin and a small staff cantering over the ground, and then a troop, or part of a troop, of Horse Artillery, on both of which the enemy seemed to re-commence their practice. Suddenly their fire ceased, and, looking as far forward as I could in advance, I saw the Infantry deploying on the ground in front of the road, and extending themselves towards the left. There were some white buildings to be seen here and there amid the trees before them. '*Bareilly hai, sahib*,' said my bearers. Then a fresh outburst of musketry fire took place, which died out, and one or two heavy guns began to open from inside the city upon us. Another pause took place. I was consumed by desire to see and to know.

An officer—I forget his name now—came down the road, and, seeing me in the *dooly*, he asked, 'Can you tell me, Russell, where Tod Brown is? The Chief wants up the heavy guns.'

I could only reply that I had seen him an hour before struggling to make his way through the baggage and Infantry towards the front. 'And what are the heavy guns for? Are there works in front?'

'No; but the enemy seem strong, entrenched in old houses and enclosures, and Sir Colin wants to give them a

pounding before he goes in at them. They have shown lots of Cavalry on both our flanks.'

The delay, or rather the halt of the Column where I was, lasted some time after this. Every moment the heat became more fearful. More than one European soldier was carried past me fainting, or dead. Major Metcalfe had kindly given me two bottles of French wine of the Chief's. I gave a cupful to one of those poor fellows who was laid down by my *dooly*, getting it down his mouth with difficulty, for his teeth were partially set; his tongue sticking in his throat. He recovered a little—looked at me, and said, 'God bless you.'—then tried to get to his feet, gave a sort of gasp, and fell down dead. The crush on the road had become tremendous. The guns were beginning to move. Every moment a rude shock was given to the *dooly*, which threatened to hurl it down the bank; so I told the bearers to lift me, and carry me off to a small tope in the field on my left, which seemed to be a quarter of a mile away, and to be certain to give us shade. The field was covered with camp-followers, who were plucking the grain and *salads*, with which the country appeared to abound all over. But it turned out that the tope, which after all was a very small cluster of bamboos and other trees, was much farther than I thought, and was by no means very umbrageous. Here my *dooly* was placed close to Baird's; the bearers went inside among the bamboos, and squatted down to smoke, or sleep. Have we not all in our small experience seen an army swallowed up by skilful leadership? Perhaps not often at Chobham or Aldershot, but still often enough at accidental reviews. Around us just now there was no sign of the British troops in front. They had dipped down into ravines, or were at the other side of the high road. Here and there were clouds of dust, which marked the course of Cavalry. Behind us were the Columns of the rear-guard and of the baggage. But the camp-followers were scattered all over the plains, and the scene looked peaceful as a hop-gathering. There is a sun, indeed, which tells us we are not in Kent. In great pain from angry leech-bites and blisters, I had removed every particle of clothing, except my shirt, and lay panting in the *dooly*. Half an hour or so han passed away in a sort of dreamy, pea-soupy kind of existence. I had ceased to wonder why anything was not done. Suddenly once more there was a little explosion of musketry in ourfront. I leaned out of my *dooly*, and saw a

long line of Highlanders, who seemed as if they were practising independent file-firing on a parade-ground, looking in the distance very cool, and quiet, and firm; but what they were firing at I in vain endeavoured to ascertain. A few native troops seemed to be moving about in front of them. As suddenly as it had begun the firing died out once more. 'What can it be ?' said I to Baird.

'I have not the least idea. It is firing of some sort or other. How deuced hot it is. I am going to die.'

A long pause took place. I looked once or twice towards the road to see if there were any symptoms of our advance. Then I sank to sleep. I know not what my dreams were, but well I remember the waking.....

There was a confused clamour of shrieks and shouting in my ear. My *dooly* was raised from the ground and then let fall violently. I heard my bearers shouting 'Sowar : sowar :' I saw them flying with terror in their faces. All the camp-followers, in wild confusion, were rushing for the road. It was a veritable stampede of men and animals. Elephants were trumpeting shrilly as they thundered over the fields, camels slung along at their utmost joggling stride, horse and tats, women, and children, were all pouring in a stream, which converged and tossed in heaps of white as it neared the road—an awful panic. And, heavens above. Within a few hundred yards of us, sweeping on like the wind, rushed a great billow of white sowars, their sabres flashing in the sun, the roar of their voices, the thunder of their horses, filling and shaking the air. As they came on camp-followers fell with cleft skulls and bleeding wounds upon the field; the left wing of the wild Cavalry was coming straight for the tope in which we lay. The eye takes in at a glance what tongue cannot tell or hand write in an hour. Here was, it appeared, an inglorious and miserable death swooping down on us in the heart of that yelling crowd. At that instant my faithful *syce*, with drops of sweat rolling down his black face, ran towards me, dragging my unwilling and plunging horse towards the litter and shouting to me as if in the greatest affliction. I could scarcely move in the *dooly*. I don't know how I ever managed to do it, but by the help of poor Ramdeen I got into the saddle. It felt like a plate of red-hot iron; all the flesh of the blistered thigh rolled off in a quid on the flap; the leech-bites burst out afresh; the stirrup-irons seemed like blazing coals; death itself could

not be more full of pain. I had nothing on but my shirt. Feet and legs naked—head uncovered—with Ramdeen holding on by one stirrup-leather, whilst, with wild cries, he urged on the horse, and struck him over the flanks with a long strip of thorn—I flew across the plain under that awful sun. I was in a ruck of animals soon, and gave up all chances of life as a troop of sowars dashed in among them. Ramdeen gave a loud cry, with a look of terror over his shoulder, and leaving the stirrup-leather, disappeared. I followed the direction of his glance, and saw a black-bearded scoundrel, ahead of three sowars, who was coming right at me. I had neither sword nor pistol. Just at that moment, a poor wretch of a camel-driver, leading his beast by the nose-string, rushed right across me, and seeing the sowar so close, darted under his camel's belly. Quick as thought, the sowar reined his horse right round the other side of the camel, and as the man rose, I saw the flash of the *tulwar* falling on his head like a stroke of lightning. It cleft through both his hands, which he had crossed on his head, and with feeble gurgle of 'Ram ! Ram !, the camel-driver fell close beside me with his skull split to the nose. I felt my time was come. My naked heels could make no impression on the panting horse. I saw, indeed, a cloud of dust and a body of men advancing from the road; but just at that moment a pain so keen shot through my head that my eyes flashed fire. My senses did not leave me; I knew quite well I was cut down, and put my hand up to my head, but there was no blood; for a moment a pleasant dream of home came across me; I thought I was in the hunting-field, that the heart of the pack was all around me; but I could not hold on my horse; my eyes swam, and I remember no more than that I had, as it were, a delicious plunge into a deep cool lake, in which I sank deeper and deeper till the gurgling waters rushed into my lungs and stifled me.

On recovering my senses I found myself in a *dooly* by the roadside, but I thought what had passed was a dream. I had been for a long time insensible. I tried to speak, but my mouth was full of blood. Then I was seized with violent spasms in the lungs, from which for more than an hour I coughed up quantities of mucus and blood; my head felt like ball of molten lead. It is only from others I gathered what happened this day, for my own recollections of the occurrences after the charge of the Cavalry are more vague than those

of a sick man's night visions. I can remember a long halt in the *dooly*, amidst an immense multitude of ammunition camels, sick and wounded soldiers, and camp-followers. I remember rows of *doolys* (*doolies*) passing by to the rear, and occasional volleys of musketry, and the firing of field guns close at hand. It appears that I fell from my horse close to the spot where Tombs' guns were unlimbering and that a soldier who belonged to the ammunition guard, and who was running from the sowars, seeing a body lying in the sun all naked, except a bloody shirt, sent out a *dooly* when he got to the road for a dead officer who had been stript,' and I was taken up and carried off to the cover of some trees. Alison and Baird saved themselves also but they got well away before I could mount. Baird's servant poured some brandy down my throat. After a long interval of pain and half consciousness of life, Simon came to me, chafed my legs and arms, and rubbed my chest. My thirst was insatiable. The heat from twelve O'clock to sunset was tremendous, and this day all over India we lost literally hundreds of men by sunstroke. For hours we were halted close behind the 79th and 42nd. At one time I have a dreamy sort of notion that I saw a body of men charge on the latter and the staff and a great deal of bayoneting and shooting going on; but I cannot say whether it was real, or if, hearing of the charge of the *Gazees* that evening and the descriptions of it given so often whilst I was very weak, I mistake the impressions of one sense for those of another. No surgeon came near me, as well as I recollect, for several hours. The non-attendance of my friends may have tended to save my life. As soon as the flow of blood and mucus from the lungs had somewhat ceased, Simon got me a bottle of *vin ordinaire*, which I drank at a few gulps. My *dooly* was recovered, and it was lucky I was not in it, for it bore marks of a probing of no friendly character by lance and sword. Tod Brown afterwards told me that some of the sowars came up within a few yards of his guns, and that one fellow was shot when within ten feet of a heavy piece of siege ordnance, which he seemed determined to spike. The Multani Horse were wheeled round, and sent out to meet the sowars the moment they were seen to be down on us; but some of them turned, and Tombs, who had come up at a gallop, was obliged to fire into a mass of Multanis and sowars who were all coming pellmell together upon his guns. This, and the sight of the

carabineers bearing down on them, rapidly sent the sowars flying to the right-about; but the panic produced by their demonstration was very great, and almost as soon as the first was over I believe a second took place.

The sun was going down ere we were moved forward for about half a mile, and there, on a bare sandy plain, was one small tent pitched for Sir Colin, and two or three *pall* and servants' tents for the officers. I was put into my own *pall*. Scarcely was I placed in the *charpoy* ere Sir Colin came in, and, having heard what had happened, congratulated me on the escape from sun and sowar, and proceeded to give me details of what had occurred. He complained very much of want of information. When he thought he was outside Bareilly he was in reality only outside the ruined cantonments, some miles from the city proper. The enemy were still in the city. They had fallen back, and it was too late to pursue them or to make an attempt to enter the place. The men were quite exhausted. They had suffered fearfully from sunstroke. Sir Colin described the charge of the *Gazees* vividly. Just at this moment Walpole came in with a bloody handkerchief round his hand. He had a narrow escape from the *Gazees*, and was nearly cut to pieces under Sir Colin's eyes. The General sat talking with the Chief for some time; and then Cameron of the 42nd came into my tent to add his narrative of a very narrow shave indeed, for the *Gazees* dragged him from his horse, his revolver was in the holster, his sword fell out of the scabbard as he was pulled to the ground, and but for coolness and courage of two or three of his own men he would have been hacked to pieces in a moment. Of the *Gazees*, but one or two escaped. Languidly and drowsily I listened to all this; all worldly affairs for the time seemed of little consequence to me. I was thinking of home.

The doctors came in at last, Tice and Mackinnon. They saw me—withdrew, consulted in whispers. I can remember so well their figures as they stood at the door of *pall*, thrown into dark shade by the blazing bivouac fires. No tents were pitched; the soldiers lay down in their blankets, or without them, on the sandy plain. The Cavalry stretched themselves by their horses, and the Artillery lay among their guns. Strong pickets and patrols were posted all round the camp. Ere I went to sleep for the night I was anointed all over back and chest with strong tincture of iodine. I never knew till long

afterwards that up to this moment one lung had ceased to act at all, and that a portion of the other was gorged from pulmonary apoplexy, brought on by the sunstroke or heat; and that in fact my two friends had no expectation of my being alive next morning. Such is my recollection and experience of the Battle of Bareilly.

CLIMAX OF THE BATTLE

May 6th—A night of great pain. The army marched early this morning, and we moved in their train. There was a third panic as we started. We halted near the cantonments, and Sir Colin came over to the place where Baird and I were lying, and had a long and pleasant talk. He is not so fatigued and dissatisfied—looking as he was yesterday, but he is evidently discontented at something or other. Colonel Jones of the 60th, called Jones the Avenger, came into Bareilly to-day with his Column from the other side, so that the place is pretty well cleared out of the enemy, though some fanatics are said to be holding out in the Nawab's house, where they will, it is said, fight to the last. Sir Colin says that the *Gazees* came on so rapidly and so boldly, that he was nearly taken by surprise, but he had time to say, 'Stand firm, 42nd : bayonet them as they come on.' The men, however, fired, and a lot of *Gazees* got in past the left of their right wing, attacked Walpole and Cameron, and wounded them. There was a good deal of promiscuous firing and stabbing, cutting and hacking, for a minute or two, and at last the last of the *Gazees* rolled over. Sir Colin had a narrow escape. As he was riding from one Company to another his eye caught that of a quasi-dead *Gazee*, who was lying, *tulwar* in hand, just before him. The Chief guessed the ruse in a moment. "Bayonet that man," he called to a soldier. The Highlander made a thrust at him, but the point would not enter the thick cotton quilting of the *Gazee's* tunic; and the dead man was rising to his legs, when a Sikh who happened to be near, with a whistling stroke of his sabre cut off the *Gazee's* head at one blow, as if it had been the bulb of a poppy. The *Gazees* were fine fellows, grizzly-bearded elderly men for the most part, with green turbans and *cummerbunds*, and every one of them had a silver signet-ring, a long text of the *Koran* engraved on it. They came on with their heads down below their shields, and their *tulwars* flashing as they whirled them over their heads, shouting

where (as before reported) the troops under his command engaged the rebels.

We have authentic information that the city of Bareilly was entirely occupied by our troops on the morning of the 7th instant. On the 6th the rebels outside the town were attacked by the Commander-in-Chief, and driven inside with the loss of several guns. The Column under Brigadier-General Jones co-operated from the Moradabad side. Brigadier-General Jones with a strong force marched on the 8th to the relief of Shajehanpore where a wing of the 82nd Regiment has been besieged since the advance of the Commander-in-Chief. He is expected to reach Shajehanpore on the 10th or 11th instant.[1]

* * *

Bulletin dated Agra, 11th May 1858.

Etah 9th—Mr. Charles reports that Raheem Alee Khan had come with his force to Sahuswan. No *Ghats* were fordable except at Kusraree[2], and Bhugla. Rumours of the capture of Khan Bahadur Khan.

Alygurh 10th—Ganges had fallen 6 inches. Raheem Alee's force reported to have gone to Sahuswan. Rumours that the Nana had fled towards the Terai.

Meerut 10th May—Bareilly has been fully reoccupied. Feroze Sha Shazadah killed. Khan Bahadur Khan said to be in an entrenchment with 1,000 men. *The Nana had gone off towards Oude.* Columns detached in pursuit. H. M. 60th and 64th with squadrons of the Carabineers and Mooltanee Horse had been sent to the relief of Shajehanpoor.[3]

NANA RETREATS TO TARAI

Bulletin dated Agra, 10th May 1858.

Soron 7th—Dhara (Dara) Sing, who looks after the *Ghats*, reports from Oochaonee[4] in Budaon the news there obtained

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 13th May 1858, p. 147. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Not clearly decipherable.

[3] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Apparently spelt for *Ujhani* in *Badaun* District.

Sir Colin admits to have shown very good capacity in his operations. I fancy he took the Chief a little by surprise in venturing to throw himself on our rear so boldly.[1]

BRITISH RE-OCCUPATION OF BAREILLY

(*Charles Ball's Version*).

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN DETERMINED TO RESIST

On the 4th of May the army continued its advance, and, by an early hour, reached Furreedpore (Faridpur) without any obstruction, through a country equally desolate as that already traversed since entering Rohilcund. It was now but one march from Bareilly, and dispositions were made for the advance and attack of the batteries on the following morning. It was, however, impossible for the Commander-in-Chief to obtain any reliable information as to the numbers and disposition of the enemy. It was said they had a force varying from 6,000 to 18,000 men, and nearly 100 guns; *and it was asserted that they would stand the brunt of an attack, in accordance with solemn oaths they had taken to exterminate the British force.* The prince, Feroze Shah, had, as usual, left the town before the near approach of real danger; *but Khan Bahadoor Khan, and some of the principal chiefs with him, had determined on resistance.* No fortifications had been thrown up by the enemy; and, with the exception of a stream with rather steep banks, spanned by a bridge on the main road, a short distance outside the cantonments, the place offered no line of defence on the south side. It has been mentioned, that the Commander-in-Chief had directed Brigadier Jones to move down his Column from Moradabad to Bareilly, so as to arrive before the place at the same time with the head-quarter's Column; but still the combined forces would not have sufficed to cover any considerable portion of the town, and the east and north-east sides of it were, of necessity, left open. The place consisted of one great main street, upwards of two miles long, with tortuous lanes branching off to the right and left, and surrounded by large suburbs containing detached houses, walled gardens,

[1] Russell, W. H. : *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, Chapter XXI, pp. 138 to 147.

enclosures and plantations. Outside the town were large plains which, although somewhat intersected by *nullahs*, were yet favourable for the movements of Cavalry, of which the enemy were reported to have a large force.

THE 5TH OF MAY 1858

At half-past three O'clock on the morning of the 5th of May, the British troops moved off from their camp at Fureedpore, assured that on that day would be fought the battle of Bareilly. Shortly after day-break the men had their first halt, as usual; and Sir Colin Campbell rode among the various regiments, superintending the arrangements which nominally had been left in the hands of Brigadier Walpole. At this time the Commander-in-Chief was actually without a military staff—his *aides-de-camp* were disabled by fever and smallpox; and, of the officers attached to the Chief of the Staff, Captain Hope Johnstone was the only one fit for active duty.

Shortly after the halt, the Cavalry videttes reported that the enemy's Cavalry were visible in front and a line of sowars could be seen reconnoitring among the distant topes. The line of advance was then arranged as follows—On the left of the Bareilly-road, a line of skirmishers of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry; on the right a similar line of the Lahore Light Horse, Tombs' troop of Horse Artillery, a troop of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, four guns of Hammond's and three of Remmington's, supported by a troop of the 1st Punjab Cavalry; and a troop of the 9th Lancers being in line across the road, from right to left, in support. The 42nd Highlanders marched on the left of the road, in rear of Tombs' guns. The 78th Highlanders, followed by the Engineers and Sappers, moved along the road, and on their right was the 93rd Regiment. The 79th followed the 42nd, their flanks being covered by the Carabineers and the Mooltanee Horse; the 2nd Punjab Cavalry and the remainder of the 9th Lancers moving on the right of the 78th Highlanders; and a wing of the Belooch Battalion, on the right of the road, moved on the same line as the 79th, on the left of the road, behind the Sappers and Miners. The siege-train and the baggage, extending to an enormous length, moved slowly on, being covered on the left by the 4th Punjab Rifles, H. M.'s 64th Regiment, and the 2nd Punjab Infantry; and, on the left, by a wing of H. M.'s 82nd Regiment. The rear guard

consisted of three guns of Remmington's troop, one squadron of the 5th Punjab Cavalry, 17th Irregular Cavalry, and 22nd Punjab Infantry.

FIRST SHOT FIRED

As the troops approached the stream before mentioned, the first shot was fired by the enemy from a rude breastwork thrown up about half a mile in front of the bridge; but a few shots in return speedily drove them from this advanced position, and they fell back from the bridge itself, where they had made some show of intending to stand, and retired towards the ruined buildings of the old cantonments, without making the slightest effort to resist the passage of the stream, which, though everywhere fordable, had steep high banks, which presented formidable obstacles for Infantry, and still more for Cavalry; neither did they attempt to impede the advance of the British troops by destroying the bridge, which they had ample time to have done. As the Column advanced, skirmishers fell in and retired on the flanks, and the leading regiments deployed into line. Little could now be seen of the enemy, who were screened behind the cantonments, with the exception of their Cavalry, which showed now and then among the trees on both flanks of the position, and in considerable numbers. Suddenly a gun opened upon Tombs' troop, on the left of the line of advance, with such precision, that the first four shots all took effect; but this was speedily silenced. The troops continued to advance without meeting with any opposition from the enemy's Infantry; but their Cavalry exhibited increased activity; and a strong body, with three guns, came out from the cantonment enclosure and menaced the left and baggage. On the front and right also, such numbers of the enemy's Horse came out from time to time, as showed they had more than 2,500 sabres in the field. In the absence of any definite information respecting the strength of the enemy's Infantry, or even of the position they occupied, the Commander-in-Chief was averse to engage his best troops in a precipitate attack upon the town, which was yet nearly two miles distant. Some Companies of a Punjab regiment were therefore sent forward to explore a ruined mass of one-storied houses in front of the lines; while the 42nd Regiment, divided into

their left at some distance. As soon as the Sikhs got into the houses they were exposed to a heavy fire from a large body of matchlockmen concealed around them, and they fell back with rapidity and disorder upon the advancing Highlanders. The scene that followed was extraordinary. Among the matchlockmen—who, to the number of 700 or 800, were lying behind the walls of the houses was a body of *Ghazees*, who, with fanatic zeal, had devoted themselves to death for their religion. Uttering loud cries, "*Bismallah* ! *Allah* ! *deen* ! *deen*," 130 of these men, scarcely human, and more ferocious than the wild monarchs of the jungle, *tulwar* in hand, with small circular bucklers on the left arm, and green *cummerbunds*, rushed out after the Sikhs and dashed at the left and right wing of the Highlanders. With bodies bent, and heads low, waving their *tulwars* with a circular motion in the air they came towards the troops with astonishing rapidity. At first they were mistaken by the men for the Sikhs, whose hasty retreat had already partly disordered their ranks; but, fortunately, Sir Colin Campbell was close up with the 42nd, and his keen quick eye penetrated the case at once. "Steady, men, steady—close up the ranks; bayonet them as they come on"—was his instant order, and it was only just in time; for the madmen, furious with *bhang*, were already among the troops, and a party of them sweeping round the left of the right wing, had got in the rear of the regiment. The struggle was sanguinary but brief. Three of the *Ghazees* dashed so suddenly at Colonel Cameron that he was pulled off his horse before he could defend himself. His sword fell out of its sheath, and, in a moment, he would have been hacked to pieces by the knife-like *tulwars* but for the activity of a colour-sergeant (Gardiner), who, stepping out of the ranks, drove his bayonet through two of the ruffians while the third was shot by a man of the 42nd. Brigadier Walpole had a similar escape : two or three of the *Ghazees* sprang upon him, and strove to pull him off his horse, while others cut at him with their *tulwars*. He received two cuts on the hand; but was rescued by the quick bayonets of the 42nd. In a few minutes, the dead bodies of 133 *Ghazees*, and some eighteen or twenty wounded highlanders, were all the tokens left of the struggle in this quarter. About the same time, however, that this desperate affair was in progress, the enemy's Cavalry, issuing in considerable numbers on the left of the British force, made a charge across the plain, which created panic among

the sick and camp-followers. They swept across the ground as if intending to make a dash at the baggage, cutting up as they went some of the camel drivers and bazaar people; but they were speedily checked, and retired at full speed the instant the Cavalry approached them. A similar feint on another part of the Column, occasioned a second alarm; but it was productive of nothing more.

The line continued to advance towards the town, the enemy melting away from the suburbs before it, as it was believed, for the purpose of concentrating upon some point within the place. In the now exhausted state of the troops, it was not deemed advisable to throw the troops into a series of street fights; besides which, the heat was intense, and many men had fallen in the ranks from sunstroke. Towards evening, therefore, Sir Colin determined to secure the cantonments and posts in advance, and halted upon the plain between them and the town, where the troops bivouacked for the night.

On the following morning (May 6th), as the men were falling into Column, it was reported that one of the principal chiefs with the rebel force (Kambo Nodra Khan), with most of his followers, had fled from Bareilly at noon on the previous day—other chiefs following his example; and that the force in the city had rapidly diminished during the night. Still it was known that considerable portions of the enemy were reported to be in the possession of some strongholds in the city, where many of the houses were loopholed for defence. The principal buildings were also reported to be mined, and the defenders ready to blow themselves up with their conquerors. Some mortars and heavy guns were brought to bear upon the points indicated, and, after a few hours' practice, they were rendered untenable. During the morning, a body of Cavalry was dispatched to the right of the force, to intercept a party of the enemy leaving the city, and, fortunately coming up with them, cut some hundreds to pieces, and forced others into the river, where they perished. While this work was proceeding, the guns of Brigadier Jones's Column were heard opening fire on the north side of the town, and that gallant officer was thus enabled to take part in the operations at Bareilly.

BAREILLY OCCUPIED BY BRITISHERS

On the 7th, the advance was pushed on through the

town, a great part of which was burnt and in ruins. A quantity of artillery, mostly of recent native manufacture, with shot, shell, and gunpowder, fell into the hands of the captors. Orders were issued against plunder; but the city contained little or nothing that could be 'looted.' In the gaol was found a poor English lunatic named Healey, who had been left behind when the insurrection broke out in May, 1857, and whose life had been spared by the superstition of the Mohammedans. This unfortunate person was quite reconciled to his place of residence, and refused to leave it when asked to do so. His companion was a native who had been shot through both legs, and who, with a match in his hand, was ready to fire a mine as soon as our soldiers entered. All the other inmates of the gaol were gone.

According to their usual practice, the Mohammedans did very great damage to the church and graveyard at Bareilly,[1] for which, at a subsequent period, a fine of 25,000 rupees was inflicted upon the inhabitants, which sum was paid, and appropriated to the restoration of the building and graveyard.

It has already been mentioned, that when the Commander-in-Chief marched with his troops from Shahjehanpore, on the 2nd of May *en-route* for Bareilly, he left a small body of Infantry, consisting of five Companies of H. M.'s 82nd Regiment, and a few squadrons of Punjab Horse, as a garrison for its protection in the event of any movement of the enemy in that direction. As it happened, however, the force so left was not adequate for the purpose designed. The army had scarcely covered two marches from Shahjehanpore, before a rebel force, consisting of 8,000 men, with twelve guns, under the command of the Moulvie and the Rajah of Mohumdee closing upon its rear, re-entered the town; the small force left for its protection retiring to the gaol and the intrenchment round it, which were strongly defended. The rebels then plundered the town, and put to death many of the native inhabitants who had shown a friendly disposition towards the English; and having taken possession of an old fort in the suburbs, they set themselves down to invest the garrison in the gaol. Fortunately, this was not so effectually done as

[1] *cf.* Extract from *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, dated May 31, 1858. (p. 470 of this book).

to prevent intelligence of the movements of the rebels being conveyed to the Commander-in-Chief.

Accordingly, on the 8th of the month, Brigadier General Jones was dispatched with a force to the rescue, the operations connected with which will be hereafter described. A despatch from Sir Colin Campbell to the Governor General, announced officially the occupation of Bareilly, and was published by the government, with the following introductory notification.....[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated Jan. 6, 1859.

The guerilla war having been rendered inevitable by the escape of the sepoys from Lucknow, Sir Colin Campbell fell back on his original and wiser plan. In April it was resolved to clear Rohilcund, where the rebels headed by Khan Bahadoor, almost the only man who during the rebellion rose from among the people, had established a quasi regular Government. The revenue was regularly collected, the cities were protected, and but for the incessant feuds between the Hindoos and Mussulmans the province would have presented the appearance of a Native State. A report that the Hindoos would rise in our favour on our first appearance increased the desire for the enterprise, and three Columns were ordered to enter the province. The first under Brigadier Walpole, an officer who had shared in the operations beyond the Goomtee (Gomati) proceeded from Lucknow... the Commander-in-Chief pressed forward, and on 5th May arrived at the Nuttee[2] Stream. Here, in front of a little bridge, the Rohilcund rebels made their last stand. Their batteries were well placed, but a band of *Ghazies* or fanatics were the only true soldiers at their disposal. These men rushed on the Sikhs, broke them, and reached the line of H. M.'s 42nd Highlanders. The latter however, after one brief "Steady men !" from Sir Colin himself, stood firm, and bayoneted the entire band within their own ranks. The guns were soon carried, and the Commander-in-Chief prepared to enter Bareilly. Brigadier Jones of H. M.'s 60th had however reached it on the other side. He had been ordered to march via Bijnour, had stormed Moradabad....

[1] Charles Ball : *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, pp. 328-331.
[2] Appears a misprint for 'Nakatia'.

a feat by the way of which no official description appears to exist and appeared before Bareilly just as the Commander-in-Chief's guns were heard on the opposite side. Carrying position after position he traversed the entire city, and on 7th May Bareilly was in our hands. The armed rebels had fled into Mohumdee, and the population were very leniently treated. No confiscations were ordered, enquiry into cases of private war was prohibited, and none but leaders were permitted to be brought to trial. The province submitted, but with a degree of sulky hostility which rendered the presence of a strong garrison imperative.[1]

BAREILLY FALLS TO BRITISH

Telegraphic Message from Commr. (Commissioner), Meerut, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 10th May 1858.

Last news from Bareilly : Brigadier Jones after a skirmish and taking guns at the entrance of the city took three-fourth of the new town of Bareilly without opposition, losing one man killed and three wounded. Since then no official news, but private letters say the Chief has full possession of Bareilly. Feroze Shah killed.[2] Nana got off towards Oude. Some rebels with twenty guns got off not known where, but Columns are on pursuit. H. M. 60th and 64th, squadrons of Carabineers and Mooltanee Horse gone to Shahjehanpore; Khan Bahadoor Khan said to be in his entrenchment with one thousand men determined to fight no doubt. Bareilly is resubjected.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 10th May 1858.

We have authentic information that the city of Bareilly was entirely occupied by our troops on the morning of the seventh instant. On the sixth the rebels outside the town were attacked by the Commander-in-Chief and driven inside with the loss of several guns. The Column under Brigadier-

[1] *The Friend of India*, January 6, 1859, p. 3. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *cf.* p. 448, heading 'Reported Death of Firoz Shah'.
[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

General Jones co-operated from the Moradabad side. Brigadier-General Jones with (a) strong force marched on the eighth to the relief of Shahjehanpore where a wing of the eighty-second Regt. has been besieged since the advance of the Commander-in-Chief. He is expected to reoccupy Shahjehanpore on the tenth or eleventh instant.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated 13th May 1858.

The Rebellion—The intelligence received during the week from the upper provinces has not been of a very satisfactory kind. The loss of Shajehanpore after its recent occupation, and the pillage and massacre there, have thrown a gloom over the accounts. The rebels will no doubt magnify the advantage and draw more waverers to their side. The well-affected will augur from this reverse possibilities not of the most assuring kind. Progress, however, is being made. Bareilly has been taken. We subjoin the official messages.

The Commissioner of Rohilcund writes, from Bareilly on the 6th, reporting that on Brigadier John Jones' force reaching Bahadoor Sing's bridge at the entrance of the city, the reconnoitring party was fired upon and a skirmish ensued which lasted for three hours and ended in the bridge being seized and three guns taken. The rebels were driven back with slaughter; the greater part of the city was, according to the last accounts, in possession and occupied by our picquets; from heavy firing on the cantonments side which is opposite the side on which Brigadier Jones' Column from Moradabad would have approached it was known that another Column had arrived but communication with it has not been opened up to the time of writing. There can be no doubt that the Column alluded to is the force under the Commander-in-Chief, who was joined on the 3rd by the troops which composed Brigadier Penny's Column. It is certain now that Brigadier Penny, whose death was rumoured here some days ago, was killed at Kukrowlie[2] about ten miles from Budaoon (Badaun)

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] See pp. 445, 446 also.

where (as before reported) the troops under his command engaged the rebels.

We have authentic information that the city of Bareilly was entirely occupied by our troops on the morning of the 7th instant. On the 6th the rebels outside the town were attacked by the Commander-in-Chief, and driven inside with the loss of several guns. The Column under Brigadier-General Jones co-operated from the Moradabad side. Brigadier-General Jones with a strong force marched on the 8th to the relief of Shajehanpore where a wing of the 82nd Regiment has been besieged since the advance of the Commander-in-Chief. He is expected to reach Shajehanpore on the 10th or 11th instant.[1]

* * *

Bulletin dated Agra, 11th May 1858.

Etah 9th—Mr. Charles reports that Raheem Alee Khan had come with his force to Sahuswan. No *Ghats* were fordable except at Kusraree[3], and Bhugla. Rumours of the capture of Khan Bahadur Khan.

Alygurh 10th—Ganges had fallen 6 inches. Raheem Alee's force reported to have gone to Sahuswan. Rumours that the Nana had fled towards the Terai.

Meerut 10th May—Bareilly has been fully reoccupied. Feroze Sha Shazadah killed. Khan Bahadur Khan said to be in an entrenchment with 1,000 men. *The Nana had gone off towards Oude.* Columns detached in pursuit. H. M. 60th and 64th with squadrons of the Carabineers and Mooltanee Horse had been sent to the relief of Shajehanpoor.[2]

NANA RETREATS TO TARAI

Bulletin dated Agra, 10th May 1858.

Soron 7th—Dhara (Dara) Sing, who looks after the *Ghats*, reports from Oochaonee[4] in Budaon the news there obtained

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 13th May 1858, p. 147. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Not clearly decipherable.

[3] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Apparently spelt for *Ujhani* in *Badaun* District.

from Bareilly : *The Nana said to have fled towards the Terai, followed by Sobha Ram, Khan Bahadur; Firoze Shah and Bandeh Khan said to be at Bareilly prepared to fight and die,* but their followers deserting them.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 10th May 1858.

NANA LEAVES BAREILLY

The native intelligence yesterday evening was so circumstantial about the 8th and victory at Bareilly that I have no doubt of the Nana's flight and our being in possession of Bareilly.[2]

REPORTS ABOUT THE DESTRUCTION OF CHURCH & COLLEGE AT BAREILLY EXAGGERATED

In a letter dated "Camp Bareilly, 8th May" written by a non-combatant with the Commander-in-Chief's Column, it is said, that the Mahomedans did very little damage to the little church at that place, and that they saved the college also,[3] which sheltered a regiment of Europeans. Little sickness in Camp.[4]

REVOLUTIONARIES' RETREAT TOWARDS PILIBHIT

ENCOUNTER AT MIRGANJ

In Moradabad the country remains quiet, and Brigadier Jones' force, advancing upon Bareilly, met with no opposition till they arrived in the neighbourhood of Meergunje (Mirganj) where a small Column of the enemy said to have been commanded by the Shahzadah Ferozshah, was routed after a smart encounter, of which the particulars are not, however, as yet known.

[1] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] *cf.* Ball: *History of Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, p. 330. (p. 465 of this book).
[4] *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, May 31, 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.

BRIGADIER JONES' FORCE ATTACKED

On the morning of the 6th the reconnoitring party moving towards Bahadoor Sing's Bridge at the entrance of Bareilly was fired upon by the enemy and driven back; an attack was immediately made on this post and it was carried and three guns taken after a fight which lasted for 3 hours. The advantage was quickly followed up, and before dusk the principal part of the city was in the hands of our troops.

ENCOUNTER WITH C.-IN-C.'S COLUMN

The main body of the enemy had meanwhile proceeded to some distance along the Shahjehanpore Road, and obstinately engaged the Commander-in-Chief's Column. They were however defeated with considerable loss, and finding the city no longer tenable, dispersed during the night, the major portion, with all their leaders flying in the direction of Pileebheet (Pilibhit).

TOWN PLUNDERED

The station with the exception of the church, was wholly destroyed. A few Eurasians, two of them drummers of the 9th Native Infantry and the rest chiefly women and children who had been detained in captivity, were rescued in the city or neighbouring villages.[1]

SHAHJAHANPUR INVESTED

Telegraphic Message from H. Vansittart, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 7th May 1858.

The news brought by a sowar from Shajahanpore is good. The jail is very strong, they saved fifty carts laden with provisions. Very few Europeans killed or wounded. The enemy eight thousand strong has some twelve guns but the practice is bad. The investment is not complete. The Raja of

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 9th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Powayan had collected supplies when his Mahomedan levies mutinied. Sir Colin's guns were heard before Barreilly.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 9th May 1858.

No certain information regarding the state of affairs at Shahjehanpore has been received but it is said that the entrenchment round the jail in which our troops are posted is very strong and that fifty cart loads of provisions were saved when the attack reported in a previous message was made. The investment is not complete although the rebels it is said are eight thousand (8,000) strong and have 12 guns....[2]

SHAHJAHANPUR REPORTED RELIEVED ?

Letter No. 1 *from C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Badaun, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand), at Bareilly, dated Camp Fureedpoor (Faridpur), 8th May* 1858.

I have the honor to report for your information that in compliance with your instructions received yesterday, I accompanied the force under Brigadier-General Jones which left Bareilly this morning for the relief of Shahjehanpoor.

2*nd*—We reached this place after a most distressingly hot march, one European soldier having died of sunstroke, 25 men having gone into hospital affected by the heat.

3*rd*—There is a strong report in Camp to the effect that Shahjehanpoor has already been relieved either by General Grant from the side of Oude or by Brigadier Seaton from Futtehghur (Fatehgarh). We have been unable as yet to ascertain the accuracy of this report, but as a communication passed through this morning from Futtehghur for the Head Quarters

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
cf. Also, Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mainpuri, to E. A. Reade, Agra dated 6th May 1858. (p. 442 of this book).
[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Camp at Bareilly perhaps this may give sure information on the subject. Should it do so, I shall feel obliged by your kindly giving me the intelligence by return of post as the Brigadier-General has expressed great anxiety on the subject being desirous, I believe, if possible to save his men from their long and distressing marches.[1]

GUN FIRING CONTINUES IN SHAHJAHANPUR

Letter No. 3 *from C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Badaun, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand) at Bareilly, dated Camp Tilhar,* 10*th May* 1858.

I have the honor to report for your information that the force to which I am attached, arrived here at 7 A. M. this morning having left Fureedpoor (Faridpur) 5 O'clock yesterday evening and made a double march in the course (of) the night.

2*nd*—I found Uhmud Hoosein (Ahmad Husain) the *Tehseeldar* here ready to receive us. He had made excellent arrangements for furnishing the force with supplies of all kinds, and would appear to have much influence for good with the Thakoor population of the neighbourhood which he informed me was generally well disposed and ready and willing to cooperate with him. He spoke very highly in particular of the services of Jeet Singh *zumeendar* of Dhukiya (Dhakia) who with the aid of his followers is at present carrying on the duties of a Police *Darogha* here.

3*rd*—I suggested to him the establishment of a police post at Kuttra (Katra), and mentioned to him the names of one or two influential Hindoo land-holders in the neighbourhood who I thought would be able to afford him assistance in carrying out this measure. He has undertaken to carry it out if possible.

4*th*—I was able yesterday to arrange satisfactorily for the Camp communication with Bareilly.

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May '57 to 19th July '58"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

5*th*—On our first entrance here this morning we could hear quite distinctly the guns from Shajehanpoor. The firing however has not been repeated during the course of the day.

6*th*—I have furnished the Brigadier-General with such information as I have been able to obtain through spies of the numbers and position of the enemy. And I believe we march at 3 A. M. to-morrow morning. The Moulvee has not been able to make any impression on our entrenchment. The force confined there would appear however to be badly off for supplies, and our arrival to-morrow morning will no doubt be gladly hailed. I hope to have the pleasure of sending an account of their complete discomfiture by to-morrow's post.[1]

MUHAMMADI FLAG AT MUHAMDI, SHAHJAHANPUR AND SHAHABAD

Telegraphic Message No. 152 *from Henry Vansittart, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated* 11*th May* 1858.

The Mahomedans have flocked from Shahabad[2]. Unless Shahjahanpore is soon relieved there will be great troubles. There are three green flags now flying at Mohumdee, Shahjaunpore and Shahabad.[3]

NANA AT SHAHJAHANPUR

Telegraphic Message from H. Vansittart, Futtygur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 11*th May* 1858.

The English troops said to be four or five regiments are this day within three miles of Shajahanpoor; the enemy is in

[1] Department–XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July '58"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Shahabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Shahabad*, District *Hardoi*—The headquarters of the tahsil stands in latitude 27° 38′ north and longitude 79° 57′ east, on the main road from Lucknow to Shahjahanpur through Hardoi, at a distance of 22 miles north-west of Hardoi and 15 miles south of Shahjahanpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Hardoi, 1904, p. 266).

[3] Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 580. National Archives, New Delhi.

numbers very powerful. The Nana has joined. The Mahomedan population* is excited.[1]

BATTLE OF SHAHJAHANPUR

Letter No. 7 *from C. P. Carmichael, Offg. Magistrate and Collector of Badaun, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand) at Bareilly, dated Camp Shahjehanpur (Shahjahanpur),* 15*th May* 1858.

Having learnt by your demi-official communication dated 12th instant, but only received yesterday, that of all my letters addressed to you since I joined this Column not one had reached you, I have the honor herewith to enclose you copies of them all with the exception of copy of the one which I wrote to you on the 12th instant No. 4 and which contained an account of our actions with the enemy on the 11th instant, of the capture of the city, and of the relief of our garrison in the jail. Not anticipating the miscarriage or loss of the *Dak*, I had sent my rough copy of this letter to Major Ramsay at Nynee Tal (Naini Tal) for perusal, as he had begged me to keep him informed of all that was going on down below. I am still in hope that this letter may (as well as those I wrote you both before and after, and copies of which are transmitted) have reached you, but lest it should not, I will endeavour to give in this a recapitulation from memory of my former narrative.

2*nd*—We left Tilhur (Tilhar) on the morning of the 11th at 2 A.M. We reached the ford across the Gurra (Gharra) *Nuddee* on the road which leads to cantonments about half an hour before sunrise. The advanced guard, to which I had been desired to attach myself, had crossed the river, when a body of the enemy's Cavalry were observed on the road leading to the city, which as you are aware diverges at right angles at this point from the Cantonment Road, keeping to the right bank of the river. A squadron of Mooltanee Horse was sent to watch the enemy's suwars, and meantime our light guns, Carabineers, and Rifles were crossed. It was then discovered that the ford was impracticable for our heavy guns, and the enemy being at the same time reported to be in strength,

* "Of Futtehgarh I suppose"—Note in Original.

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Cavalry, Artillery and Infantry on the right bank of the river, the troops were re-crossed, and our order of battle formed to the best of my recollection in the following manner. The Horse Artillery on our right, then the Highlanders, after them the Rifles, then some of the heavy guns, and a squadron of Carabineers on the left again of the guns, and with their left resting on the river. Some of the Mooltanee Horse were, if I remember right, on our left front, and another body of them on our right front. The wing of the 82nd Queens and the 22nd P. I. (Punjab Infantry) formed our second line. The enemy had a cloud of apparently splendid Cavalry on their right flank. These men maintained a very bold attitude, and only retired slowly on the shells from the eight-inch howitzers bursting amongst them. Their Infantry and guns were during the action kept well under cover. Our line advanced driving the enemy before us up to the bridge of boats at the entrance to the city. This the enemy attempted to destroy, but our skirmishers and Horse-Artillery were too close upon them, and they were obliged to abandon the attempt and to retire into the city. The troops were then halted, and the heavy ordnance being brought forward, the city was shelled for some two or three hours. Information being then received that the enemy had abandoned the south side of it, a detachment from the Highlanders, if I remember, occupied the Fort, and similarly the stone bridge over the Kunort[1] *Nuddee* on the eastern side and the *pukka suraee* adjoining, known as Hukeem Mehndee's, were taken possession of by detachments from the 82nd Queens and 22nd P. I. (Punjab Infantry). Two guns were placed in position on the stone bridge, and a barricade thrown up and a gun pointed down the main-street which runs past the *kotwallee* into cantonments. It was then determined by the Brigadier-General that our main-Column should make its advance to cantonments through the street on the eastern suburbs and which debouches on to cantonments immediately under the *kutcherie* (*kachehri*). At the request of the Brigadier-General I accompanied the advance guard of the Rifles under Captain Maquire to show them the way. We met with no opposition, and had got nearly to the end of the street and close up to the new school when we saw a body of the enemy's

[1] Correct name may be *Khanaut*.

Cavalry on our right in the open plain close to the old bridge of boats called the Lodeepoor (Lodipur) Bridge. The Rifles and Highlanders were immediately advanced and the Artillery and Carabineers coming up simultaneously through the street which we had vacated for them by inclining to the right, wheeled to the right and forming up on our left the Artillery opened shrapnel on the enemy. The Carabineers were then sent forward, but the enemy never gave them a chance. They followed up however and captured a gun and ammunition waggon, as well as cut up some strugglers[1]. We halted now for some ten minutes in a tope of trees adjoining the new School House, and then made our way through Mr. Buller's compound and past the church to the jail without meeting with any further opposition whatever. The whole city is in our possession and troops stationed at the most important points in it. I have been employed since my arrival here in clearing out and preparing quarters for the officers and men in the fort, in which part of the troops are, I understand, to be located.

May 16—I was obliged to close this letter abruptly yesterday, as we were attacked in great force by the enemy. As I have since received your orders to come into Bareilly and hope to be there by the morning of the 18th instant, I defer any further communication till then.[2]

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN AND ISMAIL KHAN TO JOIN THE MAULVI

Letter No. 5 *from C. P. Carmichael, Offg. Magistrate and Collector of Badaun, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund* (*Rohilkhand*), *at Bareilly, dated Camp Shajehanpoor* (*Shahjahanpur*), 13*th May* 1858.

I have the honor to inform you that I applied this morning to Brigadier-General Jones for an escort to enable me to return to Bareilly. The General in reply to my request informed me that he could not spare a man until his contemplated

[1] It should have been 'stragglers'.

[2] Department-XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

expedition to Mohumdee (Muhamdi) was over. After this he said he would see to my safe conduct to Bareilly.

2nd—Under these circumstances I have the honor to request instructions from you as to my future movements; and to state that if there is any immediate prospect of a force moving into the Badaon District I am prepared to make my way across to Bareilly in the best way I can intent[1] an escort—if not, I will stay here until the General can furnish me with one and continue to be of what assistance I can to Mr. Money.

3rd—Khan Bahadoor Khan and Ismaeel Khan were reported to have been yesterday at Jarmeyee, a village 2 *koss* to the north of Pomaieen[2]. They had some 4000 suwars and as many more matchlockmen with them, and also eleven guns. They were reported to be *en route* to Mohumdee to join the Moulvee[3] there.[4]

SHAHJAHANPUR RELIEVED BY BRITISH

More recent accounts from Bareilly assign great importance to the share taken by Brigadier Jones in the capture of the city. His Column reached Bareilly on the 6th and carried the bridge and one quarter of the town, after a skirmish which lasted for three hours. There they entrenched themselves and awaited the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief. His Excellency arrived outside the city on the 5th, and was encountered by Khan Bahadoor with his whole force. The rebels, whose position rested in front on a bridge over the Nukuttea (Nakatia) were dislodged, and followed into the cantonments. The heavy guns drove them out of that position, and by the 7th, the town was in our hands. No lists of casualties have yet arrived, but the 60th Rifles, the Mooltanee Horse, and some Afghan Horse appear to have borne the burden of the day. Prince Feroze Khan Shahzada is said to have been killed, but the majority of the rebels escaped, apparently

[1] 'Intent' appears to have no sense here. It must be 'without'.
[2] Apparently '*Pawayan*' has been referred to.
[3] Maulvi 'Ahmad Ullah Shah' may be intended here.
[4] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May '57 to 19th July '58"; Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar

towards Mahomdee. On the 9th[1] Brigadier Jones was despatched to relieve Shahjehanpore, still held by the force, which descended on Sir Colin's rear from Mahomdee. An attack made by the rebels on the jail on the 9th May failed, and on the 11th enemy were driven from the town and pursued for some miles. These positions, therefore, the keys of Rohilcund, are fairly in our hands.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from H. Vansittart, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 12th May 1858.

Shajehanpore was relieved yesterday and the Moulvie[3] defeated, Cavalry in pursuit.[4]

NANA AND KHAN BAHADUR NEAR SHAHJAHANPUR

Bulletin dated Agra, 20th May 1858.

Futtehgarh, 19th (May)—The Moulavee (Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah) was entrenched 3 *coss* east of Shahjehanpoor, and by the latest account the enemy was in force at Lodhapoor[5]

A letter from Shajehanpoor dated 16th states that the enemy were defeated with a loss of 500 on the 12th and by the relieving force from Bareilly. On the 15th they were still in force about 5 or 6 miles east of Shajehanpoor. The Nana and Khan Bahadur Khan were said to be with them. More troops were expected from Bareilly.[6]

[1] In other documents 8th May is given as the date when Brigadier Jones was despatched to relieve Shahjahanpur. (See pp. 472, 511).
[2] *The Friend of India*, 20th May, 1858, pp. 460-461. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] Reference is to 'Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah'.
[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[5] Can be read as '*Sodhapoor*' also; may have been spelt for *Lodipur*.
[6] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

BRITISH REOCCUPATION OF MORADABAD AND BAREILLY

Enclosure (Narrative of Events) to a Letter No. 1 from the Magistrate and Collector, Bareilly, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand Division, at Bareilly, dated 13th May 1858.

FIROZ SHAH IN POSSESSION OF MORADABAD

April 24th[1]—Chujlytee[2] entered the Moradabad District this day. As Mr. Shakespear remained in the Bijnore District, and as it was necessary that some one should assume charge of the Moradabad District and provide supplies for the force under General Jones I undertook the work and I trust that my having done so will meet your approval. During the day we heard that Feroze Shah had entered Moradabad on the 22nd instant, that he had been joined by the greater portion of the Nowab of Rampoor's troops and that he was there in possession of the city.

ARREST OF REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

April 25th—Marched towards Moradabad. On our arrival there Kasim Ali, the younger brother of the Nowab of Rampoor came out to meet General Jones. Our troops encamped on the race course; immediately after our arrival I rode round the city with Brigadier Coke and posted guards at the entrance to prevent the escape of certain of the rebel leaders reported to be there. After the Guards had been posted, entered the town with Brigadier Coke and his Regiment of Punjab Rifles and 2 guns. After a long search succeeded in arresting Majee oodeen[3] Khan, Assud Ali Khan, Abid Ali Khan, Sajid Ali Khan, Neaz Ali Khan, Kubbeer Ali Khan and other leaders of the rebellion. Majee-oodeen Khan was shot in the evening and his body afterwards exposed at the *cotwallie* to assure the people of the fact of his death.

[1] 24th April 1858.
[2] Name incomprehensible.
[3] Correct name may be 'Majid-uddin Khan', which may be the ful name of 'Majjoo Khan'.

RAHIM ALI KHAN AT SAMBHAL

Monday April 26th—Went over the *cutchery* and other buildings with the Ex. Engineer. Recd. (received) reports from Lalla Goorsahai Mall at Gujroula (Gajraula) and from the *Thanadar* of Bussuntpoor (Basantpur) that a body of rebels under Rahim Ali Khan were assembled at Sumbhul and Sirsa Seraee and were plundering the villages near those places. Reported this to the General who sent out force consisting of one Sikh Regiment, 2 guns and the Mooltan Cavalry to Bilari with directions to clear the country of rebels in that direction. General Jones issued strict orders against plundering and in the evening rode through the city to reassure the people who were gradually returning to their houses. Most of the shops were open.

EXECUTION OF SOME LEADERS

Tuesday 27th—Nowab Assud Ali (Asad Ali) Khan, Abid Ali Khan, Sajid Ali Khan, Kubbeer Ali Khan, Shaik Amanut-oollah (Shaikh Amanat Ullah) having been tried and found guilty of rebellion were hung this morning. Rode through the city, afterwards nearly all the shops opened. Everything quiet. The force sent on to Bilari moved on towards Sumbhul (Sambhal).

Wednesday 28th—Made arrangements for the repairs of the church, public buildings and houses destroyed by the rebels, issued notices for the realization of the *Rubbi Kist* due next month.

Thursday 29th—Went down to see the bridge which I have had remade over the Ramganga, the old one having been burnt by Feroze Shah.

MORADABAD CITY OCCUPIED BY BRITISH FORCES

Friday 30th—Mr. Alexander, the Commissioner of Rohilcund, arrived in the afternoon; the Nowab of Rampoor paid a visit to the General in Camp. The people of the city proposed to illuminate the city in celebration of the occupation of the district and also asked leave to give a dinner to the whole force.

Saturday May 1st—Rode through the city. All the shops

open, people quiet and contented. In the evening the whole city was illuminated by the people.

Sunday May 2nd—General Jones received orders to march towards Bareilly in compliance with orders received from the Commissioner; made over charge of the district of Moradabad to the Nowab of Rampoor.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ENTRENCHED AT MIRGANJ

Monday May 3rd—Marched to Gunnaish (Ganesh) Ghat near Rampoor 14 miles; heard that the rebels were entrenched at Meergunje and at the Dojora on the road to Bareilly. As there seemed some doubt whether the latter *Nullah* was fordable the Engineer took the platform of the bridge over the Kosee Nuddee.

Tuesday 4th—Marched to Kumoora Damora, heard various reports as to the strength of the enemy at Meergunje and the Dojora; sent some men on ahead to ascertain if possible the real force of the rebels.

Wednesday 5th—Marched at 2 A. M., at Milck (Milak) the detachment to Sumbul joined the main Column; heard that the enemy were still at Meergunje and the Dojora; found the entrenchment at Meergunje deserted, the enemy having left just before our arrival. The Artillery and Cavalry were sent on in pursuit; the rebels were driven across the Dojora without attempting to make a stand with the loss of all their guns; encamped at Fattehgunje on the Bareilly side of the Dojora, posted a *Thanahdar* with some men at Meergunje to keep the Moradabad Road open, posted a *thanah* also at Seroulie.

Thursday 6th—Reached Bareilly by daylight. The General attacked the enemy posted at Bahadur pur[2] and gradually got possession of the city to within 300 yards of the new *kotwalie*; during the night the city was evacuated by the rebels. Khan Bahadoor Khan having left on the afternoon of the 5th for Pileebheet (Pilibhit), Sobha Ram went in the same direction early this morning. Posted a *thanah* at Futtehgunje on the

[1] *cf. Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, p. 3. (pp. 441–442 of this book).

[2] Can be read as 'Pul' also.

road to Moradabad. Got a Guard from the General to the Soukara (Sahukara) *Mahulla* (*Muhalla*).

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN'S HOUSE IN BRITISH POSSESSION

Friday 7th—The Commander-in-Chief entered the city, took possession of Khan Bahadoor Khan's house, appointed Gungapershad, *Tehseeldar* of Bareilly, and Budur-oodeen, *Kotwal*, began to enlist men as *Burkundazes*.

Saturday 8th—Visited a part of the city quite deserted by the inhabitants, issued proclamations throughout the district warning the people against protecting and harbouring rebels and desiring them to remain quietly in their houses.

Sunday 9th—.....[1]

ATTEMPT TO ARREST KABIR SHAH

Monday 10th—Received information that Kabeer Shah one of the rebel leaders and a relation of Khan Bahadoor Khan's was concealed in a village about 7 *coss* off; sent off a party of Rajpoot sowars to arrest him. Sent a *Tehseeldar* and *Thanahdar* with a proper establishment to Furreedpoor (Faridpur) and Besulpoor (Bisalpur); posted Police throughout the city and issued a proclamation calling in the people to return and reoccupy their houses. Getting the *Dafter* into order.

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN AT GAJRAULA

Tuesday 11th—Kabeer Shah seized and brought in with Wuzzeer Mohd. Khan, *Tehseeldar* of Seroulie under Khan Bahadoor Khan; one of the Police sent to arrest him was shot and some wounded; his followers made their escape; reported to the Commander-in-Chief that parties of the rebels were collecting at Akyhun about 10 miles west of Bareilly; at Seroulie about 13 miles further and at Kullua towards Budaon also; that Rahim Ali Khan was at Saheswan and said to be advancing towards Bisoulie (Bisauli) with 1800 men and 6 guns; a force

[1] No description is given in the Original.

ordered to go out. Khan Bahadoor Khan reported to be at Gujroula with 4000 men and some guns; issued translations of the Governor General's proclamations.

Wednesday 12*th*—Rode through the city this morning; a good many of the inhabitants already returned; the streets being cleaned and swept; tried Kabeer Shah and Wuzzeer Mahomud Khan, found them guilty and sentenced them to be hung; received a report that an English boy was in a village about 8 miles off, supposed to be a son of Mr. Phellan[1] who was murdered here last year. Sent out a party of sowars under Dummur Sing[2] to bring him in. Collecting straw, bamboos and wood for the Engineer Office. Got the *Kist-bundie* for May ready for part of the district.[3]

ASSEMBLY OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AT PILIBHIT

Since the capture of the city, the Civil Authority (-ties) have been busied in re-establishing the Police and Revenue administration. Brigadier Coke with a Column was sent (accompanied by Mr. Ricketts as Civil Officer) towards Pelibheet (Pilibhit), where formidable gatherings of Pathan rebels are reported.

Two of the leading rebels in this district, Wuzeer Mahomed Khan, the rebel *Tehseeldar* of Seraoli, and Kubeer (Kabir) Shah Khan, the Pay-master of the rebel forces were arrested on the 10th (after a struggle, in which one of the Police was killed), they were tried and executed on the 12th.[4]

KABIR SHAH AND WAZIR MUHAMMAD HANGED

Enclosure to the Letter No. 3 *from the Collector, Shahjahanpur, to the Commissioner, Rohilkhand Division, dated* 14*th May* 1858.

Thursday May 13*th*, 1858—Rode through the city this

[1] Name incomprehensible.
[2] Correct name may be 'Dambar Sing'.
[3] Department–XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Bareilly for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

morning, the people are beginning to return to their houses. Sent Ameer Ali and Abdoolla Khan with Mr. Ricketts to be posted as *Tehseeldar* and *Thanadar* of Pilibheet on the reoccupation of that place; also sent Yaheea (Yahiya) Khan to be posted at Jehanabad when Mr. Ricketts thinks fit to send him there. Appointed Goolzarrie (Gulzari) Lall *Tehseeldar* of Nowabgunge (Nawabganj) with proper establishment under him. Posted *Dak* Runners on the road to Pilibheet. Sent Dalchund, an influential *zemindar* of the Doonka (Dunka) *Tehseelee*, to Brigadier Coke to assist in procuring information etc. Kubbeer Shah (Kabir Shah) and Wuzeer Mahommed Khan were hung this morning, a very large crowd of natives were assembled at the spot.[1]

ENCOUNTER AT BISALPUR

Narrative of Events for 14*th May* 1858 *submitted by J. F. Inglis, Collector of Bareilly, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, dated Bareilly Collectorship,* 15*th May* 1858.

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN TOWARDS MUHAMDI, REPORTED CAPTURE OF SHOBHA RAM

Friday 14*th*—Went to see the place prepared for storing the provisions ordered to be laid in for the force stationed here. Appointed Durriow (Daryao) Sing *Tehseeldar* of Doonka, Rughonath Sing *Tehseeldar* of Nowabgunge, and Mukhun Lall *Tehseeldar* of Aonlah (Aonla), with an establishment of *Burkundazes* and sowars. Got some contractors for the Executive Engineer. Received report from Besulpoor that some of Khan Bahadoor Khan's sowars had come there and been driven away. That Khan Bahadoor Khan himself next fled to Mahomdie. A report going about, that Sobharam has been seized[2] near Powaine (Pawayan). Sent out a party to seize two men named Nunha Khan and Bhillur said to be hiding

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May '57 to 19th July '58"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
[2] *cf.* Narrative of Events for 18th May 1858. (p. 495).
(Also, See p. 470, line 2).

in a village close (by). This man ill-treated and murdered an English woman here last June.[1]

ACTION AGAINST REVOLUTIONARIES AT PILIBHIT

Bareilly, May 13th, 1858—Another force has been detached and sent off towards Pillibheet (Pilibhit) this morning to hunt down a collection of rebels there,...., and a commencement was made yesterday, in the way of executions by executing three of those who took service in Khan Bahadoor Khan's army. This morning were to be seen suspended his Pay Master General (*Bukshee*) Mahamed Kubeer Shah (Muhammad Kabir Shah) and son Wuzeer Mahomed, the latter is said to have been one of the Khan's active officers, and was styled a Deputy.....The Mahomedan population appear to have been tutored to the belief that they are to be doomed to absolute annihilation throughout the Province without reference to their acts. ....

KURMIS CONCEAL FUGITIVE REVOLUTIONARIES

Bareilly, May 15th—The Column bound for Pillibheet (Pilibhit) under Brigadier Coke has effected much good. In its course it has chased villages of rebel refugees from Bareilly who were distressing peaceful villagers and devastating the country. One of Khan Bahadoor Khan's principal officers, Futteh Shah Khan, a name grand in itself, was taken and accounted for on the gallows. *A sect called Kourmis, formerly the chief Hindoo population, evince great disinclination to afford any information and in some instance have not hesitated to conceal fugitives of the Khan's army.*

KHAN BAHADUR MAKING FOR MUHAMDI TO JOIN MAULVI AHMAD ULLAH

Khan Bahadoor Khan is reported in company with Ismael Khan, to be making for Mahomdee to join the Moulvee there.

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

He is said to have with him 4,000 sowars and as many matchlock-men and 11 guns. The Brigadier is at present looking after a notorious Mewati, calling himself Ali Khan, who appears to be in his vicinity with 500 Cavalry, 3 guns and no end of rabble.

KHAN BAHADUR'S HOUSE SEARCHED

Bareilly is quiet and looting prohibited by proclamation ....I visited Khan Bahadoor Khan's residence the other day; he seems to have been an avaricious brute, for there had he collected the property of a number of the late European residents of the station, together with office records of this Collectorate and Commissionerships.[1]

FATEH SHAH KHAN HANGED

News dated Monday, May 24, 1858.

Major Coke immediately after the occupation of Bareilly was ordered towards Pilleebheet (Pilibhit),....He has captured one of Bahadoor Khan's[2] chief officers, Futteh Shah Khan. The man has been hanged. Major Coke hopes to apprehend one Ali Khan who has a force of 500 Cavalry and 3 guns with some rabble Infantry.[3]

STEPS TO CURB STRUGGLE IN PILIBHIT

The force under Brigadier Coke was recalled by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief from Pilibheet the day it reached that place. Mr. Ricketts accompanied the force and established *thanahs* and *tehseels* on his way selecting for the purpose men of local influence, who could keep their ground with little assistance from government. A similar course has been adopted elsewhere so that the whole district, excepting

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 26, 1858, p. 496; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, May 19). National Library, Calcutta.

[2] 'Khan Bahadur Khan'.

[3] *The Friend of India*, May 27, 1858, p. 487. National Library, Calcutta.

the *pergunnahs* of Shahee, Donka[1] which* are yet disturbed, is in our possession. The disaffected are for the present quiet, but numbers are lurking in concealment, and the people generally show little readiness either to give them up or to afford information. The Commissioner attributes this state of feeling mainly to fear, the Mussulmans in this direction having thoroughly cowed the Hindoo population. And Mr. Ricketts describes the confidence of the people as rapidly returning.

ARREST OF SOME LEADERS

Some rebels of importance have been arrested and sentenced, the chief of these are Moolla Mean (Mulla Mian), one of the murderers of Dr. Hay, and Bhoola and Nuthoo Mean who were concerned in the murder of Mr. Raikes.

Good progress has been made by the Engineers in the various military erections in course of construction.[2]

BRITISH FORCES AT BADAUN

Bulletin dated Agra, 19th May 1858.

Budaon, May 15th—The native post-master reports the arrival of a British force at Budaon, and the re-establishment of *thannah*, but no Collector had yet come.[3]

[1] Apparently *Dunka*, Pargana *Shahi*, Tahsil *Mirganj*, District *Bareilly*—The large village of Dunka was one of considerable importance, since from 1824 to 1863 it was the headquarters of the tahsil now known as Mirganj. It stands in 28° 36′ N. and 79° 18′ E., by the right bank of the western Bahgul and on the road from Shahi to Shishgarh, some five miles north from the former and 23 miles from Bareilly. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 226).

* "By gangs under the leadership of Nizam Allee Khan, Hubbeeb-oolla Khan and Ullee Khan. These bands are not at present formidable" —Marginal note in the Original.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Bareilly for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

REVOLUTIONARIES STILL ACTIVE IN BADAUN

Budaon—Although the European officials had not been despatched as yet to this district, yet Mr. J. C. Wilson while proceeding as Civil Officer with General Penny's force had appointed *Thanahdars* at Oosuth (Usaith or Usehat), Oojhanee (Ujhani), and Bilsee, and a "*Nazim*" to Datagunge (Dataganj). From the account received from these officials it would appear that open rebellion has ceased in the northern and eastern parts of this district, but many of the disaffected are still in hiding; strong bands of rebels with guns still hold the rest of the district: some of the rebels with their arms and horses have been seized.[1]

POPULATION IN BIJNAUR DISARMED

Bijnour—This district remains quiet; supported by Lieutenant-Colonel Smyth's small Column, the Magistrate has commenced disarming the population, and has hitherto found no resistance—86 prisoners, fugitives taken in arms after the battle of Nugeena (Nagina), were sent in by the Kashepoor (Kashipur) Rajah; a few have been punished, but the majority have been released on the security of influential and loyal *zemindars*.....[2]

SHAHJAHANPUR THREATENED AGAIN BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Shahjehanpoor was relieved by Brigadier Jones' force on the 11th instant, after a short action, in which a gun was captured by H. M.'s 6th Dragoon Guards. On the 15th, the rebels under the personal guidance of the Fyzabad Moulvi, came down on Shahjehanpoor with an extremely large force, but after a distant cannonade, contented themselves with one charge on some of our light guns, which was immediately repulsed, with heavy loss to them, and none to ourselves;

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Badaun District for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

one of their chiefs of distinction is said to have fallen on this occasion; and their whole body subsequently retired on Mohumdee. Our troops suffered a good deal from exposure to the sun during these operations. Civil administration was, under the circumstances, naturally suspended.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from H. Vansittart, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 14th May 1858.

Communication with Shajehanpore had again been disturbed but is now open. There is a desultory sort of fighting in the neighbourhood. The state of the city is wretched, every shop having been plundered. The Thakoors, whom I called on to hold Jullalabad (Jalalabad), have a garrison of six hundred men and closed that road to fugitives.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from A. Ross, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra dated 17th May 1858.

Latest news from Shajehanpore that the rebels with eight guns and a large force of Cavalry attacked our position with little loss on either side on the 15th. Rebels in strong force in the neighbourhood, Cavalry very numerous. De Kantzow severely wounded.[3]

BRITISHERS ATTACKED ON TWO SIDES AT SHAHJAHANPUR

Letter from C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Badaun, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, Bareilly, dated Shahjahanpur, 15th May (1858).

It will be impossible for me to start for Bareilly to-morrow.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Shahjahanpur for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Ibid.*

I have written to tell General Mansfield so. We have been engaged the whole day with the enemy, who attacked us from two sides (the N. and N. E.) in immense masses. We have driven them back of course. But it has been a downright good fight, the rebels fighting with the greatest determination and pluck, their suwars charging right up to our guns. All the rebel leaders of note, the Bareilly fellons[1] included, are said to be with them, and their Cavalry are in hordes. Our troops are (4 P. M.) still out.

I will write you full particulars of the fight tomorrow. You do not mention it, but I hope that by this time you have received my account of our affairs on the 11th. Our possession of the city has not been shaken in the least to-day. We have held it through the fight. I should come to-night, but that a large body of the enemy's Cavalry is reported to have swept round in the direction of Tilhur from the Poowaieen (Pawayan) Road and it is not safe travelling. For a similar reason I have detained Seetul Purshad. I will come as soon as ever I can get away. Let me know if my public letters have reached you, I have written to you regularly since I left Bareilly.[2]

ENGAGEMENT AT KHANAUT NADI

Letter No. 1 of 1858 from G.P. Money, Magistrate of Shahjehanpoor (Shahjahanpur), to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhund (Rohilkhand), dated 17th May 1858.

I have the honor to report for your information that I arrived at Shahjehanpoor on 30th ultimo (April) in company with the force under His Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell; the rebels offered no opposition, and on entering the city we found it, almost, deserted.

2*nd*—At the request of the Commander-in-Chief, I made known to those of the inhabitants, who were present, that, the town would be saved from plunder, and that, the property of the residents would be protected; and with this assurance,

[1] Wrongly spelt for 'felons'. 'fellows' is also applicable.

[2] Department–XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

I was induced to hope that, the people would be induced to return, and resume their former occupations.

BRITISH MEASURES AGAINST AN EXPECTED ATTACK FROM MUHAMDI

3*rd*—The Commander-in-Chief, after halting one day, resumed his march to Bareilly, leaving a small force, consisting of 500 of H. M's 82nd Regiment, 20 Artillery-men, with two 24-Prs. (Pounders) and two 9-Pr. guns, and Captain De Kantzow's Horse (numbering about 250) to garrison the station, with orders to encamp in a tope of trees near the jail, and to retreat within the enclosure, in the event of an attack being made by the rebel force from Mohomdee. Lieutenant Murray, Engineers, was also left in charge of 20 Native Sappers (without tools of any kind) with orders to make the works round the jail defensible.

4*th*—The force marched into cantonments on Sunday morning 2nd instant. During the afternoon I received information, that, the rebels had left Mohomdee, and were marching in this direction, and had reached the village of Oodeypoor about 9 miles distant. I, at once, communicated the intelligence to Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, who commanded the force, and recommended that the guns, which were then outside the walls of the jail, should be removed inside, without delay.

5*th*—I had managed to collect, during the day, about 330 coolees (coolies), which I made over to Lieutenant Murray to carry on the works and in consequence of the information I had received of the approach of the rebels, I urged the necessity of keeping the coolees at works all night, which was, accordingly, done : and owing to the energy and zeal displayed by Lieutenant Murray there was completed by the following morning, a bastion at the N. W. corner, for one of the 24-Prs., and a traverse opposite the gateway; besides which, a trench, about 100 yds. in length was dug outside the weakest part of the enclosure.

REVOLUTIONARIES' ATTACK ON 82ND REGIMENT

6*th*—The following morning, about 10 A. M. I received word that, the rebels had arrived within 4 miles of the station,

and on my reporting the same to Colonel Hale, he gave the order for the camp to be struck, and the baggage to be taken within the jail enclosure; scarcely had this been done, when the enemy's Cavalry, after crossing the Khunout *Nuddee* at Mhow Ghat, came down upon a part of the 82nd who were thrown out in skirmishing order. They went right through the line, and then attacked Captain De Kantzow's Horse, which were drawn up to the right near the church. The Infantry then entered within the entrenchment.

EXCHANGE OF FIRE

7*th*—The enemy got 4 guns into position with great rapidity, and commenced firing into our entrenchment; but were answered by our two 24-Prs. (pounders); their shot did no harm, nearly every ball going over the building.

REVOLUTIONARIES OVERWHELM THE BRITISH FORCE

8*th*—Owing to their Cavalry being so numerous, they succeeded in completely surrounding us, and cutting off all our communications. The only, real, inconvenience, however, that we experienced during the 9 days we were besieged was, the scanty supply of provisions for the public cattle, which, notwithstanding my best exertions, I had been unable to procure in time, owing to the sudden appearance of the rebels; in fact there were 13 hackeries of supplies on the road from the city, at the time we were attacked, and which were, of course, plundered.

BRITISH REINFORCEMENTS FROM BAREILLY

9*th*—On the 11th instant, the force from Bareilly, under General Jones, which had been sent to our relief, arrived; they drove the enemy before them, and captured one of their guns. The two following days the city was given up to indiscriminate plunder and under orders from General Jones, a portion of it was set on fire.

FORCE UNDER MAULVI AHMAD ULLAH SHAH THREATENS BRITISH POSITIONS

10*th*—During the day of the 14th intelligence was received, that, the rebels had again marched from Mohomdee in

considerable force under command of the Molovee (Maulvi), and that they were to attack our force on three separate sides. The following morning, orders were issued by General Jones, for the whole force to be under arms at 1 A. M. and to be on the respective grounds assigned to them by 2 O'clock.

11*th*—The enemy did not, however, make their appearance till noon, and then their Cavalry showed a great force on the ridge of the hill, the other side of the Khunout *Nuddee*, they appeared to have 4 guns with which they opened at a long distance.

DE KANTZOW WOUNDED

12*th*—Our heavy guns then returned their fire with considerable effect which checked the advance of the Cavalry who appeared to be threatening our left flank. The fight lasted for about 2 hours, when the enemy retreated. We had none killed on our side; but Captain De Kantzow in command of a party of Police Horse was very severely wounded in repelling an attack, made by some *Ghazee* suwars, on one of the heavy guns.

13*th*—The troops remained during the night of the 15th upon the ground they occupied, and the following morning, there being no enemy, in sight, the force returned into Camp.[1]

ATTACK ON GENERAL JONES

Narrative of Events for 16*th and* 17*th May* 1858 *submitted by Collector of Bareilly to the Commissioner of Rohilkhand Division at Bareilly, dated Bareilly Collectorship,* 18*th May* 1858.

May 16*th and* 17*th*, 1858—Heard that the force at Shahjehanpoor under General Jones had been attacked by the rebels on Saturday. All the rebel leaders are said to be there, Khan Bahadur Khan, Mahmood Khan of Nujeebabad, Feroze Shah and others. Brigadier Coke was at Pilibheet on the 16th. Mr. Ricketts had sent in several rebels found hiding in the

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

villages near the time of march. Made over a number of carpenters, black-smiths, *bildars* etc. to the Executive Engineer. Small bands of the rebels still moving about the district. Bunnee Mean (Banney Mian), Nizam Alli Khan and the Nuwab of Futtehgurh are reported to be at Mohunpoor and are said to be going to a dinner party at Shergurh in the evening. The *Tehsildar* of Shahi ordered to place himself under the orders of Captain Crossman and endeavour to catch these fellows. Some 200 of the rebels assembled near Bisulpoor but were dispersed by the *Tehsildar* Bylas Sing (Bilas Singh) with the assistance of Hubeeb-olah (Habib Ullah) *zemindar*.[1]

REPORTED MOVE OF NANA AND OTHERS TOWARDS PIPALPUR

News dated Monday, May 17, 1858.

A native correspondent says "that not a single Mahomedan or rebel is to be seen in Bareilly. It is reported that Khan Bahadoor, Nana Rao and Soobah (Shobha) Ram have fled towards Peepulpore in the Shajehanpore District. When shall we catch these rascals ?"[2]

SHOBHA RAM REPORTED ARRESTED

Narrative of Events for 18*th May* 1858 *submitted by the Collector of Bareilly to Commissioner, Rohilkhand Division at Bareilly, dated Bareilly Collectorship,* 19*th May* 1858.

Tuesday May 18*th*, 1858—Made over some confiscated houses in the Purana Shahur and Nawmila[3] to the Executive Engineer. Workmen coming in quickly, and the people returning to the town rapidly. A number of workmen sent in by the Nawab of Rampoor, made over to the Executive Engineer. A report from Fureedpoor stating that there is

[1] Department–XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *The Friend of India*, May 20, 1858, p. 464. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Apparently "Nao Mahla,'—a locality in Bareilly—is meant.

rumour that Sobha Ram has been arrested[1] in the Pilibeet (Pilibhit) Division; sent to enquire.

JANGBAZ KHAN AND DULHA HANGED

Jungbaz Khan, commonly known as the *Padshah* of the *Ghasies*, hung by order of the Commissioner this morning, also a man named Doolla who attempted to kill Lieutenant Gowan last year when escaping from the mutineers. Heard that Bunnee Mean (Banney Mian) was at Kooadauda about 6 *coss* off with about 20 followers, sent out a party under Dhummee Sing to bring him in. The district gradually settling down and some revenue coming in.[2]

NOTED REVOLUTIONARIES TRIED AND SENTENCED

Within the last fortnight have been arrested, tried, sentenced and executed, Jungbaz Khan, a noted leader of the *Ghazees*, in short the king of the *Ghazees;* a man called Doolla, who attempted (on) the life of Lieutenant Gowan when escaping; one of the murderers of Dr. Hay; three individuals concerned in the murder of Mr. Raikes, one among them was his *Sherishtadar;* Zakir Ali, who on the promise of protection induced the Aspinall family to take shelter in his house, and after possessing himself of their elephant, other conveyances, cash etc., betrayed them into the hands of Khan Bahadoor Khan, who put them all to death at the *kotwallee*.....[3]

NANA REPORTED TO BE STILL AT BAREILLY

News dated Tuesday, May 18, 1858.

The Englishman affirms that the Nana Sahib is still in the neighbourhood of Bareilly, and that he has blown away from

[1] *cf.* Narrative of Events for 14th May 1858. (p. 485).
[2] Department–XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, June 9, 1858, p. 544. National Library, Calcutta.

a gun a man suspected of being favourably inclined to the British.[1]

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AT BAHERI

Narrative of Events for May 19, 1858, *submitted by the Collector of Bareilly to Commissioner of Rohilkhand Division, at Bareilly, dated Bareilly Collectorship, 20th May* 1858.

19*th May* 1858—The party of Sowars and Police sent out to arrest Bunnee Meean (Banney Mian) returned having captured Boolakee Meean (Bulaqi Mian), Nuttoo Meean (Natthoo Mian) and 5 others. Heard from the *Tehseeldar* of Shahi that parties of the rebels are still in that neighbourhood, a large number said to be at Baherie (Baheri). Mr. Ricketts returned from Pillibheet (Pilibhit) this morning having arrested and punished a number of the rebels in that part of the country. He was able to post a *Tehseeldar* and *Cotwal* at Pillibheet. Made over a number of workmen to the Executive Engineer. Got 3 lakhs of *Poolas* for him from Aonla. The people of the district continue to give ready and efficient assistance to the Police in the apprehension of rebels. As soon as I can ascertain with certainty the direction the rebels have gone in, who have retreated from Shajehanpoor, I shall be able to post the smaller Police *Chowkees*. Road open and safe between this and Moradabad.[2]

NIZAM ALI INTENDS TO ATTACK ISHARPUR

Narrative of Events for 20*th and* 21*st May* 1858, *submitted by Collector, Bareilly, to the Commissioner, Rohilkhand Division at Bareilly, dated Bareilly Collectorship, 22nd May* 1858.

Friday May 21*st*—Heard that Nizam Allie Khan was at Sheregurh or in that neighbourhood with a number of followers. Heard also that the villages in the Shahi *Pergunnah* were

[1] *The Friend of India*, May 20, 1858, p. 464. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] Department–XXIV, File No. 25: "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

full of small bands of the rebels; reported this to the Commissioner in order that a force might be detached to clear out that part of the country, for if this is not done and Nizam Allie left there it is most probable that he will be joined by the rebels now scattered about in the villages and by some of those now in Rampoor. The General Commanding the Division not having any troops to spare for this work, it must be done by the Police. Heard that Nizam Allie intended to make a *Chupa* (*Chhapa*)[1] on Ishurpoor and burn it in revenge for the assistance given by the inhabitants in arresting some rebels in Poorkunea. Made the following arrangement for the protection of Ishurpoor and for the arrest of Nizam Allie: sent Buduroodeen *Cotwal* with 100 picked *Burkundazes*, 35 sowars under Dhumar Sing *Resaldar*, 30 footmen and 7 sowars of Chowdri Nowbut Ram's, straight out to Ishurpoor. They ought to reach that place at one in the morning; also gave Buduroodeen *purwanahs* to the *zemindars* of the villages near the road he goes along, ordering them to accompany him with as many of their followers as they could collect together, sent out Girdhari Sing of Hardaspoor and Zowki (Zauki) Dhowra, men of influence, to the south-west of Ishurpoor with orders to collect their followers and march on Ishurpoor; also ordered Durriao Sing *Tehseeldar* of Shahi to come down with all his men.

Ameer Allie *Tehseeldar* of Pillibeet is getting on well in his district, he has arrested several rebels and sent them in. Zekeria Khan appointed *Tehseeldar* of Jehanabad, had gone out there and has got hold of his district. Reports from Besulpoor (Bisalpur), Furreedpoor, Nowabgunje and Aonlah state all quiet with the exception of small bands of rebels going about; they are being gradually picked up.

Arrested Moolla Meean alias Enaitolla Khan one of the murderers of Dr. Hay and Bhola and Nuthoo Meean alias Inayut Hossein Khan concerned in the murder of Mr. Raikes, late Sessions Judge of this place;[2] finished the repairs of Mr. Thomason's tomb.[3]

[1] Attack.

[2] *cf.* Foreign Department, N. W. P., Narrative 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (p. 488).

[3] Department—XXIV, File No. 25: "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

STRUGGLE CURBED AT MORADABAD

NAWAB OF RAMPUR ADMINISTERING THE DISTRICT

This district is, it is believed, also comparatively quiet, confidence was restored in the city, strict measures having been taken to prevent plundering. Brigadier Jones' force was ordered to Bareilly. The district continues to be held by the Nawab of Rampore's troops.[1] Many important rebels are said to have been seized and punished. The Budaon District is (to some extent) in our possession. Brigadier Penny's Column had an action with the enemy at Kukraluh. It commenced untowardly; the enemy's advanced guard having been mistaken for the baggage guard which was marching by a cross road on the flank of the Column was incautiously approached and several rounds of grape were suddenly poured into the Brigadier's staff by the enemy. Some confusion ensued during which as was afterwards discovered the Brigadier being wounded in the bridle arm and unable to control his horse was carried away into the middle of the enemy and there slain.

Colonel Jones of H. M.'s 6th Dragoon Guards succeeding to the Command continued the action which ended in the defeat of the enemy and the capture of one of their guns, and of two tumbrils. No official details of the action have been received nor is anything further known of the movements of the Column save that it was under orders from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to pass Budaon and to march in the direction of Bareilly, there to co-operate with the Columns marching from the north and south upon that city.

RAHIM ALI KHAN STILL ACTIVE IN BADAUN

In the Gunour *Pergunnah*, Ruheem Ally Khan still remains with a large body of men and 3 guns, and during the early

[1] *cf. Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, p. 3: 'Narrative of 2nd May 1858'. (p. 442 of this book). Also *cf.* Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Moradabad for the period 31st May 1858 to 7th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (See p. 530).

part of the week laid siege to the fortalice of a loyal* Thakoor who was compelled to surrender on promise of his life. It is needless to add he and his garrison were at once massacred.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES PLUNDER ISLAMNAGAR AND SAHASWAN

Telegraphic Message from C. Daniel, Etah via Allygarh (Aligarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 20th May 1858.

Darah[2] Sing from Oojahaun[3] reports on seventeenth instant that Baboo Ram Narain of Chundose (Chandausi), Sadullah Khan and Mukdooll Buksh[4] with four guns and one thousand men are plundering in the neighbourhood of Sahesir[5] and is (*sic*,–in) Islamnuger.[6]

* * *

News dated Etah, May 19th and 20th, 1858.

...Dara Sing from Oorjhaina[7] reports that Sadoolla Khan of Sumbul (Sambhal), with 1,000 men and 4 guns are (*sic*,) plundering near Suheshwan (Sahaswan) and Islamnuggur.[8]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Wilson to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Moradabad, May 22, 1858.

Ahudoollah Khan[9] and Akbur Khan, Pathans, of Sumbhull

* "Motee Sing of Mirzapore".—Note in Original.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Moradabad for the week ending 2nd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Wrongly received for 'Dara Singh'.

[3] Apparently wrongly received for *Ujhani* (?) (See p. 431, line 4, also).

[4] Correct name is 'Makhdum Bakhsh'. (p. 501).

[5] Appears to have been wrongly received for '*Sahaswan*'.

[6] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[7] Appears misspelt for *Ujhani* (?).

[8] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 27, 1858, p. 500. National Library, Calcutta.

[9] This name has been given as 'Sadullah Khan' in *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*' of May 27, 1858, p. 500. (See above).

(Sambhal), with Baboo Ramnarain, *Vakeel* of Choundoussee (Chandausi), with three guns of sorts and 900 Foot and Horse, are at Islam Nugger, threatening Choundoussee, Merowlee[1]. Permission to call the Hill levies down from Nynee Tal to Mooradabad solicited. They are 640 strong, Native Officers, all belonging to the 66th Goorkhas. Captain Patterson is Commandant. Letter posted. Reasons assigned him in letter. Speedy answer requested.[2]

EVENTS IN ISLAMNAGAR

Memorandum of Occurrences in the Budaon (Badaun) District from the 18th to the 21st May 1858 inclusive, submitted as enclosure to letter No. 10 by C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Badaun, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand at Bareilly, dated 22nd May 1858.

ISLAMNAGAR DISTURBED

18th May—In *pergunahs* Datagunje and Budaon all well. A petition from Rao Buldeo Singh, a land-holder in *pergunah* Kotesahul Bahn, (situate between Suhiswan and Bisowlee) states the country in his direction to be entirely freed from rebels, but adds that a party of them is plundering and creating disturbances in the Islamnugur *Pergunah.*

19th May—Dara Singh *Thanadar* of Oojhanee (Ujhani), reports that Sadoollah Khan resident of Sumbhul, Baboo Ramnarayun late *Wukeel* in the *Moonsiffee* of Chundousee (Chandausi), and one Mukdoom Buksh also a resident of that place, together with a following of some thousand men are plundering and destroying in *pergunah* Islamnugur,—demanding black-mail from all persons of any substance, and destroying the houses of such as refuse to comply with their demands. The *pergunahs* of Budaon and Datagunje perfectly quiet. A petition dated 17th instant (but received today) from Bhaiee Singh *Thanadar* of Bilsee gives the same account of the state

[1] Apparently *Narauli*, Tahsil *Bilari*, District *Moradabad*—This very large agricultural village stands in 28° 29′ N. and 78° 43′ E., on the road from Sambhal to Chandausi, five miles north-west from the latter and 24 miles from Moradabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Moradabad, Vol. XVI, 1911, p. 248).

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 9 in No. 16, p. 159. (See p. 511).

of affairs in *pergh.* (*pargana*) Islamnugur, as that furnished by Dara Singh above, but limits the number of the marauders to 500 men. Adds however that they have 3 guns with them, says that the gathering emanated from *mauzah* Russoolpoor (Rasulpur) in *pergunah* Suhiswan (Sahaswan). This village is the *zumeendaree* of one Shuhab-ood-deen, who has to my knowledge been absent from the country for the last two or three years on a pilgrimage. His relative Amar[1] Khan however manages his estates for him. Bhaiee Singh further states that the numbers of the rebels are daily increased by the accession of Mahomedans of the lower classes. An order issued to Bhaiee Singh to collect all the Thakoors of his neighbourhood, and to repel to the best of his power any incursion which the rebels may organize in his direction.

20*th May*—No diaries from any of the *thanahs* have come in to-day but Shurufooddeen (Sharf-uddin) the acting *Tuhseeldar* of Budaon reports the re-establishment of the *tuhseel* there, and the commencement of the Revenue Collections, Rs. 381 having come in, a *purwanah* commending his exertions issued to him.

21*st May*—The diary of *thanah* Datagunje the only one received—(date 20*th*)—reports all satisfactory there. The *Tuhseeldar* of Budaon reports Rs. 1413 as having been collected. Desired to send in a daily *Siegah.* Hur Loll (Har Lal) the *Nazim* of Datagunje written to, to know what he has done in the way of collecting revenue.

Revenue Collections up-to-date Rs. 1413-0-0.

Remarks—The *Thanadars* (with the exception of that of Datagunje, who has been most regular) having sent in their Diaries very regularly[2], they have been admonished to be strictly punctual in this very important part of their duties. Hur Loll (Har Lal), the man appointed as *Nazim* of Dataguinje by Mr. Wilson, has as yet done nothing evincing either energy or capacity for his post. Hè has neither exerted himself to apprehend any of the notorious rebel leaders in his parts, nor has he collected a dispence[3] of revenue. He has been written to on the subject; and it is my intention to change his title, which I consider is most objectionable as savouring of the old

[1] Appears wrongly spelt for 'Amir Khan' or 'Umar Khan'.
[2] The word is obviously wrong here; it should be 'irregularly'.
[3] The word makes no sense here.

state of affairs during the rebellion, to that of acting *Tuhseeldar.* There are *tuhseels* now in Datagunje and Budaon and *thanahs* in the same two places as also in Ooseith, Oojhanee, and Bilsee. I find a great tendency on the part of the generality of the officials who have been appointed to abrogate to themselves authority which it was never intended that they should possess. I have repressed this, whenever it has been evinced, in a most marked and unmistakable manner. I expect in every hour Rao Chundun Singh, (a large and influential landholder in *pergh.* (*pargana*) Kote, who has good certificates from Mr. Cocks, and other officers of service rendered in the Doab where he had fled during the time of the disturbances, and whom I have also myself known personally for many years. It is my intention on his arrival to put him in charge of three *pergunahs* of Kote, Sutasee, and Bisowlee, comprising the *tuhseel* of Bisowlee. At present without the presence of a military force, there does not appear to be much chance of our establishing a footing in the western *pergunahs* of Usudpoor (Asadpur), Goonour (Gunnaur), and Rujpoorah (Rajpura), or it was my intention to have deputed Rao Purdumun Kishen (Rao Pardumna Kishan) to the charge of those *pergunahs* together with that of Islamnugur in which he has large estates. Even now the Rao has expressed his readiness, if furnished for the time with a couple of the guns we have captured, to go and drive the rebels out of Islamnugur. I have also since writing the above received a petition from one Lutchmun (Lachhman) Singh of Russoulee[1] in Oojhanee. Lutchmun Singh states that he had collected a number of his Thakoor brother-hood, and that it was his intention to attack and defeat the rebels. I commended his intentions, and added that this would be the best way to wipe out all trace of his past misconduct in having taken service as *Tuhseeldar* of Oojhanee under Khan Bahadoor Khan. Lutchmun Singh never took any active part against us, and if he carries out his intention his former misconduct should, I think, be overlooked. If he does not however act up to what he writes, Purdumun Kishen's proposition should, I think, be entertained. I know him to be a man of his word, who would not propose any plan which he was not prepared and able to carry out, and as he is directly interested in the

[1] Can be read as '*Rupoulee*', but '*Rasauli*' appears correct.

measure, his own estates being at present plundered, I think it very probable that he would succeed. At any rate I recommend his having a trial.[1]

AHMAD ULLAH[2] AT ISLAMNAGAR

Bulletin dated Agra, 26th May 1858.

Etah, 24th (May)—Dara Singh of the Badaon District who has been useful in watching the *ghats* and capturing fugitive rebels reports his intention to move on Sahuswan with 800 men against Ahmed-oola said to be with 500 sowars and 5 guns at Islamnuggur. Roodur Sing (Rudra Singh) of Tantpoor with permission of Govt. also goes to Sahuswan with 500 men. There was a report that Dara Singh had attacked Islamnuggur which requires confirmation.[3]

INCURSIONS FROM ISLAMNAGAR

Extract from the Diary of Occurrences as reported on the 25th May 1858, *by C. P. Carmichael, Offg. Magistrate of Badaun, to the Commissioner of Rohilkhand at Bareilly, dated* 25/26 *May* 1858.

Shuruf-ooddeen, the acting *Tuhseeldar* of Budaun, in a petition dated 23rd instant reports that he sent a man the day before to Islamnugur for intelligence. The spy had just returned, and reported to him that the rebels were in number 600 with 4 guns in the *qusbah* of Islamnugur. That on the previous day (the 22nd) the Thakoors had made an attack on them under cover of large herds of cattle which they drove before them to protect themselves from the fire of the rebel artillery. That a large number of the cattle had been killed together with six men of Thakoor Dara Singh. That the

[1] Department–XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] He is different from 'Ahmad Ullah Shah, Maulvi'. He was Naib Nazim of Badaun under Revolutionary Government. *cf.* '*The Friend of India*', dated August 12, 1858, p. 752. National Library, Calcutta. (See p. 560 of this book, also).

[3] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Thakoors considering themselves worsted in the fight had in a measure dispersed in consequence; and that the rebels after burning several of the villages in the neighbourhood had again retired upon Islamnugur. Shuruf-ooddeen concluded his report by saying that he believed the rebels contemplated a move upon Bisowlee, and he begged that speedy measures might be taken for their extirpation, as the peace of the already settled *ths.* (*thanas*) was likely to be disturbed if the rebels were allowed to gain further head.

Jhao Lall *Thanadar* of Bisowlee in a petition dated 23rd instant reports that he has learnt from his *Jumadar* at the Wuzeergunje *Choukee* that several of the bad characters of Nunera and Sydpoor are ripe for an emeute and that they had the day previous to the report actually stopped and turned back from between Wuzeergunje and Bisowlee a suwar[1] who had been sent to the latter place from Budaun. He makes the same application for assistance as the *Tuhseeldar* of Budaun.

I can myself speak from experience of the turbulent character of the Mahommedan population in *mouzahs* Sydpoor, Hutra, and other villages situate just off the road between Bisowlee and Wuzeergunje.

ENGAGEMENT AT SAKHA MAI

Dara Singh writes on the 24th instant from *mouzah* Roodaien (distant about 4 miles on the high road from Islamnugur) that he had collected his forces first at Kirpa Maiee, and advancing from thence had had an engagement with the rebels at Sukha Maiee, that some three men on his side had been killed, that he did not follow up the rebels because the town of Islamnugur would have suffered in the conflict and that he had removed to Roodaien that day, as he had heard that the rebels meant to attack and destroy that place. I ordered him in reply not to mind the destruction of the town of Islamnugur and if he felt himself strong enough to attack the rebels in their position there to do so. I may add that I do not believe that portion of Dara Singh's report which is indicative of his having had any success against the rebels. I believe the version

[1] Can be read as 'Sunar' also, which appears irrelevant here.

of the affair furnished by Shuruf-ooddeen to be the more correct one....[1]

BABU RAM NARAIN ACTIVE AT ISLAMNAGAR

....There is, however, a small gathering of rebels at Islamnugger, in the Budaon District and Shahee, in the Bareilly District. In the former Baboo Ramnarain, a *Vakeel*, an individual not unknown in Agra with 3 others, fools like himself, 500 followers and a gun or two is "plundering, ravaging and killing."....The Thakoors of the neighbourhood are however up in arms against him,....[2]

ENGAGEMENT AT ISLAMNAGAR

The Offg. Magistrate is making dispositions for occupying the residue of this district, nearly the whole of which is ready for occupation. The Hindoo population having completely gained the ascendancy, such bodies of Mahomedans as yet continue together are lurking in the *Dhak* jungles, but such bodies were few and weak. At Eslamnuggur (Islamnagar) alone as described by the Commr. (Commissioner) did any formidable body exist, but even there their power for evil was circumstricted by the opposition of the neighbouring Thakoors. Dara Singh had actually been engaged with them, and though unsuccessful was rather barely repulsed than defeated, his casualties were 3 killed and five or six wounded. The Commr. (Commissioner) moreover mentions in his public and private letters that he had suggested to the Nowab of Rampoor the advantage of attacking this party, and demi-officially reports that the Nowab had consented to do so. Advices have been received both from Allyghur (Aligarh) and Bareilly that the attack had taken place and that the rebels evacuated the town without suffering a great numerical loss but the surrounding villagers seized two of their guns as they retreated, and that many

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, June 9, 1859, p. 544. National Library, Calcutta.

of the band were deserting. Those that remained were pressing, it was said, towards the river. Two serviceable guns with tumbrils etc. taken from the rebels had been brought into Bareilly.[1]

* * *

Abstract Translation of a Despatch from Hukeem Saudut Ali (Hakim Saadat Ali) of operations of the Force under his Command against the rebels under the leadership of Baboo Ramnarain at Islamnuggur (Islamnagar) in the District of Budaon (Badaun) addressed to His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, dated 8th June 1858.

In obedience to the orders of Your Highness the force under my command marched from Moradabad and reached Chundousee (Chandausi) on the 28th May and there halting the next day I sent out spies to Islamnuggur to ascertain the force and position of the enemy. They returned in the evening bringing intelligence that Baboo Ramnarain with his force and 4 guns was encamped in a *Bagh* to the east of Islamnuggur, and having heard of my advance was preparing for resistance. The object of my halt having been attained I moved from Chundousee at 1 O'clock next morning and reaching a village one mile from Islamnuggur by 6 A. M. there disposed of the force in 3 Columns—each composed of 2 guns, Cavalry and Infantry. Baboo Ramnarain having got intimation of our approach moved off to the west of Islamnuggur and at once opened a brisk fire upon us. A high westerly wind blew at the time and threw up the dust so thick that no object 50 paces ahead was discernible. The guns of 2 of my Columns were however soon brought into play but finding that they were doing little or no execution, I determined on a reconnaissance of the enemys' position and after riding westward about 400 paces I descried his guns. Getting up two of mine to the spot where I was, I opened a cross fire and it was not long before one of his was silenced. A part of Cavalry in the meantime was sent round by me to occupy a position to the rear of the enemy but he was now in flight towards Islamnuggur

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Badaun for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

with my troops following. Here however he rallied but was soon dislodged, Ramnarain being among the slain. The rout was now complete and the pursuit was maintained to the Russoolpore Nuddee when men and cattle being fatigued we returned to Islamnuggur.

Three guns and several carts of ammunition, baggage etc. were captured. Our casualties were trifling. The enemy had 20 killed and 57 taken captive.[1]

SHAHJAHANPUR REVOLUTIONARIES NEAR SAHASWAN

Boolundshuhur, May 19—It is considered the rebels near Sahuswan are fugitives from Shahjehanpore. This is not probable. Bodies of rebels are said to be fluttering about—one of them near Thakoorgunge (Thakurganj), about 7 *coss* from Denapoor.....[2]

ENCOUNTER WITH C.-IN.-C'.S FORCE

A portion of this district is scarcely yet in our possession. The rebels opposed His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief who with reinforcements had joined the Column under Brigadier Jones the previous day in an action on the 18th but they did not stay for close fighting but retired on Mahomdee whither they have been pursued by Brigadier Jones while the Commander-in-Chief with an escort has returned towards Futtehgurh.

The Commissioner expresses some anxiety least[3] parties flying from the enemy at Mahomdee should re-enter the Division but except in that contingency expects no renewal of hostilities.

CONDITIONS AT RAMPUR FAVOURABLE TO BRITISH

The state of Rampore is also described as favourable; the fugitives from our districts are denied shelter, and every

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 24th September 1858, No. 2. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 27, 1858, p. 500. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Obviously slip of pen for 'lest'.

facility has been given to our troops passing through their territory both by the Nawab and his brother.[1]

MUHAMDI AS STRONGHOLD OF REVOLUTIONARIES

News dated Camp Shahjahanpur, 18th May 1858.

Our spies state that the enemy have made "Mohumdee" their strong-hold. It is a brick fort, 19 miles distant and since the mutiny they have repaired it. The force concentrated there, numbers in all about five thousand, upwards of a third being Cavalry. The number of guns are variously stated from 12 to 20, the largest calibre a 12-pounder. *To prevent all quarrelling and jealousies, the Begum of Lucknow has assumed chief command.* The Moulvie and the Delhi Prince "Feroze Shah" are both with her. *The former is much respected by his followers and displays great courage and an indifference to personal danger on all occasions.*[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 20th May 1858.

Report from the *Theesaldar* (*Tahsildar*) of Budoonah (Bidhuna)[3] that there is fighting going on between the British and rebel forces at Deokully[4] and Shereghur. *Report says that the Puwain* (*Pawayan*) *Rajah has become a rebel.*[5] This is strange but it comes from two good sources. About twenty five thousand rebels with thirty guns are encamped between-

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Shahjahanpur for the week ending 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 28, 1858, p. 504; (Reproduced from *Mufussilite*, May 21). National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Apparently *Bidhuna*, Tahsil *Bidhuna*, District *Etawah*—The headquarters of the tahsil is situated in 26° 49′ N. and 79° 32′ E., and is distant 32 miles from Etawah, with which it is connected, via Kudarkot and Bharthana, by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 194).

[4] Apparently, spelt for *Deokali*.

[5] See, also 'Role of Raja of Pawayan'; (pp. 543-545).

Sudowlle[1], three *koss* from Shajehanpore, and Mohumdee; all the noted rebels are there.[2]

BATTLE AT BANI

Bulletin dated Agra, 21st May 1858.

Futtehgurh, May 20th—Sir Colin Campbell had reached Shajehanpoor, and had an engagement with the enemy at Hutora and Bunee about 5 miles from Shajehanpoor. One of the entrenchments of the enemy had been taken. They were in great force, and the principal leaders with them.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 20th May 1858.

Report just in, that on the eighteenth the Chief (C.-in C.) engaged the rebel forces at the Hatora[4] and Bunee[5] some two half *coss* east from Shajehanpore; the fighting went on till night, one of the entrenchments of the rebels taken. This information is very correct.[6]

* * *

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, May 25, 1858.

Rohilcund—Bareilly was finally occupied by the Commander-in-Chief on the 7th May. The enemy opposed our force

[1] Apparently *Sindhauli*, Pargana *Baragaon*, Tahsil *Pawayan*, District *Shahjahanpur*—A village in the south-west of the pargana, situated on the borders of the Shahjahanpur tahsil in 27° 58′ N. and 79° 58′ E., at a distance of five and a half miles from the district headquarters and eleven and a half miles from Pawayan by the metalled road and steam tramway. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 237).

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *Hatora*—In District *Shahjahanpur*.

[5] *Bunee*—In District *Shahjahanpur*.

[6] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (See p. 513 also).

with much spirit for some hours the previous day, but was at last driven, from his position outside, back into the town, with the loss of several guns. Brigadier-General Jones, with a strong Column, left Bareilly on the 8th May, to relieve the garrison at Shahjehanpore, where the right wing of Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment had been besieged since the Commander-in-Chief's advance on Bareilly. On the 11th May, Brigadier-General Jones's Column relieved the garrison of Shahjehanpore, and took one gun. The enemy's force was principally Cavalry well mounted, and no opportunity offered of cutting them up in any great number. Our casualties were small. *On the 18th May*, it is reported that our forces under *the Commander-in-Chief attacked the rebels at Hatara and Bunnee*, near Shahjehanpore, fighting lasted till night, and we had possession of their entrenchments. On the 22nd May, 900 rebels with three guns, under Abudoolla Khan, Akbur Khan, and Baboo Ramnarain, *Vakeel* of Choundoussee, were at Islam Nuggur, threatening Choundoussee (Chandausi) and Merowlee[1]. On the Commander-in-Chief proceeding to Futtyghur, Brigadier-General Jones was charged with the operation of driving the enemy out and destroying Mohumdee. He had pursued them nine or ten miles.[2]

ENGAGEMENT NEAR SHAHJAHANPUR

The rebels of Oude seem determined that, whether we will or not, the hot weather campaign shall continue. The relief of the 82nd at Shahjehanpore was but an episode. The Moulvie's troops driven with ease from the city by Jones's Column retired but a short distance, *and seem to have been reinforced in a strong position outside Shahjehanpore by the forces of the Begum of Oude.* Brigadier Jones had with him at the relief of the place H. M.'s 60th, 82nd and 79th, two squadrons of the 6th Dragoon Guards, a battery of siege pieces, the 22nd Punjaub Infantry, and a Regiment of Mooltanee Horse. He was therefore too weak in Cavalry to do much in pursuit. The rebels had therefore time to re-assemble during the days which followed the re-occupation of Shahjehanpore. Sir

[1] See p. 501 also.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 16, p. 157.

Colin Campbell had speedy intelligence of the concentration of troops round Jones's force. The enemy he heard had strengthened Mohumdie (Muhamdi) to their rear, and were strong in every way. Besides, it was stated that the Nana was endeavouring to move across from the Terraie (Tarai) to the Ganges, below Furreedpore (Faridpur). So, leaving the 93rd, 47th and 17th Punjaub Infantry at Bareilly, with the 2nd Punjaub Cavalry, Remington's troop of Horse Artillery and a heavy battery, Sir Colin Campbell started for Furreedpore, on the 15th with H.M.'s 64th, Tombs' troop of Horse Artillery, Le Mesurier's Company of Royal Artillery, 2 squadrons of Lahore Light Horse, the 1st and 2nd Punjaub Cavalry and 2 squadrons of the 9th Lancers. A wing of the Belooch Battalion and the remaining squadrons of the Lancers followed on the 16th and 17th. The whole of this force reached "Tillan," properly Tilhur[1], a town twelve miles from Bareilly[2], on the 16th where it was ascertained that the enemy at Shahjehanpore, emboldened by the increase in their number had on the 15th assailed Jones's position—*the Moulvie, the Begum, and the Shahzada Feroz Shah, combined,* having made a furious attack in masses upon our troops, and fought desperately for a whole day. They had been repulsed, but there was reason to apprehend a renewed attack. Accordingly Sir Colin left Tilhur, and reached the cantonments of Shahjehanpore on the 18th. The enemy, in no way daunted by the enormous increase of our army returned to the attack before dawn of the 19th, when the camps were roused from slumber by the booming of guns in the direction of the outposts. East of the town, about a mile and a half distant, separated from our force by a stream called the Gurra (Gharra), stood a small fort in the hands of the enemy, and it was from that direction that they were observed advancing, their guns having opened in advance of the works. The ground on the opposite side of the stream was high and commanding, that portion of it on our proper right crowned by the village of Kanhut. Our picquets

[1] *Tilhar*, Pargana and Tahsil *Tilhar*, District *Shahjahanpur*—The important town of Tilhar stands in 27° 57′ N. and 79° 44′ E., on the main road from Shahjahanpur to Katra and Bareilly, at a distance of twelve miles from the headquarters of the district. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 237).

[2] *Tilhar* is 12 miles from Shahjahanpur and not from Bareilly.

were in the vicinity of that village, which after the first alarm was occupied by the 82nd and 79th with two guns. Other precautions were taken to maintain the positions on the centre and proper left. The enemy seeing our attitude of preparation, ceased to press their attack, which up to the evening of the 19th had not been renewed. In addition to the foregoing intelligence, which is derived from the correspondent forwarded from the spot, we have a telegraphic message dated the 22nd[1], from Futtehghur, saying that "it was reported that on the 13th[1] instant the Commander-in-Chief engaged the rebels some two and a half *coss* from Shahjehanpore and that the fighting lasted till night, one of the entrenchments of the enemy being taken;" but as there was no fighting of any kind on the eighteenth, the dispatch may allude to our action on the 20th, for it is evident that the terms of this message can have no reference to the engagement of the 19th. We must wait for further intelligence before we can assume as certain that Sir Colin has made any attack at all subsequent to the 19th."[2]

ROHILKHAND REVOLUTIONARIES POURING INTO AVADH

Some alarm is felt at Lucknow. The rebels who have been driven away from Rohilkhund are returning into Oude. Another siege is apprehended. The inhabitants who had returned to their homes are again leaving through fear.[3]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated 20th May 1858.

The wing of the 82nd Foot besieged in the jail at Shahjehanpore, after repulsing repeated attacks from the enemy who were eight thousand in number have been relieved by the force under Brigadier-General Jones. The defeated rebels are again passing into Oude under the leadership of the Moulvie.[4]

[1] These dates appear wrong; may be '20th' and '18th' respectively. (See p. 510).

[2] *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, 10th June 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 20th May 1858, p. 155. National Library, Calcutta.

[4] *Ibid.*

MAULVI VOWS STOUT RESISTANCE

News dated Shahjahanpur, 22nd May 1858.

On the 20th a report was brought into camp that 500 Cavalry with two guns from the rebels had crossed on to the Futtehgurh Road for the purpose of intercepting our communications and convoys....Most agree in saying the rebels are determined to show fight. The preparations for our reception have been completed and the Moulvie himself has vowed a stout resistance, at the same time giving those to understand, who do not partake in his sentiments, that they had better leave his camp.....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES HOVERING ROUND SHAHJAHANPUR

We have letters from Shajehanpore to the 20th instant, ... The large body of rebels are in small detachments all round the place, and it is to be feared, that some of them may get on the road towards Bareilly again. The rebel line, principally of Cavalry, is so extensive, that it prevents our troops moving from Shajehanpore, as[2] if they were, the probability would be that the rebel force would double round and get into the Commander-in-Chief's Camp as we are told they very nearly did the other day. It is also said that a portion of the rebel force are (is) on the Futtehghur Road in rear of our force. Surely a rush at them would be better than all this delay.[3]

ATTACK ON KANTH CHAUKI

Telegraphic Message from R. Lindsay, Futtygurh (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 21st May 1858.

Kanth, a *chokee* between Jalallabad and Shajehanpore, has been burnt by some two hundred rebel Horsemen, and

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, June 7, 1858, p. 536. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] 'as' appears wrong; should be 'and'.
[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, June 1, 1858, p. 516; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, May 26). National Library, Calcutta.

two *Harkases* (*sic,–Harkaras*) have been seized. No news from Shajehanpore since the events of the 18th instant.[1]

KHAN BAHADUR'S NEPHEW HANGED

....On the 20th May a nephew of Khan Bahadoor was hanged.[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated June 3, 1858.

The same journal (*The Delhi Gazette*) mentions that on the 20th of May the nephew of Khan Bahadoor of Bareilly was hanged at Shahjehanpore.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES GATHERING AT SAHASWAN

Telegraphic Message from the Joint Magistrate, Allyghur (Aligarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 24th May 1858.

Letter from Etah just received says that there was fighting in Endore on Saturday or Sunday between our forces and the rebels. Fifteen hundred rebels reported at Saheswan. No mention made in the letter, said to be Surajpore fugitives.[4]

DARA SINGH'S FIGHT WITH REVOLUTIONARIES AND HIS RETREAT TO RUDAIN

Diary of Occurrences in the Badaun District as reported on the 27th May 1858 *by C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Badaun, to Commissioner of Rohilkhand at Bareilly, dated 27th May* 1858.

I have nothing of any importance to communicate

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, June 1, 1858, p. 516. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *The Friend of India*, June 3, 1858, p. 512. National Library, Calcutta.
[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
cf. Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 23rd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

to-day. A messenger sent in by Dara Singh from Roodaieen arrived to-day with a petition from that Thakoor giving an account of his fight with the rebels at Islamnugur and saying that as his followers were much dispirited by their defeat he had judged it prudent to retire upon Roodaieen, which is 5 *koss* from Islamnugur. The messenger brought in a couple of the enemies' round shot, from which it would appear that the rebels have guns of six and three pound calibre. Later in the day Dara Singh's messenger was followed by one from Shurufood-deen the acting *Tuhseeldar* of Budaun, who reported that Dara Singh had arrived at that place. I immediately wrote for Dara Singh to come here, as it is necessary to keep these Thakoors united, and make them show a bold front to the rebels, who will otherwise undoubtedly extend their ravages to the south-eastern *pergunnahs* of the district, in which there is for the present a semblance of order....

Fusahut-oollah and a band of some thousand men are reported to be in the *dak* (*dhak*) jungle adjoining the villages of Hutra which is just off the high road between Wuzeergunje and Bisowlee. It is to be hoped they may not be able to effect a junction with the Islamnugur rebels, and so swell their already increasing numbers.[1]

NIZAM ALI KHAN THREATENS ATTACK ON BAREILLY

On the morning of the 23rd the station of Bareilly was alarmed by a threatened attack from Nizam Ally Khan. It proved that he actually was within 10 miles but bent only on plunder.

As he was however on the road towards Buheree (Baheri)[2] and on the same day a letter from Captain Crossman had arrived asking for assistance to his Cavalry levies who were

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Baheri*, Pargana *Chaumahla*, Tahsil *Baheri*, District *Bareilly*—The small town which gives its name to the northern tahsil stands in 28° 46′ N. and 79° 30′ E., on the main road to Naini Tal at a distance of 31 miles north from Bareilly. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 197).

marching to that place, the Commissioner applied for military aid to Brigadier Walpole, C. B.

A small Column of detachments from the 2nd Punjaub Cavalry and the 17th Punjaub Infantry was in consequence sent. Mr. W. M. Lowe accompanied the party as Civil Officer. On their first march they came upon some of the rebels in a village of whom about 35 were killed in that skirmish which ensued. The leaders however took refuge in a strong *pucka* house which for want of artillery the party were unable to carry, and whence the rebels escaped during the night. The following day continuing their march the Column reached Buheree, but found Captain Crossman had taken another route.

They therefore returned by Sheregurh and Shahee (Shahi) as had previously been arranged, in three marches. The effect produced by this expedition is said to be good, and Nizam Ally's men are reported to be deserting him rapidly.[1]

ATTEMPT TO ARREST NIZAM ALI

Narrative of Events submitted for 24th May 1858 by the Collector of Bareilly to the Commissioner of Rohilkhand at Bareilly, dated 25th May 1858.

24th May 1858—Called the particular attention of all the *Tehseeldars* to the Proclamation issued by order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General on our reoccupation of the country. Told them that they would be held personally responsible that the orders contained in it were made known in every village, Hindoo and Mahomedan in their respective districts; issued instructions as to the mode in which the order was to be carried out. Ordered that every one desiring to avail himself of the terms of the Proclamation was to attend at the *tehseelie* or *thanah* nearest his village and give up his arms, for which a receipt would be given him, to be considered as a certificate as long as he resided quietly in his own village.

A force having been sent out by the General to escort Captain Crossman and the Rajpoot Horse from Baheree, sent Mr. Lowe, Joint Magistrate, with it, accompanied by Duttram

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Bareilly for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

and Rughonath Singh to clear that part of the country of the bands of rebels still infesting it, and to arrest if possible Nizam Allie.

Appointed Abdoolla Khan, at present *Cotwal* of Pillibheet, to the charge of the Shahi *Tuhseelee*, ordered him to march through the *pergunnahs* of his district and make the terms of the Govr. Genl.'s (Governor General's) Proclamation thoroughly known to the Mahomedans of those parts. Reports from Fureedpoor, Besulpoor, Aonla, Pillibheet and Jehanabad state all quiet in those parts.[1]

NIZAM ALI IN SHAHI PARGANA

Narrative of Events submitted by the Collector of Bareilly to the Commissioner of Rohilkhand Division at Bareilly, dated 26th May 1858.

Tuesday May 25th—The *Tehseeldars* of Besulpoor, Furreedpoor (Faridpur) and Aonlah report all quiet in their districts. The Revenue being collected and sent in; posted Police *Chowkees* at Futtehgunje on the road to Shajehanpoor, at Bhopal and the edge of the district, and also, one at Khulpoor on the Ramgunga towards Budaon. The *Tehseeldar* of Pileebheet reports several men to have come in and given up their arms. All quiet in the Jehanabad *Tehseel*. Nizam Ali Khan is still in the Shahi *Parganah*, the force sent out in that direction, may perhaps succeed in capturing him. This is the only part of the district in at all an unsettled state. Sent a quantity of iron, grass, logs etc. to the Executive Engineer.[2]

NIZAM ALI KHAN'S ENCOUNTER WITH BRITISH FORCES

Letter No. 1 *from Captain S. Browne, Commanding 2nd Punjaub Cavalry and Detachment, to the Assistant Adjt. General, Rohilcund (Rohilkhand) Division, Bareilly, dated Camp Kuthura, 25th May* 1858.

I have the honor to submit the following report for the information of the Brigadier-General Commanding.

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Ibid.*

NIZAM ALI'S ATTACK ON RICHHA

This morning on arrival at Durunnia (Deoranian)[1] where I had proposed halting for the day, information was brought to Mr. Low, Civil Service, who accompanied the Detachment, that Nizam Allie Khan had attacked and burnt the *thannah* at Richah (Richha)[2], killing and wounding some of the *Burkundazes* and ryots, and that he was at that moment encamped at Mohunpoor, some 4 miles distant, on the direct road to Buheree (Baheri), with some 300 Cavalry and Infantry.

NIZAM ALI'S FORCE AT MOHANPUR

I accordingly marched again at 9-30 A. M. On arrival at Kuthura, I left the baggage there under a small Guard. From this place Mohunpoor was visible, and the villagers stated, that a portion of Nizam Allie Khan's force had moved to destroy another village, and that the remainder was still at Mohunpoor. Mohunpoor contained the usual native *Gurhee*, a small loopholed enclosure, with a ditch some 7 feet wide and 5 deep, repaired.

I made my arrangements accordingly, directing Lieutenant Hoggan to advance in skirmishing order with one Company, the remainder in support, and behind them again one troop of Cavalry under Lieutenant Warde, who was instructed, when our Infantry gained a footing in the village, to move off to the right, and take up a position there. The remainder of the Cavalry I kept on the left, where I considered their services would be principally required.

ENCOUNTER AT MOHANPUR

The Infantry at once entered the village, meeting with

[1] *Deoranian*, Pargana *Richha*, Tahsil *Baheri*, District *Bareilly*—This village stands in the south of the pargana, in 28° 37′ N. and 79° 29′ E., on the main road from Bareilly to Naini Tal, at a distance of 18½ miles north from the former and 12½ miles south from Baheri. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 225).

[2] *Richha*, Pargana *Richha*, Tahsil *Baheri*, District *Bareilly*—The small town of Richha, which gives its name to a pargana, stands in 28° 42′ N. and 79° 31′ E., at a distance of 27 miles from Bareilly and some 9 miles south from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bareilly, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 258).

some opposition, but gradually driving the enemy before them, and setting fire to the village. It now became evident that but very few of Nizam Allie Khan's force had remained at Mohunpoor, and only a few sowars and some 30 Infantry were in the village, the remainder having, some 2 hours previously, gone off on a looting expedition to another village some 3 miles distant.

Being well aware that the *Gurhee* would be impracticable to the small force under my command, and without guns, I had desired Lieutenant Hoggan to avoid it; simply clearing the village and driving out those who could not shelter themselves in the *Gurhee* was my object, hoping that the Cavalry might have an opportunity of cutting them up. In this I was disappointed owing to the instant flight of the few Cavalry, who were in the village, the desperation of a few of their Infantry who fought well, and the remainder taking refuge in the *Gurhee*. When the Infantry came up to the *Gurhee*, and ascertaining that there was not the most remote chance of effecting an entrance, I ordered them to move off to the left, and form up on the Cavalry.

NIZAM ALI ESCAPES

Just at this moment Nizam Allie Khan appeared in the field, with the remainder of his force, some 100 or so Cavalry and about 150 Infantry, and moved down with the intention of attacking me. I formed up the Cavalry to receive them. He advanced and took possession of a village on a rising mound. Some few sowars shewed themselves through the village in my front, and pulled up there. A little delay and a flight of dust in the Richah (Richha) and Sheregurh directions, shewed me that Nizam Allie Khan thought "discretion the better part of valor." A pursuit was hopeless; the more so, considering the distance we had already come, and the length of time men and horses had been accoutred, the heat and fatigue all had undergone.

I regret to add that Lieutenant Hoggan, Commanding the Detachment of 17th Punjaub Infantry, was severely wounded. He has my thanks for his endeavours on the occasion of the attack on the village.

To Mr. Low, Civil Service, I am indebted for the excellent information he procured for me, and his making himself useful in the field.

I have omitted to mention above that the loss of the enemy in the village was about 20 killed.[1]

NIZAM ALI TOWARDS SHERGARH

Narrative of Events for 28th May 1858 submitted by the Collector, Bareilly, to Commissioner of Rohilkhand at Bareilly, Bareilly Collectorship, dated 28th May 1858.

Thursday 27th May 1858—Received a report from Mr. Low stating that the force under Captain Brown had attacked a village in which were a number of Nizam Allie Khan's followers, driven them out of the place and killed upwards of 30 of the rebels. Nizam Allie himself is supposed to have gone in the direction of Shergurh. A small body of rebels having collected in a village in the Aonlah *Tehseeli*, sent out Dhumur Sing *Resaldar* with a party of sowars to assist the *Tehseeldar* in arresting them.

Abdoola Khan has joined Mr. Low and taken charge of the Shahi *Tehseeli*.

The *Tehseeldar* of Bisulpoor states that a report had been received by him that the rebels had been defeated at Mohomdie with great slaughter.

Also quiet in the other *tehseelees* of this district.[2]

NIZAM ALI KHAN TOWARDS TARAI

Letter No. 25 from Brigadier-General R. Walpole, C. B., Commanding in Rohilcund (Rohilkhand) and Kumaun, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Bareilly, 29th May 1858.

With reference to my despatch of the 24th instant, acquainting you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that I had directed a force of Cavalry and Infantry to proceed to Buheree (Baheri), for the purpose of bringing to Bareilly the Rohilcund Horse under Captain

[1] *Government Gazette*, North-Western Provinces, Allahabad, Tuesday, July 6, 1858, pp. 292 to 294.

[2] Department-XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Crossman, I have the honor herewith to transmit copies of reports from Captain Browne, 2nd Punjaub Cavalry, who commanded the Detachment, giving an account of the operations which he found it necessary to undertake against the band of rebels in that district.

NIZAM ALI'S FLIGHT TO RAMPUR TERRITORY

2*nd*—Captain Browne returned to Bareilly this morning, and reports that the band above alluded to have dispersed, and that their leader, Nizam Allie Khan, has taken refuge in the Rampoor Territory.

3*rd*—The day after Captain Browne left Bareilly, Mr. Alexander received a communication from Captain Crossman, stating that he had changed his mind, and intended to march via Moradabad, and not by Buheree (Baheri); upon the receipt of which I sent to Captain Browne to acquaint him with his[1] change in Captain Crossman's intentions, and directed him to return to Bareilly by the route already furnished to him without waiting at Buheree.

4*th*—I feel sure that the march of this force has had a beneficial effect, and that confidence in the Government has been in a great measure restored in those parts.

5*th*—I have every reason to be well satisfied with Captain Browne, who appears to have acted with judgment and discretion.

P. S.—Since writing the above, Mr. Alexander has heard that Nizam Allie Khan has fled with a few followers to the eastward, in the direction of the Terai.[2]

MUHAMDI FALLS TO BRITISHERS

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay to Muir, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), May 26, 1858.

The rebels were attacked on the 24th by the British at Shahjehanpore, and driven back to Mohundee[3], which place has been taken.....

[1] Should be 'this'.
[2] *Government Gazette*, North-Western Provinces, Allahabad, Tuesday, July 6, 1858, pp. 291-292.
[3] Appears to have been wrongly spelt for '*Muhamdi*'.

PALI AND SANDI ATTACKED BY MAULVI LIAQAT ALI

....The Moulvie Seeakut Alli[1] attacked Bilgram[2] and plundered it. This is the man who attacked and plundered Pallee and Sandee[3], not the well-known Ahmudoolah Shah of Lucknow.[4]

* * *

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, May 31, 1858.

Rohilcund—The rebels were attacked and defeated near Shahjehanpore on the 24th May; they retired on Mohundee[5], in Oude, which place has been taken by our troops. The Moulvie, Seeakut Alli[6], is reported to have attacked and plundered Bilgram.[7]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated 3rd June 1858.

A telegram from Allahabad dated the 29th May has been published. On the 24th May Sir Colin Campbell had a second engagement with the rebels at Shahjehanpore. He drove them back on Mohomdie (Muhamdi) which place was evacuated by the rebels. The Begum, Feroze Shah and Khan Bahadoor all effected their escape.....The Moulvie Liakut Alli has attacked and plundered the small town of Belgram (Bilgram) between Shahjehanpore and Lucknow, about eighty miles to the north-west of the latter place. This man must not be confounded (confused) with the Fyzabad Moulvie who, we believe, commanded the rebels on the 24th when they were beaten by the Commander-in-Chief. The

[1] Appears to have wrongly been spelt for 'Liaqat Ali'.
[2] *Bilgram*—In District *Hardoi*.
[3] *Sandee*—In District *Hardoi*.
[4] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 7 in No. 17, p. 163.
[5] Appears to have wrongly been spelt for '*Muhamdi*'.
[6] Appears wrongly spelt for 'Liaqat Ali'.
[7] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 17, p. 162.

name of the Fyzabad Moulvie is Ahmedoolah Shah, the other man is from Allahabad.....[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), May 25, 1858.

Arrived here this morning in two forced marches, from Shahjehanpore. I left Brigadier-General Jones at that place, with orders to attack the insurgents and destroy Mohundee[2]. He is there to-day, having driven the rebels nine or ten miles yesterday; *but the latter were too nimble for him to be able to effect much loss on them.* Would your Lordship tell me if there is any cover for the officers and establishment of the great departments of the army at Allahabad ? The officers with their clerks, form a very considerable body, and have now been exposed for a long time. Here they can find accommodation.[3]

* * *

Message from Brigadier-General J. Jones, C. B., Commanding Shahjahanpur Field Force, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Shahjahanpur, 1st June 1858.

The enemy opened their guns in quick succession, and for a few minutes their fire was heavy; but the effect produced by our 24-pounders was soon seen; the enemy withdrew his bullock guns at once, continuing the fire with the guns he had horsed. As the line advanced, these also were withdrawn, and the fort was entered without any attempt at a stand.

I was particularly anxious that the left should push on with still greater rapidity, but the enemy seemed to be equally aware of the necessity of checking us here. He threw masses of Cavalry round our flank, and a few of his Horsemen were found ready to charge when any opportunity offered.

The Mooltanee Regiment of Cavalry were charged by a large body under cover of a tope of trees; about thirty of

[1] *The Friend of India*, 3rd June, 1858, p. 512. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Spelt for *Muhamdi*.

[3] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 3 in No. 19, p. 157.

them were enabled to get into the rear of the Regiment whilst some galloped up to the front and discharged their carbines.

Those who had got into the rear of the Regiment were cut to pieces, when Captain Cureton dashed at the body in his front, broke, and pursued them to some distance, killing the Commandant of Cavalry and another officer of rank.

The town and fort were found to be evacuated, and they were immediately occupied.

The enemy had commenced his retreat from Mohumdee about noon on the 24th, his families and valuables had been carried far into the jungles that skirt the north-eastern portion of Oude.

The Cavalry was employed during the 26th in clearing the country in the direction of the enemy's retreat, and to the right and left of Mohumdee. One party of Mooltanee Cavalry under Lieutenant B. Williams discovered a fort in which was found a large quantity of gun-powder, which was used in blowing it up; three guns were dug up there, and a large number of gun-carriages evidently manufactured at Futtehgurh. Three other guns were discovered in a village close at hand; several of the villages round were burnt, and after completely scouring the country, the force returned to Shahjehanpore, which it reached on the morning of the 29th.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ESCAPE TOWARDS AVADH

The official narratives of the Collector beyond the march of troops give little information. Regarding these, the retreat of the enemy towards Mohumdee and the occupation by Brigadier Jones of that place, full information has been already published by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. The Collector mentions no particulars of the internal condition of the country. But it is known that the party of Kalpee fugitives of whom mention is made below, caused some uneasiness in its transit through the western portion of the district. Exact particulars have not been received, but it is said that they passed by Julalabad towards Oude. That town had been just before occupied by a garrison of Beloochees who were

[1] *Government Gazette*, North-Western Provinces, Allahabad, Tuesday, July 6, 1858, pp. 295-296.

strong enough to protect it, but not to inflict any chastisement on the rebels, or to pursue them.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Occurrences by C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Collector and Magistrate, dated Budaon (Badaun), 23rd November 1858.

On the 29th[2] of this month (May) some 2000 rebels, Horse and Foot with some 15 elephants, after breaking across the Doab, crossed the Ganges at Jathee Ghat near Khyra Julalpore[3], in the Ooseith *Pergunnah* of this district, and though closely pressed by two Columns sent after them for that purpose from Shajehanpoor, succeeded in making good their passage into Oudh. *They gave themselves out as Tantia Topee's followers, and are supposed to have been a portion of the fugitive rebel force from Jhansee.*[4]

DELHI PRINCES CAPTURED

Telegraphic Message from Wilson to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Mooradabad (Moradabad), May 30, 1858.

The *Thannahdar* of Husseerpore[5] reports he arrested, last night, the 28th instant, Dara Shikoh and Hajee Shikoh, two princes of the Delhi family.[6]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Shahjahanpur for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] It is '27th' in the Printed Narrative.

[3] Apparently *Khera Jalalpur*, Pargana *Usehat*, Tahsil *Dataganj*, District *Budaun*—This is the largest village in the pargana, consisting of two extensive tracts of land lying on either side of the Sot river and reaching as far as the Ganges on the south. The main site lies in 27° 44′ N. and 79° 16′ E., at a distance of four miles south of Usehat and 22 miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Budaun, Vol. XV, 1907, p. 220).

[4] Department—XXIV, File : "Narrative of Events attending the Outbreak of Disturbances at Badaun"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Badaun District*, p. 10.

[5] Spelt, perhaps, for *Hasanpur* in *Moradabad* District.

[6] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 2 in No. 17, p. 162.

KALPI REVOLUTIONARIES ESCAPE THROUGH BADAUN DISTRICT

The movement of the Kalpee rebels through this district is noticed by the Commissioner; but though Brigadier-General Walpole immediately directed Brigadier Coke to pursue them which he promptly did, he could not overtake them. It does not seem quite clear whether all the guns of the Islamnuggur rebels have been captured, but at any rate, two very fine brass guns with 2 tumbrils drawn by very fine bullocks and all captured by *zemindars* have been brought into Bareilly, and the body of the rebel leader Baboo Ramnarain was found on the field of battle. This gang has totally dispersed.

The Offg. Magistrate, Mr. Carmichael, was to proceed to Budaon the day the Commr. dated his Narrative. A party of H. M.'s 42nd accompanied him from Bareilly till he joined Brigadier Coke's Column, which he expected to find at Budaon. . . . .[1]

KALPI REVOLUTIONARIES LEAVE BADAUN TOWARDS SHAHJAHANPUR

Diary of Occurrences in the Badaun District as reported on the Ist June 1858 by C. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Badaun, to the Commissioner of Rohilkhand, dated 1st June 1858.

The reports which I received to-day both from Budaon and Ooseith as to the departure of the Calpee rebels, from their encampment at Kutura Saadutgunje, (Katra Saadatganj) towards the Shahjehanpore District were communicated to you immediately on their receipt. I have heard nothing further on this point.[2]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Badaun for the week ending 7th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

REVOLUTIONARIES ESCAPE FROM BADAUN INTO RAMPUR

Copy of Letter No. 33 *of* 1858 *from C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate and Collector, Badaun, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand at Bareilly, dated Camp Suhiswan (Sahaswan),* 11*th June* 1858.

I was unable to write to you as usual yesterday, as I was in the saddle or absent from Camp in one way or another the whole day.

ATTEMPT TO ARREST REVOLUTIONARY ZAMINDARS OF SINGRAM

2*nd*—We left Sinjanpoor yesterday morning for this place. Half way to it, I detached myself from the force, with a party of sowars furnished me by the Brigadier, to apprehend the rebel *zemindars* of Singran. These men had plundered the whole countryside, and had been particularly active in the destruction of Mr. Donald's factories, laying the one at Bilsee level with the ground, and I am credibly informed actually passing a plough over the spot where it stood. I reached their village, which is about 3 miles off the high road, shortly after day-break, I found it fortified, after the native fashion, with no less than three *Gurhees*. The inhabitants refusing to give any information as to the where-abouts of the *zemindars* and being most insolent in their demeanor when questioned, I fired the village. Several explosions of gun-powder took place on the flames reaching Narain Singh's house. Learning after this that Narain Singh and his brothers had retired over-night into the *Dhak* Jungle which adjoins the village and which runs for miles in west and east directions parallel with the Ganges, I proceeded with the sowars to search that. The *Dhak* was most dense, so much so that one horse-man could not see another at the distance of 20 yards. We nevertheless persevered in our search and after proceeding for about a mile and a half came upon the horses of the party which they had abandoned together with several arms (a Government musket being amongst these) and shortly after we started the fugitives themselves in the jungle and gave chase to them but the forest was so dense at this point that they evaded our pursuit and 20 out of the 50 of the sowars regularly lost themselves, some of them joining us on the way-home, and others not reaching

camp till the evening. Seeing that all further search would be fruitless, I, in concurrence with the Officer in Command of the sowars after visiting the neighbouring villages, situate about 3 *koss* south of the forest, (for we had come out of it in that direction) and warning the inhabitants that any attempt to shelter the fugitives would only bring down punishment on their heads proceeded towards this place which we reached shortly before three O'clock.

3*rd*—The Brigadier had made several arrests before my arrival, and information having been brought to me this morning that several rebels who had absconded from the city on the approach of our force were in concealment in the neighbouring villages, the Brigadier at my request, sent out early this morning two strong parties of Cavalry. The first which went in a westerly direction has returned with several prisoners and a number of horses; the other party which went, and had much further to go, has not yet come back. I have been in the city since an early hour, this morning engaged with an officer, and party of Sappers in the destruction of the houses of noted rebels who have absconded and in pointing out which, as well as in identifying the prisoners brought in, Shekh Ahmudooddeen, whom you recommended, was of much service to me.

4*th*—I regret exceedingly to have to close this report by stating that the people here informed me that a very large number of most notorious rebels from Lucknow and elsewhere, took advantage of the departure on Tuesday last of the Nowab of Rampoor's force, under the Hakeem Saadut Ally Khan's brother, to leave the city. The number of those who thus left is variously estimated but I feel next to certain from the statements which I have received I feel convinced[1] that several did avail themselves of this means of escape. I have not yet moved in the matter by making any official enquiries on the subject, but this can be done if you desire; and I certainly am of opinion, if the report should be verified, that the Nowab's people were not justified in what could be called nothing else than furnishing an escort for rebels from our territory in order that they might for the time escape to find an asylum in Rampoor.[2]

[1] 'I feel convinced' is superfluous here.

[2] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858";

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NAWAB OF RAMPUR CONTINUES TO ADMINISTER MORADABAD

The Nawab of Rampore still holds Moradabad and is doing the work well. Confidence is re-established, and it is now hoped that arrangements will shortly be made for the direct resumption of the Civil Govt. of the district.[1]

NIZAM ALI KHAN IN PILIBHIT

The greater part of this district is perfectly quiet. About Pillibheet (Pilibhit) however, the bands of Nizam Allee Khan and other leaders, though diminished in numbers, still find refuge. Mr. Alexander therefore proposed to depute Mr. Low to Pillibheet with a party of Crossman's Horse and some of the Hill Police Levies and expected much good effect from this measure.[2]

NIZAM ALI ACTIVE ON BAREILLY FRONTIER

There is nothing new in the neighbourhood of Bareilly, but the North and N. E. frontier with the *pergunnahs* of Roodurpoor (Rudrapur)[3] and Kilpooree[4] are much disturbed, owing

Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.*

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Moradabad for the week ending 7th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.* for Bareilly for the week ending 7th June 1858.

[3] *Rudarpur*, Pargana *Rudarpur*, Tahsil *Kichha*, District *Naini Tal*—This village, from which the pargana takes its name, and which in former days was the headquarters of a tahsil, lies on the main Tarai road, in latitude 28° 58′ north and longitude 79° 25′ east, at a distance of eight miles west from Kichha, ten miles from Gadarpur, 20 miles from Haldwani and 26 miles from Rampur, with all of which places it has direct road communication. (*District Gazetteers*, Naini Tal, Vol. XXXIV, 1904, p. 324).

[4] *Kilpuri*, Pargana, Tahsil *Kichha*, District *Naini Tal*—Kilpuri is a pargana of the eastern Tarai lying between Rudarpur on the west and south-west and Nanakmata on the east and south-east; to the north are the pattis of Chhakhata and Chaubhaisi Bhabar, while the small southern boundary is formed by the Pilibhit district. (*District Gazetteers*, Naini Tal, Vol. XXXIV, 1904, p. 283).

to the presence at the village of Ferozepore in the latter *pergunnah* of three bands of rebels and plunderers under Nizam Ally Khan Pathan and Alli Khan and Kullunder Buksh (Qalandar Bakhsh), Mewatties.

BRITISH MOVE TO OUST REVOLUTIONARIES FROM ROHILKHAND

The Foot of the Kumaon Levies not furnishing a sufficient number of effectives to form two moveable Columns, Mr. Low, with the Rohilkund Horse he took out to Pilleebheet, has been ordered to cross over to Buheree (Baheri), where he will be joined by 250 of the Kumaon Levies and the Head Quarters of the Rohilkund Horse under Captain Crossman who will command the party. They will endeavour if a favorable opportunity offers, to oust these rebels from their position and drive them beyond the frontiers of Rohilkund.[1]

BATTLE OF RASULPUR

There is still excitement on the northern frontier of this district, caused by the vicinity of the bands of Nizam Ali Khan and others, although these have received a severe blow from the party under Captain Crossman, who surprised the rebels in the village of Russoolpoor near Buheree at daybreak on the 7th June; 85 of the rebels were killed, our loss was slight, only one man severely, and 5 slightly wounded. Unfortunately the rest of the rebels including their leaders, fled towards the Rampoor Territory, where Captain Crossman did not conceive himself justified in following them. They are, however, believed to have only temporarily remained in the Nuwab's jurisdiction.

Wild reports are assiduously spread through the district, the object being evidently to unsettle men's minds, and to destroy confidence in our Government. Some of these are to the effect that the cultivation of the fields has been prohibited by the British Government, that Khan Bahadur Khan will re-enter

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Bareilly for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Bareilly under shelter of a miraculous dust storm, and annihilate his enemies etc. etc.

TAHSILDAR OF JAHANABAD MURDERED

Ridiculous as these reports are, they still gain a certain amount of credence, and the Magistrate has been busily employed in contradicting them, and endeavouring to trace their authors. The *Tehsildar* of Jehanabad[1], Zekuriya (Zakaria) Khan, who has throughout last year been a refugee at Nynee Tal, has been murdered by a *Burkandaz* of his *tahsil*, whom he had dismissed on discovering that the man had been an active adherent and follower of Khan Bahadoor Khan. The man attacked him while at meals, and wounded at the same time the *Peshkar* and *Thannadar*. He then took refuge in a house which he obstinately defended till the thatched roof was set on fire when he sallied out and was killed fighting desperately.[2]

MUSLIMS OF ISLAMNAGAR COLLABORATE WITH RAM NARAIN'S PARTY

Narrative of Events submitted by C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Badaun, to R. Alexander, Commissioner for the Rohilkhand Division, in his letter No. 34 *of* 1858, *dated Badaun Collector's Office, Islamnuggur (Islamnagar),* 13*th June* 1858.

I was unable again to write to you yesterday owing to my time being fully taken up. I hope, after I part company with Brigadier Coke's force to-morrow, to submit the daily reports required to you regularly without intermission.

2*nd*—We marched yesterday from Suhiswan to Meolee, rather better than halfway to this place. I caused to be apprehended on the road from the villages of Sorha and Kureeamyn some eleven persons—Thakoors, Brahmins and

[1] *Jahanabad*, Pargana *Jahanabad*, Tahsil *Pilibhit*, District *Pilibhit*—The capital of the Jahanabad pargana is a small town lying in 28° 38′ N. and 79° 42′ E., at a distance of some six miles west from Pilibhit by the road leading to Baheri. (*District Gazetteers*, Pilibhit, Vol. XVIII, 1909, p. 192).

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Bareilly for the week ending 20th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Pusiyas, who had been very active in plundering and burning villages in the late insurrection, and against whom I had complaints from several of the respectable landholders in this direction, Rao Purdmun (Pradumna) Kishen for one having been a great sufferer by their depradations.

3*rd*—We found this place on our arrival here entirely denuded of the Mohamedan portion of its population. The fact of their having made common cause with Baboo Ramnarain's party here is sufficiently explanative of this flight. Brigadier Coke has sent out two parties of Cavalry in different directions to see if any of these men can be apprehended, information as to their movements having been brought in this morning. It is my intention to make an example here by levelling the Mahomedan *Mohulla* of the *qusbah* to the ground. The rest of the population are as usual in the village, and will not be molested. A guard has been put over the place by the Brigadier.

4*th*—I forgot to mention to you in my last report from Suhiswan that upwards of 50 Mahomedans (many of whom had been in service under the rebels) voluntarily surrendered themselves there with their arms. To convince their brethren that this was the best policy I immediately ordered all but a few of the most notorious amongst these men to be released on their furnishing reasonable security for their appearance to answer any charge which might be preferred against them.

HAIDAR KHAN AND HASAN KHAN EXECUTED

5*th*—I convicted and executed at the same time several notable Mahomedans regarding whose guilt and active opposition to us there was not a shadow of doubt. Amongst these were two men, Hyder Khan and Mohomed Hussan Khan who had been respectively *Tehsildar* and *Thanadar* of Suhiswan under the Rebel Government, having received the *Sunuds* of their appointments from Khan Bahadur Khan himself, repairing for that purpose to Bareilly.

6*th*—I also apprehended at the same time Miyan Khan the rebel *Thanadar* of Bilsee and who, when ousted from his post there, joined the rebels at this place under Baboo Ramnarain. It is my intention to have his execution carried into effect at Bilsee, the scene of his lawless outrages.

LACHHMAN SINGH SHOT DEAD

7th—Brigadier Coke having obtained some evidence in a village tending to implicate Lutchmun Singh, the rebel *Tehsildar* of Oojhani, and that individual having absconded some Cavalry were sent in pursuit of him, and he was apprehended by them after having been tracked for a whole night and the best part of a day, on the banks of the Ganges, brought into Camp and shot as a rebel by the Brigadier's orders. I consider he most richly merited this fate. At the Brigadier's recommendation I gave a reward of 100 Rupees to the man who led the pursuit, and to which I request your sanction. I understand on excellent authority that Lutchmun Singh had upwards of 40 stand of govt. arms concealed, and which I hope to get hold of. Five *Goordahs* were found in Haidur[1] Khan's house at Suhiswan, together with a quantity of powder thrown down a well.

8th—I propose, if possible, to stay out in this direction, for another week, and to visit before returning to Budaon the *pargunnahs* of Goonour and Bisowlee.

P. S.—Should the weekly returns of Revenue come in time they shall be forwarded by this *dak*, but I fear too late for incorporation in your Narrative for this week.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events submitted by C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate of Badaun to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand at Bareilly, vide his Letter No. 36 *of* 1858, *dated Camp Islamnagar, Badaun Collector's Office,* 14*th June* 1858.

I have nothing very particular to report to-day. Twenty-one rebels were brought in last evening, after despatch of my letter to you by the parties of Cavalry which I wrote of as having been sent off in the morning. Of these, fourteen suffered military execution, several of them being wounded men, and one having had his right arm taken off at the elbow by a round shot. The other seven prisoners were released on

[1] Spelt as 'Hydar' in the 5th paragraph of this letter. (p. 533).

[2] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

account of their youth and inexperience and other extenuating circumstances taken into consideration. I have every reason to hope that the example thus made will have a very salutary effect in these parts.

2nd—I accompanied the force this morning to Chundousee (Chandausi), and returned here. My stay will be prolonged for a day or two to make enquiry into the conduct of certain Mahommedan villages in the immediate vicinity of this place, who, I understand, co-operated very actively with Baboo Ramnurayan's band.[1]

ATTACK ON PAWAYAN THREATENED

Mr. Money reports that he has re-established the *thannahs* at Pooranpore[2] and Khotar[3], and also the *chokees* of Putteea and Seramow.... His last report mentioned a threatened attack on Pawain by the Fyzabad Maulvie, Khan Bahadur Khan and Ismaiel Khan, which he considered would very probably take place....[4]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from C. Daniell to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Etah, 16*th June* 1858.

A letter from Gowan at Moradabad states that Khan

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Puranpur*, Pargana and Tahsil, District *Pilibhit*—This, the eastern tahsil of the district, comprises the single pargana of Puranpur, though formerly it was divided into Puranpur and Sabna. It includes a very large tract of country, extending eastwards from Pilibhit and Bisalpur to the Kheri District. (*District Gazetteers*, Pilibhit, Vol. XVIII, 1909, p. 226).

[3] *Khutar*, Pargana *Khutar*, Tahsil *Pawayan*, District *Shahjahanpur*—The capital of the Khutar pargana is a large and decidedly straggling village situated in 28° 12′ N. and 80° 16′ E., at a distance of fourteen miles from Pawayan and thirty-one miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 194).

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Shahjahanpur for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Bahadoor attacked Shaharunpore[1] on the 12th, and drove in all the picquets, there was firing heard on the morning of the 13th. He has four or five thousand Cavalry, six hundred Infantry and eighteen Horse Artillery guns.[2]

MAULVI AHMAD ULLAH ATTACKS PAWAYAN, HIS DEATH

On the 15th instant, the Moulvie arrived from Mahomdee at Powayun (Pawayan), about 16 miles north-east of Shajehanpore, with a considerable body of Cavalry and some guns; he surrounded the *Gurree* (*Garhi*) of the Rajah of that place by name Juggernath (Jagannath) Singh, and first demanded that the *Tehsildar* and *Thannadar* who had taken refuge with the Rajah, should be given up to him; his request being refused, he commenced his attack upon the place. The Rajah and his two brothers, Buldeo Singh and Komul (Komal) Singh led out their force to oppose the Moulvie. The fight is said to have lasted nearly three hours. The Moulvie was shot, and the moment he fell, his head was cut off by order of Buldeo Singh.[3]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated July 2, 1858.

Bareilly—A letter from Bareilly dated 21st June says—"You must have heard about the Moulvie being done for; there are some Thakoors in our neighbourhood, who have promised to bring in Khan Bahadoor and another of his kidney[4] shortly. They are going to try a surprise, but I am afraid they will be too wide awake."[5]

* * *

[1] This appears to have been wrongly received for *Shahjahanpur*.
[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, June 25, 1858, p. 602; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*). National Library, Calcutta.
[4] Appears misprinted for 'Kinsman'.
[5] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, July 2, 1858, p. 7. (Reproduced from *Mofussilite*, June 29). National Library, Calcutta.

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay to Muir, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), June 16, 1858.

The Moulvie is dead; he was shot at Purwain (Pawayan), where he went with 500 sowars. A follower of the Rajah of Purwain cut off his head.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, June 22, 1858.

Futtyghur—Report received dated 16th June, that the Moulvie of Fyzabad had been killed at Purwain[2] by the followers of the Rajah of that place.[3]

* * *

News dated Friday, 25th June 1858.

Some doubts have been felt as to the identity of the Moulvie lately killed in the district of Shahjehanpore with him (that) of Fyzabad. We are now assured that it is the veritable Moulvie Ahmed Ullah Shah of the latter place.[4]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated July 1, 1858.

The Moulavie killed near Shahjehanpore was not Liakat Alli but Ahmed Oollah Shah. He was killed in an engagement with the Rajah of Powayne (Pawayan), and his head was struck off by order of Buldeo Singh. The body of the late Moulavie with his head has been sent into Shahjehanpore....[5]

CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO AHMAD ULLAH SHAH'S DEATH

Letter No. 11 of 1858 from G. P. Money, Magistrate of Shahjahanpur, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilcund (Rohilkhand), dated 17th June 1858.

My demi-official letter of dates 15th and 16th instant,

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 6 in No. 20, p. 172.
[2] Spelt for '*Pawayan*'.
[3] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure I in No. 19, p. 169.
[4] *The Hindoo Patriot*, July 1, 1858, p. 201. National Library, Calcutta.
[5] *The Friend of India*, July 1, 1858, p. 608. National Library, Calcutta.

Letter[1] *No. 78 from Commissioner to Secretary to Government N. W. P., dated 19th June 1858 Gist of the Letter.*

The probability of an attack on Powayan has been resolved by the fact of the Moulvee Ahmud Ollah Shah having gone to that place with but a small force apparently, one would conclude, counting on the timidity or the countenance of Juggurnath (Jagannath) Singh of Powayan. Encloses a letter from which it would appear that no doubts remain on the Magistrate's mind of the head being that of the Moulvee for whom the reward of 50000 Rs. has been advertized. Remarks that the early payment of the large reward will have a good effect; but that it would have been more gratifying to pay this reward to some tried and staunch friend of the British Govt. (Government) which Juggurnath (Jagannath) Singh has not been. On the other hand, however, it is satisfactory to have secured a man of influence among the Hindoo population, and one who has connections among the Hindoo landholders in the N. W. of Oudh; any treasonable connection which may have existed between the Raja of Powayan and the Mahomedan assemblage congregated at Mohumdee must have been severed with the blows which made Ahmud Ollah headless; and it is to be hoped that the *talookdars* on the other side (of) Sardah[2] may, encouraged by the Powayan example, refuse supplies to the refugees if they do not engage in open hostility against them.....[3]

PAWAYAN RAJA PAID THE REWARD ON MAULVI'S HEAD

The leading event of this week has been the death before Powain (Pawayan) of the notorious rebel Ahmudoolla, "the Moulvie", so notorious at Fyzabad and Lucknow. He came

[1] Letter No. 11 from Magistrate of Shahjahanpur, dated June 17, 1858, contains the gist of the matter already given in the preceding document. Hence omitted here.

[2] River 'Sarda'.

[3] Department—XXIV, File No. 22 : "Investigation into the conduct of Raja Jagannath Singh of Pawayan"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Note—The abstract of G. O. 433 of 24th June 1858 has been omitted here as it has been printed on page 542 vide para 4.

down upon Powain (it was reported last week that he had given up his intention of doing so) with a couple of guns, and small force of Cavalry and Infantry not above 500 strong, and on being met at the gate of the Fort by Buldeo Singh, the Rajah's brother, who had been deputed to communicate with him, demanded the surrender of a *Tehsildar* and *Thannadar* in the service of Government, who had sought refuge with the Rajah.

On the refusal of the Rajah to assent to this requisition, hostilities commenced by an order from the Moulvie, who was standing at the edge of the ditch, to advance an elephant, and break down the gate. A volley from the Rajah's men in reply to this command brought down the Moulvie, and two of his followers. On this the whole of his force fled panic-struck, and it is said meeting a larger body who were coming in support, communicated the alarm to them, and they also fled. The bodies were then brought into the fort, when that of the Moulvie was found to have three balls in it; the head was struck off with a view of (to) sending it into Shahjehanpoor for recognition, ultimately both it and the body were received there and fully recognised. The body was burned, and the head exposed on a pole in front of the *kotwalee*. The clothes and sword of the Moulvie were all well identified the latter had belonged to an officer of the 7th Light Cavalry. *He had impressed his followers with the belief that his Whip and Handkerchief possessed magical qualities*, to which he was indebted for his success, these were likewise taken. The bodies of the other two men have not been identified, but one of them is believed to be that of a man of some importance.

The reward offered for the Moulvie's apprehension has been paid to the Rajah—His conduct on this occasion is doubtless much (much doubtless), owing to the course pursued by Mr. Money the Magistrate who pointing out to him that his former conduct had to a certain extent compromised his character, urged him to redeem it by some decisive act of loyalty, and especially suggested to him the apprehension of the Moulvie who was believed to be in his neighbourhood....[1]

* * *

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Shahjahanpur for the week ending 20th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Letter No. 433 *of* 1858 *from William Muir, Secretary to Government, N. W. Provinces, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Bareilly (Rohilkhand), dated Allahabad, the* 24*th of June* 1858.

Having laid before the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, your letter No. 78, dated 19th instant containing your narrative for the week ending the 19th instant I am commanded to communicate the following orders—

2*nd*—Your instructions to the Offg. Collector and Magistrate of Budaon, regarding the alleged retirement of rebels with the Rampore Column are approved.

3*rd*—His Lordship concurs in the sentiment expressed in your 16th para : that Mr. Carmichael's proper course was to have met and thanked the Rampore leader.

4*th*—The Governor General sanctions the immediate payment of the reward, Rupees 50,000 to the Rajah of Powain and his brother, on account of the Moulvee Ahmed Oolla Sha (Shah). A telegraphic message to this effect has been sent to Shahjehanpore.

5*th*—I am further to communicate His Lordship's high commendation of Mr. Money's exertions as explained in para 7 of his letter of the 19th instant, which, no doubt helped to confirm the Rajah in his resolution to oppose the Moulvee.

P. S.—The enclosures of your letter are returned, copies being retained.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated July 9, 1858.

A later letter from Shahjehanpore mentions that orders have been sent to the Commissioner there to pay the Rs. 50,000 reward for capturing the Moulvie to the Rajah of Powyne (Pawayan) and his brother...[2]

* * *

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 22 : "Investigation into the conduct of Raja Jagannath Singh of Pawayan"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

cf. Also, Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, No. 138. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, July 9, 1858. National Library, Calcutta.

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated July 8, 1858.

In Rohilkund the authorities are exerting themselves, but of course with slower results. The Rajah of Powayne (Pawayan) has obtained the reward of fifty thousand rupees set upon the Moulvie's head. It is not know (*sic*,–known) where Khan Bahadoor Khan is ... Mahomed Hosain still ravages through eastern Oude and Goruckpore...[1]

ANOTHER REVOLUTIONARY LEADER REPORTED KILLED AT PAWAYAN

Letter No. 12 *of* 1858 *from G. P. Money, Magistrate of Shahjahanpur, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, dated Shahjahanpur Magistracy,* 18*th June* 1858.

In continuation of my letter No. 11 of yesterday's date, I have the honor to state that, I omitted, when reporting the fact of the rebel Molovee Ahmud Ollah (Maulvi Ahmad Ullah) Shah having been killed, to mention, that, another[2] of the rebels was shot at the same time. He is described, as a man of very large status, and supposed to be a man of some importance among the rebels.

2*nd*—As no one could recognize the body at Powayan, the head was brought in here, in the hope of some person being found to identify the same; but up to the present time, this point has not been clearly ascertained.[3]

ROLE OF RAJA OF PAWAYAN

DOCUMENTS BEARING THE SIGNATURE OF RAJA JUGGURNATH (JAGANNATH) SINGH OF POWAIN (PAWAYAN) TO THE ADDRESS OF KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

Letter No. 198 *from Magistrate, Shahjahanpur, to Commissioner, dated* 3*rd December* 1858. (*Gist of the Letter*).

Submits copies of certain documents, bearing the signature

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, July 8, 1858, p. 211. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *cf. The Dacca News*, July 3, 1858, p. 325 (Col. 1). National Library, Calcutta.

cf. Also, Foreign Department, N. W. P., Narrative 1858. Narrative of Events for Shahjahanpur for the week ending 20th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (p. 541).

[3] Department–XXIV, File No. 22 : "Investigation into the conduct of Raja Jagannath Singh of Pawayan"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

of Rajah Juggurnath Singh of Powaen (Pawayan) addressed to Khan Bahadoor Khan and of a letter addressed to the Rajah by himself (Magistrate) and the Rajah's reply, and remarks that it appears, that, altho' (although) the Rajah may have been forced to address letters to Khan Bahadoor Khan as also to send *Nuzzurs* with a view of keeping up an appearance of attachment to the rebel cause, still nothing can justify the language which he has thought fit to adopt in his communications to the rebel Nawab. Since the reoccupation the Rajah has in a measure atoned for his previous short-comings and Magte. (Magistrate) concludes that Government would not now wish to press the point, but still considers that he is deserving of no consideration as regards remission of his revenue, which is the one object he has in view, but in which he (Magistrate) has given the Rajah no encouragement.

Letter No. 142 *from Commissioner to Magistrate, Shahjahanpur, dated 7th December* 1858. (*Gist*).

Observing that the Rajah's act in obtaining the head of the rebel Moulvee Ahmud Ollah Shah secured for him immunity from the well deserved penalty of rebellion and reward of Rs. 50,000/- but the remission of any part of the revenue demands against him would be to declare his innocence, while he (Commissioner) is not prepared to presume the latter or to forego the former, *considers the Rajah to have been second only to Sobha Ram of the Hindoo rebels.*

Letter No. 89 *from Officiating Collector of Shahjahanpur, dated 4th July* 1859.

BALANCES DUE FROM THE PAWAYAN RAJA FOR THE YEAR 1857-58

...The case against the Raja is briefly this—At the commencement of the disturbances he tendered allegiance and presented a *Nuzur* to Khan Bahadoor Khan, and obtained the lease of *pergunnahs* Powayan and Baragaon, in virtue whereof, he made the collections for which he is now held responsible. The armlet of the vile (Nana Dhoondhoo Punt) which he had taken in pledge, was also found with him. But a graver charge against him was his refusal to protect the Shajehanpore fugitives as reported by the late Mr. Jenkins, Joint Magistrate of Shajehanpore, to the Secretary to Government on the 2nd June 1857, in consequence of which they went

to Mohumdee, and were shortly after murdered, whereas had they been permitted to remain at Powayan, and observe the course of events for a day or two, in all human probability they would have turned their steps to Nynee Tal, and have escaped.

The case for the Raja is stated in his own petition, a full translation of which is annexed. It is true he preserved alive a Christian named Cosar Mootey[1]. The death of Ahmud Ollah Shah was of great assistance as it deprived the rebels of their only leader of energy and ability.

The expenses incurred are estimated at his own valuation. Adds that the Raja smarted sorely from our settlement arrangements, which had degraded his family, and many neighbouring ones from great territorial importance to comparative insignificance. Still the influence which his name retained enabled him to preserve order to a great extent and save the inhabitants from many of the miseries of anarchy.

Believes that the Raja was two faced during the disturbances, with, on the whole a leaning to the English Government. In temperament he is timorous and undecided, and was chiefly actuated by the ill advice of his brother Buldeo Singh. His outward and visible signs of adhesion may be said to date from our ascendancy. Opines his services should avail to save him from punishment for his earlier delinquencies though they can never remove the stain left on his character by his behaviour to the unhappy fugitives from Shajehanpore; nor should they excuse him from payment of government revenue collected under rebel authority. The balances due for unlawful collections of 1857/58 viz. Rs. 1,33,802-5-2 he has been informed will be collected from him in payments extending over two years, the instalments being regulated by the *pergunah Kistbundee.*[2]

PAWAYAN RAJA THREATENED BY MAULVI'S FOLLOWERS

The Raja of Powain (Pawayan) is threatened by some of the late Maulvee's followers, though the first effect of his fall

[1] Correct name may be 'Qaisar Mati.'

[2] Department—XXIV, File No. 22 : "Investigation into the conduct of Raja Jagannath Singh of Pawayan"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

was to cause their evacuation of all that part of the country. He has been strengthened by Nolice and eventually Lieutenant De Kantzow's Horse will also join him.

The murderers of the Revd. Mr. MacCullen have been traced and will be brought to justice.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated July 14, 1858.

Shahjehanpore—From Shahjehanpore under date the 2nd July, we have the following—

The rebels are believed to be somewhere beyond Powayne and about Mahomdee, and, by way of change and perhaps to keep their hands in, they occasionally burn a village or two belonging to the Rajah of Powayne to pay him off for his base ingratitude to the Moulvie. Three of his guns were given back to him some days ago to enable him to defend himself against the *Bhagees* (*Baghis*). Sheds are being run up for the European troops, but they will not, probably, be ready for a fortnight or three weeks. Regret to say seven men implicated in the murder of the clergyman here at the time of the outbreak, have been hanged, and four imprisoned for life. A large body of the rebels, it is said, have retired across the Gomtee, and the Powayne Rajah has been in[2] here for some 3 days on business regarding the compensation for his killing the Moulvie.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES THREATEN ATTACK ON PILIBHIT

...The Commissioner of Rohilcund (Rohilkhand) indeed reports that the rebels are said to threaten an attack on Pilleebheet (Pilibhit) via Khotar. The former place has in consequence been strongly reinforced and this measure will, it is

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Shahjahanpur for the week ending 27th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] 'In' appears superfluous here.

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, July 14, 1858, p. 48. National Library, Calcutta.

hoped, avert the danger. There is a good military road well bridged between Bareilly and Pilleebheet (Pilibhit).[1]

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN'S CAPTURE REPORTED

News dated Friday, July 9 1858.

It is reported in Calcutta that *Khan Bahadoor Khan has been captured, and that Tantia Topee has been killed.* This report requires confirmation.[2]

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN BEING PURSUED

...It has been rumoured that Khan Bahadoor Khan was captured; this is not the case, but there are hopes that some of the Rajahs following Rajah of Powayne's example, may be induced to hunt him down, and the Magistrate and Collector of Shahjehanpore, Mr. Gilbert Money, is on his track....[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES PLAN COMBINED ATTACK ON PILIBHIT

The only district from which there is anything to report in this Division, is Bareilly. The reinforcements intended for Pilleebheet as mentioned in the last narrative, were dispatched though not as originally designed, only of Police. The Rohilkund Horse having been in the meanwhile placed under the orders of Brigadier Walpole, it became necessary to apply to him for their services; and he considered it expedient to make some change in the constitution of the force, adding a portion of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry.

NIZAM ALI REINFORCED

On arrival at Pilleebheet (Pilibhit), it was found the rumour of inroad has not been altogether unfounded for

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for the Meerut and Rohilkhand Divisions for the week ending 3rd July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Friend of India*, July 15, 1858, p. 655. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, July 9, 1858, p. 31; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, June 30). National Library, Calcutta.

Booreh Khan[1] a nephew of Khan Bahadoor, had already reinforced Nizam Allee (the rebel whose band has been already twice defeated) with 150 men; 400 more were advancing through the northern *pergunnahs* of Shajehanpore, and a combined attack on Pilleebheet had, there was good reason to believe, been planned.

REVOLUTIONARIES GIVING TOUGH FIGHT

The advance however of the detachment caused the latter party to retire, and the former one did not leave the Rooderpore Jungles in which it was ambushed. The aspect of affairs however appeared so threatening that Captain Crossman and Mr. Low applied for further support, and the Brigadier in consequence sent a party of Punjab Infantry. Still with the reported strength of the enemy (25,000) in the adjacent parts of Oude, even the present force would be too weak to resist any serious invasion....[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated July 22, 1858.

The Delhi Gazette understands that rebels have crossed from Oude into the Roodurpore *Pergunnah* of Rohilcund. It is said they intended to attack Phillеebheet (Pilibhit) to which place a garrison has been sent. A very large body of the enemy have collected at Mohumdee. They propose to attack Powayane, and revenge the death of the Moulavie. They are led, it is affirmed, by Khan Bahadoor Khan, Khan Ali Khan, Maude[3] Khan and a son of the deceased Moulavie.[4]

REVOLUTIONARIES REACH RAMPUR

A telegram of the 11th of July from Allahabad reports the rebels to have arrived at Rampore on the 10th. The town did not admit them, and a brigade had been advanced from

[1] It may have been spelt for 'Bhurey Khan'.
[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 11th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] Name incomprehensible; may be 'Menhdi Khan' or 'Mandoo Khan'.
[4] *The Friend of India*, July 22, 1858, p. 680. National Library, Calcutta.

Tonk. At Rampore there were twelve guns and some ammunition. It was feared that these would fall into the hands of the rebels.[1]

RAHIM ALI'S SAWARS CROSS INTO BADAUN

Narrative of Events submitted by C. P. Carmichael, Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Badaun, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, Bareilly, in his letter No. 87 *of* 1858 *dated Badaun Collector's Office, Camp Ooghani (Ujhani), 19th July* 1858.

I have the honor to report my arrival here today *en route* to Budaon, and to enclose copy of a deposition which I received yesterday from the Magistrate of Boolundshuhr being that of the person who first gave information to the *Tuhseeldar* of Dibaie regarding the transit of Ruheem Ali's sowars into this district. In forwarding this deposition Mr. Currie remarks that the story when reduced to writing does not appear to be one to which any importance can be attached.[2]

RESTORATION OF BRITISH AUTHORITY IN KUMAUN

Extract from Letter from Major H. Ramsay, Commissioner of Kumaun, to William Muir, Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, dated Nynee Tal (Naini Tal), 22*nd July* 1858.

13*th*—The unhealthy season had passed away, and as we expected to hear of a force entering Rohilcund, I urged on Colonel McCausland the necessity of taking up a position at Huldwanee, to protect that part of the district, and be ready to assist in the destruction of the rebels, or at any rate to create a diversion. The arrival of the Nepal Contingent, and advanced state of the Kumaon Levies, enabled us to occupy Huldwanee, and leave at Nynee Tal a party strong enough to protect the passes on the Rampore side; while Lieutenant McIntyre's young Regiment was available to

[1] *The Friend of India*, 22nd July 1858, p. 679. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] Department—XXIV, File No. 25 : "Daily Narrative of Events of Badaun, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur from 12th May 1857 to 19th July 1858"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

take some of the Almorah duties, and, if necessary, guard the eastern passes.

REVOLUTIONARIES REAPPEAR BEFORE HALDWANI

14*th*—On the Ist January (1858) the rebels hearing of a supply of grain coming for our Camp made a night march from Rooderpore and appeared before Huldwanee about 9 A.M. The force under Captain Baugh defeated them, killing about 50.

15*th*—The impossibility of procuring more supplies of grain, and my store having become exhausted, most of Captain Crossman's Cavalry had been ordered to Kasheepore. In the end of January they returned, and Colonel McCausland came down with the Head-quarters of the 66th Goorkhas, and on Ist February we had about 1,000 Infantry, 250 Cavalry, two 6-pounders, and two Mountain-train guns.

ENCOUNTER AT CHARPURA

16*th*—Fuzl Huq's army of 4,500 with four guns moved up from the east, Kala Khan with 4,000 men and four guns advanced from Buheree (Baheri). Fuzl Huq's army encamped at Sunda, 13 miles east, and Kala Khan's took up a position 16 miles south of Huldwanee. They first intended attacking us in front and flank, and the ground was so much in our favor (that) we remained quiet. They then determined upon uniting forces and attacking us in front; this was not desirable, and on 10th February, Colonel McCausland attacked Kala Khan's force at Churpoora (Charpura). The result has been noticed at length in Colonel McCausland's despatch. After the Churpoora fight the rebels lost heart, and never again settled down in the Terrai *pergunnahs*.

17*th*—A party once came to collect revenue in Kilpooree (Kilpuri), and put up at the Setargunge[1] *Tehseel*. Captain

[1] *Sitarganj*, Pargana *Kilpuri*, Tahsil *Kichha*, District *Naini Tal*—A small market village of the Tarai situated in latitude 28° 56′ north and longitude 79° 43′ east, on the main road running from Tanakpur to Kashipur, at a distance of 18 miles from Khatima, 22 miles from Pilibhit, 14 miles from Kichha, 23 miles from Haldwani and 14 miles from Chorgallia, with all of which it is connected by unmetalled roads. (*District Gazetteers*, Naini Tal, Vol. XXXIV, 1904, p. 329).

Baugh was sent immediately out with 250 Infantry and Cavalry. Mr. Carmichael, who had formerly charge of these *pergunnahs* accompanied the detachment as Civil Officer, and by judicious management the rebels were surrounded and destroyed.

KUMAUN PEOPLE JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARIES

18*th*—In January, it became known that a few of the Kali Kumaon people had joined the rebel camp, and I deputed Mr. Colvin to that part of the district. Mr. Colvin prevented the contagion spreading—if it had any tendency to become more general, and kept the passes so well guarded that the rebels never attempted to approach the Hills in the direction of Burmdeo (Barmdeo).

ARTILLERY COMPANY AT ALMORA DISAFFECTED

19*th*—When the Artillery Company at Almorah showed symptoms of disaffection in June, so many of them were sent to jail that there was no room. At the same time there was such a panic among the natives at Nynee Tal, that coolies were very scarce. I took 40 hill prisoners from the jail, knocked off their irons and used them as coolies, without guards, on the promise that if they behaved well they should be released at the end of the year. They worked on the roads; carried loads; on one occasion attacked a body of dacoits near Kala Doongee (Kala Dhungi)[1], killing several of them, and throughout behaved admirably. I therefore released them at the end of the year. I considered it desirable that Mr. Colvin should be present at Almorah, and sent him there in June; his presence maintained confidence among the people of the town, and he was ready to proceed in any direction where an officer's presence might be required.

20*th*—Mr. Beckett kept the passes into the Hills from Bijnore well guarded, and at once proceeded in any direction

[1] *Kaladhungi*, Patti *Chhakhata Bhabar*, Tahsil *Haldwani*, District *Naini Tal*—A small town at the foot of the hills in the Chhakhata Bhabar; it is situated on the high road from Naini Tal to Moradabad at a distance of 16 miles from Naini Tal and 47 miles from Moradabad, in latitude 29° 17′ north and longitude 79° 21′ east, at an elevation of 1,300 feet above the sea. (*District Gazetteers*, Naini Tal, Vol. XXXIV, 1904, p. 270).

where attack was threatened. In consequence of some evil-disposed plain's men attempting to create a disturbance at Sreenuggr (Srinagar), a Company of Goorkhas was sent over for a short time from Almorah but with the exception of some dacoities in the early part of the mutiny, Mr. Beckett's district* like Kumaon, remained perfectly well conducted and loyal. In fact, with the few individual exceptions, the people of Kumaon and Gurhwal have behaved wery well. They supplied coolies, grain and men, to protect the bye-passes; and the best evidence I can offer of their loyalty and honesty is the fact of remittances of 10 (10,000) to 50,000 Rs. having passed through the Hills from Mussooree to Almorah in charge of a few *Chuprassees.*

21*st*—Mr. Batten was detained by me at Nynee Tal as it was uncertain where I might go to, and the presence of one Civil Officer at the station was absolutely necessary to keep order, and carefully dispose of the numerous applications from the all sides without delay.

22*nd*—Mr. Alexander by applying to the Nawab of Rampore received 64,000 Rs. in Gold *Mohurs;* he also received about a lac of Rs. in the payment of Revenue, and by granting bills on Moradabad. The Rajah of Gurhwal lent a lac of Rupees, and we managed to pay our way on a limited scale, until better times admitted of treasure being sent us through Deyra.

23*rd*—I consider it proper to mention that I felt it incumbent on me to cancel an order given by the late Lieutenant-Governor, requiring all villagers to keep cattle out of their houses. This created great disgust, and was so offensive to the Hill people that I took upon myself to cancel it. I wrote to the late Mr. Colvin explaining the circumstances, and he approved of my proceeding. I got no official approval, but it was conveyed (by *Kossid*) in a small note from Mr. Thornhill, then Secretary to Government, and I think subsequently in a letter written in Mr. Muir's hand-writing, signed by the late Mr. Colvin. I have noticed this matter in order that I may not appear to have acted disrespectfully in having interfered with the late Lieutenant-Governor's orders.

* 'Gurhwal'—Note in Original.

24*th*—In conclusion I would observe, that the facts specified for report in the Circular under acknowledgement had no place in this Province, which happily has no history to record; but I have in the absence of such facts given a brief account of what has occurred from the said tidings of the mutiny first reaching Kumaon, to the defeat of the rebels by the Huldwanee force at Churpoora, from which date we were never molested by anyone.[1]

REPORTED DIFFERENCES OVER DIVISION OF AHMAD ULLAH SHAH'S TREASURE

Another letter from Shahjehanpoor, dated July 16th, mentions the threatened approach of the rebels on Powayne, but states that as the river Gomtee had risen, there is not much fear of their coming in that direction. It is reported that they are at logger-heads about the division of the Moulvie's treasure. The Begum[2] sent up Khan Alli Khan with a force to bring the treasure to her, but Khan Bahadoor, Ismael Khan, and Feroze Shah, declined to give it up. There were some guns heard in their directions on the 9th and 10th, and it is to be hoped that they have had a fight amongst themselves.[3]

RENEWED ACTIVITIES OF REVOLUTIONARIES TO ATTACK PAWAYAN AGAIN

Shahjahanpore—That the rebels are shewing fresh signs of activity in that neighbourhood, but across the Oude border,—their object being apparently to attack Powaine (Pawayan), if not Shahjehanpore itself. There is to be a great gathering of the rebel forces[4] at Secunderabad, two of their regiments had already come on from Gurhee Royah, and Hur Pershaud

[1] *Mutiny Narratives,* N. W. P. Agra, *Kumaun Division,* pp. 3-4.
[2] Referring to 'Begam Hazrat Mahal' of Avadh.
[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* July 23, 1858, p. 80; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette* July 14). National Library, Calcutta.
[4] Khan Bahadur of Bareilly is reported to be at Sikandarabad vide letter No. 753 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth to G. F. Edmonstone, dated 24th July 1858. (*cf. Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh,* Vol. II, p. 458).

(*Chukladar* of Khyrabad)[1] is soon expected with other chiefs and their forces.

CHIEF CAMP AT SIKANDARABAD

Khan Ally Khan (*Nazim* of Shahjehanpore) during its occupation by Qaadir Ali Khan, has been appointed to the chief command by the Begum and Khan Bahadoor Khan, and a brother of the late Moolvie, as also several other men of note, are with him, subject to his authority. He will first come to Mahomdee which is his depot for commissariat stores, but it has been well ascertained that the chief camp will be formed at Secunderabad and a division at Gokurnath[2]. The number of the rebels is estimated as being certainly not less than 30,000 and probably 40,000 with 30 guns of sorts but spies report that all the rebels are not armed,—many having no weapons at all. Probably the "effective strength" may be set down at about one third of the total,—the remainder being camp followers and rabble. Their movements are being watched,...

MAULVI'S PROPERTY NOT CONTENDED FOR

....Azeezool Huq (Azizul Haq), resident of Mohumdee, has been appointed *Tahseeldar* of Burrore or Perora, (the name is not very legible)....The decapitated Moolvie's property was not, as previously reported, contended for and distributed amongst the rebels, but has been safely sent by Khan Ally Khan and Khan Bahadoor Khan to the Begum. The train of carts, elephants, and camels conveying it, was as large as one of our commissariat trains.[3]

* * *

[1] *Khairabad*, Pargana *Khairabad*, Tahsil and District *Sitapur*—The capital of the pargana is the second largest town in the district and has only recently been ousted from the premier position by the growth of Sitapur. It lies in latitude 27° 32′ North and longitude 80° 45′ East, at a distance of five miles from Sitapur, 47 miles from Lucknow, and a short way to the east of the main road between those two places. Through the north of the town runs the metalled road from Sitapur to Biswan, while from the south a similar road goes to the station on the Lucknow, Sitapur and Bareilly State Railway. (*District Gazetteers*, Sitapur, 1905, p. 162).

[2] Referring perhaps to *Gola Gokaran Nath* in *Kheri* District.

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, August 3, 1858, p. 116. National Library, Calcutta.

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated August 5, 1858.

KHAN ALI KHAN APPOINTED CAPTAIN GENERAL

The Delhi Gazette states that the Oude Begum has appointed Khan Ali Khan to be Captain General of her forces. Khan Bahadoor Khan, the brother of the late Moulavie and other noted rebels, have assented to the appointment. The insurgents' army is estimated at about 30,000 fighting men with thirty guns....Feroze Shah is said to occupy Sandeela[1] and Bangor Mhow in Oude. It is reported that the rebels have determined to act during the rainy weather. Khan Ali Khan it is said will commence operations against our North-Western Provinces, whilst another force will be detached to Shahabad and Sandee Kalee.....[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated August 26, 1858.

Shajehanpore letters of the 5th instant state, that the rebels have been doing a great deal of mischief, burning and plundering villages to the north of the district. The main body under Khan Ali Khan have moved from Hyderabad[3] nearer the Goomtee with the view apparently of crossing. Another body of them it is reported are preparing a bridge of boats over the Goomtee at Sirsa Ghaut, about 8 miles north-east of Powayne (Pawayan).

[1] *Sandila*, Pargana and Tahsil *Sandila*, District *Hardoi*—The headquarters of the tahsil lies in latitude 27° 4′ north and longitude 80° 30′ east, nearly midway between Lucknow and Hardoi, at a distance of 32 miles north of Lucknow, 34 miles south-east of Hardoi, and 35 miles east of Bilgram. Unmetalled roads radiate from the town in every direction, the chief leading to Beniganj and Sitapur on the north, Mallanwan and Kanauj on the west, Bhatpurwaghat on the east, Fatehpur in Unao on the south-west, and to Unao on the south. (*District Gazetteers*, Hardoi, 1904, p. 250).

[2] *The Friend of India*, August 5, 1858, p. 728. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *Haidarabad*, Pargana *Haidarabad*, Tahsil *Muhamdi*, District *Kheri*—This village, which gives its name to the pargana, lies in latitude 28° 3′ north and longitude 80° 25′ east, on the side of the unmetalled road from Kasta to Mamri, at a distance of a mile and a half from its junction with the road from Lakhimpur and Gola to Shahjahanpur and five miles south-west from Gola. (*District Gazetteers*, Kheri, 1905, p. 186).

The report is, that a portion of their force is threatening Powyane; and that two other divisions would, if they dared, make an attack on Shajehanpore from Shahabad and Palee.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette', dated 23rd August 1858.

MUHAMDI FORT REOCCUPIED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Letters from the Oude frontier and Bareilly dated the 24th and 26th ultimo mention that:

"Powayne and Shahjhanpore are seriously threatened by the Oude rebel army. Firing had been heard at the former place on the 26th. Khan Ali Khan, who has been appointed Commander-in-Chief by the Begum is to superintend the attack on Powayne. He has 15 guns, two regiments of sepoys, four of *Nujeebs* and 2,500 men supplied by some of the chiefs. In addition to these troops it is stated that Khan Ali has a force of his own amounting to 8,000 men. *The fort at Mahomdee out of which General Jones drove the Moulvie, has been re-occupied by six rebel regiments.* Three squadrons of Cavalry have been sent off in the direction of Pilleebeet (Pilibhit) and three in the direction of Shahabad to scour the country and "to break up the arrangements made by the English." This activity on the part of the Oude insurgents has given just satisfaction to the natives in Bareilly more especially the Mahomedans, all of whom, of any respectability, have gone off leaving their houses empty. A correspondent of the *Gazette*, who is thoroughly acquainted with the district and its people says—'*The heart of every native is against us*'. Other information received by our contemporary from an authentic source, represents the insurgent chiefs in the interior of Oude as full of activity. As a specimen of their proceedings it is stated that the *Thanadar*

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, August 26, 1858, p. 196; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, August 18). National Library, Calcutta.

of Mohan[1] was seized, seated on an ass, his hands cut off and then killed.[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru And India Gazette', dated August 9, 1858.

REVOLUTIONARIES INDIFFERENT TO THE PROCLAMATIONS ISSUED BY EUROPEANS

Rohilkund—With news from different parts of Rohilkund before us, it seems that the rebels continue very indifferent indeed to our benign proclamations, *that their spirits are reviving, and that they are preparing to give us a little trouble immediately.*

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN VISITS THE BEGAM AT BONDI

Khan Ali Khan is Commander-in-Chief under the Royal Warrant of the Begum. *She is at Boondie (Bondi), where she was lately visited by Khan Bahadoor Khan, and Gholam Khadir (Ghulam Qadir) Khan and his family.* The former of these and Osman Khan have received the Royal Commissions, to command the division destined to attack Powayne (Pawayan).

They have 5 guns, two regiments of sepoys and four of *Nujeebs*, besides being aided by Rajah Anirood Sing, Royal Punnaneh[3] Sing (Rajah of Muthoolee)[4] and others with 2,500 men.

KHAN ALI KHAN JOINED BY FIDA HUSAIN

Khan Ali Khan has a force of his own of 8,000 men and

[1] *Mohan*, Pargana *Auras-Mohan*, Tahsil *Hasanganj*, District *Unao*—It lies in latitude 26° 47′ north and longitude 80° 41′ east at a distance of twenty-four miles north-west from Unao. Its distance from Lucknow, with which it is connected by a good though unmetalled road, is eighteen miles. In addition to this it has other roads running through it from Auras and Malihabad to Bani Bridge on the Lucknow and Cawnpore road, crossing the Cawnpore railway at Haraoni Station, and others which proceed west over the Sai leading to Bangarmau, Safipur and Ajgain. (*District Gazetteers*, Unao, 1903, p. 204).

[2] *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, 23rd August 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Name incomprehensible.

[4] Apparently spelt for *Mitauli* in *Sitapur* District.

Mithowlie or *Mitauli*—Mitauli estate in *Sitapur* comprised almost all Maholi and a large part of the rest of Tahsil Misrikh.

has been joined by Fida Hossein "Collector", with six regiments from Hyderabad, which forces have their position at Mahomdee. For the purpose of scouring the country and breaking up the arrangement made by the English, three squadrons of Cavalry (*Resallahs*) have been sent off towards Pillebheet (Pilibhit), and three others in the direction of Shahabad. The above is stated in a letter from the Oudh frontier, dated 24th July. We learn, in another letter from Bareilly of 26th July, that two guns with Cavalry and Infantry marched the preceding evening for Pillebheet.....

Khan Ali Khan is busy preparing quantities of round shot, but none of it is for guns of large calibre. *Powayne and Shahjehanpore are seriously threatened.* The firing of rebel guns was distinctly heard at the former place on the evening of the 26th, which shews that the enemy are on the advance.

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN NEAR GOLA GOKARAN NATH

It was their intention to have made the attack on Powayne on the day of Eed, but their courage like that of the grand assembly of Chartists was washed out of them for the time, by a deluge of rain, so the propitious day proved impropitious; the attack is therefore postponed until fair weather, and was likely to come off during the 26th or 27th July. The feeling of the Mahomedans of Bareilly is manifested by the fact (coaxing and proclamations notwithstanding) that not one of any respectability has remained there, but they have gone off bodily, leaving their houses quite empty. Even our occupation of the Division, and the presence of our large army in Bareilly has not destroyed all hope. It is expected there, that a good deal of fighting will take place in the winter; but they suppose that Khan Bahadoor Khan is their chief antagonist, and that he is, with a force of 19 guns, forty *koss* off a place called Gokurnath. *It is believed, too, that the generality of the native inhabitants would only be too happy if the rebels were to retake Bareilly.* A correspondent thoroughly acquainted with the district and its people says—"*The heart of every native is against us though he uses soft and submissive words towards us*: do them even so much good they will return evil for it."[1]

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, August 9, 1858, p. 136; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, July 31). National Library, Calcutta.

AVADH REVOLUTIONARIES' INCURSIONS INTO ROHILKHAND

The district of Rohilkund has almost thoroughly quieted down, its peace being only threatened at intervals by bodies of insurgents from the neighbouring districts of Oude. At Barreilly the Government School has been reopened—a sign of perfect tranquillity.[1]

REPORTED PARTICIPATION OF CHRISTIANS IN REVOLT

A number of Christian musicians of mutinied corps have been discovered in Rohilkund taking an active part in the rebellion. They were tried and sentenced to be hung, but the Commander-in-Chief has mitigated their sentence to imprisonment for different periods.[2]

CAPTURE OF MIDHAI SINGH

Extract from Letter No. 315 *of* 1859 *from Offg. Commissioner Rohd. (Rohilkhand), to Secretary to Government, N. W. P., dated* 16*th August* 1858.

In continuation of my Narrative of Events for the week ending 30th July last, No. 303 dated 3rd August, I have the honor to submit that for the weeks ending 6th and 13th August.

2*nd*—During the week ending 6th August, the Magistrate of Shajehanpore reported the important capture of that notorious free-booter Mindhai Singh who was outlawed under G. O. No. 1875 d. (dated) 26th May, on application of the Magistrate of Bareilly.

3*rd*—The fact of Mindhai Sing being once more in the grasp of justice conduces materially to the quiet of the Shajehanpore and neighbouring districts.....[3]

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, July 29, 1858, p. 235. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 233.
[3] Department—XXIV, File No. 19 : "Bestowal of a reward of Rs. 3000/- on the Avadh Police for effecting the Capture of Fasahat Ullah, Mohd. Yar Khan and Fazal Ahmad"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

NAIB NAZIM OF BADAUN SENTENCED TO DEATH

....Ahmedoollah Khan, the late *Naib Nazim* of Budaon, captured a short time ago in the Rampore Territory has been tried and sentenced to be blown away from a gun. The sentence was to be carried into execution on the 4th August....[1]

AHMAD ULLAH KHAN BLOWN AWAY

The *Naib Nazin* (*sic,-Nazim*) of Budaon, Ahmed-Oollah Khan, was blown away from a gun at Rajpootana on the 5th instant.[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated September 2, 1858.

Ahmed Oollah Khan, the *Naib Nazim* of Budaon who assisted in the murder of Major Waterfield was blown away from a gun on the 5th of August at Surwar.....[3]

KHAN BAHADUR WITH BEGAM'S FORCE

The Begum is still in force in the northern parts of the province where Ali Khan[4], and Khan Bahadoor Khan serve under her with their contingents.[5]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated August 19, 1858.

....The Begum with her troops stands far beyond the Gogra. She has in her camp Khan Bahadoor Khan and his men, as well as a number of other chiefs. A portion of

[1] *The Friend of India*, August 12, 1858, p. 752. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, August 30, 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *The Friend of India*, September 2, 1858, p. 825. National Library, Calcutta.
[4] 'Khan Ali Khan', appointed by Begam as Captain General.
[5] *The Hindoo Patriot*, August 12, 1858, p. 251. National Library, Calcutta.

the Oude rebels has crossed into the Azimgurh District. A battle has been fought with the troops under Feroze Shah in the western part of Oude near Secunderbad[1] with success.[2]

BRITISH PROCLAMATION TO DEAL WITH REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

News dated Friday, 13th August 1858.

The Governor General directed in his Rohilkund proclamation that only rebel leaders should be capitally punished. The local authorities construed a 'leader' to mean every man who held any office under Khan Bahadoor Khan. They are now warned of their mistake.[3]

AVADH REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER FARRUKHABAD NAWAB TOWARDS SHAHJAHANPUR

The Englishman has received a letter from Futtehghur, dated the 22nd August. It states that the Oude rebels led by the Nawab of Furruckabad were encountered on their march towards Shahjehanpore, which place they intended to attack.....[4]

SHAHJAHANPUR STILL UNDER THREAT OF AN ATTACK

Shahjehanpore is still the only disturbed district that has been threatened all along the frontier from Jellalabad (Jalalabad) to the neighbourhood of Mulhani[5]. These two points and Powayne are chiefly threatened by the rebels. Near the first named place a strong force has crossed the Goomtee (Gomati) but no actual undertaking of importance has been commenced by the rebels; plunder seems their main object, naturally so indeed as it now is their sole means of subsistence. It is gratifying to add that the Jellalpore Garrison,

[1] Perhaps *Secunderabad* (*Sikandarabad*) of *Hardoi* District.
[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, August 19, 1858, p. 259. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 257.
[4] *The Friend of India*, September 2, 1858, p. 825. National Library, Calcutta.
[5] Perhaps spelt for *Mailani*, on Bareilly-Lucknow Section of N. E. Rly.

being sufficient only to hold the fort, Mr. Money the Magistrate called on the Thakoors of the neighbourhood to hold the town. This they willingly agreed to do, and sending in their several contingents at once assembled a sufficient force for the purpose.

A similarly excellent spirit has been evoked in Bareilly by Mr. Inglis at whose summons most of the leading Thakoors collected their men and promptly went out to hold the frontier *pergunnah* of Besulpore (Bisalpur).[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated 26th Aug. 1858.

Towards the western direction, Shahjehanpore and Powayne are threatened by the rebels. Both the Nanah Saheb and Khan Behadoor (Bahadur) Khan are in Oude.[2]

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS AT DIFFERENT PLACES

The following is a list of the rebel force in arms against us in Rohilkund, as far as has been ascertained through papers submitted by the different *zemindars* at Powayne:—

Powayne 21st August 1858 :

"The successor of the late notorious Moulvie is at Nurwar, having with him 1,500 men including Cavalry and 8 guns.

"Khan Ali Khan, at Nadurwar, has around him 6,000 Foot and Horse, together with 10 guns.

"Enayat Ali, of Shahabad, at the head of a body of 2,000 troops, with 10 guns, is at Busgwan[3].

"Rhughbar Sing, with 400 men, is encamped to the east of Nadurwar.

"And, finally, Khan Bahadoor Khan, with his army, is reported at Goola[4] in the Mahomdee District. Besides these,

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 22nd August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 26th Aug. 1858, p. 267. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Spelt perhaps for *Pasgawan*.

[4] Apparently *Gola*, Pargana *Haidarabad*, Tahsil *Muhamdi*, District *Kheri*—A small but famous town in the north-east corner of the pargana, lying in latitude 28° 5′ north and longitude 80° 28′ east, on the north side of the main road from Lakhimpur to Muhamdi, at a distance of 22 miles from the district headquarters. Branch roads lead north-west to Khutar in Shahjahanpur, north to Bhira, and north-east to Aliganj. (*District Gazetteers*, Kheri, 1905, p. 184).

however, there are a number of *Baghees*, who have located themselves somewhere at a distance of four or five miles from the last mentioned place. They are industriously employed in collecting revenue, just now. Their demands are most exorbitant, insisting as they do on twelve annas to the rupee, whereas the unfortunate villagers can afford to offer but eight.[1]

SKIRMISH NEAR SHAHJAHANPUR

Futtehghur, 21st August 1858—The following has been kindly sent us by a friend:—"I have had no news to write you of lately, but some of my men came in from Shajehanpore yesterday and brought me the following, which may not be unacceptable to you. The rebels from the Oude side, under the Moulavie of Bareilly[2], the Nawab of Furruckabad, and the Nawab of Bareilly, mustering strong, report gave them out 25,000, gave out that they would conclude their Mohurrum at Shajehanpore Cherabrie, and confident in their numbers, they were on the march thither. About 7 to 8 *coss* from that place, they were met by General J. Jones (popularly called the Avenger) who was joined by the Rajah of Powy. (Pawayan) and his forces. The General concealed his Artillery and allowed the rebels to come on well within range and then opened out on them, in grand style. The slaughter is said to have been great, both amongst horses and men; 200 to 300 horses have been taken. I am glad to hear of the latter; we want horse flesh sadly. These are fine boys to make amnesty with. The white livered 'Pandy' correspondent of *The Englishman*, whom he honors with a place in his Editorial columns, should come up to the black livered villains in this quarter, and try his eloquence with them. He would meet his deserts then and no mistake, and I feel equally confident the Avenger will give them their due to all of the cowardly villains who fall in with him[3].

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, October 8, 1858, p. 348; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, 29th September). National Library, Calcutta. *cf.* Also, *The Hindoo Patriot*, dated October 7, 1858, p. 314.

[2] Referring perhaps To 'Maulvi Qutub Shah'.

[3] The last few lines are a little confusing.

'Sharp be the sword and strong the blow,
And short the pang to undergo,
With every one of the villains say I."[1]

KHAN ALI KHAN SUSPENDED BY BEGAM

A letter from Shajehanpore dated August 23rd tells us, that the Mohorrum has passed off without the rebels making good their threat of attacking Powayne (Pawayan) and having a dash at Shajehanpore. Information has been received that the Begum has sent to express her severe displeasure at Khan Ali Khan's dilatoriness in attacking Powayne, and has ordered him to be suspended and kept in confinement pending the arrival of his successor, whom she is sending to take charge of the forces, she is certainly a 'plucky' old lady. The city people say they never passed so quiet a Mohorrum, no *Tazeahs* were made, and very little of any tom-tomming, a very different style of things to that of last year.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE UNDER NIZAM ALI KHAN

The most important news from this Division is the move of the rebels to Sirpoora near Pilibheet. They are said to be a strong body with guns, under Nizam Ally Khan and have not only destroyed the *choki* of Neoria killing two of the Police stationed there, but also had the hardihood to attack a strong party sent out to re-establish the post; they were however repulsed in this attempt with considerable loss.

ENCOUNTER IN PARGANA KHUTAR

The rest of the frontier remains much as when last described. In *pergunnah* Khotar of Shajehanpore however 17 *zeemindars* of Pipurrea threw themselves into a fortified house and beat off a party of 200 men, Horse and Foot, killing and wounding 10 of the enemy, a proof of the good, a resolute front shewn by the *zeemindars* may, effect.[3]

[1] *The Dacca News*, 4th Sept. 1858, p. 433. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, September 2, 1858, p. 220; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, Sept. 2). National Library, Calcutta.
[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 29th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

BEGAM'S FORCE THREATENS SHAHJAHANPUR

....In Oude operations are being conducted from Sultanpore, while Powayne and Shahjehanpore are threatened by large bodies of the Begum's force.....[1]

DEFEAT OF REVOLUTIONARIES AT SARPURA

The defeat of the force which occupied Serpoorah is the only event of importance to be narrated. They were attacked on the morning of the 30th by a detachment 500 strong from Philibheet (Pilibhit) led by Major Samuel Browne of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry who turning by a long circuit the strong position held by the enemy took them in rear and totally defeated them taking all the guns (four in number), five elephants, their ammunition etc. The enemy 1,200, or 1,500 strong left about 350 dead on the ground and were only saved from entire destruction by the near neighbourhood of heavy jungle. This success was however not purchased without some loss, two of our men having been killed and 28 wounded. Every European Officer accompanying the party was included among the latter and of these Major Browne was dangerously hurt having lost his left arm, receiving also a bad sabre cut on the leg. The good effects of this signal success has been felt not only on the Philibheet (Pilibhit) border but all along the Oude frontier to the west.

With this exception the peace of the country or of the frontier has not been disturbed.....[2]

* * *

Copy of the Letter No. 198 *of* 1858 *from R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, to W. Muir, Secretary to Government N. W. P., dated Bareilly, 4th Sept.* 1858.

In continuation of the letter No. 185 of 28th ultimo submitting the week's narrative, I have the honor to report that having forwarded to the Govt. the account of the engagement

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, September 2, 1858, p. 275. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 5th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

of Serpoorah in Pillibheet on the 2nd instant, I have no further occurrence to communicate.

2*nd*—The Bijnour, Moradabad, and Budaon districts are quiet.

3*rd*—In Bareilly we have to be on our guard against incursion from the side of north Shahjehanpoor or the forest, but the latest account from Pillibheet states that there is no open rebel now within, or immediately near the border of that *pergunnah* and many who fled from Serpoorah were cut up, it is stated, by the country people in the Poorunpoor *Pergunnah* of Shahjehanpoor.

4*th*—The state of the Shahjehanpoor District is as it was in the past week—but no fresh raids have been reported as made by the rebels on Khotar or Poorunpoor. It is probable that the Oudh rebels, on the border, were awaiting the result of the attack which the band at Serpoorah were to have made or to know what footing they had obtained in the Pillibheet *Pergunnah*.

5*th*—That the intentions of this band (possibly after they should be reinforced by further aid from Oudh) were directed to Pillibheet may be inferred from a letter taken from the body of one of the slain, written from Pillibheet giving the exact position of the defences, the posting of the force within and without the town, as well as all the pickets and their strength, and the sleeping places of the European officers. I am glad to add that the writer of the letter though it bore no nominal signature was discovered to be one who had come in under the amnesty. The proof was clear and he has met the fate of death, he has so richly deserved. The letter was written after the Neoreea post had been attacked and the Police driven into Pillibheet and affected to state that the garrison of Pillibheet was in alarm and that no succour could come in from Bareilly while by detaining who were on the side of the British in Pillibheet, it left the inference *that the others would join the insurgents in their attack*; other false statements were made in the letter as to the weakness of the Bareilly Garrison and of there having been an emeute at Meerut and Delhie. This is evident that we have still need of caution against treachery from within.[1]

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 24th Sept. 1858, No. 14. National Archives, New Delhi.

KHAN ALI KHAN AT NAURANGABAD

News-letter from Munna Lal Pandey to Captain Adolphus Orr, Superintendent, Intelligence Department, No. 133, *news of the Zila Mallanwan etc. written on Saturday at* 10 *in the night of September* 4, 1858 *and despatched on September* 5, *at* 6 *in the morning.*

Khan Ali Khan is at Naurangabad[1]. He has a following of 8000 rebel Horsemen, 4000 *Tilangas*, 3000 Matchlockmen and 15 guns.....

KHAN BAHADUR IN PIPRI

Khan Bahadur, the Bareilly rebel, is in *mauza* Pipri[2] and has about 2000 *Tilangas*, 2000 Horsemen and eleven guns.[3]

ACTIVITY ON AVADH FRONTIER OF ROHILKHAND

The Oude frontier of this Division is much as last described. The rebel forces threaten many points but have done little substantial mischief. Indeed on the 25th, Lieutenant De Kantzow made an offensive movement against them with some success. The expedition was intended for the capture of a noted chief who was said to be encamped with a small force some distance within the Oude frontier. The raid foiled of its chief object inasmuch as the leader (a *soi-disant* successor of the fanatic Moulvee) had marched away some hours before, but a good many of his rear guard were cut up, and much plunder taken. The audacity of the attack moreover so far in the heart of a hostile country (some 20 miles or more) has greatly disheartened the neighbouring rebels.[4]

[1] *Naurangabad*, 12 miles to the south-west of *Mithowli*.
[2] Mauza *Pipri*, 2 miles south of *Naurangabad*.
[3] Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny Basta.
cf. Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh, Source Material, Volume II Awadh : 1857-59, p. 492.
[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 25th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

PILIBHIT FORESTS AS ASYLUM TO REVOLUTIONARIES

From Rohilkund the Commissioner writes that as had been anticipated the advance of the various Columns operating in the north of Oudh had effectually cleared the frontier of his own province of all open and organized enemies. There was now only reason to apprehend the stealthy return of individual rebels or small parties of desperadoes, to whom the jungles of the north of Shahjehanpoor and Pillibheet offer a tempting asylum, and who must support themselves by rapine.[1]

SIMULTANEOUS ATTACK ON PAWAYAN AND SHAHJAHANPUR

The week has been distinguished in Rohilcund by increased activity on the part of the rebels all along the Shahjehanpoor frontier. It was known that they had been concentrating in considerable strength for some days and on the 6th and 7th (Octr.) a simultaneous advance was made towards Powain and Shahjehanpoor; on the latter day Lieutenant De Kantzow was compelled to retire within the fort at the former place, and a police post on the Oude frontier near Shahjehanpoor was cut up by the rebels. The plan of the rebels afterwards described by our spies, was to make an attack on Powain and then drawing out the force at Shahjehanpoor to its relief, to attack the latter place also. Both parts of this plan, if such it was, failed. Brigadier Seaton marched out of Shahjehanpoor very early on the morning of the 8th, came up with, and totally routed at day-break the body that threatened Shahjehanpoor; over 300 of the enemy were killed, and two guns out of three with them, fell into our hands. Our total casualties were about 20. Somewhat later on the same day the rebel force at Powain (Pawayan) endeavoured to carry the fort there by assault, but a fortunately directed round shot which killed one of their principal leaders, brought the affair

[1] Foreign Department North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 30th October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

to a speedy termination; the enemy's loss has been ascertained as 5 killed and 14 wounded; of the defenders of the fort—8 only were wounded, the rebel chief killed is believed to have been "Mohsin Ali Khan" of Shumsabad.[1] An Eurasian Christian girl, daughter of a clerk in the Bareilly Judge's office, carried off during the outbreak at that place, and taken to the rebel camp in Oude has been rescued by the instrumentality of a minor rebel leader whose pardon was promised conditionally on effecting her escape.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Alexander, Commissioner, Bareilly, to W. Muir, Allahabad, dated 10th October 1858.

Rebels attacked Powain on the 8th and were firing from one A. M. till two P. M.; they attempted to carry the place, but were repulsed with loss of 4 killed, 19 wounded and 1 gun burst.

Our loss is 8 wounded.[3]

ANOTHER ATTACK BY REVOLUTIONARIES ON PAWAYAN

72*nd*—The Commissioner submitted a report (received through the Magistrate of Shahjehanpore) from Lieutenant De Kantzow of an attack made on Powain by the rebel force from the Oudh frontier. It appears that the enemy emboldened by the smallness of the force at Powain, moved upon it and encamped within 4 miles of the place, choosing most excellent cover. They daily sallied out for plunder and much harassed the small force of Cavalry under Lieutenant De Kantzow who made 5 night expeditions to cut up their piquets but without success, owing to the videttes being on the alert and instant alarm being given—when subsequently reinforced and numbering about 4,000 fighting men with 6 guns, the rebels commenced their attack on the entrenchment by a fire of round shot, which was continued till dark. Early on the day following

[1] See pp. 395, 430, 572, 573, also.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 9th October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Political Proceedings, 31st December, 1858, Consultation No. 2572. National Archives, New Delhi.

Captain Prendergast[1] joined Lieutenant De Kantzow with a squadron of Cavalry and a party proceeded out to reconnoitre the enemy's position on their return; they were followed up by the whole of the rebel force which encamped during the night close around Powain and next day made a combined movement upon the entrenchments but were repulsed and gradually retired after suffering a loss of 12 killed and 25 wounded.

73*rd*—Mr. Alexander, the Commissioner, remarked that it was gratifying to observe that the Rajah of Powain and his brother Buldeo Sing were compensating for short-comings in 1857 by valour and strenuous exertions in 1858, and that the Governor General would doubtless appreciate this fresh instance of Lieutenant De Kantzow's good service. His Excellency's commendations were accordingly communicated to Lieutenant De Kantzow and to the Rajah of Powain and his brother, for their gallant conduct.[2]

* * *

A letter No. 81 *from Lieutenant C. A. De Kantzow Commanding at Powaine (Pawayan) to the Magistrate and Collector of Shahjahanpur, dated Powain (Pawayan), 20th October* 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 18th instant and in compliance with the instructions conveyed me in the same, to furnish you with a report of the late attacks on Powain (Pawayan).

2*nd*—By my former demi-official letters you were informed of the movements of the rebel force at Burour and the fact of their crossing and camping, at Mohomdee in the latter end of last month; it remains therefore now but to mention that emboldened by the knowledge of the small force at Powain especially of Cavalry, an arm they excelled in, by some 8 to 1, they moved up and camped within 4 miles of this place choosing most excellent cover and throwing out 4 Cavalry pikets (pickets) of 50 strong each as also a small force with 2 Horsed-guns to their front.

[1] Spelt as 'Pundergast' elsewhere (p. 571); but Prendergast appears correct.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, 1853-1860, Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government N. W. Provinces in the Foreign Department for the 4th Quarter of 1858, Collection No. 33, Foreign Proceedings: 12th Nov. 1858, Nos. 44-48. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

3*rd*—From this camp small parties of the rebel Cavalry accompanied by plunderers used daily to sally out and plunder villages friendly to our rule, severely harassing the small force of Cavalry under my command who though on every occasion (went) out after the marauders failed by the lateness of the information and suddenness of the rebel movements in ever being able to do more than chasing when almost out of sight, some few stray suwars of their party. 5 night expeditions to cut up the rebels' pikets (pickets), were also made but without avail, the enemies viddettes (*sic*,–videttes) giving instant alarm on an approach on any side.

MUHAMDI GATE POUNDED WITH SHOTS

4*th*—On the 7th instant the rebels being reinforced by some more Cavalry and Infantry, moved up to Powain and commenced at 4 P. M. to fire round shot at the Mohomdee Gate.

5*th*—Having been previously informed of their intended movements I had got all my available force under arms and letting off 3 parties of Infantry, each 50 strong, for the 3 gates of this entrenchment with reserve of 50 men for the purpose of defending any one particular point if attacked, I moved towards the point of attack with the Cavalry in open order so as to exagerate (*sic*,–exaggerate) my strength.

6*th*—Whether the enemy thought themselves not strong enough to continue the attack at that late hour or from the temporary disablement of one of their guns, which had got bogged and had to be got free by elephants, they thought they might risk the safety of the same I cannot say, the main body however retired at about 7 P. M. and the rest during the night; early in the morning Captain Pundergast who had arrived at dawn with a squadron of his Regiment, wishing to visit the enemies' position I moved out in his company with a troop 90 strong and when about 1 mile from the camp hearing of the chance of cutting up the rebel piket (picket), moved off at a gallop reaching the place however just in time to see the rebel suwars cantering off in the distance; the enemies' signal gun fired in our direction brought me to a halt and seeing the Cavalry turning out, and forming up, I sent word to that effect to Captain Pundergast asking him to move up to my assistance.

7*th*—The enemy were however far to (*sic*,–too) strong in any one arm alone to have enabled us to do any good whatever, so we returned quietly and slowly followed up by the whole of the rebel force; the Cavalry not far from us both in our rear and right left flanks, we reached Powain at about 10 A. M., the rebels camping at Jima and places close by for that day and following night.

8*th*—At 9 A. M. on the morning of the 9th they commenced the attack from their right, gradually circling round to their left from which point they made a rush at about 1 P. M. to storm the place; and being repulsed by our mixed force at that part of the entrenchment and loosing one of their leaders Mousim Ally (Mohsin Ali), they gradually ceased firing; at 2 P. M. they moved off, camping at their old ground for the night, and marching to Burour at early dawn next morning.

9*th*—The enemy as far as can be ascertained had at the lowest computation 4000 fighting men, with 6 guns; of the former they lost—as I have since been able to ascertain accurately 12 killed, and 25 wounded with 17 horses—and of the latter, one totally destroyed, and 1 disabled; great credit is due to the Raja and I have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the gallant bearing of his younger brother Kour (Kunwar) Buldeo Sing who especially distinguish (*sic*,–distinguished) himself in the discharge of his duties as commandant of the Raja's forces.[1]

ENGAGEMENT AT BIKHONI

Copy of Service Message from G. F. Edmonstone, to Beadon, Anderson, Reade, Pycroft and John Lawrence, dated Allahabad, 11th October 1858.

A force marched from Shahjehanpore on the 8th October, and came up with the rebels at Beekhonee, four miles on the other side of the Sookheia Nuddee; 300 rebels were killed and two guns out of three taken. Our loss about 20 killed and wounded.....[2]

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 22 : "Investigation into the conduct of Raja Jagannath Singh of Pawayan"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Note :—The document contains mistakes of spellings and grammar at many places.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 31st Dec. 1858, Cons. No. 2573. National Archives, New Delhi.

cf. The Hindoo Patriot, October 14, 1858, p. 323. National Library, Calcutta.

MOHSIN ALI KHAN KILLED AT PAWAYAN

No event of any importance requires report from the Doab or Rohilkhund. There seems no doubt that Mohsim Ali Khan was killed at Powain, and it is even reported that other rebels of importance fell there and in General Seaton's action on the 8th near Shahjehanpore; in the latter fight the enemy were commanded-in-chief by Khan Ali Khan. On the Grand Trunk Road between Mynpooree (Mainpuri) and Agra the telegraph wire was cut and about 300 yards carried away, but it was not apparently done for any political object.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES' RAIDS FROM THE PILIBHIT FORESTS

The only event to be narrated in the Doab is the return as was anticipated to the jungles of Pilibheet, of a small detached body of rebel marauders, the accounts as to their number vary from 20 to 200, the former is the more probable amount. They have only committed one outrage as yet, the murder of two Government servants whom they surprised while asleep. Additional Police have been sent to the neighbourhood.[2]

SKIRMISH NEAR AVADH FRONTIER OF SHAHJAHANPUR

In Rohilcund and the Doab no important events have occurred; a slight encounter took place on the Oude frontier of Shahjehanpoor between the Police supported by villagers and some fugitives from Colonel Brind's action in Oude. The former were compelled to withdraw losing five killed, and the village was burned. The loss of the rebels was however equally severe and they also, subsequently withdrew. In Budaon two leaders of importance have surrendered under the amnesty.[3]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for the week ending 16th October 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.* Narrative of Events for Rohilkhand Division for the week ending 13th November 1858.

[3] *Ibid.* Narrative of Events for the week ending 27th November 1858.

NANA CROSSES THE GANGES NEAR FATEHGARH

The Delhi Gazette of the 7th instant (Dec. 1858) publishes a telegram stating that the Nana had crossed the Ganges near Futteghur.....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS INTO ROHILKHAND

The following telegram is dated Allahabad 17th January—'The Commissioner of Rohilcund reports on the 16th instant, that the rebels had crossed the River Sarlah[2] into Rohilcund, but have been driven off.....[3]

RETREAT OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Service Message from R. Simson, dated Allahabad, 18th January, 7.25 P. M.

The Commissioner of Rohilcund reports that the rebels who numbered from two thousand to three thousand were defeated with great slaughter, and driven across the Soidah[4], their guns were taken, and Nurput Singh of Rooza[5] and Banee Sing both killed.[6]

ARMS IMPORTED INTO RAMPUR

News dated Thursday, February 10, 1859.

The same journal (*The Delhi Gazette*) mentions that the Mahommedans of Rohilcund have been sending their arms into Rampore.....[7]

[1] *The Dacca News*, December 25, 1858, p. 607. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] Probably 'River Sarda' is meant.
[3] *The Friend of India*, January 20, 1859, p. 55. National Library, Calcutta.
[4] May be misspelt for 'Sarda'.
[5] Apparently misspelt for '*Rooya*' (*Ruiya*).
[6] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, January 20, 1859, p. 67. National Library, Calcutta.
[7] *The Friend of India*, February 17, 1859, p. 150. National Library, Calcutta.

KHAN BAHADUR IN KHAIRIGARH JUNGLES

Weekly Epitome of News, Monday, March 21, 1859.

The Delhi Gazette states that....Khan Bahadoor of Bareilly notoriety is reported to have turned up in the Khyreegurh Jungles, in the north-west corner of Oude.[1]

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS IN NEPAL TARAI

Service Message from Colonel Walter, H. M.'s 35th Regiment, Commanding at Dinapur to Colonel Stewart, Military Secretary to the Governor General, dated Dinapur via Patna, 14th April 1859.

I have just received the following from Colonel Kelly Commanding on the Nepal frontier : From Colonel R. D. Kelly Commanding field force to Colonel Stewart, Military Secretary to Governor General Calcutta—Camp Russoul (Raxaul) 10th April 1859. Intelligence received from Mr. Morgan Civil Officer with Colonel Simpson's force, Lotun, to-day. One of my spies brought in a Sepoy yesterday who left the Begum and Khan Bahadoor Khan's force on the evening of the 7th instant; *at that time the Begum, her son Berjees Kudr, Khan Bahadoor Khan and the Nana were in the fort of Niacote beyond Bootwul with some* 200 *men.* The rest of their force about 300 were just below Bootwul in the jungles; Bala Rao was encamped with 2,000 fighting men close to our position near Ruttonpore. Devi Buksh with a large force was well away to the west of the Dukharari not far from Toolseepore. The rebels were much broken and dispirited after the engagement of the 25th and 28th ultimo, their camp followers deserting in great numbers. Bala Rao still paying all his soldiers, allows them half a seer of rice per diem. The amnesty has been known in the rebel camps these last four months but he is of opinion that the sepoys will not avail themselves of it till forced to do so by starvation. A spy from Stiktohari reports that there are no rebels known of in that direction. There appears to be none east of Bootwul. On the receipt of information from

[1] *The Friend of India*, March 24, 1859, p. 271. National Library, Calcutta.

Brigadier Rowcroft that a party of rebels had passed our posts, I have despatched the following force under Lieutenant Colonel King H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry to Bansee. Two Guns 1st Battery Royal Artillery, Wing H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry, Wing 3rd Seikhs, one Squadron I. A. T. Horse.[1]

CONVERSION OF MUSLIMS INTO CHRISTIANITY IN BAREILLY AND RAMPUR REPORTED

A Bareilly correspondent of the same journal (*The Lahore Chronicle*) mentions a report that has spread widely among the natives there. It is that all Mussulman infants, who have not been circumcised, are to be forcibly baptised. Hence hundreds of infants both there and in Rampore have recently been undergoing the rite, to save them from the hands of the Missionaries. All the old reports seem to be reviving. *The natives in Bareilly do not believe in the extinction of the Rebellion.* The Begum will yet trouble us, they say.[2]

CONFISCATION OF REVOLUTIONARIES' PROPERTIES

News dated Bareilly, 27th April (1859).

....The confiscations to Government of the estates of the rebels on this Province, I am told are enormous. Both Khan Bahadoor Khan, and his Prime Minister Sobah (Shobha) Ram, were large landed proprietors, and their estates, to the valuation of only a few lacs, will now fall into the hands of Government, who will object to the bestowal of some of these estates on those who have stood by us in the day of trial; but should not the sufferers of the mutiny, who have been with most exemplary patience waiting for compensation, look upon these confiscations, as something to which they have a most legitimate claim ?....[3]

[1] Foreign Department Proceedings, 22nd April 1859, Consultation No. 128. National Archives, New Delhi.
[2] *The Friend of India*, April 14, 1859, p. 344. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 10, 1859, p. 440. National Library, Calcutta.

APPREHENSION OF FASAHAT ULLAH, THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADER

Copy of the Letter No. 716 of 1859 from P. Carnegy, Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, to the Commissioner and Supdt., Lucknow Division, dated Lucknow, 21st June 1859.

I have the honor to report the following circumstances for your consideration.

2*nd*—On Saturday last I received a demi-official letter from the Magistrate of Budaon intimating that he had long been after Fussahut-oollah (Fasahat Ullah) a rebel leader who was formerly Govt. pleader in *zillah* Bareilly and subsequently ruler of the Budaon District under Khan Bahadoor Khan and that he had now marked him down in the house of Allee Buksh Khan, pensioned *Ressaldar* in this city. Carmichael offered 3,000 Rs. for the man's apprehension.

3*rd*—Having made my arrangements I had the house in which the man was said to live watched on Sunday night and yesterday morning. The following persons were apprehended upon the premises.

(i) Fussahut-oollah above named, two deep sword wounds on the thigh.

(ii) Fuzl Ahmed, his relative, late a *Vakeel* in Bareilly and *Sarishtadar* of the rebels.

(iii) Hukeem Mahomed Yar Khan *Peshkar* under us, and also under the rebel Nawab.

(iv) Ressaldar Ali Buksh, a pensioner of the Oude Govt. whose pension we have restored.

LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN REVOLUTIONARIES SEIZED

4*th*—Several letters of a more or less treasonable nature were discovered amongst these men's papers—and I may here mention that the last named individual admits that these letters which were intended for the 1st defendant were all addressed to him and handed over to Fussahut-oollah.

5*th*—You may conceive my surprise when in the 1st and 2nd defendants I discovered the pleaders who have been conducting the case of the sons of Nawab Munour-ood-Dowlah (Munawwar-ud-daula) in the District Court.

6*th*—The 3 first (first 3) defendants and all the papers connected with the case, I have sent to the Magistrate of Budaon,

and I will now confine myself to that portion of the matter which concerns us.

7*th*—Fussahut-oollah presented himself to Brigadier Front and was told to go to his home at Budaon. Instead of doing so he came here, established an intimacy with Moonshee Bakur Ally (Munshi Baqar Ali), *Dewan* to the sons of Munour-ood-Dowlah, and with the above *Ressaldar*, and commenced at once to practise as a Lawyer and to carry on an extensive correspondence of a very suspicious nature with people in all parts of the country. The following is an abstract of the most suspicious letters :

(i) From Mahomed Hussein Khan of Bareilly intimating that the populace of Rohilcund are in an uneasy state, *and the present crop is about to wither, (i.e. the English will disappear)*.

(ii) From Iltifat Hussein (brother of Captain Fidda Hussein) addressed outside to Ali Buksh, inside to Fussahut-oollah, and the latter name inked over : Reporting that the intentions of the Budaon authorities have been ascertained. On no account he is to think of returning home, he should change his name and settle elsewhere, and not attend to the calls to return of his dearest friends, but follow the injunctions now given. If required money can be sent.

(iii) From Mowdood Buksh Khan *Ressaldar Bahadoor* Ahmdabad to Captain Fidda Hussein intimating that he has been doing everything in his power to move his superiors in favor of the above 3 defendants. That he has got the local authorities to report that many rebels could be got in if the writer were deputed to Oude, and he begs that the Oude authorities may be moved through Major Barrow to apply for him when he and Fidda Hussein will manage matters satisfactorily. Advises that correspondence on such matters should be so worded as not to be generally understood.

LETTERS FROM FIDA HUSAIN TO FASAHAT ULLAH

(iv)* 3 letters from Captain Fidda Hussein to Fussahut-oollah, reporting 1st that the elephant of the latter had been

*"The Comdg. Officer claimed, one of Fidda Hussein's elephants as Govt. Property. The claim was not substantiated and therefore thrown out and elephant returned to Fidda Hussein"—Marginal note to para 4 in the Original.

seized by the authorities, 2nd that Major Barrow had written to the City Magistrate to release it, and 3rd that having obtained it, the elephant had now been sold on defendant's account.

FACTS EXPOSED BY THE SEIZED CORRESPONDENCE

8*th*—The above correspondence exposes 4 ugly facts :

(i) That Ali Buksh *Ressaldar*, whose sins were forgiven, and his pension restored by a gracious Government, lends himself still as the medium of correspondence between rebels, admitting that he read the letters before handing them over.

(ii) Captain Fidda Hussein who has also partaken largely of our leniency accepts a proposition on the part of a *Ressaldar* still in our pay, to correspondence clandestinely and begs off the elephant of a rebel on whom there is a reward of 3,000 Rs.

(iii) That the *Dewan* of Munour-ood-Dowlah is not only still intimated (*sic*,-intimately) associated with rebel leaders, but he has induced his master to extend to them his patronage etc.

(iv) That a *Ressaldar* still in our service and on whom we are showering honors, proposes to carry on a clandestine correspondence and admits an intrigue to effect his deputation to Oude.

9*th*—The least that I can recommend is the confiscation of the pension of Ali Buksh *Ressaldar*, a copy of whose statement is appended.

P. S.—Mr. Woods' Memo. shews that Iltifat Hussein and Fidda Hussein have both been guilty of conspiracy and falsehood, if not perjury.[1]

* * *

Copy of the Letter No. 663 *of* 1859 *from the Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow Division, to the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, dated Lucknow, the* 24*th June* 1859.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st instant No. 716 reporting the seizure of Fussahutoolla, a proclaimed rebel, with his relative Fuzl Ahmed. . . .[2]

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 2nd September 1859, Cons. No. 149, pp. 197-99. National Archives, New Delhi.
[2] *Ibid.*

FASAHAT ULLAH AS SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF REVOLUTIONARIES

One Fussahut Oolla, a native of Buddaon (Badaun) in Rohilkund, was taken up a few days ago in the city of Lucknow, as the "Special Correspondent" of the rebels. A number of letters and other papers were found in his possession—all *tending to shew that he was in correspondence with the Begum* etc. whom he supplied with information from the British territories. We hope to give further particulars in our next.[1]

NAJIBABAD NAWAB'S REPORTED DEATH IN NEPAL

The following is from Rohilcund, dated July 19th (1859) : "I send you a few lines to let you know that Bala Rao, brother to the Nana, Hurdut Sing—*talookdar* of Bhownie, near Baraitch, and the Nawab of Nujeebabad, have from the effects of the climate died, near Dhoker, in the Nepaul Territories, somewhere near Boohwal[2], where the Begum is. The rebels are all of them suffering much from the malaria of the *terai*, and most of them are laid up with fevers, as is also the Nana himself, who will, so he says, either die where he is, or else be killed in battle,—as to being captured he will sooner kill himself. *The Begum still holds out bravely*, and will give us most trouble, should they succeed in getting out from their present abode into Tirhoot, and the Santhal Purgunnahs, as is her intention...."[3]

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN INDISPOSED IN BUTWAL

....Khan Bahadoor Khan, has got better from his jungle fever, and is living in Beetwul[4], with three or four servants still very sick, and very badly off. As report says, one of his servants, (an elephant driver) decamped with all the old man's money....[5]

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, July 1, 1859, p. 4; (Reproduced from *Lucknow Herald*, June 25). National Library, Calcutta.
[2] Appears misspelt for '*Butwal*'.
[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, July 28, 1859, p. 95. National Library, Calcutta.
[4] Apparently, spelt for *Butwal*.
[5] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, July 27, 1859, p. 91. National Library, Calcutta.

KIFAIT ULLAH AND HIDAIT ULLAH SENTENCED

Letter No. 3221 (*Judicial*) 1859 *from J. D. Sandford, Offg. Assistant Secretary to Govt., North-Western Provinces, to the Special Commissioner of Shahjahanpur, dated Allahabad,* 10*th August* 1859.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 360 dated 8th ultimo enclosing a report on the trial of Kifautoola Khan and Hidautoola Khan, two brothers, who have been convicted of being leaders and instigators in the late rebellion, and recommending that the former be transported for life, and the latter for a term of 14 years.

2*nd*—Having submitted the proceedings to the Lieutenant-Governor, I am directed to convey to you His Honor's orders on the case as follows :—The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with you in convicting Kifautoola of being a leader and instigator of revolt, on the grounds set forth in your decision, and duly authorizes the execution of the sentence of imprisonment for life in transportation beyond....(Manuscript torn) confiscation of property, which has been passed upon him. I am desired further to remark that even if His Honor had not concurred in this conviction, he would not have deemed Kifautoola entitled to the benefit of the Proclamation, for that individual is clearly proved to have used every effort to discover Captain Gowan's place of concealment, to have persecuted those who protected him, and thus to have distinguished himself by malignant hatred of Europeans and virulent hostility to the British Government. All these circumstances above enumerated take Kifautoola's case out of the category of "ordinary cases" in which alone the spirit of the amnesty is to be adhered to under the Circular No. 5422, dated 27th December 1858, and Kifautoola not having surrendered until after the date prescribed in the Royal Amnesty has forfeited "all rights to benefit by its provisions."

3*rd*—For the foregoing reasons, the Lieutenant-Governor declines to admit Hidautoola Khan (although His Honor does not convict him of being a leader) to the benefits of the amnesty. He shared in his brother Kifautoola's endeavors to seize Captain Gowan, in his persecution of those who gave protection to Europeans, and on the issue of the Proclamation threatening to sell the property of Gungaram, Bullha Sing and others for the "crime of protecting Englishmen."

4*th*—Hidautoola, I am requested to note, did not surrender until the 20th March or 2½ months after the date prescribed in the Royal Amnesty. This in His Honor's opinion cannot be considered an "ordinary case", the sentence therefore of an imprisonment for fourteen years, the Lieutenant Governor requests, may be carried into effect.[1]

HAJIB KHAN TO BE HANGED

I think many of your readers will be pleased to hear that on the 2nd instant, His Highness the loyal Nawab Mahummad Usuf Allee (Yusuf Ali) Khan Bahadoor, got the notorious rebel Hajube Khan[2], *Moktar* (*Mukhtiyar*) of Mujjoo Khan, *budmash* of Mooradabad, apprehended by his own skill, through the city *Kotwal* Yakoob Khan; the rascal is in the Mooradabad Jail now. I hope he may soon be hanged. I hear he had a hand in the murder of the Deputy Collector of Mooradabad in 1857.[3]

ROLE OF QUTUB SHAH

News dated Thursday, March 10, 1859.

The same journal (*Lahore Chronicle*) gives the following sketch of the career of an educated and educating rebel. Kootub Shah was a Vernacular Teacher in the Bareilly College, on a salary of from 40 to 50 Rs. a month. Thrown out of employ by the mutiny there, he offered his services to Khan Bahadoor Khan. He was appointed his "Printer in Ordinary" and entered on his duties, by selling the College Library by auction, in the College compound. Kootub's name appeared prominently at the head of all his master's general orders, and of his Proclamation regarding the extermination of the English. On the Khan's fall, Kootub fled to Meerut, and obtained an appointment in one of the new levies. But 'murder will out' (*sic*,); he was betrayed, and now awaits his trial.[4]

[1] Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.
[2] Correct name may be 'Hajib Khan'.
[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, Oct. 24, 1859, p. 395. National Library, Calcutta.
[4] *The Friend of India*, March 17, 1859, p. 248. National Library, Calcutta.

QUTUB SHAH SENTENCED TO DEATH

Office Memorandum from the Assistant Secretary to the Govt. of the North-Western Provinces, dated Fort William, 27th May 1859.

Copies

Government Pros.
Versus
Kootub Shah, son of Bukshoollah (Bakhsh Ullah).

Charge 1*st*—
The being a leader in and instigator of Rebellion.

Charge 2*nd*—
Being an accessory before the act to the murder of certain Europeans on 31st May 1857.

Charge 3*rd*—
Plunder of Govt. property.

Charge 4*th*—
Non-surrender under the terms of the amnesty, and obtaining service in the 12th Irregular Cavalry under a false name and for treasonable purposes.

Witnesses to Kootub Shah passing orders for murder of Europeans and killing them himself:—
Ramdeen
Gunnesh (Ganesh)
Mittre
Rahoo Mull.

Interview with Bukht Khan of the Artillery:—
Jummun

Copy of Judgment[1]

Kootub Shah prisoner is a Wahabee, and we all know how uncompromising are the tenets professed by that sect.

He was a Teacher in the Bareilly College, a proof that he was a man of education. It is sworn that on the 31st May 1857 he went down to the city and preached death to Europeans raising the flag, a signal for the extermination of Christians.

He held an auction of the Govt. School property a few days later in the premises of the College.

He received pay from Khan Bahadoor Khan at the rate of 150 Rs. per month as per receipts extant. He was appointed Superintendent of Pillebheet Canals as per his own admission and as proved by the depositions of witnesses. He printed and published the Rebel Proclamations as is proved by the two papers extant having the impression of "Kootub Shah"

[1] Judgement given by H. Vansittart, Special Commissioner, Spl. Commissioner's Office, Bareilly Division, 25th March 1859.

Syed Jawad Ulle (Saiyid Jawwad Ali).
Raising the Flag :—
Soondur (Sundar)
Hussun Allee (Hasan Ali)
Mittree
Sheofie[1].
Issuing and printing proclamations :—
Soondur Loll (Sundar Lal)
Durgace Mull[2]
Sheopershad
Narain Chunder Sein (Narain Chandra Sen)
Munnoo Mull
Moonnee Mull[3]
Chooramun.

and admitted to be of his printing by the prisoner.

There also is a fragment of another proclamation translated in Abstract which, repudiated by the prisoner, is apparently of the same type as are the other two.

Prisoner proceeded to Meerut and on the security and on the representation of a *Ressaldar* known as *Sirdar Bahadoor* now repudiates all acquaintance with prisoner and declares that prisoner misled him by false representations and trusts that he may be hanged.

Prisoner write (*sic*,) his own defence at great length—

"I am a well-wisher of the state and deserve reward. I did not preach a Holy War. I did not raise the flag and it is known that the Aspinall family only were put to death before the *cotwallee*—the others were killed in houses. I did not intercede with Bukht Khan Commander of the Artillery in favor of Luchmee Narain Treasurer whom they were going to fine. I did not hold the auction; if plundered goods were placed in my house, it was because it was unoccupied. If my name is attached to the Proclamations I was only yielding to a pressure I could not oppose. I did make *Sirdar Bahadoor* acquainted with local news. He knows me well and holds my letters. I did not enter the 12th Irregular Cavalry for treasonable purposes. The proportion of Mahomedans is as two to one in that Corps. I did not join my post at Pillibheet. Two of these receipts for money are mine. I remained concealed in the Rampore Territory until I went to Meerut."

It may be true that prisoner did not fight, yet it is proved *that he did accompany Feroze Shah's force on its march to Moradabad as Deputy.*

[1] Appears spelt for 'Shafi'.
[2] Correct name may be 'Durga Mal'.
[3] This may be written either for 'Munni Mal' or 'Munna Mal'.

It is a serious fact that this man of good Oriental Education having issued inflammatory Proclamations under authority and Seal of Khan Bahadoor Khan as against the British Govt. did on security and on the representation of *Sirdar Bahadoor* (said to be prisoner's brother-in-law) that he, the prisoner, was a *Peerzadah* or holy man from the North, obtain service under the officer now commanding the 12th Irregulars at Meerut.

I consider charges 1, 2, and 3 to be fully proved and charge No. 4 proved with the omission of the words "For treasonable purposes" which are not known. And I do recommend that Kootub Shah son of Buksh Oollah be hanged by the neck until he be dead.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 1293 *of* 1859 *from J. D. Sandford, Offg. Asstt. Secy. to Govt., N. W. P., to H. Vansittart, Special Commissioner of Bareilly, dated Allahabad,* (15*th*) *April* 1859.

In reply to your Docket dated 25th March relative to the proceedings and trial of Kootub Shah I am directed by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to state that it is not quite clear what evidence there is in support of the second charge viz. that of being an accessory before the fact to the murder of the Europeans. In your judgment it is only mentioned, as being sworn to that the prisoner went down to the city and preached death to the Europeans, and raised the flag of revolt and murder. But in the margin of your judgment the names of certain witnesses are mentioned as deposing to the fact that the prisoner both gave order for and himself took part in the murder of Europeans.

2*nd*—I am therefore directed to request that you will submit translation of the depositions referred to by i. e. those made by Ramdeen, Gunnesh, Mittra and Rahoo Mull.[2]

* * *

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 27th May 1859, Cons. No. 81, pp. 163-164. National Archives, New Delhi. *cf.* Also, *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

Letter No. 214 *of* 1859 *from Henry Vansittart, Special Commissioner, to J. D. Sandford, Offg. Asstt. Secy. to Govt. of N. W. P. Allahabad, dated Bareilly,* 19*th April* 1859.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1293 of the 15th instant and as directed to enclose translations of the depositions given by the witnesses noted in the margin (footnote)* on the prosecution of Kootub Shah now sentenced to suffer death by hanging.

2*nd*—I may add that since Judgment was pronounced, 7 other proclamations printed by the said Kootub Shah, all of them highly inflammatory in their language and one of them calling upon all parties "to put the unbelievers to death" have been placed in my hands.

Also that I have been assured that in the proceedings that condemned two parties at Meerut for tampering with the men of "Watson's Horse" (12th) Kootub Shah is incriminated on the charge which, from want of evidence, (however strong my presumption) necessarily was found not proven by me.[1]

DEPOSITIONS ABOUT KUTUB SHAH'S ACTIVITIES

Translation of Depositions of Ram Deen, Mittra, Rahoo Mull, and Gunesh (Ganesh).

Ramdeen—Kootub Shah gave the order—Kill all Europeans. He on the Monday put up the flag; subsequently became a servant at the rate of 125 Rs. per month, published proclamations.

Mittra—I saw prisoner in the *cotwallee* on the afternoon of Sunday when the 3 corpses of the Europeans were lying in front of it.

Rahoo Mull—Swears positively that 'Kootub Shah went down before me and in my presence to the *Moonsiff's* house after having put up the flag. I saw them returning together dragging the dead bodies of the Judge, Mr. Orr, and the Doctor; there were thousands of Mahomedans assembling. I have seen Kootub Shah having (the) Proclamation affixed to walls in the city.

* "Ram Deen, Mittra, Rahoo Mull, Gunesh".—Marginal note in the Original.

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 27th May 1859, Cons. No. 81, pp. 174-175. National Archives, New Delhi.

Gunesh—I myself saw the prisoner affixing a Proclamation to the *cotwallee* saying it is over; the English has (have) ceased to rule. Kill them.[1]

DEATH SENTENCE ON QUTUB SHAH REDUCED TO TRANSPORTATION FOR LIFE

Letter No. 1725 (*Judicial*) *of* 1859 *from G. E. W. Cowper, Secy. to Govt. of the N. W. P., to H. Vansittart, Special Commissioner, Bareilly, dated Allahabad,* 12*th May* 1859.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 24[2] dated 19th ultimo forwarding translations of the depositions of certain witnesses in the case of Kootub Shah whom you have sentenced to death on the charge of having been an accessory before the fact to the murder of Europeans, and in reply to communicate the following observations and orders.

2*nd*—His Honor is not satisfied with the evidence of Ramdeen, Mittra, Rahoo Mull and Gunesh and considers it insufficient to prove that Kootub Shah was directly concerned in the murder of Europeans at Bareilly on the 31st May 1857.

3*rd*—The Lieutenant-Governor regards the deposition of Rahoo Mull as specially untrustworthy and cannot believe that a man in Kootub Shah's sphere would[3] of life would have assisted with his own hands in dragging the dead bodies of the murdered Europeans along the streets of the city, nor can His Honor omit to remark that the *Moonsiff*, Hameed Hossein, who is declared by this witness to have been associated with Kootub Shah in this brutal act, has been honorably acquitted by the Governor General.

4*th*—But while, His Honor considers, that this charge against Kootub Shah cannot be sustained, he sees no reason whatever to doubt that he was a leader and instigator of revolt. In his opinion the facts that he raised the Flag of Islam, that he printed and promulgated highly seditious and inflammatory

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 27th May 1859, Cons. No. 81, p. 175. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] This must be 214 not 24. (*cf.* Letter No. 214 of 1859 from H. Vansittart to J. D. Sandford dated 19th April 1859; p. 586).

[3] This 'would' is superfluous.

proclamations against the British Govt. and took a leading part in the events that occurred at Bareilly are fully established.

5*th*—Under all the circumstances, His Honor has been pleased to remit the capital sentence, and to direct that Kootub Shah be imprisoned for life in transportation beyond seas with confiscation of all his property.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES IN PILIBHIT JUNGLES

The Rohilcund Horse, with 3 Companies of Goorkhas are to leave Philibheet (Pilibhit) in search of rebels who are wandering about the jungles. No doubt they will give a good account of them.[2]

KHAN BAHADUR—GENERAL OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

Pilleebheet, 8th Dec.—It is rumoured that the Nana is dead, but it requires confirmation, Khan Bahadoor Khan, it is said, is the General of the rebel forces at present.[3]

It will not be surprising to know that a fine of twelve thousand Rupees has been put on the inhabitants of Pilleebheet....

REPORTED CAPTURE OF KHAN BAHADUR

Service Message No. 113 *A from Brigadier Holdich to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Dukaree (Dukhari) via Gonda, 9th December* 1859.

Khan Bahadoor Khan, Ex-Nawab of Bareilly, captured by Jung Bahadoor and Raith (*sic*,) Mummoo Khan forwarded from

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 27th May 1859, Cons. No. 81, pp. 175-176. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, December 9, 1859, p. 555; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, Nov. 3). National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Khan Bahadur Khan has been reported in Butwal (Nepal) in July 1859 vide *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, July 27, 1859, p. 91. National Library, Calcutta. (p. 580). So he might be the general of the revolutionary forces in Nepal. Chronologically, he can't be in Pilibhit.

[4] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, Dec. 21, 1859, p. 595. National Library, Calcutta.

Bootwol[1]. Immediate dismissal and expulsion from Nepaul Territories of all Begum's retainers ordered by Jung Bahadoor and being carried into effect. Reported by Lieutenant Hill, one hundred-sixty-nine prisoners sent in by General Dere[2] Shamsher Sing and followers surrendered to-day.

Ordered that copy of the foregoing be forwarded to the Foreign Department, with the Governor General, for information.[3]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated Dec. 27, 1859.

Bahadoor Khan was captured in the following manner—Sir Jung Bahadoor left Boothwal (Butwal). On his return to the hills, he pitched his camp, the same day about six miles distant, and went out shooting; whilst in the pursuit of game, he came upon the track of an elephant, which he followed up, and came upon a party under a tree, one of whom got off a *charpoy*, and mutual challenges were exchanged. When Sir Jung declared himself, a low *salaam* was made, and Khan Bahadoor Khan stood face to face with Sir Jung Bahadoor. The Nepal Chief had a rifle in has (*sic*,-his) hand and at once enquired "Have you been guilty of any murder ? If you have, you had better be off as, if the English catch you, they will hang you." (Quoting the Proclamation) Khan Bahadoor Khan replied that he had not and when Sir Jung asked him, "Why then do you not surrender ?" he replied that he had behaved so ill to the *Sahib lougue*, that he was ashamed to show his face.

At this time Sir Jung's party were gradually surrounding Khan Bahadoor Khan from the jungle, and the latter, (as) there was no help for it, surrendered.[4]

[1] This name occurs as *Bustor* in *The Hurkaru*, dated Dec. 13, 1859. Correct name may be '*Butwal*'.

[2] It may be wrongly written for 'Diler'.

[3] Foreign Political Consultations, 30th Dec. 1859, No. 458. National Archives, New Delhi.

cf. Also, *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, Tuesday Dec. 13; 1859, p. 566.

[4] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, December 27, 1859, p. 612; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, Dec. 20). National Library, Calcutta.

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN—A PRISONER IN NEPAL

....Khan Bahadoor Khan, it is to be hoped, has also been caught, by this time.....[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hurkaru', dated December 19, 1859.

....The news of Khan Bahadoor Khan being also a prisoner with Mummoo Khan and others, is confirmed.... Mummoo Khan and Khan Bahadoor Khan will, it is said, be sent in to Lucknow.[2]

REPORTED SURRENDER OF KHAN BAHADUR KHAN AND MAMMU KHAN

....There seems no doubt about Khan Bahadoor Khan's and Mummoo Khan's surrender with about 1,500 followers. They gave themselves up to the Nepaulese thinking thereby to obtain some terms advantageous to themselves, rather than surrender themselves unconditionally to the British Government.

As they must be aware what they are to expect at our hands and thinking that Sir Jung Bahadoor had some influence with us, they not unnaturally considered it would be good policy if possible to secure the intercession of some influential party in their behalf. In this, I believe they have failed; and their surrender to us has I understand been quite unconditional....[3]

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN AND MAMMU KHAN BROUGHT TO LUCKNOW AS PRISONERS

Telegraphic Message from the Commissioner to Beadon, dated Bahraich, 20th December 1859.

Your message regarding Mummoo Khan and Khan Bahadoor Khan has just been received. The wishes of the G. G. (Governor General) have been anticipated and the prisoners in question passed through Gonda *en route* to Lucknow on the

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, December 15, 1859, p. 576. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *Ibid.* December 19, 1859, p. 588.
[3] *Ibid.* December 23. 1859, p. 603.

14th instant. Khan Bahadoor Khan can easily be sent from there to Bareilly, the best route was via Lucknow.[1]

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN TO BE BROUGHT TO BAREILLY FOR TRIAL

Telegraphic Message from C. Beadon, to D. Simson, dated Governor General's Camp, December 14, 1859.

With reference to Brigadier Holditch's messages to General Birch, the Governor General desires that Mummoo Khan when delivered up may be sent to Lucknow for trial, and Khan Bahadoor Khan to Bareilly.[2]

* * *

Service Message from Captain Chamberlain, Supdt. Tuggee (Thagi) Dept. Lucknow, to Cecil Beadon, Secy. to Govt. with G. G. (Governor General), Head Quarters Camp, dated 17th December 1859.

Most urgent—For information of Governor General—"Mummoo Khan and Khan Bahadoor Khan have arrived safely and are now being lodged in jail. Khan Bahadoor Khan will be forwarded to Bareilly agreeable to instructions as soon as arrangements can be made. This message left at 3.10 P. M.

N. B.—Forwarded by sowar from Camp at 4 P. M.[3]

DESCRIPTIVE ROLL OF KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

Mummoo Khan, Khan Bahadoor Khan, Dabee Deen, Gunga Singh alias "*Lant Sahib*," and two other celebrities, were safely escorted into Lucknow on Saturday, by a troop of the 1st Seikh Cavalry under a Native Officer.....

[1] Foreign Political Consultations, 30th Dec. 1859, No. 461. National Archives, New Delhi.
[2] Department–XXIV, File No. 1/15 : "Case regarding Khan Bahadur Khan, late Nawab of Bareilly"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
[3] Foreign Political Consultations, 30th December 1859, No. 460. National Archives, New Delhi.

The second, Khan Bahadoor Khan, is a man of a very different cast of countenance—of altogether a different stamp to Mummoo Khan. He seems in better health and flesh too. One can tell at a glance, notwithstanding his altered state, that he is from a patrician stock. With no hair on his head, he wears the true emblem of the Moslem—a long beard, which is now nearly white, shaggy eyebrows overhang a pair of dark fiery eyes, rather small, but piercing. His features are altogether of the mediocre mould, oval and regular, the nose inclining to the Dalhousian form, with a forehead of which a priest might be proud. He is of a fair complexion, about 5 feet 7 or 8 in height, and perhaps not less than 50 or 50 years[1] of age. We are assured that, he does not possess the intelligence which his countenance betokens, and that, when he was *Sudder Ameen* at Bareilly, his incompetence for his duties was proverbial. He has lost most of his teeth and has a slight impediment in his speech, but this did not prevent him from asking the Assistant Commissioner, authoritatively rather than solicitously, whether the opium which the Doctor had ordered for his use had been brought.

We found Mummoo Khan wrapped up in thought, but Khan Bahadoor Khan was telling his heads (*sic*,-beads) in a rather fast, hurried, mumbling undertone. The former crouched, and seemed quite disturbed and discomforted at seeing us; but the latter maintained a sullen composure, and was the first to speak, without giving up the beads asking for his opium.....

Mummoo Khan and Khan Bahadoor Khan are in separate cells.....

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN TO BE TRIED AT BAREILLY

....Suffice it to say that, with the exception of Khan Bahadoor Khan,who is to be forwarded to Bareilly, the scene of his exploits, the rest will be tried here[2].....[3]

* * *

[1] It appears a misprint for '55'.

[2] 'Here' means 'Lucknow'.

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, December 27, 1859, pp. 612-613; (Reproduced from *Oudh Gazette*, December 20): 'A letter from the frontier received last night says so'. National Library, Calcutta.

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated December 29, 1859.

Lucknow, 17*th December*—From Lucknow we learnt that, last Saturday, Khan Bahadoor Khan, and Mummoo Khan, and other rebels whose capture has been of so much importance, were brought into the city that morning, and by orders of Captain T. H. Chamberlain, were lodged in the common jail. *Khan Bahadoor Khan, old as he is, still exhibits vigour and carries himself with some show of dignity*....Khan Bahadoor Khan will be tried at Bareilly, where he made himself so conspicuous....

Lucknow, 18*th December*—Khan Bahadoor Khan is an old man, about 60 years of age, 5-8 inches in height with regular features....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES' INTER-COMMUNICATION WITH ONE ANOTHER

Letter No. 625 *of* 1860 *from Captain T. H. Chamberlain, Assistant General Superintendent for suppn.* (*suppression*) *of Thuggee* (*Thagi*) *and Dacoity and Investigation of Massacre cases, to the Commissioner of Bareilly, dated Lucknow, 2nd February* 1860.

I have the honor herewith to forward you sundry vernacular documents found in the possession of the rebels when lately made over to our Government by the Nepalese as they either directly affect, or have reference to the notorious rebel leader and chief Khan Bahadoor Khan.

2*nd*—Among them is a letter professing to be from the King of Delhi written on deep mourning (*sic*,) edge paper dated 24th of Rujjubool-moorujjub Higera 1275 (28th February 1859). As I am not aware of the exact date on which the late King of Delhi left Hindoostan for the place of his future term of transportation in Birmah (Burma) you will be best able to discover whether this correspondence, supposing it genuine, was previous or subsequent to his sailing for that country. At any rate, here is proof, if genuine, that extra-ordinary and successful measures were resorted to for the parties to hold inter-

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, December 29, 1859, p. 619; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, December 22). National Library, Calcutta.

communications with one another at long distances; since considering our troops have been busily occupied ever since October 1858 not only in watching the rebels under Khan Bahadoor Khan and others to prevent their return to the plains, but wherever they came down from the Nepalease Hills immediately attaching (*sic*,-attacking) them, it is hard to conjecture how this document could have reached him save by hand of some secret Agent.

3*rd*—Another document of importance is from the Huzrut Mahul, the rebel mother of the puppet Brijis Kudr placed on the throne by the rebel Mummoo Khan and the army, dated 13th of Rubbee Oolawal (Rabi-ul-Awwal) answering to the 21st of October 1858, besides a number of drafts of letters evidently addressed to the Nepalese Chief Jung Bahadoor. The Begum's letter calls on him to give his aid in the matter mutually engrossing their attention, namely the success of the rebel cause, and pointing out the hopelessness of the cause if they fail.

4*th*—In all there are 36 documents : some arrangement for terms under which Khan Bahadoor Khan would hold the tenure of the Provinces which were, in case of success, to be made over to his Government; others to and from Mahomed Yar Khan who seems to have been Khan Bahadoor Khan's agent at the Begum's court : whilst not the least unimportant of them is a Draft of Defence evidently intended to have been used by the prisoner to exculpate himself from the charges of rebellion, leadership and murder but which is completely nullified by another written to some Ranee (name unknown) urging her to "exterminate the enemies" meaning the English.

5*th*—By *Dak* I will send you 2 rings taken off his hands when brought in to me from the frontier. He claimed some gold *mohurs*—but as they, with jewellery taken from Mummoo Khan, are already deposited in the Government *Toshakhana* here, I presume there will be no necessity for sending them to Bareilly.

6*th*—I have only to add in conclusion that I wished very much to have taken correct and close translations of all these papers—but my time has been so fully occupied trying heavy cases that I could not devote leisure for the purpose; and as I believe a commission will try Khan Bahadoor Khan it is perhaps best that they should reach them intact.

7*th*—May I request the favor of a receipt for these documents, which I have taken some pains to have carefully classed and registered.[1]

KHAN BAHADUR TO BE TRIED

Letter No. 330 *A from J. D. Sandford, Offg. Under Secretary to the Government of the N. W. P. to the Officiating Commissioner of Rohilcund (Rohilkhand), dated Camp Badaun, the* 24*th December* 1859.

I am directed to transmit for communication to the Magistrate of Bareilly, the accompanying copy of a Telegram from the Under Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General, from which you will perceive that Khan Bahadoor Khan is to be sent to Bareilly.

2*nd*—The Magistrate should be directed, on the arrival of Khan Bahadoor Khan, to enter immediately upon the investigation of such charges as he may see reason to expect that he will be able to bring home to him.

3*rd*—If sufficient evidence for the conviction should be obtained, the Magistrate will be required to commit Khan Bahadoor Khan to a Court of Special Commission, which will be specially convened for his trial.[2]

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN CONFINED IN BAREILLY (FORT)

Letter No. 1 *of* 1860 *from J. Inglis, Magistrate of Bareilly, to W. Roberts, Offg. Commissioner of Rohilcund (Rohilkhand), dated Magistrate's Office Bareilly, the* 3*rd Jan.* 1860.

I have the honor to report that Khan Bahadur Khan the leader of the rebellion in Rohilcund, reached this on the 1st instant.

2*nd*—The present temporary jail appeared to me to be too insecure a place for confining him in and I therefore

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 1/15 : "Case regarding Khan Bahadur Khan, late Nawab of Bareilly"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Ibid.*

requested the General Commanding the station to allow him to be placed in the fort, under British sentries.[1]

COMMISSION FOR KHAN BAHADUR KHAN'S TRIAL FORMED

The Commission for the trial of the arch rebel Khan Bahadoor Khan at Bareilly has been formed; we hope to obtain an account or report of the evidence adduced at the trial.[2]

CHARGES AGAINST KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

Proceedings of the Special Commission for the trial of Khan Bahadur Khan at Bareilly.

FIRST DAY, FEBRUARY 1ST, 1860

The Commission appointed by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor for the trial of Khan Buhadoor Khan, for offences against the state, and for other alleged crimes and misdemeanors alleged to have been committed in the Province of Rohilkhund, under the orders quoted in the margin (omitted here) consisting of Mr. W. Roberts, Offg. Commissioner of Rohilkhund, Mr. A. Shakespear, Judge of Moradabad, Mr. H. Vansittart, Judge of Bareilly, have met at Bareilly according to date fixed, in pursuance of Govt. instructions, by the Offg. Commissioner, viz. this Ist February. Mr. Inglis, the Magistrate gave in the charges in English and Hindoostanee, and introduced Mr. Moens, the Assistant Magistrate, appointed to prosecute on behalf of Govt. The President then proceeded to read out the instructions of the Government, and explained them to the Prisoner, who being asked if he had received a copy of the charges framed by the Public Prosecutor together with the names of the witnesses, and a list of the documentary evidence to be brought forward three full days before-hand replied in the affirmative.

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 1/15 : "Case regarding Khan Bahadur Khan, late Nawab of Bareilly"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, Feb. 3, 1860, p. 7; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, Jan. 28). National Library, Calcutta.

'A'*

It was found that no one had consented to appear on behalf of the Prisoner. On enquiry of him, whom he would like he named Kaim Ulee a *Vukeel* of the court of the Principal *Suddur Ameen.* This person was called, and asked by the Court, whether he would assist the Prisoner in his conduct of his defence, consented to do so, and took his seat near the Prisoner.

The Public Prosecutor opened his case in an address in English; but the Court thinking that the Prisoner should be acquainted with the line intended to be taken by the prosecution, caused the Translator of the Judge's Court to translate the same to the Prisoner.

(*No.* 1) *Kunhaiya Lall Treasurer*—The Prosecutor then called Kunhaiya Lall Treasurer who deposed to the Prisoner having been, before the mutiny, in the receipt of a pension as one of the descendants of Hafiz Rehmut Khan, and as a retired *Suddur Ameen.*

(*No.* 2) *Kupil Moon Pundit* (*Kapil Muni Pandit*)[1] *of Kouwa* (*Kowa*) *Tola, Bareilly* :—States that 6 or 7 days before the mutiny took place, witness, as he was going to the Suddur Bazar on business, saw the Prisoner Khan Buhadoor Khan go from the house of the Commissioner to cantonments, to the house of Bukht Khan *Soobadar* of Artillery. Witness also went there. The Prisoner addressed Bukht Khan and asked "why do you delay to rise in mutiny as Meerut has risen ?" when Bukht Khan replied, "We mean to do so, in a few days."

Four days after the mutiny Khan Buhadoor Khan went in state to visit Bukht Khan, received a salute, and offered a *nuzzur.* Bukht Khan told prisoner to be secure on the '*Guddee*', as he (Bukht Khan) had performed his promise.

Question by the Prisoner—Did not the Commissioner know that I used to go to the cantonments ?

Answer—Yes, he did; but he supposed that you went to persuade the Military not to revolt.

(*No.* 3) *Jaimal Singh of Keara, Thakoor*—Three or four days before the outbreak at Bareilly Khan Buhadoor Khan and Bunnee Meean (Banney Mian) were present in a house in

* "*A*—The charges were again verbally read over to him; to all of which in order, he pleaded not guilty"—Note in the Original.

[1] Spelt as 'Kupoor Mull' in another document of this file.

the Artillery Lines, when Khan Buhadoor Khan addressed Bukht Khan and asked him, why he had not followed the example of Meerut, and risen in mutiny upon which Bukht Khan replied that they were preparing. Witness says he was at the house on business. Admits complicity in rebellion.

Here the Prisoner broke in with 'This man was one of my chief advisers.'

Witness was charged with rebellion, but was pardoned for having concealed 18 Europeans (*Sahibs*) and 4 native Christians, whom he hid in his women's apartments when the Prisoner sent Moona (Munna) Jan to him to deliver them up, or else to suffer death.

Question by the Prisoner—When the conversation you speak of took place in cantonments, were any others present ?

Answer—Bunnee Meean, Moobaruk Shah Khan, and several *Soobadars.*

(*No.* 4) *Chet Singh of Busuhee* (*Basai*) *Dhopa, Thapoor* (*sic,-Thakur*)—About 8 days before the outbreak at Bareilly, one afternoon about 4 O'clock, Khan Buhadoor Khan visited Bukht Khan, and enquired him to rise in mutiny as they had done at Meerut, and was told by Bukht Khan that they were preparing to do so. Witness had business with Bukht Khan who had bought grain from him. Mobaruk Shah and several others used to go with Khan Buhadoor Khan there.

Question by the Prisoner's Vukeel—Did you communicate the above conversation to anybody ?

Answer—Yes to my uncle, who communicated it to the General who was killed in the mutiny.

(*No.* 5) *Sheikh Inayat Ulee formerly Servt. of the Prisoner*—Was in the service of the Prisoner before and after the mutiny; states—that 4 days after the mutiny, Khan Buhadoor Khan mounted on an elephant went at dusk, to visit Bukht Khan accompanied by Mobaruk Shah Khan, and Muder Ullee (Madar Ali) Khan. Khan Buhadoor Khan addressed Bukht Khan 'You have acted as one of the sons of Islam, and have saved our religion.' Bukht Khan replied, "The territory is now yours, it belonged to your grandfather, arrange for its security. I have performed my promise. The outbreak has taken place and you are on the *guddee.*"

Question by Prisoner—Were not you discharged from my service ?

Answer—No, I continued with you to the end of the rebellion when everybody ran away.

(*No.* 6) *Mirnee* (*Mirhai*) *Lall Brahmin*—Deposes to the same effect as Nos. 2,3 and 4, to Khan Buhadoor Khan inciting Bukht Khan to mutiny.

Was in the Lines on the 4th day after the mutiny when Khan Buhadoor Khan with a large retinue was on his road to visit Bukht Khan. A cry was raised, 'the Europeans are coming.' This caused great confusion till it was made known that Khan Buhadoor Khan was coming on a visit. Bukht Khan received him in front of his tent on the parade, embraced him and conducted him to a chair. Bukht Khan said, "I have performed my promise, and now the Province is yours." Witness was there in order to procure the release of his cart, which had been seized by the sepoys.

(*No.* 7) *Cheda Lall Pundit Zemindar of Dhopa Busahee* (*Basai*) *within Cantonments*—Knows that Khan Buhadoor Khan used frequently to visit Bukht Khan in cantonments shortly before the outbreak. About 10 or 12 days previous to the mutiny, witness went to give a name to an Artillery-man's son, when Khan Buhadoor visited Bukht Khan, and urged him to rise as they had done at Meerut, and save their religion. This was about 4 P. M.

Question by the Prisoner—Did you mention this conversation to anyone ?

Answer—To Ramdeen *Lumberdar*, uncle of Chet Singh. This witness deposes to the same effect as Inayut Ulee(No. 5) as to the Prisoner's visit to Bukht Khan after the mutiny and to the conversation that then ensued.

(*No.* 8) *Hubbooa* (*Habua*) *Crier*—Was sent for on the day of the mutiny about 1 O'clock by the Prisoner Khan Buhadoor Khan who was sitting on the *cotwalee* terrace, and directed by the Prisoner himself to proclaim in the Bazar that the people are God's, the country is the King's, the province Khan Buhadoor Khan's sway'. He went through the Bazar and proclaimed as told.

(*No.* 9) *Sibbooa Crier*—Was sent for by Iman Ulee Khan *Kotwall*, who took him before Khan Buhadoor Khan on the *cotwallee* terrace on the Sunday of the mutiny. Was told to proclaim etc., to the same effect as the foregoing.

(*Nos.* 10 *and* 11) *Gomanee and Chunda, Criers*—To the same purport as Hubbooa and Sibbooa.

(*No.* 12) *Brij Lall Mokhtar*—Was Sobha Ram's *Mookhtar;* is shown Paper No. 1, identifies the seal (official) and signature of Khan Buhadoor Khan. Also the signature of Prisoner on No. 2, likewise the seal (official) and signature of Prisoner on No. 3.

(*No.* 13) *Purmeshree Dass* (*Parmeshwari Das*) *Peshkar of the Crore Tehseel*—As the above witness.

No. 1 : *Perwana* addressed to Uhmud Ulee Khan *Tehseeldar* of Siroulee. Comments on the disorders prevailing in his jurisdiction; adverts to a heavy case of highway robbery, and desires him to institute a strict search after the robbers.... alludes to some expression about the English .... (the original is wanting in parts here)—'the report is false.' They are sent to hell. The remnant are being daily destroyed, and will be soon entirely exterminated.

Date 5th Jumad-oos-sanee 1274, 21st January, 1858.

No. 2 : *Perwana* to Himayut Oolla Khan *Thanadar* of Beesulpoor (Bisalpur).

In reply to his application to entertain 50 *Burkundazes*, is directed to employ any number on the pay of 5 Rupees each, per mensem.

10th Shawal 1273, 3rd June 1857.

No. 3 : *Perwana* to Abdoor Ruhman Khan *Nazim* of Budaon.

Expresses his (Khan Buhadoor Khan's) approbation of his conduct, promises to send him the first new cannon that may be made.

27th Shawal 1273, 20th June 1857.

The Public Prosecutor in reply to the question by the Commission as to the point intended to be proved by these papers says the appointment of officials is aimed to be shewn; but the Commission intimated, that, in their opinion, the papers did not exactly establish the point, the Prosecutor proceeded to recall Purmeshree Dass.

(*No.* 14) *Purmeshree Dass* (*Parmeshwari Das*)—Was appointed *Peshkar* of the Crore *tehseeldaree* at the recommendation of Sobha Ram, but the actual appointing authority was Khan Buhadoor Khan. The Prisoner appointed Sobha Ram his *Dewan;* he also made Fyz Ulee his *Meer Moonshee* of *Foujdary*. Khan Buhadoor Khan appointed all officers.

(*No.* 15) *Brij Lall Mookhtar re-called*—Khan Buhadoor Khan appointed Sobha Ram to be his *Dewan*, and Akber

Ullee Khan to be the chief over all the *Tehseeldars*. Was himself appointed *Mookhtar* by Khan Buhadoor Khan who appointed all officers.

(*No.* 16) *Sulah-ood-deen Uhmud*—Before the outbreak was *Peshkar* (equal to *Tehseeldar*) of Crore (Bareilly), but, after the mutiny, Khan Buhadoor Khan appointed the *Naib Peshkar*, in the place of the witness; his name was Mahomud Yar Khan; he, the *Naib*, assumed office and made the collections.

(*No.* 17) *Kalb-Ulee* (*Qalb Ali*) *Shah*—Was *Peshdust* (or assistant) of the *Naib Bukshee*, was appointed by Khan Buhadoor Khan after the outbreak. Khan Buhadoor Khan appointed, after the mutiny, Gholam Kadur Khan to be *Nazim* of Shahjehanpore, Fuzl Huq *Nazim* of Peeleebheet (Pilibhit), Abdoor Ruhman *Nazim* of Budaon. Fuzl Huq was appointed *Nazim* of Peeleebheet on condition that he was to clear Nynee Tal.

(*No.* 18) *Moolchund Kayuth*—Was appointed *Naib Dewan* by Khan Buhadoor Khan himself, soon after the mutiny. Sobha Ram was appointed *Dewan* by the Prisoner who also appointed Gholam Kadur Khan *Nazim* of Shajehanpore, Abdoor Ruhman Khan to be *Nazim* of Budaon, and Fuzl Huq *Nazim* of Peeleebheet; he gave *Khilluts* to the three *Nazims*, first to Abdoor Ruhman then to Fuzl Huq and to Gholam Kadur Khan. He gave a *teeka* of Raja to Rughoonath Singh of Boodhoalee (Budhauli), made Bilas Singh, *Koomedan* whom he sent against Hukeem Saadut Ulee. Khan Buhadoor Khan also appointed a *Mooftee*, a *Cazee* and a *Pundit*. Witness is an old resident of Bareilly, had served the Government in several offices and was known to Prisoner. The Prisoner convened an assembly of citizens in order to raise funds for his administration. He also appointed a Committee of Affairs, to manage the province; it consisted.... (here mentions several names). Witness was a member of it.

Prisoner also procured a *firman* from the King of Delhi appointing him, Khan Buhadoor, ruler of the Province of Rohilkhund styling him the Protector of the Province—*Muhafiz-ool-Moolk*, but witness doubts the genuineness of the *firman*, as it was brought by a mean person, and not by a messenger of distinction.

SECOND DAY FEBRUARY 2, 1860

(No. 19) *Jaimal Singh recalled*—Was sent for by the

Commissioner before the mutiny, and warned against instigating the sepoys to mutiny.

Afterwards the Prisoner Khan Buhadoor Khan took me to the Commissioner, and said the charge of incitement was erroneous and that witness was as loyal and well disposed to the Govt. as he (Prisoner) himself was.

Question by the Prisoner—If you knew that I pretended to the Court to be a well-wisher of the Govt. and was yet engaged in instigating the sepoys to mutiny why did you not tell ?

Answer—I was afraid of my life.

Witness is now questioned as to the administration of the province after the outbreak. Deposes that shortly after the rebellion a committee was constituted for the management of all Rohilcund by Khan Buhadoor Khan; of this committee witness was a member. In answer to question by the Prisoner, whether he, witness, was not the adviser and friend of Khan Buhadoor Khan, replies that he, witness, used to listen to him, and was his friend. Witness next proceeds to tell how Meean Jan, the A. D. C. of Khan Buhadoor Khan, came to him shortly after wards, and charged him on peril of his life to give up the Europeans, and native Christians he, witness, had under his protection, (to the same effect as on the first day).

(*No.* 20) *Moolchund* (*Mul Chand*)—Shortly after the mutiny all citizens were ordered to assemble at the *Dewan Khana*, under threats for non-attendance. The summons was sent on a slip of paper, which the bearer said was from Khan Buhadoor Khan. Several people attended and witness also went in obedience to the summons. Khan Buhadoor Khan told me he had sent the order. When the citizens met, Khan Buhadoor Khan addressed them and said : The English have all left. The Government must be carried on, and the people must consider how funds are to be raised for the purpose. This assembly was not called by the order of Sobha Ram. It was resolved, that Khan Buhadoor Khan should raise a loan of two lakhs of rupees, and entertain an army of 10,000 men; a paper to this effect was drawn up, and signed by the leading citizens.

Deposes also to Inayut Oolla Khan, *Koomedan* of the *Jungee Pultun*, being despatched with a force to cause the evacuation of Nynee Tal, and that he went as far as Buheree (Baheri) for this purpose. The force was sent by the express orders of Khan Buhadoor Khan.

(*No.* 21) *Chhujjoo Lohar*—A mint was established in Bareilly by Khan Buhadoor Khan. Saifoolla took the witness to the Nuwab (i. e. the Prisoner) who directed him to make a mould for coining from. A model in earth was given by Saifoolla to the witness. Witness accordingly made a mould.

(*No.* 22) *Aman Ulee*—Khan Buhadoor Khan established a mint in Bareilly. Was taken by Saifoolla Khan to Khan Buhadoor Khan, who told me to make a stamp after the manner of the old Bareilly Rupees. I cut out the letters. Is shown a rupee, and recognises it to be of the kind he was employed to make the stamp for.

(*No.* 23) *Rampurshad Soonar*—A mint was established in Bareilly by Khan Buhadoor Khan. Witness was taken by Saifoolla Khan to Khan Buhadoor Khan, who ordered him, by his own mouth, to make blank Rupees. The work was carried on at the house of Rampurshad *Buniya*. Many others besides witness were thus engaged. 50 or 100 Rupees were made at a time. About 5 (5000) or 6000 Rupees were thus made.

(*No.* 24) *Doorga Sonar*—Was taken by Saifoolla to Khan Buhadoor Khan, who engaged him to make *tiklees* or blank rupees. Was engaged for a month in this work, which was carried on in the house of Rampurshad *Buniya*.

(*No.* 25) *Moolchund*—Is shown document No. 4, recognises the signature of the Prisoner.

Paper No. 4—*Urzee* of Hajee Gholam Russool and Ilahee Bukhsh contractors of the Gun Foundry stating that the *Naib* General Abdool Uleem (Abdul Alim) is urgent for cannon to be made; asks for an advance.

Order that 1,000 Rs. advance be made. sd. Khan Buhadoor Khan, 27th Mohurrum 1274, 17th September 1857.

(*No.* 26) *Balkishun, Brass Founder*—Made one gun, which upon trial burst, and wasn't paid for it. About 50 guns altogether were made. First, the works were carried on in Newada in the suburbs of Bareilly, but afterwards at the house of Khan Buhadoor Khan, the Prisoner.

Question by the Prisoner—At what place in Newada were these works carried on?

Answer—In Sobha Ram's garden.

(*No.* 27) *Khoda Buksh*—To the same effect as the foregoing witness.

(*No.* 28) *Kulb Ulee* (*Qalb Ali*) *Shah*—Proves (official) seal and signature on Paper No. 5.

(*No.* 29) *Brij Lal*—Proves the same.

Paper No. 5 : 'Signature, seal (of) Khan Buhadoor Khan. Iron and brass are urgently required for the manufacture of cannon. It is understood that they are abundant in Kutra and you are ordered to purchase 2,000 Rs. worth of these metals.

Moohummud Kifaut Oolla (Muhammad Kifaitullah) Khan and Hidayut Oolla Khan, 24 Jumad-oos-sanee (9th February 1858).

(*No.* 30) *Kulb Ulee Shah*—Deposes to the despatch of Inayut Oolla Khan with a force to clear Nynee Tal, this 6 or 7 days after the outbreak. Neeaz Mahomud Khan went also to Kuchla Ghat.

Question by Khan Buhadoor Khan—What was the amount of the force sent against Nynee Tal ?

Answer—About 500 or 1,000 men and about 3,000 *Ghazees.*

(*No.* 31) *Toolshee Ram Purwana-nuvees to Sobha Ram*—Khan Buhadoor Khan appointed Fuzl Huq, *Nazim* of Peeleebheet (Pilibhit), on condition that he should clear Nynee Tal. Inayut Oolla Khan 10 or 20 days after the outbreak was sent with a force for the same purpose. General Neeaz Mahomud was sent by the Prisoner to Kuchla Ghat.

(*Nos.* 32 & 33) *Purmeshweeree* (*Parmeshwari*) *Dass, Brij Lall*—Prove the official seal and signature of the Prisoner on Paper No. 6.

Paper No. 6—A *perwana* addressed to Moohummud Mooneer *Peshkar* of Buheree to provide supplies for the force to be sent against Nynee Tal. That on a former occasion the force thus sent found none, though orders had been previously issued. 12th Shaban 1274, 28th March 1858.

The Prosecutor here asks whether he may put in some papers just received from Rampore, but is told these are not admissible, not having been mentioned in list given to the Prisoner three full days before the date fixed for trial.

(*No.* 34) *Doorga Purshad*—Three or four days after the mutiny all the citizens were convened[1] by a written order (*chitta*[2]) from Khan Buhadoor Khan, and all who failed to appear were threatened with penalties. Khan Buhadoor Khan told them that he wanted to borrow 2 lakhs of rupees for the

[1] 'summoned' would have been more appropriate.
[2] Spelt for 'Chittha'—letter.

purposes of his government, the loan to be repaid from the collections. A cess was fixed, and force was threatened to any one who did not pay.

Deposes to a committee for the management of the affairs of Rohilkhund having been appointed under a *perwana* with seal and signature of the Prisoner. It consisted of 12 members—7 Moosulmans and 5 Hindoos; witness was one of the Hindoo members of it. This (was) about 13 days after the outbreak.

Deposes to the despatch of Inayut Oolla Khan with a force against Nynee Tal, to Fuzl Huq being made *Nazim* of Peeleebheet (Pilibhit) on condition that he should clear Nynee Tal. Deposes to the despatch of an army to Kuchla Ghat, and of entrenchments being thrown up at Meergunj (Mirganj).

(*No.* 35) *Hubbooa, Crier* :—On the day of the mutiny was first sent into the Bazar to proclaim Khan Buhadoor Khan, Ruler of the Province. On his return, he was again directed by Khan Buhadoor Khan himself to proclaim that whoever protected Englishmen should be punished with death, and whoever brought an Englishman's head should receive a reward of 500 rupees. A number of people accompanied witness, and forced him to say this. It was about 2 O'clock. Witness proclaimed this in the Bazar. Had heretofore been employed as a Crier by the English officials. Khan Buhadoor Khan himself directed witness to make this proclamation.

(*No.* 36) *Sibbooa* :—To the same effect. Whoever protects an Englishman shall be blown from a gun. The rest the same as foregoing.

(*Nos.* 37 & 38) *Gomanee and Chunda* :—To the same effect.

(*Nos.* 39 & 40) *Brij Lal and Thakoor Dass* :—Prove official seal of Khan Buhadoor Khan and the signature of Sobha Ram on Paper No. 7.

Paper No. 7 :—Proclamation[1] of the High Court of the Nuwab, Ruler of the Province of Kutehur (Katihar):

"To all, high and low, be it manifest as the sun at noon day. That the English are the enemies of the life, the property, and the religion alike of the Moosulmans and Hindoos, and being puffed up with selfconceit, forgetting themselves in

[1] This Proclamation bore the seal of Khan Bahadur Khan and had been signed by Shobha Ram.

their pride, have thought to make the people of God converts to the Christian religion. But by the Will of God, who abhors pride, whose displeasure they have[1] incurred, these infidels have in many places been put to death, and sent down to hell. Measures are being taken to secure the few who escaped from Bareilly to Nynee Tal. Any one who will[2] bring the head of the Commissioner into Bareilly shall receive a reward of 1,000 Rs. and of any other Englishman shall have a reward as detailed at the foot of this paper.[3] Moreover this will be an act of merit, entitling the doer[4] worthy to be enrolled among *Ghazees*. If any one in this religious fight[5] *jehad*, suffers martyrdom he will go to heaven; and his family shall be provided for in all time to come, by this Court. Whoever shall[6] conceal an infidel in his house, or correspond with the English, shall, on the finding of any such letter[7] be treated as an infidel and put to death with forfeiture of all his property.[8] Let all take notice of this Proclamation and so exert[9] themselves that no trace of the unclean[10] infidels be left in this province.

Commissioner of Bareilly	(Rs.) 1,000
Collector of Bareilly	500[11]
Carmichael, Joint Magistrate of Pilibheet	500
Currie, Joint Magistrate of Bareilly	500
Pasley, 2nd Joint Magistrate Bareilly	500
Colonel Troup....	500
English Military officers, each	300

[1] 'Have' has been omitted in Exhibit 7 filed in the case.
[2] 'Shall' has been used in place of 'will' in Ex. 7 filed in the case.
[3] 'Of any other of the English a reward as given below' has been used in Ex. 7 filed in the case in place of 'any other Englishman shall have reward as detailed at the foot of this paper' given here.
[4] 'Rendering the person' has been used in Ex. 7 filed in the case instead of 'entitling the doer' used here .
[5] 'Religious fight' has been omitted in Ex. 7 filed in the case.
[6] 'Any one who shall' has been used in the Ex. 7 filed in the case in place of 'whoever shall' used here.
[7] 'On such letter being found' has been used in place of 'on the finding of any such letter' in the Ex. 7 filed in the case.
[8] 'And all his property shall be confiscated' has been used in place of 'with forfeiture of all his property' in Ex. 7 filed in the case.
[9] 'Labor' has been used in place of 'exert' in Ex. 7 filed in the case
[10] 'Impure' has been used in place of 'unclean' in Ex. 7 filed in the case.
[11] '700' has been given in place of "500' in Ex. 7 filed in the case.

Clerks each	50
Christians each	10

15th Shuwal 1273, 8th June 1857.

(*No.* 41) *Chowdhry Noubat Ram* :—Several of these proclamations were pasted up in various parts of the city, on the Soonaree Masjid (Sunahri Masjid) and the old Fort. I sent a servant and took this down from the Fort, with the intention of sending it to the Commissioner at Nynee Tal, to whom I had begun to write. I sent a copy of this to Mr. Williams at Meerut. This was 8 days after the mutiny. The seal is Khan Buhadoor's.

Deposes to the same effect to the committee constructed by Khan Buhadoor Khan for the management of Rohilkhund.

(*Nos.* 42 & 43) *Purmeshree Dass, Brij Lall* :—Prove official seal and signature of Khan Buhadoor Khan on Paper No. 8.

Paper No. 8, *Notice*—In a great fight at Futtehgurh on the 3rd Jumad-oos-sanee 1274, a General of high rank, and 20 Europeans and Sikhs were killed, but on the side of the (rebel) Government only one sepoy has been martyred, no others have been touched. The infidels have retreated three *coss* to the other side of Furruckabad. This is good news for the people of Islam, and the well-wishers of this Government. All Hindoos and Moohumedans are called upon to rejoice in this good news.

5th Jumad-ool-Akhir 1274, 21st January 1858.[1]

DEFENCE OF KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

Answer of Khan Bahadur Khan dated 10th Feb. 1860 *to the charges framed against him.*

As the Government is pleased to do justice to me in making an enquiry of the crimes with which I stand charged I take the liberty to give this answer. The disturbance which took place at Bareilly in the Rohilcund Division, on the 31st May 1857 was caused by the army who threw off their allegiance and turned against the Government. I instigated none to rebel nor did I order the murder of any European. The evidence of the witnesses who accuse me of these charges are wrong. Some being Govt. servants depose against me in hopes of receiving

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 1/15 : "Case regarding Khan Bahadur Khan, late Nawab of Bareilly"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

promotion, the city chiefs or "*raeeses*" for the enmity and ill-will which they bear towards me and to please the Government; some with a view of clearing themselves of the crimes committed by them during the disturbance and some through fear of Government. The perusal of the *missils* of those men who have been sentenced by the judge or other authorities of the district and of the depositions of some of these witnesses recorded in those cases, will show the Court that their former depositions are antagonistic contradictory) to their present one; they formerly declared me powerless so that their present depositions are not worthy of acceptance. The following is a short account of the rebellion on the part of the citizens and of the murders of English gentlemen perpetrated at the time of the outbreak.

On the 31st May 1857 at 12 O'clock of the day Sheikh Budrooddeen late *Cotwal* of Bareilly came to me at my house in *mohulla* Bhooron and informed me that the army had mutinied and broken jail; that many of the English gentlemen had left the city and had hidden themselves. When he had said this he went away and I, who was going to eat, went into my house. Had I known Sheikh Budrooddeen was going to Nynee Tal, I would certainly have followed him. After I had taken my food, Madar Ally Khan of the old town came to me and desired me to go to *cotwalee* otherwise the sepoys of the English would plunder the *mahajuns* and people of the city and dishonor the respectable women. I went with him. Moobarik Shah Khan met me on my way to *cotwalee* and he accompanied me. Fyzoollah, Meajan (Mian Jan) and others, Syuds of Nowmehla likewise came. When I reached the *cotwalee* on foot, I observed that none of the sepoys of the *cotwalee* were there, that there was a great crowd of *budmashes* of the city and neighbouring villages, that the records of the *cotwalee* were all torn up and scattered about and that all the furniture had been plundered. I stopped inside the *cotwalee*. The *mahajuns* and citizens said that 'the troops were coming to plunder the town and had arrived as far as the Nowmehla. Some measures should be taken to save the town.' To do this, I sent Fyzoolla with some men to Bukht Khan *Soobadar* of the army with the message that he, Bukht Khan, should not plunder the town, as there would ensue great bloodshed and that should he require "*Russud*" it would be furnished him. Bukht Khan then consented not to enter the city provided he be

furnished with "*Russud*" (and) the Treasurer and Misr Byjnath sent to him from whom, he said, he had to take an account of the Government money and of money belonging to Englishmen. These two gentlemen were accordingly sent to him the following day to give the required account. As requested by the *mahajuns* and great men of the city I engaged in protecting the town from the hands of the *budmashes*.

On the 31st May aforesaid, after 2 P. M., a noise was heard that corpses of 3 English gentlemen were in the hands of the mob, which were thrown before the *cotwalee*. It was then heard that the mob had murdered Mr. Robertson, Judge and Dr. Hay in the house of Moulvi Hamid Hussun *Mff.* (*Munsiff*) of suburbs of Bareilly and the Sessions Judge in that of Aman Ally Khan and that these dead bodies were brought from the said places. I was alarmed and astounded. But as at that time none followed other's advice I could make no arrangement. After this at 4 in the evening I heard that they were bringing Mr. Henry Aspinall with wife and children. But before they reached the *cotwalee* they were murdered by the *budmashes* near the 'Soonahree Musjid" or golden mosque. None had asked my permission as to their killing. The next day I heard that the mother of Mr. Henry had told the people that she was possessed of much money which she said she was ready to give if their lives were spared.

But those with whom the money was deposited got them killed in order to secure the money.

I never heard anything of the murder of Mr. Nicholas. The news of the murder of Dr. Hansborough reached me the 2nd day after the breaking out of the disturbance viz. on the 1st of June. I did hear at 1 O'clock that the *budmashes* had killed the Dr. (Hansborough). With regard to Mr. Jaques, *Darogah* of the Insane Hospital, I heard that he had been murdered by Mewatees at Teebree; so long as the troops remained at Bareilly no one obeyed orders and I had neither army nor men to control. I never gave any order for killing an Englishman. I did however make efforts to save the country from the ravages of the *budmashes*. But I was helpless and could not manage the people who assembled round me. They did not obey my orders and they acted as they liked. I made great endeavours to put down the villagers who had begun plundering the country and to rise.

Although I excused myself by reason of weakness and old age I was by the native gentry and *mahajuns* constituted the *raees* on the ground of my descent from Hafizool Moolk, former ruler of Rohilkund, all the affairs being then really managed by them. As for the issue of proclamations none were issued by my knowledge for murdering the English. I was always told that the English will not return now.

When I heard of the arrival of the English I instantly quitted Bareilly. I did not oppose the English forces. None will speak the truth through fear of being entangled himself. But for the form's sake I gave a short list of witnesses requesting that they be sent for and examined. Perhaps the truth may come out. The Court are likewise requested to look over the *missils* already decided.[1]

TRIAL COMMISSION FINDS KHAN BAHADUR KHAN GUILTY OF REBELLION AND WAGING WAR

Extract from the Judgment.

Count 10 :—Khan Bahadoor Khan, being a pensioner and a person owing allegiance to the British Government, did rebel and wage war against the said British Government from the month of May 1857 to the month of May 1858, and acted as a leader and instigator of revolt in Rohilkhund, one of the centres of rebellion, during the above period.

The evidence[2] offered in proof of the prisoner being a pensioner and a subject of the British Government is merely of a formal nature. The prisoner was at the time of the out-

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 1/15 : "Case regarding Khan Bahadur Khan, late Nawab of Bareilly"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

Note—Khan Bahadur Khan desired the following witnesses and misils to be called for in his defence:

Witness—1 Haidar Ali, son of Wilayat Ali, resident of Bareilly, Mohalla Bhooron.
2 Karamat Husain, resident of Mohalla Bhooron.
3 Azim Ullah Khan, son of Nizam-uddin Khan, resident of Bhooron Mohalla.
4 Shakur Ali, son of Imam Ali, resident of Bhooron Muhalla.

Misl—1 Of the case of Chiragh Ali,
2 Of the case of Faiz Ali,
3 Of the case of Kaley Khan.

[2] Evidence of witness No. 1 Kanahiya Lal.

break in the receipt of a pension as the descendant of Hafiz Rehmut Khan, and as a retired *Suddur Ameen*.

It is proved, that, before the mutiny, the prisoner was in communication with Bukht Khan *Soobadar* of Artillery and other native officers and that he incited them to mutiny. The testimony of the witnesses whose names are cited[1] proves this, especially the evidence of Jaimul Singh, at the time the friend, the adviser, and the depositary of the designs of the prisoner*. It appears that the visits of Jaimul Singh to the cantonments had incited the suspicion of the authorities, and he was sent for by the Commissioner and warned of the peril he was in if revolt should take place,† that a few days afterwards the prisoner who was consulted in those days by, and on intimate footing with, the Commissioner introduced the witness to that gentleman, asserting that the reports of witness' intrigues were false, with the ambiguous assurance that witness was as loyal a subject as he, prisoner, himself was. This evidence confirmed as it is by that of the other witnesses mentioned proves instigation on the part of the prisoner previous to the outbreak. Not indeed that the leaders of sepoy required any incentive to revolt; they doubtless were watching the course of events with a view of following the example of the native soldiery at Meerut and Delhi. But this does not alter the nature of the offence of the prisoner. We see no reason to doubt that he did instigate mutiny and that he had an understanding with Bukht Khan, and other mutineer leaders. The conduct of the prisoner at the commencement of the outbreak, is in accordance with this view—as to his previous intrigues with the sepoy leaders. When the revolt had commenced, and the British officers had to fly for their lives he at once proceeded to the *cotwallee*, and then sat in state, and caused it to be proclaimed through the city that in subordination to the King of Delhi, he was ruler of the province.[2]

[1] Witnesses Nos.: 2—Kupil Moon Pundit (p. 597); 3—Jaimul Singh (p. 597); 4—Chet Singh (p. 598;) 6—Miraee Lall (p. 599); 7—Cheda Lall Pundit (p. 599).

* "Jaimul Singh Prisoner's own remark"—Note in Original.

† "Jaimul Singh vide paras 42-46 Narrative of Events at Bareilly between 12th & 31st May 1857 by Mr. Alexander, Comr., 30 Nov., 1858"—Note in Original.

[2] According to witnesses "Nos. 8—Hubbooa; 9—Sibbooa, 10—Gomanee; 11—Chunda and Prisoner's Defence".—Note in Original.

From this time till the re-entry of our troops into Bareilly the prisoner continued his usurpation, committing from time to time various acts in either hostility to the British Government, or inconsistent with his allegiance to it. He proceeded to appoint local officers to Budaon, to Shahjehanpore and Peeleebheet, and to Bareilly. Abdoor Rahman was thus made *Nazim* of Budaon, Gholam Kadir the same of Shahjehanpore, and Fuzl Huq of Peeleebheet. The condition of Fuzl Huq's appointment was that he should proceed against Nynee Tal. It was about a week after his usurpation that he convened[1] the citizens to raise taxes for the purpose of his government. A select committee for the management of the province was also appointed by the prisoner. We have it further in evidence, that he coined[2] money after the fashion of the old rupee giving it the date of 'Bareilly 1274', that he established a manufactory for cannon,[3] levied war against the British Government by despatching a force under Inayut Oolla Khan towards Nynee Tal,[4] for the purpose of hostile operations. Although the prisoner appears to have warned the Commissioner the day before the outbreak that the troops would mutiny, and recommended him to save his life yet we find him on the day of the mutiny denouncing any one who should conceal an Englishman, and even offering a reward for their heads. We do not lay so much stress on paper No. 7 that does not bear the prisoner's signature. But it is evident that the spirit of the prisoner's rule was very hostile towards the British rule and the lives of British officers. This last paper though it purports to have (been) issued from the *Darbar* of the prisoner does not bear his signature, but that of Sobha Ram *Dewan* and, lastly we notice Paper No. 8 calling upon the people to rejoice in some apocryphal defeat of the British army, at Futtygurh shows that up to this late period, 21st January 1859, he was hostile to our government, and we have his own admission that he ruled till the arrival of our troops in Bareilly and we have

[1] Should be 'convened the assembly of'.

[2] According to witnesses "Nos.: 21—Chujjoo; 22—Aman Ullee; 23—Ram Purshad and 24—Doorga Sonar"—Note in Original.

[3] Evidenced by witnesses : "Paper No. 4; Bal Kishan, No. 26; Khoda Buksh, No. 27; and Paper No. 5."—Marginal note in Original.

[4] According to witnesses: "Kully Ullee Shah, No. 28; Toolshee Ram, No. 31; and Paper No. 6"—Marginal note in Original.

no evidence that the spirit of his rule was unaltered in its hostility to the British Government.[1]

KHAN BAHADUR HANGED

The Oudh Gazette says that the news has been received in the station that *Khan Bahadoor Khan was hanged at Bareilly on the morning of the 24th instant. The man died glorying in his crimes.* It was wrong to have put the man out of his miseries at once. Were we arbiter of his fate we would have given him the enjoyment of the royalty he sought, but in a shape, and then sent him an emissary thrice every day to enquire how Khan Saheb did.[2]

* * *

Warrant from W. Roberts, President of the Special Commission, to H. R. Clarke, Joint Magistrate of Bareilly, dated Bareilly Magistracy, 24th March 1860.

"Whereas at a Special Commission for the trial of Khan Bahadoor Khan, holden at Bareilly, on the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 7th, 10th, 11th and 13th days of the month of February in the year 1860, the said Khan Bahadoor Khan, having been convicted of having acted as a leader and instigator in revolt in Rohilcund during the months from May '57 to May 1858, and as accessory before and after the fact to the murder of seven British subjects, in and near the city of Bareilly on the 31st May and 1st June 1857, and sentenced by the Special Commission to be hanged by the neck till he is dead, which sentence has received the confirmation of his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor: It is hereby ordered that execution of the said sentence be made and done upon the said Khan Bahadoor Khan, on the 24th day of March in the year 1860, as commanded by the acts passed by the Governor General-in-Council, and that you do return this warrant when completely executed with an endorsement attested by your official seal and signature, certifying the manner in which the sentence has been carried into execution. Herein fail not.

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 1/15 : "Case regarding Khan Bahadur Khan, late Nawab of Bareilly". Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, April 7, 1860, p. 105. National Library, Calcutta.

Given under my hand this 22nd day of March 1860."

Certificate endorsed on the Warrant by Henry R. Clarke, Joint Magistrate, Bareilly, dated Bareilly Jail Office, the 24th of March 1860.

"I hereby certify that the sentence of death passed on Khan Bahadoor Khan by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, has been duly executed, and that the said Khan Bahadoor Khan was accordingly hanged by the neck till he was dead on Saturday the 24th day of March 1860.

I further certify that the body of the said Khan Bahadoor Khan remained suspended for one hour and after execution of the above sentence, was buried; that no accident, error or other mis-adventure occurred.

Given under my hand the seal of this Court. . .this 24th day of March in the year 1860."[1]

BAREILLY NAWAB LAID TO REST IN OLD JAIL

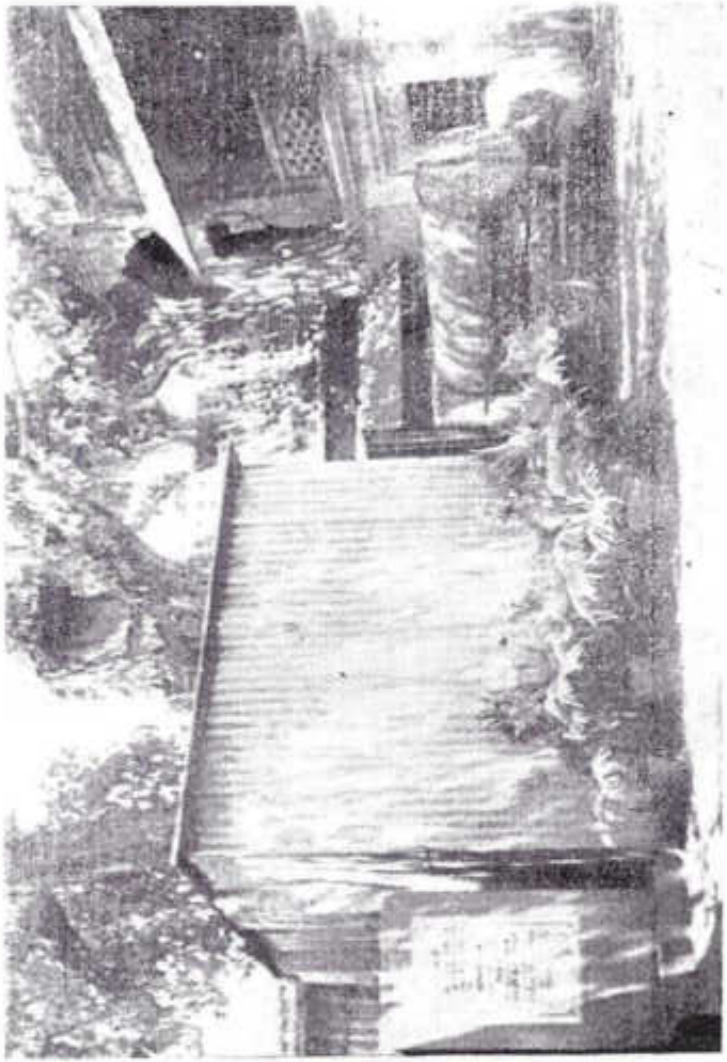
Letter No. 66 of 1860 *from H. R. Clarke, Joint Magistrate, Bareilly, to W. Roberts, President of Special Commission for the trial of Khan Bahadur, dated Magistrate's Office, Bareilly, the 26th March* 1860.

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter No. 35, dated 22nd instant, enclosing a warrant for the execution of Khan Bahadoor Khan, and calling for a report on the manner in which the sentence was carried out.

2*nd*—On the receipt of your letter I wrote to the Officer Commanding the Rohilcund Field Force applying for a Regular Guard which was granted.

3*rd*—I explained the sentence to the prisoner in the fort in the presence of Mr. Moens, the Assistant Magistrate, and Public Prosecutor on the evening of the 22nd instant. On the afternoon of the 23rd, in accordance with your wishes I proceeded again to the prisoner in the fort, and asked if he wished to see any one. He named two persons but they refused to come.

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 1/15 : "Case regarding Khan Bahadur Khan, late Nawab of Bareilly"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.



The old kotwali where Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan was hanged

4*th*—On Saturday the 24th instant, the prisoner was conveyed to the place of execution before the new *cotwali* under a Guard of the 42nd Highlanders, and 1 troop of the Military Police Sowars. I had before sent down 100 of the Military Police to assist the town Police in keeping the space round, and the approaches to the gallows clear.

5*th*—During the reading of the warrant he made use of the following expressions : "It is true that I killed the Europeans; for this purpose I was born." Again he said "I have killed hundreds of English dogs, it was a noble act, and I triumph in having done it."....After all the usual formalities had been gone through the prisoner was hanged at precisely 10 minutes past 7 O'clock A. M., his body remained suspended one hour. The Civil Assistant Surgeon certified in the usual manner that he was dead.

6*th*—I then had the body conveyed to the place of burial in the old jail (which had been decided on by you as, possibly, the best spot for his interment the day before) as it had been rumoured that the Mahomedans wished to get the body in order to build a shrine over it.

7*th*—In conclusion I beg to report that notwithstanding the large concourse of spectators, Europeans, Hindoos and Mahomedans no disturbance or indecorum of any sort took place.

I herewith return the original warrant duly endorsed.[1]

AMNESTY SOUGHT FOR MUHAMMAD YAR KHAN, NAIB NAZIM OF BADAUN

Thursday 27th September—One Mahomed Yar Khan was formerly in the service of the Government N. W. P. The mutinies occurring, he accepted from Khan Bahadoor Khan the office of *Naib Nazim*. He has been convicted of being a leader in the rebellion and sentenced to transportation for five years and confiscation of property. His brother now petitions the Governor General and pleads the amnesty. The amnesty does cover the sin and we hope the Government

[1] Department—XXIV, File No. 1/15 : "Case regarding Khan Bahadur Khan, late Nawab of Bareilly"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office, Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

of India will see the policy of making a few signs to show that it has forgotten the rebellion. A similar petition has been presented on behalf of Syud Shabeer, Moradabad, by his wife.[1]

NIAZ MUHAMMAD KHAN APPREHENDED

We are able to give some information regarding the rebel, Niaz Mahomed Khan, in addition to that we lately extracted from *The Indian Statesman*. He was appointed General by Khan Bahadoor Khan, with authority over the district of Budaon. He commanded the rebel contingent of Budaon accordingly in the action near Shumshabad, when they were routed by Sir Hope Grant, and was engaged on several other occasions against the British troops. If this were all there would be no particular occasion to exult in his capture, and in the probability of his punishment. But his principal atrocity was the blowing away from a gun Mithoo Lal, formerly a *Thanadar* under Government, who had shown great kindness to Captain Gowan, while the latter was in hiding. This crime was committed in the presence of hundreds of people in Budaon; and the two Rajpoot *zemindars* in whose village Captain Gowan had been concealed only escaped the same fate on a large bribe (Rs. 5,000) being paid into the rebel treasury by their brotherhood. *Niaz Mahomed Khan seems to have fled to Nepal with other rebels.* He asserts that he surrendered himself at Fyzabad to some British officers, and was allowed to go away unmolested. Since then he has been to Mecca and Madina, and has been in the service of Joonagurh (Junagarh)[2] Nawab. The circumstances of his recognition by a sowar of the Goona Irregular Horse, and his arrest, have been related. He is now on his way to stand his trial at Budaon.[3]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated Jan. 2, 1873.

Further information respecting the rebel Zeaz[4] Mahomed

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, October 3, 1860, p. 313. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Erstwhile Princely State in *Kathiawar*.

[3] *The Pioneer*, Friday, Decembe. 27, 1872, p. 1.

[4] Appears a misprint for 'Niaz'.

Khan is given by *The Pioneer*. He was appointed General by Khan Bahadur Khan with authority over Budaon, and commanded the rebel contingent of that district in the action near Shumshabad when they were routed by Sir Hope Grant. His chief crime was the blowing away from a gun of Mithoo Lall, a Government *Thanadar* who had shown great kindness to Captain Gowan while the latter was in hiding. The rebel fled to Nepal when order was restored, and since that time has been at Mecca and Medina and in the service of the Joonagurh Nawab. He is to be tried at Budaon, the scene of his atrocities. How many more Nawabs, we wonder, have rebels in their service ?[1]

NIAZ MUHAMMAD KHAN'S STATEMENT

I am Neaz Mahomed Khan Pathan of Rampore in the Rampore State. I was sent by Khan Bahadoor Khan in 'Sawan' with an armed force consisting of 300 sowars, 1,700 sepoys and 2 guns. I first encamped in this district at Seyudpore and was attacked by the Thakoors of Rehriya on a plain between Rehriya and Seyudpore. I defeated the Thakoors, but did not loot their village or burn or loot any villages in *pargh.* (*pargana*) Bissoulee. I did not order 17 men to be beheaded at Rehriya and do not know if the men were beheaded. I was at Bissoulee when Pertab Singh was blown away from a gun. I heard that Abdool Rehman had ordered Pertab Singh, to be blown away. I arrived from shooting[2] on the spot immediately after the execution. Pertab Singh was executed for looting Chandousee and Bilsee. I was at Bissoulee in 'Sawan' and arrived in Budaon about the commencement of 'Koar' I did not order Abdool Guffoor and Abdool Rehman to be blown away from a gun. I was at Budaon at that time with an armed force of 2,500 or 3,000 men. I brought 2 guns with me and obtained a third here. Abdool Guffoor and Abdool Rehman were executed by order of Khan Bahadoor Khan for the murder of a *Faqueer*. My sepoys did not blow them away, neither were my guns used. Fasahut Oolah and Abdool Rehman Khan had a gun given them by Khan Baha-

[1] *The Friend of India*, January 2, 1873, p. 14. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Not clearly decipherable.

door Khan and this was used. I remained in Budaon for 20 or 25 days and then received order from Khan Bahadoor Khan to join Ishmael and fight the English who had come to Furruckabad. I marched with about 2,500 men and 3 guns and fought the English at Shumshabad, received a slight wound on the head and leg was crushed by my horse being killed under me. I was defeated and returned to Budaon. I did not wound Khusram Singh (Khush Ram Singh) with a spear, neither did I loot Kurkoulee, Oseith, and Asmah. I do not know by whom Khusram Singh was killed. I did not order Mittoo Lall to be blown away from a gun. I was in Budaon at the time. Khan Bahadoor Khan ordered Mittoo Lall to be blown away. I don't know for what offence Bahadoor Shah Khan brought the order for Mittoo Lal's execution and himself had it carried out. From Budaon I went to Bareilly and thence was sent to Saheswan; fought the Bharoatee villagers, defeated them and took 2 guns from them by order of Khan Bahadoor. I then returned to Bareilly and on the arrival of the English there went to Philibheet with Khan Bahadoor Khan. From Philibheet I went to Mahomdee in company with Khan Bahadoor Khan, thence we went to Nanparrah Zillah—Lucknow and afterwards to Nepaul. I remained at (in) Nepaul for 8 months. I was then summoned by a British office (*sic*,–officer) to appear at Naya Kote in the Gorruckpore Dist. I appeared of my own accord and received a certificate to proceed to my home. I did not do so through fear of the Nuwab. But remained at Lucknow for 1½ years and thence proceeded to Bombay and Mecca. I remained at Mecca for 2 and at Medina for one year, thence returned to Bombay where I remained for 4 months and thence went to Kattiyanah[1] where I was employed as a Sowar by Kumal Deen Khan for 2 years and then engaged in trade for 7 years and afterwards with service as a Sowar of the Nawab Mohabbat Khan of Juna Ghur for 3 or 4 years and then went to Bombay to meet the Nawab of Rampore[2] on his way to Mecca. Information was there given against me and I was taken before the *Burra Sahib*, name unknown, and taken into custody. I do not wish to summon any witnesses in this Court. I did not sign or issue the *Parwanah* to Shaik

[1] Probably spelt for 'Kathiawar'.
[2] Not clearly decipherable.

Shurruf Oodeen and his brothers to arrest Mr. Steward and his family or that appointing Sirdar Khan à *Thanadar*—or that to Sirdar Khan to forward supplies to Soorujpore Ghat. I was called Hajee Mahomed Khan at Bombay. My name is Neaz Mohd. Khan. I was arrested in Bombay on 24th or 25th Ramzan. I was appointed General of the army, sent to Budaon by Khan Bahadoor Khan. I did not realize any money in this Dist.[1]

NIAZ MUHAMMAD SENTENCED TO DEATH

Niaz Mahomed Khan, the rebel of 57[2] has been sentenced to death. It is a curious fact that the judge who tried the case was present at the battle of Shumshabad in which the prisoner took so prominent a part.[3]

NIAZ MUHAMMAD'S REPORTED APPEAL AGAINST DEATH SENTENCE

Niaz Mahomed Khan, the convict mutineer, has given notice of an appeal to the High Court of the North-Western Provinces against the sentence of death passed upon him at Badaon.[4]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated May 15, 1873.

The appeal of Neaz Mahomed Khan, the mutineer sentenced to death, has been heard before a full bench of the High Court at Allahabad. The Court have reserved judgement.[5]

TRANSPORTATION FOR LIFE TO NIAZ MUHAMMAD KHAN

Neaz Mahomed Khan's death sentence has been

[1] Badaun Collectorate Mutiny Basta : 'File relating to Niaz Muhammad Khan'.
[2] Refers to the year '1857'.
[3] *The Friend of India*, April 10, 1873, p. 407. National Library Calcutta.
[4] *Ibid.*, April 24, 1873, p. 463.
[5] *Ibid.*, May 15, 1873, p. 547.

commuted to transportation for life by the Allahabad High Court The Chief Justice and Justices Pearson and Jardine, while differing among themselves as to the full force of the Amnesty, to which the prisoner appealed, and as to the exact nature of the allegiance to the British Government of one who belonged to the feudatory state of Rampore, decided that there were "extenuating circumstances". The murders were political and they occurred so long ago that, however cruel, the Court considered them to be adequately atoned for now by transportation for life.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Pioneer', dated August 5, 1873.

The Indian Observer is still uneasy concerning the judgment of the High Court of the N. W. Provinces in the case of Niaz Mahomed Khan, and devotes a long article to prove that the Judges "do not appear to have understood either the nature or consequences of a 'just war' as distinguished from a revolt or rebellion, or the principles upon which allegiance is founded." We say this is the proposition the article is designed to prove, because it is set forth at the conclusion as the result which the writer deems himself to have reached, but from the preceding remarks themselves, we should have been at some loss to make out precisely the purpose at which they aimed. The Chief Justice differed from Justices Pearson and Jardine in toto respecting the legal bearing on the prisoner's case of the question whether Rampore owed allegiance to the British Crown or not, but *The Observer* is as little inclined to endorse his views as to approve the theory of the majority. It devotes itself to proving very elaborately that Rampore was a vassal State and not independent of our rule, but this is not really the question at stake, as far as the final judgment of the Court is concerned, because it was held that even if Rampore had been independent, Niaz Mahomed would nonetheless have been amenable to our law in entering our territory to make war upon us on his own account. Our contemporary, however, is determined to find fault with the High Court if only for arriving at a right

[1] *The Friend of India*, May 29, 1873, p. 603. National Library, Calcutta.

decision in a wrong way, and therefore remarks :—"It is not to be expected perhaps that a Court, which cannot take cognizance of such a document as the Royal Amnesty, should concern itself with treaties." This shot is aimed very awkwardly. In the most elaborate judgment of the three—that by Mr. Justice Jardine—the actual treaties to which the dissatisfied reviewer refers as so culpably ignored, were discussed, as they stand recorded in the very same work which forms his text-book. We need only add that the writer in *The Observer* betrays strange confusion of mind in reference to the main point on which he fancies the High Court somehow to blame, when he talks about a "Just war" as distinguished from a revolt or rebellion. The "justice" of war has nothing whatever to do with the question whether it involves a legal condition of belligerency between the powers engaged. The most unjust war imaginable might be legally declared and set on foot, and a perfectly just or righteous struggle might be irregularly commenced, and therefore be legally held not to establish a condition of belligerency by international law.[1]

ARREST OF BADAUN REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

Extract from Letter No. 315 *of* 1859 *from Offg. Commissioner, Rohilkhand, to Secretary to Government N. W. P., dated* 16*th August* 1858.

9*th*—During the week ending 13th August Mr. Carmichael from Budaon reported the capture of 3 noted rebels. Fusshut Oollah, Mohomed Yar Khan and Fuzl Ahmud all of whom bore prominent parts in the establishment of a rebel Government at Budaon.

10*th*—They were apprehended by Mr. Carnegy, the Deputy Commissioner, in the city of Lucknow on the information of Mr. Carmichael, who has been on their track for months past, and whose proceedings must have been conducted with much care, caution, and secrecy to have thrown them into a state of fancied security, and thus to have compassed their arrest all together.[2]

* * *

[1] *The Pioneer*, Tuesday August 5, 1873, p. 1.

[2] Department– XXIV, File No. 19 : "Bestowal of a reward of Rs. 3000/- on the Avadh Police for effecting the capture of Fasahat Ullah, Mohd.

Copy of Letter signed by P. Carnegy, Dy. Commissioner of Lucknow, and forwarded by Offg. Magistrate of Badaun, to Offg. Commissioner of Rohilkhand, dated 20th June 1859.

According to yesterday's orders search was made. Ally Buksh *Ressildar* (*Risaldar*) is found to live near Ferrungee Mehel (Firangi Mahal). A *Moulvee*, a *Hakeem*, and a 3rd person live in Aghaie's house through the interest of the above *Rissaldar* and Baker Ali (*Dewan* of Munoworoodwolah)[1]. They are *Vakeels* of the sons of Munoworoodwolah. They were watched all night and seized this morning. The Moulvee's appearance agrees exactly with the descriptive roll from Budaon; his name is Fussahut-oollah, Fuzl Ahmud is his relative. The *Hakeem's* name is Mohomud Yar Khan. All 3 were seized together. Their house being searched, rebel correspondence was found, as follows—

1*st*—From Golam Sayed—describing his own affairs and that descriptive rolls of all rebels are being drawn out (a hint that Fussahut Oolah's name would be amongst them); intimates having a conference with Saifoola Khan who promises to intercede, *Salams* are sent to the *Hakeem*, the Khan Sahib, the *Rissaldar* and *Moonshee*; viz. the *Moonshee* is Baker Ali, the Khan Sahib is Mohomud Hosein, the *Ressaldar* is Ally Buksh, the *Hakeem* is Mohomud Yar, all of whom are Counsellors.

2*nd*—From the same—sends copy of Commissioner's proclamation; intimates that he has presented himself and holds out hopes to the correspondent.

3*rd*—From Mohomud Hosein—(Addressed to the *Ressaldar*) intimating that the populace of Rohilkund are in an uneasy and excited state and "the present crop is about to wither (i. e., there will soon be further disturbances.)

4*th*—Iltifat Hosein to Ally Buksh on the *Lifafa*, inside the letter to Fussahut Oollah and ink spilt over the names : Reports that the intentions of the Budaon authorities have been ascertained. On no account are you to think of returning. Change your name and settle elsewhere, do not attend to any

Yar Khan and Fazal Ahmad"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[1] Spelt for 'Munawwar-ud-daula.'

calls to return of your dearest friends, but do as advised. If money is necessary it can be sent. Compliments to Fuzl Ahmud.

N. B. This Iltifat Hosein is brother to Captain Fida Hosein (Fida Husain).

5*th*—From Mowdood Bux (Maudud Bakhsh) Khan Bahadoor *Rissaldar*—from Ahmedabad to Fida Hosein; this letter is worth hearing. It says that he has spoken to the *Sahib* in favor of the 3 above named and the answer is forwarded. If they mean to come in they should do so soon. He intimates that he has got the local authorities to report that many rebels could be got in if he were deputed to Oude and he begs that the Oude authorities may be moved through Major Barrow etc. to apply to have him sent and the matter will then be easily arranged and the correspondents will be able to arrange matters to their liking. Advises that in corresponding on these matters such words should be used that others won't understand them.

6*th*—From Fida Hosein to Fussahut Oollah saying that the *Mehout* had reached, (and) consequently the elephant of the latter had been seized by the authorities.

7*th*—From do to do[1] saying that he had got Major Barrow to write a recommendation to the City Magistrate to release the elephant.

8*th*—From do and do (Fida Husain and Fasahat Ullah) saying that he had disposed of the elephant for him (after having recovered it).

9*th*—From Mohomud Hosein Khan to Fussahut Oollah about money matters. Seven papers given in by Fuzl Ahmud to show that he was appointed *Serishtadar* of *Fouzdaree* by the rebels but afterwards resigned.

The Extra Asstt. says that these men are still in communication with the rebels, and have messengers. They have been brought here by Baker Ali *Dewan* of Monoworoodwolah and Ally Buksh *Rissaldar* who are birds of the same feather : the latter has got his *Safaie* from us and his pension has been restored.[2]

[1] That is, from Fida Husain to Fasahat Ullah.

[2] Department—XXIV, File No. 19 : "Bestowal of a reward of Rs. 3000/- on the Avadh Police for effecting the capture of Fasahat Ullah, Mohd. Yar Khan, Fazal Ahmad"; Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

CHAPTER SEVEN

OUTBREAK IN AGRA DIVISION

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OUTBREAK IN AGRA DIVISION

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT ETAWAH

UNREST IN AGRA AND ETAWAH ARMY

An Incident of the Mutiny—Mr. Hume, the Acting Magistrate of Etawah after the outbreaks, at Meerut and Delhi, took the precaution, amongst others, of establishing a nightly patrol. The patrol were to prevent any straggling mutineers from committing depredations. One night as his *Kotwal* Mahomed Alee Jan with three sowars of the 8th Irregular Cavalry was patrolling the Agra Road, he met a band of six men, all armed to the teeth. These men he challenged, and as their replies were unsatisfactory he told them that they must accompany him to the Magistrate. At first they demurred, and threatened, if he came near, to shoot him. At last relying on the plausibility of their story, which was, that they belonged to the 2nd Cavalry, had gone with remounts from Cawnpore and were returning from Agra, they consented. By Mr. Hume they were sent to Lieutenant Corfield in command of the station. The *Kotwal* after he had strengthened his patrol proceeded towards the Lines. Lieutenant Corfield met the party about half way to the Lines, and having interrogated the men, and deeming their replies unsatisfactory, ordered them to accompany him to the Camp. This the men did but unwillingly. When near the Quarter Guard, the party of Lieutenant Corfield consisting of Lieutenant Allan, the *Kotwal*, and Meer Hossein Alli (Mir Husain Ali), the *Duffadar* of the Irregulars, dismounted and ordered them to give up their arms. One obeyed but as his weapon was handed to the *Duffadar*, he snatched it violently away and another of the party shot Lieutenant Corfield through the right shoulder. He fell instantly. A third dashed at Lieutenant Allan, after having fired a pistol at his breast, the ball of which was fortunately turned aside by the lock of by (*sic*,) double barrelled gun which he was holding in his hand, knocked him down, and would have murdered him in a minute. However the

Kotwal Alee Jan most opportunely struck the sepoy kneeling upon Lieutenant Allan, a blow with his *tulwar* which divided the back bone. The sepoys came running up, and four of the mutineers were at once shot, two escaped, but one was afterward taken by a Policeman. The affair in itself, is not brilliant, *but it shews that the tide is turning. It was but a little time ago that the sepoys stood quietly by, and suffered their officers to be murdered*, now they defend them. A few more such examples will spread distrust amongst the sepoys, and will shew mutinous regiments that the first overtures of treason are not unattended with danger. The man who is still alive has confessed. He stated that his name was Shevanday[1] Khan and that he was a Lance Naick of the first Troop of 3rd Cavalry, the other five were Yaseen Khan 2nd Troop, killed; Bakhand Khan[2], 5th Troop killed; Nubbeedad (Nabi Dad) Khan, 1st Troop killed; Karween Khan, 2nd Troop killed; Anwar Khan, 4th Troop in Jail, and Dooman Khan, 2nd Troop escaped. If these men had been captured at Agra instead of at Etawah, they would well have known what part to play. At once they would have surrendered, and have stated that they had been forced into the mutiny. But seeing no great force at Etawah, they hoped that they might by a bold dash succeed in getting off with their booty, or if they had acquired no spoil they would have at least returned in safety to their friends, and boasted for many a day how they had withstood all the Company's troops, murdered their best officers and escaped with impunity. They would have been living witnesses to the fact that a man may commit crimes the most heinous and yet remain unpunished. We are not writing against an imaginary evil. For it was but a few days since that Mr. Colvin dismissed 10 officers and men who surrendered themselves at Agra. It is of course to be supposed that the Lieutenant-Governor proceeded upon principle, he hoped by an act of clemency to draw others of the mutineers to his side. But this is not a time for clemency or halting, the highest wisdom now, is to

[1] Name incomprehensible.
[2] *Ibid.*

assemble an army as fast as possible and not to pardon but to punish every rebel that falls into our hands.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Occurrences by Allan Hume, Magistrate and Collector, dated Etawah, November 18, 1858.

Elsewhere, perhaps, the shadow of the coming calamity may have preceded it and diffused a vague sense of insecurity and alarm; not so in Etawah; there the fatal month of May opened in hopefulness and peace. Never apparently had the prospects of the district been so cheering; crime was, and had been for the previous two years steadily decreasing, the Revenue flowed in without the necessity of recourse to a single coercive process; Public Libraries and numerous Schools gave rich promise of future progress; new lines of communication were being rapidly opened out; the Railroad was fast ripening; the great Canal with its daily multiplying branches steadily diffusing fertility through an ever widening area; and all classes of the community, though of course not without their minor grievances, on the whole singularly happy and contented.

Suddenly the mutiny burst upon us, effacing apparently in a day, the labours of years. More fortunate than elsewhere, the State had in Etawah good and faithful native servants and loyal subjects, who maintained a struggling existence amidst the waves of anarchy. Supported by the people there is an inextinguishable vitality in Governments. "*Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit*"; and storms like these, but serve, though for a time they shake, to strengthen and develop them. The tide turned; and then popular good-will blossomed out and gave fruit in the speedy restoration of peace and order; and now, though here and there blackened and desolate villages and bands of rebels, too desperate or too bloodstained to listen to our Gracious Queen's late message of mercy, remind us of the past, our people are once again quiet and contented, our fields are rich with heavy crops, and we can look forward hopefully to the future, and cheerfully to the labours that shall make that future, all and more, than in the past we ever dreamt of.

[1] *The Friend of India*, 28th May 1857, p. 509. National Library, Calcutta.

3RD CAVALRY MEN IN OPEN DEFIANCE

On the night of the 10th of May the Meerut mutiny occurred; on the 11th that at Dehlee (Delhi). Authentic intelligence of the first reached us, via Agra, on the morning of the 12th, and on the same day patrolling parties to watch all the roads were organized, and every possible precaution adopted to ensure the apprehension of fugitive mutineers. Three days passed quietly away, about midnight of the 16th of May one of the patrolling parties arrested seven mutineers of the 3rd Cavalry; these in being disarmed resisted desperately, but four of them were killed on the spot, and two captured (one desperately wounded) one only succeeding in escaping. Lieutenant Corfield of the 9th Native Infantry was wounded in the right shoulder. Not only did the Police and some troopers of the 8th Irregulars behave exceedingly well but several men of the 9th Native Infantry (so soon to mutiny) did their duty unhesitatingly.

EVENTS ON 19TH MAY

Early in the morning of the 19th of May a number more of the 3rd Cavalry mutineers were stopped at Juswuntnuggur (Jaswantnagar)[1], about 10 miles from the *Sudder* Station. On an attempt being made to disarm them they shot one and wounded three more of the Police, and then took up a position in a neighbouring temple, small, but of great strength. Mr. Daniell and myself proceeded to the spot and did our best to carry the place but could obtain no support, owing to the extreme danger attending storming; at last, after a final attempt to force it by ourselves, in which Mr. Daniell was shot through the face and the only man who accompanied us killed, I thought it advisable, (especially as the whole body of the town's people, mustering some 2,000 low caste Muslemans were becoming actively hostile, and the Police proportionally timorous) to return to Etawah, leaving the Police to watch the temple. That night during a storm the mutineers were

[1] *Jaswantnagar*, Tahsil *Etawah*, District *Etawah*— A town lying in 26° 53′ N. and 78° 53′ E., 10 miles north-west of Etawah, on the East Indian Railway. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 214).

suffered to escape. We had however killed one and mortally wounded another.

SEPOYS TURN REVOLUTIONARIES

All went on as usual for some days; we received no regular intelligence, but "reports of new disaster, followed fast and followed faster," till on the 22nd of May it was determined in council that it would be best (our detachment of the 9th Native Infantry being apparently staunch and ignorant of the mutiny of the rest of the Regiment at Allygurh and Mynpoorie, though reports of our being likely to be attacked by large bodies of mutineers had reached them) to move the sepoys to a position where we could prevent their hearing of the defection of their comrades till reinforcements (which I had applied for) should reach us, and where they would feel that they could defend themselves with advantage. Accordingly Burpoorah[1], an out *thanah* in the Jumna-Chumbal Doab on the main Gwalior Road, was selected, and thither the troops were with their officers and the ladies of the station to be marched, I remaining behind to guard the station with the Police. The men showed no outward signs of distrust, but just at the last moment when they reached the *Ghat* (about 2 miles from the station) the greater portion of them mutinied and turned back. The officers' ladies, and those of the soldiers who remained staunch crossed the river and reached Burpoorah safely. Later when the mutineers returned and attacked the treasury the Police disappeared, (at that time the *Telingas* inspired an universal dread) and I also, with Mr. Parker of the Railway who had remained with me, fell back on Burpoorah. From what we have since earned (*sic*,-learned) there is no doubt that had this move not been made, the troops would have mutinied at gun fire next morning. At Burpoorah we remained for 2 days and, being joined there on the night of the 24th by Major Hennessy and the First or Grenadier

[1] Apparently *Barhpura*, Tahsil *Etawah*, District *Etawah*—A village lying in 26° 43 N. and 78° 59′ E., between the Jumna and Chambal rivers, some two miles west of the metalled road from Farrukhabad and Etawah to Gwalior and ten miles south-west from Etawah, on the old customs line. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 187).

Regiment of the Gwalior Contingent, re-occupied the station at day-break on the 25th. We found that the Treasury, the *Huzoor Tuhseel*, and all the bungalows (except mine) had been plundered; the *Cutchery*, the Session's Court house, Post Office and two bungalows burnt, and that both the Magistrate's and *Thuggee* Officer's Jails had been broken open, and the prisoners released by the sepoys, the *budmashes* of the neighbourhood and the inhabitants of various Aheer and Lodhee villages. Numerous cases of highway robbery had occurred in our absence; as if by magic, huge bands of dacoits had sprung into existence and were prowling about everywhere; energetic measures were however adopted, much property and 40,000 Rs. of the plundered money was (*sic*,) recovered, Martial Law was proclaimed on the 27th of May, in accordance with Government Notification No. 278 of the 26th. Koour Luchmun Sing (Kunwar Lachhman Singh) Deputy Collector of Banda (formerly one of my *Tuhseeldars*) who happened to be on leave joined me; and in a few days the most perfect order was re-established in the district. One village fort at Sumpther, where the old *zemindars* who had ousted the proprietor pertinaciously refused to surrender, though offered pardon, and fired on our emissaries of peace, was carried by storm, burnt and the garrison put to the sword. *Very soon the whole country round us was up in arms*; the Cawnpore, Furruckabad, Mynpoorie and Agra districts, where they bordered on ours, gradually fell into an indescribable state of anarchy, but within our boundary all was peace. The *zemindars*, at first altogether taken by surprise, were begining (*sic*,-beginning) to come forward in support of the Government, our officials quite rallied and in several instances showed a proper manly spirit. I doubted the Grenadiers, but this did not deter me from making such arrangements as should enable me to take the fullest advantage of their remaining staunch, should they prove so. We sent the whole of the ladies of the station into Agra, pushed the best of the Police into the neighbouring *pergunnahs* of Cawnpore, and began collecting supplies at the nearest point on the Canal in the hopes of being able ultimately to assist General Wheeler. We commenced raising local Thaquoor (Thakur) levies, on the same principle that has since proved so successful here, and began almost to hope that we might weather the storm. But all in vain, whilst the most trustworthy of our Police and the most loyal of our *zemindars* were 60 or 70 miles distant, east

and west, at Agra escorting the ladies, at Secundra and Dera Mungulpoor busy attempting to restore order, long before even I expected it the Grenadiers mutinied. On the 16th of June news came of the Gwalior mutiny and massacre, the native officers of the Corps refused in my presence to obey their Commanding Officer; and though then perfectly respectful, before night, the most faithful of my servants told me, that men in the Regiment had agreed to rise and murder us. Lieutenant Span in my house overheard two of the sepoy (*sic*,-sepoys) saying the same; Major Hennessy himself overheard enough in the Lines to convince him that our lives would not be safe for another day, and early in the morning of the 17th June, it was agreed that we should make the best of our way out of the station to the nearest point of the Agra District, the more so, as we were aware that the Jhansee mutineers were within a day or two's march of the district. Arrived at Kutchorah[1] we found it impossible to halt there. Bah, where we were joined by fugitives from Calpee and Jaloun, (amongst them two ladies) proved no less dangerous, and we were therefore compelled to fall back upon Agra. After our departure the Grenadiers plundered the property of the residents which had been recovered and the little money that remained in the treasure chests. They next attacked and began to plunder the new town of which they burnt a few shops, but the town's people turned out, killed twenty-six, wounded several, and ultimately forced the whole Regiment across the river.

On my arrival at Agra I immediately sent Koour Zohr Sing[2] of Pertabnere[3], who had accompanied the ladies thither, back to Etawah with instructions to protect the city, make the best arrangements he could for the neighbourhood, and communicate regularly with me. Throughout the district the people seemed well affected, at any rate the *tuhsseel* and *thannah* officers maintained their position.

[1] May have been spelt for *Kachaura*.
[2] Appears to have been spelt for 'Kunwar Jauhar Singh'.
[3] *Partabner*, Tahsil *Etawah*, District *Etawah*—A large village situated among the ravines of the Jumna, six miles west of Etawah, in 26° 48′ N. and 78° 57′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 220.)

JHANSI BRIGADE CROSSES YAMUNA AND ATTACKS AURAIYA TAHSIL

On the 24th of June the Jhansee Brigade crossed the river Jumna at Sheregurh, and on the 25th forcibly plundered the Orcyah (Auraiya)[1] *Tuhseel*, the *Tuhseeldar*, Rambuksh, managing to save the records. When the mutineers who had arrested him passed on and released him he returned, and for a time restored order in the *pergunnah*, ultimately dying at his post from the effects of the ill-treatment he had received. This man was *Buneah*, but his passive fidelity to the trust reposed in him was truly heroic.

JHANSI REVOLUTIONARIES REACH LAKHNA

The Jhansee mutineers passed on to Luckna (Lakhna)[2], but the *Tuhseeldar* Ishureepershad (Ishwari Prasad) with the assistance of Rao Juswunt (Jaswant) Rao removed his treasure and records to Duleepnuggur (Dalipnagar), that gentleman's ancestral fort, and they were baffled. They next moved to Etawah where on their arrival the Mewatees of the town, as usual, committed many acts of violence; they burned the rest of the bungalows in the station and then passed on to Mynpoorie. The district, though for a short time the *budmashes* congregating around the desperadoes, who had escaped from the *Thuggee* and neighbouring jails, prowled about in formidable bands, became once more tranquil. Here was clearly no latent disloyalty in the people; three times had bands of mutineers disturbed the peace of the district and let loose the lawless ruffians, who even in most peaceful times have ever infested its innumerable ravines, each time (the mutineers once beyond its borders) the people rallied round the Govern-

[1] *Auraiya*, Tahsil *Auraiya*, District *Etawah*—The headquarters town of the tahsil of the same name lies in 26° 28′ N. and 79° 31′ E., at a distance of 42 miles from Etawah. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 179).

[2] *Lakhna*, Tahsil *Bharthana*, District *Etawah*—Lakhna is a small market town in 26° 40′ N. and 79° 11′ E., on the second class road from Bharthana to Sahson, at a distance of ten miles from Bharthana railway station and fourteen miles from Etawah. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 218).

ment Officers, all of whom they had protected to the utmost during the disturbances, and relapsed in a few days into quiet. I felt that the mass of the people were not at enmity with me at any rate. Directly I arrived at Agra, I addressed the most pressing private letters and public orders to all the *talooquadars* whom I thought trustworthy, as well as to my *Tusheeldars*, urging them for once really to exert themselves, and prove their fidelity to Government and friendship to myself, and from that time till I rejoined my appointment (with the short break caused by the battle of the 5th of July and my subsequent severe illness) I continued steadily to write to these (as well as many others who appeared to be behaving well) encouraging letters, to decide for them all difficult points referred to me, and to furnish them with correct summaries of news. I never allowed the rebels to have all the talk on their side, but by proclamations and private communications to influential persons, perseveringly endeavoured to let every one hear our statements of the case and to keep alive every feeling of loyalty to the State and goodwill towards myself.[1]

NEWS OF MAINPURI OUTBREAK REACHES ETAWAH

News dated Saturday, June 6, 1857.

The Englishman has received a letter from his correspondent at Etawah. On the 22nd ultimo news was received at Etawah that the 9th N. I. at Mynpoorie had mutinied. . . .[2]

1ST REGIMENT OF GWALIOR CONTINGENT AT ETAWAH

May 26—The Ist Regiment Gwalior Contingent reached this yesterday morning. On our arrival we found several bungalows of the officers burnt down, and their property plundered, they having to leave the station on the 22nd being in dread of the sepoys that were here belonging to the 9th Regiment that plundered the treasury at Allygurh and Mynpoorie.

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Etawah District*, pp. 1 to 5.

[2] *The Friend of India*, June 11, 1857, p. 559. National Library, Calcutta.

TREASURY PLUNDERED

The treasury here, I am sorry to say, has been plundered. Since our arrival some 30,000 Rupees has (*sic*,-have) been recovered, and more is expected today and in all probability nearly the whole may yet be recovered. The people about this part appear quite alarmed; and are now throwing about the different articles they plundered to prevent detection.

We are now anxiously looking out for news from Delhi. I trust all the regiments that mutinied and went to Delhi are cut up, as without their destruction the mutiny is not likely to be put down. The villagers, and no doubt the prisoners, that are set at liberty from Allygurh, Mynpoorie and Etawah are doing all this mischief, killing and plundering travellers.[1]

MAINPURI

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT MAINPURI

COMPANIES OF 9TH N. I. REVOLT AT MAINPURI AND ALIGARH

The four Companies of the 9th N. I. at Allyghur have joined the mutiny. They have dismissed their officers without injury. The two Companies of the same Regiment at Mynpooree (Mainpuri) have also mutinied, *and marched to Delhi without doing injury to any one.* The more of the mutinous troops assembled there the better. The station and treasury of Mynpooree were bravely defended by the Europeans and Civil-Guards and the neighbouring *zemindars*. . . .[2]

OUTBREAK AT MAINPURI

Contents of the Letter from William Martin, Head Clerk, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), dated 21st May 1858.

19TH MAY 1857

The alarm which prevailed among the Christian community in every military station after the mutiny of the native

[1] *The Hindu Intelligencer*, 8th June 1857, p. 182. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *The Dacca News*, May 30, 1857, p. 192. National Library Calcutta.

regiments at Meerut, was to a certain degree, *participated in by the residents of this station,* but no precautionary measures had been adopted by the authorities to counteract the evil. Nothing, however, occurred to justify our apprehensions until the 19th May 1857, when the first symptoms of disaffection were shown by the detachment of the 9th N. I. stationed at this place on that day; a sepoy who was on sentry over the *malkhana*, fired his musket and shot a crow. The man was immediately made a prisoner by the *Havildar* and taken to Captain Crawford, Commanding the Detachment, by whom he was sent to Allygurh (Aligarh) the Head-quarters of the Regiment, but was released by the Guard *en route.*

SOLDIERS DEFY BRITISH

From this period the sepoys on Guard assumed a threatening and defiant demeanour and to every keen observer their angry looks showed too plainly the approach of a gathering storm.

On the afternoon of the 21st idem, I received a letter from Mrs. Martin, from Cawnpore, in which she declared her intention of leaving immediately for Mynpoorie (Mainpuri) in consequence of the excitement and alarm which prevailed in that station. I at once determined on sending her to Agra, if she arrived that evening and asked Mr. Power, the Collector, for a couple of days' leave to enable me to escort her which was granted. Mrs. Martin with 3 other ladies arrived that evening, and as travelling at night was considered unsafe, we resolved on resuming our journey the following morning.

About 5 in the morning we were roused by Serjeants Montgomery and Scott who came in galloping, and informed us that the rebels were coming down in strong force from the Allygurh side. We immediately had the horse put to the *Garee* and left for Agra. While passing by the bridge (my bungalow being situated across the Esun)[1] I saw no one there, neither did I met (*sic*,–meet) any Christian resident while going out of the station. I consequently did not learn the real cause of alarm until my arrival at Agra.

[1] Reference is to 'Esan Nadi'.

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On the afternoon of the 21st idem, I received a letter from Mrs. Martin, from Cawnpore, in which she declared her intention of leaving immediately for Mynpoorie (Mainpuri) in consequence of the excitement and alarm which prevailed in that station. I at once determined on sending her to Agra, if she arrived that evening and asked Mr. Power, the Collector, for a couple of days' leave to enable me to escort her which was granted. Mrs. Martin with 3 other ladies arrived that evening, and as travelling at night was considered unsafe, we resolved on resuming our journey the following morning.

About 5 in the morning we were roused by Serjeants Montgomery and Scott who came in galloping, and informed us that the rebels were coming down in strong force from the Allygurh side. We immediately had the horse put to the *Garee* and left for Agra. While passing by the bridge (my bungalow being situated across the Esun)[1] I saw no one there, neither did I met (*sic*,-meet) any Christian resident while going out of the station. I consequently did not learn the real cause of alarm until my arrival at Agra.

[1] Reference is to 'Esan Nadi'.

22ND MAY 1857

On my return to the station, the third day, I learnt that, in consequence of certain alarming reports about the mutiny of the wing of the Regiment at Allygurh having been brought by the *Tehseeldar* of Bhoegaon[1], it was deemed proper by the Civil Authorities to withdraw the Sepoy-Guard from the treasury, and to effect this purpose the detachment was ordered out early in the morning of the 22nd in the direction of Bhoegaon. They appear to have returned twice, once for their haversacks and again for their *Lotahs*. On their return to the station the second time they fired at Captain Crawford who, however galloped off unscathed and informed Mr. Power. Lieutenant De Kantzow, who was second in command and much liked by the Regiment tried his best to bring the infuriated sepoys to a sense of their duty, but without avail. He was dragged to the magazine, where the sepoys helped themselves to all the ammunition it contained. They then came to the jail which they were restrained from breaking open by the united efforts of Lieutenant De Kantzow and certain jail officers.

MALKHANA PLUNDERED

They next made for the *kutchery* which was guarded by *Nujeebs* who made no opposition, and went straight to the room containing the unclaimed and confiscated property (*malkhana*) which they plundered. They then rushed into the room, containing the public treasure, and pulled off its hinges the iron door. At this time Lieutenant De Kantzow is acknowledged by all who were present on the spot to have thrust himself between the treasure chest and the sepoys and to have made every effort to dissuade them from their purpose. He reminded the sepoys of their duty, pointed out to them the utter impossibility of their succeeding in carrying off a sum amounting to upwards of 3 lacs without any conveyance at their command,

[1] *Bhongaon*, Pargana and Tahsil *Bhongaon*, District *Mainpuri*—This town, in 27° 17′ N. and 79° 14′ E., is the headquarters of the tahsil of the same name and lies at the junction of the Agra Road with the Grand Trunk Road about nine miles to the east of Mainpuri. (*District Gazetteers*, Mainpuri, Vol. X, 1910, p. 196).

and amidst hordes of marauders who had already flocked round in thousands. He even said, that if they persisted in plundering the treasury, his life which they had spared would be of no value and desired them to take it. Struck by this noble example of self-sacrifice the mutineers seem to have relented, and Lieutenant De Kantzow, taking advantage of the opportunity, offered them a certificate which he said would clear them from all blame in the matter. His advice appears to have prevailed. The mutineers took the promised certificate and left the *kutchery* for their Lines whence after taking some public money from the Quarter Guard, they departed in the direction of Etah which they plundered.

BRITISH OFFICERS TAKE REFUGE IN RAJA'S GARHI

While this scene was enacting (*sic*,) in the treasury or rather *kutchery*, Mr. Power with some 6* other European residents of the station, whom he had assembled, stood upon the bridge on the road to the town. He felt deeply concerned about the fate of Lieutenant De Kantzow. He had been standing about an hour when Rajah, then Rao, Bhowany Singh (Bhawani Singh), came with a few matchlockmen, stayed there for a while, and advised Mr. Power and party to go to the Rajah's *Gurhee* which they did. The Rajah himself went to the *kutchery* where he found Lieutenant De Kantzow (the sepoys having left) and returned with that officer to the *Gurhee*.

COLLAPSE OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

In the afternoon the treasure was taken to the *Gurhee* and Mr. Power and party returned to the *kutchery* which was garrisoned and fortified. A few non-commissioned officers and troopers belonging to several I. C. (Irregular Cavalry) or levies, offered their services to Mr. Power, and with their assistance Lieutenant De Kantzow raised a respectable body of Horse; some 200 matchlockmen were also employed through the Rajah's assistance. These people used to be sent for reconnoitring and patrolling, whilst we used to keep a watch

* "Mr. James Power, Dr. Watson, Serjeant Montgomery, Mitchell, Scott, Mr. McGlow"—Marginal note in Original.

at the *kutchery* where we all lived. Little or no business was transacted. The Revenue and Criminal administration had virtually ceased. There was no Revenue collected and the *Thanadars* sent no reports. Anarchy and confusion prevailed all over the district and *our authority may be fairly said to have been confined within the range of our muskets.* Almost every day reports were brought of villages being burnt and outrages committed, and not a day passed without our expecting an attack from the numerous bands of rebellious troops passing the G. T. (Grand Trank) Road on their way to Delhie. Now and then we used to have a *dour* against some refractory villages or to proceed to resent[1] an attack on some well disposed Thakoors.

CAVALRY JOINS REVOLUTIONARIES

We had gone on one of these expeditions against a village called Ghinsoopore and after reducing it were bivouacked for the night, when Mr. James Power, who was one of our party, received a letter from his brother desiring us to return forthwith. On our return we heard that the mutinous symptoms (*sic*,-symptom) shown by the Oude I. C. (Irregular Cavalry) which was encamped at Kooraolee (Kuraoli)[2] on its way to Eta (Etah) was the cause of our sudden recal (*sic*,-recall) and the next morning we received the sad intelligence that the Cavalry had mutinied and killed Lieutenant Hayes (who had paid us a visit the day before) and 2 other officers belonging to the Regiment. Captain Carey one of the 4 E.[3] officers evaded the pursuit of the mutineers and joined us. The bodies of these unfortunate gentlemen who were hacked to pieces were brought by our local sowars (who were liberally rewarded for their services) and buried in the evening. Some days afterwards Major Raikes with a troop of Irregular Horse reinforced us, and the presence of his men who appeared to have been much attached to their Commanding Officer restored confidence.

[1] 'Resist' would be more proper here.

[2] *Kuraoli*, Pargana *Kuraoli*, Tahsil and District *Mainpuri*—This town, in 27° 25′ N. and 79° 2′ E., lies on the high road from Mainpuri to Etah in the northern corner of the district some 14 miles distant from Mainpuri. (*District Gazetteers*, Mainpuri, Vol. X, 1910, p. 223).

[3] Probably abbreviated for 'European'.

One of Major Raikes' men behaved gallantly while reconnoitring with Lieutenant De Kantzow.

OUTBREAK AT BHONGAON

The party was surprised by the main body of mutineers at Bhoegaon (Bhongaon) while attacking the advance guard. We lost some 3 or 4 men and Lieutenant De Kantzow had to retire on the station with a sabre cut on his forehead. The mutineers plundered and burnt the *tehseel*, killed a *Jemadar* and wounded certain officials.

Some days before this occurrence, Mr. and Mrs. Wells and 5 children had been brought into the station, the two former severly (severely) wounded. Mr. Wells died the 3rd day and Mrs. Wells survived. From them we learnt that while they were going to leave Nubeegunj (Nabiganj)[1], where Mr. Wells was toll collector, they were attacked by some mutinous sowars and left for dead, the children escaping by concealing themselves in *Surputtas*. They were picked up by some kind-hearted Thakoor and carried to the fort of the *Thukrain* (*Thakurain*) of Binseeah who refused them admission. Zalim Sing their deliverer then brought them to his humble abode, kept them for a day and then sent us information. A party of sowars was sent and the Wells family brought in safety. Zalim Sing was liberally rewarded for his services.

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL

Mrs. Wells' case proved to be a dangerous one and constant alarm being considered detrimental to her recovery, Doctor Watson proposed her removal to Agra and desired me to escort her and children. The following morning we left for Agra where we reached in safety, and about a week after the rest of the garrison were compelled to follow. . . .[2]

* * *

[1] *Nabiganj*, Pargana *Kishni*, Tahsil *Bhongaon*, District *Mainpuri*—This village, in 27° 12′ N. and 79° 28′ E., lies on the Grand Trunk Road about 14 miles east of Bhongaon. (*District Gazetteers*, Mainpuri, Vol. X, 1910, p. 243).

[2] *Mutiny Guard Book*, Criminal Records Room, Collectorate Mainpuri; Records for the year 1857-58.

Eye-witness Account of the Outbreak at Mainpuri by H. J. McGlow, Magistrate Clerk.

The commencement of the mutiny at Mynpoory (Mainpuri) is as follows—

OUTBREAK LED BY 9TH REGIMENT

On the morning of the 19th May 1857, a sepoy, belonging to the 9th Regiment N. I. of which a Guard was posted for the protection of the office, while on duty fired his musket, and shot a crow. This sepoy was immediately taken up by this Guard and brought before Mr. Power, then Collector and Magistrate of the district, who requested the *Havildar* of the Guard to take the prisoner to Captain Crawford commanding the Detachment. The Commanding Officer ordered the prisoner to be fettered, and kept in the jail with the other prisoners. Mr. Power objected to this, and sent the prisoner back to his Regiment. The prisoner was, then, I suppose by order of the Commanding Officer ordered to be taken to Allyghur under escort to undergo his trial there. No sooner the above occurrence transpired and the prisoner ordered to proceed to Allyghur, *the men of the 9th Regiment indicated symptoms of disorder and disaffection.*

REVOLUTIONARIES AIDED FROM ALIGARH

Three days only had elapsed, after the above occurrence, when on the morning of the 22nd May, I and Serjeant Mitchell of the Canals, who was living with us at the time, were apprized by Serjeant Montgomery of the Roads by order of Mr. Power that the men of the 9th, who were at Allyghur, had mutinied and were on their way to Mynpoory. After directing Serjeants Montgomery and Scott to warn us and all the ladies to leave the station, Mr. Power proceeded to Captain Crawford, and asked him to remove his Guard from the treasury on some false pretence, and proposed to put the Jail-guard in lieu, as he had no longer any confidence in the men. Captain Crawford immediately removed the Guard from the treasury and with men in the Lines proceeded in the direction of Bhogaon, telling the men that a dacoity had been committed at the above place and that he wanted to attack the party. The sepoys had not

proceed (*sic*,–proceeded) more than couple or three miles, when they asked some travellers if they heard anything of the dacoity at Bhogaon. They replied that they heard nothing of the kind; the men immediately conjectured that they had been brought out on false pretence, and then and there mutinied, and fired upon Captain Crawford and took Lieutenant De Kantzow who was second in Command a prisoner and came back to the station and went to the magazine and supplied themselves with ammunition and then commenced firing at empty bungalows, as they proceeded on to the office, with Lieutenant De Kantzow as prisoner. Whilst on their way to the above place, I and Serjeant Mitchell were going to cantonments to join Serjeants Montgomery and Scott who then lived there. Not for a moment anticipating that the sepoys posted here had mutinied, we continued to advance towards them, and were about a couple of hundred yards from them when they fired a couple of shots at us.

We then directly turned our horses and took another direction and went and joined the above mentioned Serjeants. We were not more than an hour together when a sowar came to us with a message from Mr. Power, stating that he wanted us all at the big bridge, and hearing this we four (viz. the 3 Serjts. and myself) proceeded to the bridge and there joined Mr. Power, his brother and Dr. Watson.

ATTACK ON TREASURY

The sepoys were at this time I am told quite busy in trying to break open the Treasury Room, but not succeeding in their attempt, and partly by Lieutenant De Kantzow's persuasions left the treasury and then went and attacked the Malkhanna Room, broke open the doors and took away all it contained.

About this time Raoe Bhowanny Singh (Rao Bhawani Singh) came to our assistance on the bridge, with a small force of matchlockmen, Mr. Power then wanted to go and rescue Lieutenant De Kantzow from the hands of the rebels, but the Raoe prevailed on Mr. Power not to do so, but offered to go personally, and compromise matters with the sepoys.

Mr. Power, I think, communicated his intentions by means of a letter which was taken by Palad Sing[1] to Lieutenant De

[1] Correct name may be 'Prahlad Singh'.

Kantzow that, he would come to rescue him, in reply to which Lieutenant De Kantzow wrote back to Mr. Power, saying "for God's sake do not attempt to advance one step in this direction" as the sepoys were prejudiced against Mr. Power, and that if they saw him come towards him they would doubtless take Mr. Power's life and then make an effort to take his own too, and recommended our going into the Rajah's *Ghurree* (*Garhi*) and leave him to his fate. Mr. Power after perusing the above letter retreated to *Ghurree* with us all. On our reaching the *Ghurree*, an hour after the Raoe and Lieutenant De Kantzow came in also, and stated that the sepoys had left the office, and had gone back to their Lines to take their things, which they did, and then marched off on the Kooraolee (Kuraoli) Road. No sooner information was brought that the sepoys had really left the station, Mr. Power, junior, Lieutenant De Kantzow, two Serjeants and myself came to the office and removed the treasur (treasure) from the office to the *Ghurree* that very day.

REVOLUTIONARIES MARCH THROUGH MAINPURI

Everything after this went on quietly except that we daily heard of large bodies of rebels passing through the district. We were at this time garrisoned in the office, and had a force of a couple of hundred of matchlockmen and some Cavalry which Lieutenant De Kantzow organized.

On the 2nd or 3rd of June Captain Hayes and Lieutenant Carey attached to an Irregular Cavalry were coming from Lucknow, I suppose to garrison Etoha[1], (and) came in to see Mr. Power; the former officer was in command of this Regiment, (he) mentioned to Mr. Power that his men seem (seemed) to be inclined to disobey him. Mr. Power then told him to care 'they may not mutiny', to which he replied that he was confident that his men would not do the like. Late on the evening of the 3rd I think 5 sowars came to Captain Hayes of his Regiment though not requested to do so by any of their officers and asked him to come and join his Regiment as the men did not mind any other. Captain Hayes told the sowars that he would go the following morning and requested them to stay.

[1] Perhaps '*Etah*' is meant.

CAVALRY REVOLT

The following morning Captain Hayes and Lieutenant Carvey[1] with these 5 sowars went to join their Regiment and had not quite reached it, I am told, when they were suddenly attacked by these very five identical sowars that accompanied them, when poor Captain Hayes fell a victim, while Lieutenant Carey made his escape. After a long chase to Mynpoory, two other officers were murdered besides Captain Hayes, the name of one was Lieutenant Barber and of other officer I do not recollect.

BHONGAON TAHSIL PLUNDERED AND BURNT

These bodies were brought in the evening of that day and were intered in churchyard. On the 3rd or 4th of June Major Raikes came in from Gwalior with his force consisting of about 80 or 90 Horsemen and then had an intrenchment made all round the office. Information was brought about the 5th that some rebels had come into Bhogaon. Lieutenant De Kantzow with his usual good corouge (courage) immediately took some of Major Raikes' men and some of his own all amountng to about 30 or 40 Horsemen, went out reconnoitring in that direction where he came in contact with the advance guard of the rebels, and thus fancying that, that was the main body, continued perusing[2] them on till he came against the main body and thus finding his force comparatively smaller than that of the rebels, retreated losing a couple or three of his men and receiving a wound himself on the forehead. The rebels then came into Bhogaon, plundered and burnt the *thesillee*[3] and killed some of the *thannah* peons. On Sunday the 7th, some information was brought to Mr. Power that some rebels passing Nubbeegunj (Nabiganj) had severely wounded Mrs. and Mr. Wells who was posted there as a toll collector and were taking shelter with their family in a village called Rungpore Kastowlee with a *zemindar* named Zalim Sing. Mr Power

[1] Appears to be misspelt for 'Carey'.
[2] Obviously misspelt for 'pursuing'.
[3] Spelt, perhaps, for 'tahsil'.

on hearing this sad news immediately ordered some sowars and the native doctor to go and bring in Mr. Wells and family which they did accordingly. Poor Mr. Wells survied (survived) a day or two and died, he was also intered in the churchyard. All after this went on as usual, we all were still garrisoned in office till the morning of the 29th of June, then Major Raikes came and told us all to hold in readiness that we would have to leave sometime during the day, information having been brought that some rebels with a couple of guns were on their way to this; they were Jhansee rebels I am told and were coming through Etawah and were on the above date at a place called Kurhel (Karhal) about 16 miles from here on the Etawah Road. We had just done breakfast, and were making preparation to leave, when an office peon informed Mr. Power, that the jail had been broken open and that the prisoners were making their escape. No sooner this was done the whole station was in a state of perfect confusion and disorder, the sepoys of the Jail-guard had all bolted as also the force organized by Lieutenant De Kantzow. We were then only left with Major Raikes' men who appeared stanch (staunch) then.

JAIL OPENED

While in this state of confusion and hurry Rajah Tej Sing came in with a few Sowars and Foot and called Major Raikes into the office, and spoke to him something private of which I am not aware. After Major Raikes was lone talking to the Rajah he asked Mr. Power to come and see the jail. We then all mounted our horses, and went and saw the jail gate quite wide open and not a single prisoner in the cells, except one poor unfortunate sepoy who had been taken up some two months prior to the mutiny here. Major Raikes got his fetters cut, and let free; we once more returned to the office, and there much to our surprise saw the people making away with our things. We then all got together and marched leaving the Rajah there. As we were passing over the big bridge, we saw a number of matchlockmen in the garden on the left side of the road leading to the city; they were evidently the Rajah's men but I cannot accurately state with what motive these men were located there. Major Raikes ordered them out of the garden and we then went on our journey and reached

Sheokoabad (Shikohabad) on that every[1] night about 12 O' clock and there we remained I think for 3 days, and then Mr. Power asked Serjeant Swan and myself to accompany him into Agra, leaving Major Raikes and Lieutenant Carey with their men who were till then stanch (staunch).

From the day of my arrival at Agra I volunteered and joined the Militia Cavalry with which I served till the date of my departure for this place, I was present at every action that was fought in the districts of Agra and Allyghur. In the former district on the action of the 5th of July, my horse was shot under me.[2]

* * *

Another Eye-witness Account of the Outbreak at Mainpuri, by Madhu Sudan Writer.

In obedience to your honor's order calling for a report of the creation and prevalence of anarchy in this district I beg to state as follows :—

That late on the night of 21st May 1857 Munsoor Allee (Mansur Ali) *Tuhseeldar* of Bhoegoun and a coachman informed Mr. Power and the other officers then in possession of the district that the Allygurh troop as also that of other districts has (*sic*,) got into mutiny. On hearing this Mr. Power immediately called upon the Commanding Officer of the Regiment, posted in this place and after consulting with him for a while on this point advised him if he could remove the Sepoy Guard from the treasury, as he said he 'cannot trust them any longer', and the Commanding Officer accordingly ordered all the sepoys including the Treasury-Guard to make an immediate start towards Bhoegoun, as he said he was informed of the occurrence of a dacoittee (dacoity) at that place. This plan being immediately agreed upon and the Police battalion were stationed to watch over the Treasury and the sepoys on the same night marched towards Bhoegoun accompanied with Lieutenant De Kantzow and the Captain Crawford, Commanding Officer and as they were going along they met some travellers on the road and asked them if they heard anything of the

[1] Wrongly spelt for 'very'.

[2] *Mutiny Guard Book*, Criminal Records Room, Collectorate Mainpuri; Records for the year 1857-58.

dacoittee (dacoity) in Bhoegoun. They answered in (the) negative. No sooner they heard this statement of the travellers they became enraged and one of them fired a gun on the Commanding Officer, who finding himself almost in the hands of his murderers took safety in flight. Next the sepoys made an attempt on poor Mr. De Kantzow and told him to speack (speak) the truth, why and on what occasion they had misleaded (misled) them. Mr. De Kantzow finding himself no more safe told them that this was all done to remove their Guard from the treasury. The sepoys now pushed on back to Mynpoory and taking almost all the contents of the magazine forwarded[1] towards the jail with an intention to release the prisoners. On this opportunity the Jail *Daroga* pursuaded (persuaded) them to give up the undertaking by advising them to take the treasury first and then to release the prisoners. On this they all returned early in the morning of the 22nd May to the Collector's office *and having broken up the doors of the Malkanah Room they took all the swords and weapons which they found and let plundered the rest* to the *badmashes* who joined them from the city and cantonment. At this time Mr. De Kantzow who was as a prisoner with them told them, that they should do him the favour of cutting his throat before looting the treasure, or it would be great disgrace for him to shew his face to Government. Mr. De Kantzow shewed a great humility at this time but they were not agreeing to his words; this intelligence soon reached the ears of Mr. Power and he came runing (running) to the Rajah's fort and begged him to release the poor De Kantzow if he could. The Rou Bhowanee Sing (Rao Bhawani Singh) together with his followers went to the spot, and when he reached there, the soldiers told him that they would give all the money and everything to him on the condition he might behead the gentlemen who have taken refuge in his palace. Further they told Bhowanee Sing that if he would not murder the above gentlemen they would destroy his palace and kill everyone of his family. Bhowanee Sing then answered that he cannot hurt the refugees until he is alive and that he has ten or twelve thousand men of his own kindred ready on all occasions to die with them. After this the sepoys endeavored their utmost to find out hackeries to convey the treasure,

but could not get any. Also being (a) little afraid of the haughty answere (answer) of Bhowanee Sing they left the treasure and marched towards Korowlee (Kuraoli) *in order to proceed to Delhie*. On the same day Mr. Power and Bhowanee Sing removed the treasure from office to *Gudhee* (*Garhi*) and on the morning of the next day Mr. Power and all other Europeans left their respective banglows (bungalows) and put up conjointly in the office and from the same time they commenced to recruit the soldiers and to raise a force of Cavalry which was known as the *Risalahs* of Dummur Singh and Chuttur Sing. A few days after this some of the sowars of Gwalior Contingent commanded by Major Raikes came down in Mynpoory and pitched in the office compound. The trench was excavated around the office compound and all the doors of the office with the exception of two were closed with *cuttcha* bricks, and one Government canon and two or three more small guns provided by the *zemindars* were kept in the compound. The disorder now prevailed throughout the district and the *badmashes* began to plunder the villages. All the *Thanahdars* and *Tuhseeldars* were compelled to leave their respective posts; meantime a rebel force of Cavalry came from the east and there were four European officers with them of which they killed three at Korowlee and the fourth escaped their bloody hands to Mynpoory.

ARRIVAL OF RAJA TEJ SINGH

Tej Sing who was at this time at Nainee Tul (Naini Tal) came back to Mynpoory and shewed his letters to Mr. Power which he had received from Lieutenant-Governor and other officers during his residence in that place, as also of the officers whom he assisted there; he also requested Mr. Power that he will assist him in apprehending the *badmashes* who plunder the villages and will render every aid in his power to keep the order of the station.[1]

SAGAR REVOLUTIONARIES ARRIVE IN MAINPURI

Some days after this the information of the arrival of Saugor mutineers was received. Some suppose that they

[1] Phrase should be 'to keep order in the station'.

were invited by Tei Sing and others say that they themselves came to take the treasure. There were nearly five hundred footmen and one thousand sowars with two large guns and as they were comming (coming) forth the *Thanahdar* of Kurhul (Karhal)[1] sent a report, and as soon as Mr. Power heard of their arrival he called upon the Rajah and enquired him whether he will assist them in making war with the rebels or not. He answered that he is ready to assist inasmuch as it lies in his power but he cannot trust on his companions.

FLIGHT OF OFFICERS

Further he told Mr. Power that none will keep war with the rebels, so it is useless and dangerous to remain here any longer.[2] On hearing this Mr. Power finding himself unable to oppose the rebels intended to leave the district. On the morning of the 29th June, as he was engaged in loading the treasure etc., in the meantime he was informed that the *badmashes* began to plunder the treasure that was in the office; then Mr. Power entrusted *Khazanchee* some money that was safe also two boxes with which (he) fled away to his house. The prisoners in the jail made a great confusion and having opened the door of the jail they got release and then Mr. Power and all the other Europeans together with the Gwalior Contingent sowars marched to Agra; and the Rajah took possession of all the guns, muskets and everything which was left in the office.

RAJA TEJ SINGH TAKES CHARGE OF THE DISTRICT

On the 30th June the Saugor mutineers entered the city, and began to plunder the citizans (citizens); they burnt up the banglows (bungalows) and office records, and killed Mr. Richard, Mr. Robert and Mr. Lawrence who did not go to Agra. Some of these rebels were also killed by the citizans

[1] *Karhal*, Pargana and Tahsil *Karhal*, District *Mainpuri*—This town, the headquarters of the pargana and tahsil of the same name, lies in 27° N. and 79° E., on the Mainpuri-Etawah road, 17 miles south of Mainpuri and 16 miles north-east of the Etawah railway station. (*District Gazetteers*, Mainpuri, Vol. X, 1910, p. 211).

[2] The construction of the sentence is very faulty and the meaning confusing.

(citizens). Now the Rajah took possession of all the district and appointed *Thannahdars* and *Tuhs.* (*Tahsildars*) to stop the confusion of (in) the station and to collect the revenue.

RAJA TEJ SINGH AIDS OTHER DISTRICTS' REVOLUTIONARIES

On one occasion he went to Huerdoiee[1] to assist Kosul Sing (Kaushal or Khushal Singh) on his being pressed by the plunderers; 2ndly to assist the Rajah of Rugoor (Rajor). He further cut the nose of a man for some heinous offence and made two bad women mounted on the ass round about the city. *Also he made a proclamation* that if any man will carry or bring information to the Europeans he shall be hardly punished for it on conviction :—

ESTABLISHES LAW AND ORDER AT BHARAUL[2]

After this he went to Bhoroul with a large number of his kindered (kindred) men as the *zemindars* of that place refused to submit to his arms. He killed many of the Bhoroul Ahirs and having put them in flight plundered the village and burnt some houses thereof. After this he gone[3] to Bhoegoun to make war with the Nawab of Furruckabad and remained there for some days. The British now attacked the Mynpoory and the rebel made off without a struggle. Rajah Bhowanee Sing was vested with the powers of a *Nazim* which he exercised only for a short time as the rebel Rajah again took possession of the district. He remained in possession of the district until the British troops a 2nd time restored the possession of the district.[4]

* * *

[1] The name is not clearly decipherable; appears to have been spelt for *Hardoi*.

[2] *Bharaul*, Pargana and Tahsil *Shikohabad*, District *Mainpuri*—This village, in 27° 11′ N. and 78° 48′ E., is situated on the Agra-Mainpuri road, 10 miles from Shikohabad and 20 miles from Mainpuri. (*District Gazetteers*, Mainpuri, Vol. X, 1910, p. 196).

[3] A clerical mistake for 'he had gone'.

[4] *Mutiny Guard Book*, Criminal Records Room, Collectorate Mainpuri; Records for the year 1857-58.

Note :—The language of this narrative is very faulty.

Letter from.....[1] *to W. Muir, Secretary to Govt. N. W. P. Allahabad, dated....*[2]

In reply to circular 224 dated 5th instant I have the honor to forward the accompanying statement as directed.

2*nd*—Not having been at this station at the time the outbreak took place, I am unable to give any information regarding it except just what I have been able to collect from the officials who were here with Mr. Power at the time.

SYMPTOMS OF DISAFFECTION

3*rd*—It appears that the first symptoms of disaffection took place on the morning of the 19*th of May* (although the alarm caused by the mutinies, and massacres at Meerut and Delhi were[3] felt by the Christian population at this district in common with other districts) when a sepoy of the 9th N. I. on the Malkhana-guard fired off his musket at, and killed, a crow. He was immediately made prisoner by the *Havildar* of the Guard and taken to Captain Crawford commanding the station, by whose orders he was sent under Guard to the Head-quarters of the Regiment stationed at Allyghur, but the Guard released the prisoner *en route*. From this period the Sepoys on Guard assumed a threatening demeanour.

BHONGAON AGITATED

4*th*—On the morning of the 22nd, the *Tehseeldar* of Bhoegaon brought some alarming reports about the mutiny of the Wing of this Regiment stationed at Allyghur, and on account of which Mr. Power thought it proper to withdraw the Sepoy-Guard from the treasury. To effect this the Detachment stationed here was ordered out early on the morning of the 22nd in the direction of Bhoegaon, and after having proceeded along the road for two or three miles, they appear to have

[1] Name of the author of the letter not legible. The initials at the end of the letter appear to be written as 'C. B.'

[2] No date is placed at the top of the letter but at the end of it, there is an endorsement, in a different writing, showing 'dated 28th May'. The letter cannot be dated 28th May as it contains events of the month of June as well. The letter appears to have been written sometime in July 1857.

[3] Should be 'was'.

broken into open mutiny and fired at Gaptain Crawford, Commanding, and making Lieutenant De Kantzow prisoner, after which they returned to the station, and proceeded to the treasury with the intention of looting it, but appear to have been dissuaded by Lieutenant De Kantzow; but they looted the *Malkana* and then went and took all the ammunition out of the magazine and what money was in the Regimental Treasure-chest and went off to join their brethren at Allyghur (Aligarh). In the afternoon the treasure was removed from the *kutcherry* to the Rajah of Mynpoorie's[1] *Ghurree* (*Garhi*). Mr. Power and the other Europeans then returned to the *kutcherry* which was fortified.

REVOLUTIONARIES GAIN UPPER HAND

5*th*—The Revenue and Criminal administration had now virtually ceased, no revenue was collected, nor reports made, and anarchy reigned in the district. Some Cavalry and about 200 matchlockmen were organized by Lieutenant De Kantzow through the Rajah's assistance and were used for patrolling and reconnoitring.

6*th*—About this time a party of Oude I. C. (Irregular Cavalry) under Captain Hayes were encamped at Kooraolee. Captain Hayes and Lieutenant Carey had come in to pay visit to Mr. Power. When they returned on the following morning to their *Rissalah*, Captain Hayes, Lieutenant Barber and another officer were killed by their men, but Lieutenant Carey managed with great difficulty to get away, pursued some distance by some of the sowars.

7*th*—On the 3rd or 4th June Major Raikes came in from Gwalior with some 80 or 90 sowars. On the 5th Lieutenant De Kantzow went out reconnoitring to Bhoegaon where he met a party of rebels and got wounded. After this everything seems to have gone quietly until the 29th June when information was received of the approach of the Jhansee rebels, and all Europeans had to leave the station and go into Agra....[2]

[1] Reference is to 'Raja Bhawani Singh.'

[2] *Mutiny Guard Book*, Criminal Records Room, Collectorate Mainpuri; Records for the year 1857-58.

ALIGARH

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT ALIGARH

The Mutinies—The week has been one of suspense and agitation. The burst of mutinous feeling which wrought such lamentable results at Meerut and Delhi has been succeeded by some weaker explosions at a few other army stations in the upper provinces. *At Allyghur (Aligarh) a portion in the 9th N. I. have thrown off their allegiance to their masters, and proceeded to join the head-quarters of the insurgents at Delhi.* The conduct of this regiment has taken the public somewhat by surprise; for they were usually reckoned among the well-affected. Their mutiny, however, was not attended with any of those acts of atrocity which have cast such unutterable infamy upon the Meerut and Delhi mutineers. They civilly bade their officers adieu, and proceeded to join their fortunes to those of men who in their eyes already seemed to have assumed the empire of Hindoostan.... the grossly incredible story of Agra having been taken by the rebels is mentioned merely to show to what extent malice may prompt and fear accept tales of this kind.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated March 12, 1858.

SENSATION AT ALIGARH

....The news of the mutiny at Meerut caused an immense sensation at Allyghur, as it did, no doubt, everywhere else. On the 17th May, Mr. B.'s bungalow, vacant at the (*sic*,-time) since, was burnt down, which immediately caused a great panic. The gentlemen of the station said, the sepoys of the 9th N. I. had nothing whatever to do with it; what they actually believed was best known to themselves. However some of the natives of my office said a mutiny of the troops was daily expected by them, others said that nothing of the kind would occur.....On the night of the 19th, there was a native wedding party at a village close to the station, at which were

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 28th May 1857, p. 171. National Library, Calcutta.

present also four sepoys of the 9th N. I. These men heard a *zemindar* boasting, to those assembled, of what he had done towards the destruction of Mr. B.'s bungalow, and what more he was prepared for and intended doing.

9TH NATIVE INFANTRY BREAKS OUT

The sepoys went and reported the circumstance to their officers, who had the *zemindar* taken up and tried, and convicted on the evidence of the four sepoys, and the wretch was hung on the evening of the 20th. But the leading bad characters in the 9th, *being ripe for mutiny, took advantage of this execution and broke out.* It was about sunset, I had just arrived on the parade ground, when a sepoy threw off his uniform, and cried out '*Yah Khoda humkou be phansee millah*'[1] or words to that effect : the troops had been ordered to their Lines, and the parade dismissed, there were three or four Companies in all, the others had retired, but the Rifle Company stood by backing the mutineer, the European officers were in the midst of them, endeavouring to reason with, and to recall them to a sense of their duty, but the mutineer, who had thrown off his uniform, seemed to become more and more desperate.

OUTBREAK AT HATHRAS

....About 8 O'clock the bungalows in cantonment began to blaze..... The Magistrate of Hattras[2] (Hathras) came the following evening with a troop of Cavalry belonging to the Gwalior Contingent and took us to Hattras, where half the Cavalry mutinied and went off to Delhi.....[3]

* * *

[1] Correct phrase would be 'Ya Khuda hamko bhi phansi dila—Oh God ! let us also dangle at the gallows'.

[2] *Hathras*, Pargana and Tahsil *Hathras*, District *Aligarh*—The important city of Hathras stands in 27° 35' N. and 78° 3' E., on the provincial road from Aligarh to Agra, at a distance of 22 miles south from the former. (*District Gazetteers*, Aligarh, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 244).

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, March 12, 1858, p. 243; (Reproduced from *Lahore Chronicle*, February 24). National Library, Calcutta.

Extract from Futtahool Akbar (Fatah-ul-Akhbar) of the 25th of Rajab 1274 A. H. (corresponding with 11th March 1858).

Some persons say that the forces which had come from Punjab to Meerut and were thence brought to Allyghur for giving them their 8 months' pay at that station have mutinied and massacred the English and in consequence of this event Coel (Koil) is not at present in the possession of anybody. The English have captured Abdool Luteef Khan (Abdul Latif Khan) at Jehangeerabad (Jahangirabad)[1] together with the Chief of Khanpoor who up to this time had been furnishing them with supplies. Both these persons shall be hanged shortly after so that their deaths might serve as a warning to those who are heart and soul in (*sic*,-against) the English cause.[2]

ALIGARH COLLECTOR'S VERSION OF THE OUTBREAK

Extracts from Letter No. 11 of 1858 from W. J. Bramley, Magistrate and Collector of Aligarh, to A. Cocks, Special Commissioner, dated 17th November 1858.

1*st*—News of the Meerut outbreak reached Allygurh (on) May 12th. The troops then in the station were about 300 men of 9th Native Infantry, and Head-quarters of the Regiment commanded by Major Eld. A period of the usual uncertainty and dismay occurred, but the troops appeared quiet and orderly. Beyond the burning of an empty bungalow, no overt act of disaffection appears to have been committed till the day of mutiny.....

EXECUTION OF A BRAHMAN ACTS AS THE SPARK

3*rd*—The troops on the 19th were reinforced by a detachment, and on the 20th, by the remainder of the right wing

[1] *Jahangirabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Anupshahr*, District *Bulandshahr*—A large and prosperous town in the west of the pargana, lying about two miles to the north of the metalled road from Anupshahr to Bulandshahr, with which it is connected by two metalled branch roads that give access to the town on either side, at a distance of eleven miles from Anupshahr and fifteen miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Bulandshahr, Vol. V, 1903, p. 237).

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 27th May 1859, Cons. No. 81, p. 172. National Archives, New Delhi.

of the Ist Gwalior Cavalry, under Captain Alexander. *On the same day a Brahmin named Naraen, resiaent of a village close to Allygurh, who had an uncle in Nujjeeb Jail Guard, made proposals of mutiny to two sepoys of the 9th Native Infantry, promising, on the part of villagers, support in the work of plunder.* These men informed their Commanding Officer, who directed them to seize him. He was accordingly apprehended by them, tried by a native Court Martial, and by its sentence hung at the Collector's *Cutcherry* on (the) evening of 20th, about sunset. *The execution had hardly terminated when the 9th broke out into open mutiny.* Their officers were allowed to escape. They and the Civil Officers, with some ladies, who were still in the station, were able to retire in safety to Hattrass (Hathras)* under escort of the Ist Gwalior Cavalry. The sepoys then set fire to the Collector's *cutcherry* and post office, plundered the cash in both places and *left the station for Delhi* by nine or ten P. M., without doing further mischief. From the Collector's Treasury they carried off about three lacs, and left the other four for the rabble.

PRISONERS SET FREE

4*th*—On the next and few following days, the prisoners were set free by the Jail Guard; the large number of bullock train carts collected there, containing property to an unknown amount, also all the houses, the property of the Europeans, with the property contained in them, plundered,—the houses belonging to natives alone partially escaping with loss of wood-work, etc. In this work Russool Khan, *Khansamah* to the Dak Bungalow, and Meer Khan, Mail Coachman, distinguished themselves.....

HATHRAS IN FERMENT

6*th*—On the 24th, about 100 men of the Ist Gwalior Cavalry mutinied at Hattrass, and went off to Delhi. Their officers, with those of 9th Native Infantry, and Civil Officers, retired to Khundowlee.†

* "A town on Agra Road"—Note in Original.

† "A place one march from Agra"—Note in Original.

7*th*—On May 26th, a body of Volunteers, Europeans and Eurasians, above 40 in number, arrived at Khundowlee, and went to Hattrass to effect the release of Messrs. Booth, Saunders, and party in durance at Mulloee Factory. This was effected on the 29th. Allygurh was occupied by them the same day, Mr. Watson, the Magistrate, accompanying them. The Volunteers, in varying numbers, continued with Mr. Watson till July 2nd, when that officer, on the advance of the Neemuch mutineers on Agra, and the mutiny of the two bodies of Gwalior troops stationed at Hattrass and Sasnee (Sasni)[1] was compelled to leave the district.

8*th*—However, to continue the narrative :—On Mr. Watson's return, some degree of order was established at Allygurh itself. The people made haste to throw out from their houses plundered property in great quantities. Doctor Clark, Post Master, who accompanied Mr. Watson, was enabled at once to re-establish Mail Cart communication with Meerut, and maintain it for eight or nine days.

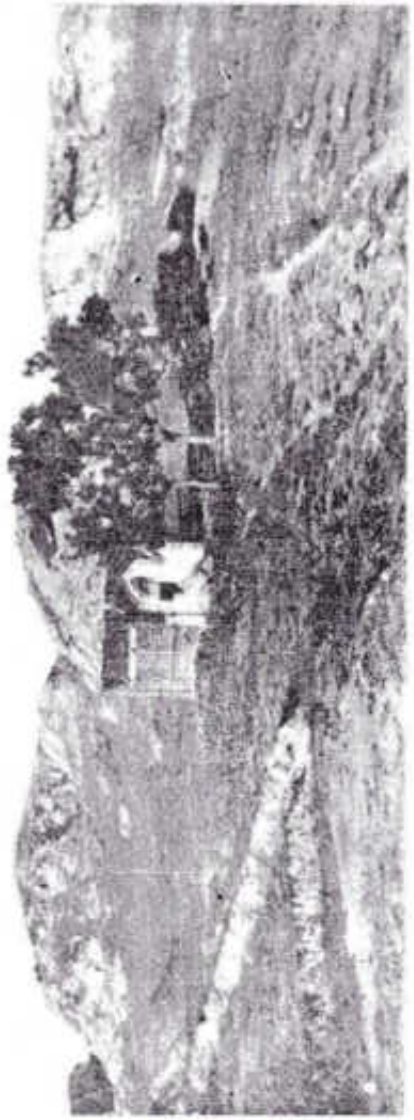
BHOPAL SINGH CAPTURES KHAIR TAHSIL

9*th*—On June Ist, the Volunteers made a successful attack on Khyr (Khair), a town fourteen miles west of Allygurh. One Rao Bhopal Singh, of an old Chohan (Chauhan) Rajpoot family, had immediately after Mr. Watson's departure from Allygurh, May 20th, gone to Khyr with a large following, deposed the *Tehseeldar*, and taken possession of the *tehseel* building. Mr. Watson found him with but few attendants, and had him summarily hung. The party returned to Allygurh the same day.

CHAUHANS AND JATS ATTACK KHAIR

10*th*—Before the middle of the month the Chohans of the *pergunah*, intent on revenge, called in the Jats to their help,

[1] *Sasni*, Pargana and Tahsil *Hathras*, District *Aligarh*—The town of Sasni stands in 27° 43′ N. and 78° 5′ E., on the east side of the main road from Aligarh to Hathras, at a distance of 14 miles south from the former and eight from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Aligarh, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 286).



Ruins of Sasni Fort (*Aligarh*)

attacked Khyr, plundered and destroyed nearly all the Government buildings, as well as the houses of the *Banyahs* and *Mahajuns*. The Government *tehseel*, a strong masonry quadrangular building on the Board's plan, might have held out long, had the defenders had more heart and gun-powder. It was besieged for several days in vain, when the *Tehseeldar* and the rest of the officials, hopeless of relief, withdrew in the night.

THE 7TH CAVALRY IN DEFIANCE

11*th*—During the first half of June, Mr. Watson and the Volunteers continued at Allygurh and its neighbourhood making demonstrations continually in different directions, with a view of preserving some semblance of order, and keeping open the communications between Agra and Meerut; they had continually to be on the alert, as well to avoid surprise by district rebels as also by rebel troops, who were passing continually up the Trunk Road *en route* to Dehli. On the 5th June, the 7th Cavalry mutineers passed through, and plundered or destroyed all the property the Volunteers had collected....

WATSON ATTACKED BY JIHADIS

14*th*—On June 30th, 2 P. M. Mr. Watson and party still at Mudrock (Madrak)[1] information was sent them by the Deputy Post Master Allygurh, that the Mewatees and other Mahomedans of the city (of) Coel* had raised a green flag, and proposed to attack Mr. Watson's party in large numbers. The news was shortly after confirmed by the approach of the attacking party, 500 to 1,000 strong. This party had boastfully declared they would fix the heads of the Europeans on the city gates before night; they fled however at the first charge of the 12 gentlemen above mentioned, and lost some 14 of their party killed. The small party of *Nujjeebs* and sowars

[1] *Madrak*, Pargana *Koil*, Tahsil and District *Aligarh*—A fine agricultural village in the south of the pargana, standing in 27° 47′ N. and 28° 6′ E., on the east side of the main road from Aligarh to Agra, at a distance of seven miles south from the former and two miles north-west from the Pali railway station. (*District Gazetteers*, Aligarh, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 277).

*"Coel is the name of the City, and Allygurh, properly the name of the Fort and Cantonment only"—Note in Original.

with Mr. Watson were of no use, and fired in the air. It is credibly said that the villagers plundered this formidable body of "*Jehadees*" on their retreat to Coel.

15*th*—With the city of Coel in his front, and Major Burlton's force at Sasnee in a mutinous state in his rear, Mr. Watson, (on) July Ist, thought best to retire to Iglas[1], where he was informed next day of the mutiny of the Gwalior troops at both Hattrass and Sasnee. Mr. Watson and party then left for Agra.

IGLAS TAHSIL THREATENED

16*th*—I should have mentioned above, that a few days before their mutiny Major Burlton's force proceeded to Iglas to protect the *tehseel* building threatened by a body of Jats of that *pergunah*. These Jats, in their stupidity, absolutely thought to possess themselves of Captain Pearson's Battery, and advanced against Major Burlton with that view. A shower of rain put out their "*puleatahs*" (matches); Major Burlton's sowars charged, utterly overthrew and scattered them in all directions.[2]

* * *

Extracts from Letter from A. Cocks, Special Commissioner, to William Muir, Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, dated Camp Landaur, the 5th October 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter No. 624, dated the 12th August 1858, and to furnish a continuation of the proceedings of the Allygurh Volunteer Horse.

2*nd*—After Captain Greathed's departure, Captain Donald Stewart, now Assistant Adjutant-General, assumed command; but he was shortly afterwards deputed to take despatches to Dehli, and was succeeded by Mr. Paterson Saunders.

3*rd*—This gentleman gave great satisfaction, both to the

[1] *Iglas*, Pargana *Gorai*, Tahsil *Iglas*, District *Aligarh*—The Iglas tahsil derives its name from a mere agricultural village situated in 27° 43′ N. and 77° 56′ E., at a distance of 16 miles south-west from Aligarh, on the west side of the road to Muttra, which is now metalled only as far as the Karwan river, about a mile beyond the village. (*District Gazetteers*, Aligarh, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 255).

[2] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Aligarh District*, pp. 1-3.

Volunteers themselves as well as to the District Authorities; he set an excellent example of self-denying patience, never failing energy, and daring courage.

4*th*—Until about the middle of June, our party was composed of the Volunteers (40 in number) mentioned by Captain Greathed. It was sufficiently strong to overawe the Mahomedan population of the town of Coel, as well as the refractory villages, which were ever ready to take advantage of the state of anarchy.

5*th*—On several occasions we were obliged to saddle at a moment's warning, and descend on these villagers, who met us with matchlocks, swords and bludgeons, but were on every occasion, well punished.

6*th*—Our greatest danger, however, arose from the frequent arrival at Coel of large bands of mutineers from Oude and the districts, which had been abandoned.

7*th*—When we felt unable to face these in the open field, we occasionally harassed their movements, by firing at their advanced guards, and then making an orderly retreat, to some position, capable in a certain measure of defence.

8*th*—We were never attacked by these parties, owing to their anxiety to reach Dehli; but the excitement was great, and from this cause, as well as from the desponding reports from Agra, and the inevitable mutiny which was about to occur amongst the Gwalior troops at Hattrass, the majority of the Volunteers became disgusted, and obtained permission to return to their families and homes.

9*th*—Our military duties were very heavy; not a night passed but we were told off for either sentry or patrol; and during the day, when not employed on some expedition, we were without the convenience or even necessaries of life; and it was considered a luxury to get a thatch or tree to sleep under.

10*th*—I consider myself bound to remark here that, so long as the Volunteers remained in the district, their conduct was soldier-like and creditable, and many displayed a dashing courage, which was afterwards memorably proved at Agra on the 5th of July, and at Allygurh on the 24th of August...

12*th*—Our numbers being thus reduced to ten, it was considered expedient to take up a stronger position, capable in some degree of defence against a mob.

13*th*—This was the compound of an Indigo Planter, at a

place called Mudrack (Madrak), about 6 miles from the town of Coel on one side, and the same distance from Hattrass on the other. From this point we were in the habit of visiting the towns, and keeping a sharp look-out after the Gwalior troops at Hattrass, who were daily expected to mutiny; and so passed the weary month of June, the monotony of our existence being occasionally broken by the arrival of a *Cossid* from Lucknow, Futtehgurh, or Mynpoory (Mainpuri), giving details of a fresh mutiny, and sometimes of a party of native troops, who had escaped from their mutinous brethren, and reported the murder of their officers.

14*th*—We daily felt that our position was getting less tenable. A *Jehad* had been preached at the mosque at Coel.

15*th*—The Gwalior troopers had positively refused to obey their officers, and on the afternoon of the 2nd of July, numerous messengers came in to report that *the whole population of Mahomedans and budmashes (loose characters) of the town were in daily communication with the Gwalior troops, the object being to surround Mudrack, and annihilate our little party.* Fifteenth;[1]—On that date, at 3 P. M., we sat down to our mess dinner. *In the midst of it, we heard the buzz of an enraged populace;—soon tom-toms were beating, flags flying, and the country swarming with white clothes,—each Government Chowkee in a blaze added to the excitement of the scene.*

16*th*—Scarcely a word was spoken, but each seemed to understand his neighhour's thoughts, saddled his horse, and drew his sword. We rode forth, the gallant Watson at our head. On reaching the road, we were met by a salute from a hundred matchlocks;—a hundred more were aimed, but missed fire, owing to the damp state of the atmosphere. "Charge !" was the order, and well was it obeyed. Stirrup to stirrup, and man to man, we dashed through the mass of cowards, scattering them like so many sheep, and not stopping till nearly 15 corpses remained as trophies of our victory. Watson was wounded, as was his horse, and two or three got contusions.

17*th*—When we charged, I believe not one expected to have come back alive; and when darkness compelled our return, it was with feelings of intense satisfaction and thank-

[1] 15th July 1857.

fulness that we finished our repast, and *talked over our escapes and adventures.*

18*th*—*On the second, the Gwalior troops broke out into open mutiny, and their officers were obliged to fly into Agra.*

19*th*—We also felt there was nothing further to be done, and accordingly steering clear of Hattrass, we rode in the broiling sun fifty miles, and reached Agra in time to take part in the battle of the 5th of July; where, I may be permitted to remark, the Allygurh Volunteers did their duty. Out of forty, six were killed, six wounded, and ten horses killed or lost.

20*th*—In conclusion, I would pay a short tribute to the devotion to his duty, and chivalrous courage of the late Mr. W. Watson. Naturally of weak constitution, he exerted his powers, both mental and physical, to such a degree, that, on reaching Agra, he was taken with cholera, and died. I fully believed he had, from the commencement of the outbreak, made up his mind to be killed, or die in the defence of the district, in which he took so much interest.[1]

* * *

Extract Paras 2 to 5 from the Report submitted by the Magistrate of Aligarh to the Commissioner of the Division for confiscation of principal estates of Jat zamindars under Tahsil Iglas.

ACTIVITIES OF AMANI JAT

Para 2—In June the *Tahsildar* for fear of them was obliged to evacuate the *tahsil* building to Moorsaan (Mursan)[2]. Major Burlton with his guns and sowars of the Gwalior Contingent moved to Iglas in support when the Jats under the guidance of one Amani Jat, ex-pattidar of Gahon was the man, who had then come to surface and dubbed himself Raja, had the audacity to attack him. Unfortunately for the Jats, a shower

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Aligarh District*, Appendix C, pp. 14-16.

[2] *Mursan*, Pargana *Mursan*, Tahsil *Hathras*, District *Aligarh*—The capital of the Mursan pargana is a small and somewhat decayed town, noted chiefly as the headquarters of a large Jat estate, at present owned by Raja Datt Prasad Singh Bahadur. (*District Gazetteers*, Aligarh, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 280).

of rain fell which extinguished their '*Palitahs.*' Major Burlton's sowars charged at once, routed and pursued them for several miles.

3*rd*—Amani has been apprehended and is now under trial.

4*th*—The Jats of Lageswan took a large share also in the attack on Khyr (Khair)[1], which ended in the plunder of town and the government building, also in many other outrages. It will be difficult to obtain evidence against the individuals in these cases.

5*th*—I have therefore selected three of the largest and most notorious villages for confiscation under Act 10 of 1858:

Tulesra	*Jumma*	1241
Gonda[2]	"	4422
Gahlow	"	3845

Referring to the above extract, it has been abundantly proved by enquiry of the Deputy Magistrate of Iglas and the evidence of 17 witnesses, *that this prisoner Amani Jat at the head of a body of Jats of Lageswan village set himself up as a Raja*, attacked, plundered and burnt many villages and opposed a detachment of sowars of 4 guns under the late Mr. Burlton; also that the same body of rebels attacked and plundered the *Munsafi* and *Tahsili* offices of Khyr and also town itself. The prisoner was proclaimed as a rebel and after some time was captured in the Bharatpur Territory.....[3]

ATTACK ON MADRAK

Extract from the Case, Government Vs. Anguna (Angna); Deposition of various witnesses as recorded by Joint Magistrate C. I. Daniell.

Mansookah (Mss. torn) :—I saw, in Jheth (Jeth), in

[1] *Khair*, Pargana and Tahsil *Khair*, District *Aligarh*—The capital of the pargana, and tahsil is a small town standing in 27° 56′ N. and 77° 51′ E., on the right bank of the Karwan, which is here crossed by the metalled road from Aligarh to Tappal, at a distance of 15 miles from the former. (*District Gazetteers*, Aligarh, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 267).

[2] *Gonda*, Pargana *Hasangarh*, Tahsil *Iglas*, District *Aligarh*—A village standing in 27° 50′ N. and 77° 53′ E., on the east side of the road from Khair to Hathras, here joined by an unmetalled road from Aligarh, at a distance of ten miles north from Iglas and 12 miles from the district hq. (*District Gazetteers*, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 237).

[3] Criminal Records Room, Aligarh Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 18,

middle of.....[1] Madrack (Madrak) set on fire; *Pesh.* (*Peshkar*), was in Summameye (Summamai)[2]. Nichterlein went from M. (Madrack) to Sam. (Summameye) with his children. The next day, at 8 A. M. the men of Ramnuggur, Bhootpoora (Bhatpura) and Bhandnoq and Julalpoor, Ooswa, and the Mewatties of Booranugla, came there and looted the place and turned them out; Behari *Chumar* killed Samuel with a *Lathee* and Bheda, Brahmin of Ramnuggur, and Dharma Jat of Ramnuggur hit him with a sword, as he was drinking water out of a pond. Neta Brahman of Ramnuggur hit him with a *Pharsa*. The *Kitmatgar* bolted, Anguna took a sword and hit the *Kitmatgar* and Mrs. N. Nichterlein and Samuel were running away and Peta[3], Bheda and Dharma wounded them both. I do not (know) which (who) hit but they were all together. I saw it from a ruin 25 paces off.

VILLAGERS ATTACK KHERA SUNAMAI

In Jheth the place was set on fire. At that time *Pesh.* (*Peshkar*) left his house in Summameye and John Sahib went to *Pesh.'s* (*Peshkar's*) house; the next day the men of Bhootpoora and Ramnuggur and Booranugla, Bhandnoo, Julalpoor and Oosree came to Khera Summameye and looted it. Samuel Sahib, his mother and son came out of the house and Behari *Chumar* of Dhimapoora hit twice with a *Lathee*, Samuel was drinking water from a pool; Neta Brahman of Ramnuggur and Bheda Brahmin of Ramnuggur and Dharma and Anguna pursued him. The *Kitmatgar* ran out of the house and Anguna ran after him, and hit him with a sword. Bheda and Dharma hit Samuel with their swords, and Neta hit him with a *Pharsa*. Samuel and the *Kitmatgar* were both killed. Samuel's sons ran away with him. I do not know whether Neta, Dharma or Bheeda wounded Mrs. Nichterlein and her son. I saw this from about 10 paces off.

File No. 2002 : "Extracts from Judgment in the Case '*Government vs. Amani Jat* S/o Incharam', charged for 'Rebellion, waging war against the State and plundering Tahsil, Munsifi and Town of Khair' and who was subsequently sentenced to death".

[1] The word is not legible, perhaps 'June' is meant.

[2] Correct name is perhaps '*Sunamai*'.

[3] Appears spelt for 'Neta'.

Mohuna—My village is where *Pesh.* (*Peshkar*) *Sahib's* house is. In the middle of the night that day the factory at Madrack was burnt; *Pesh.* (*Peshkar*) ran way from his house and hid in my village. John and Samuel Sahib and Mrs. Nichterlein and their *Kitmatgar* came to Summameye and remained there till 8 or 9 in the morning, when the men of Bhootpoora, Ramnuggur, Bhandnoo, Ooswa, came there and looted it, and looted Summameye. Samuel Sahib and Mrs. Nichterlein and Samuel's son and the *Kitmatgar* went out, when Bihari hit Samuel with a *Lathee* and Netha[1] (Brahmin) hit him with a *Pharsa* and Bheda and Dharma of Ramnuggur hit him with a sword each, and Anguna hit the *Kitmatgar* with a sword so they both died. Dharma hit Mrs. Nichterlein, and wounded her with a sword. Then the place was looted. I was 10 paces off what happened behind the house.

Bakta—Corroborates this evidence.

Chotee Lal—Recognizes Anguna, as being in riot, at Summameye; I do not know what he did.

I saw Puttoo the *Kitmatgar's* body lying on the ground and Anguna 20 paces off.

(Mss. Torn)[2]—Confesses to having stopped the *Kitmatgar* while Leka[3] hit him with a *Pharsa*.

Dharma, Leka, Bheda killed Samuel.

Witnesses before whom defendant made a confession in the *thannah* that he had killed Phattoo[4] have taken oath before me to his having said so. Their names are Doorga Dass, Kriparam, Jiwa Rani[5].

This is the evidence against this prisoner. By his own confession he appears to have had such a share in the *Kitmatgar's* death that without his help he would never have been stopped and killed by Dharma, Leka and Bheda. It appears that he was only distracted from his revolting purpose of killing Mrs. Nichterlein by the sight of the *Kitmatgar* running away that he left Mrs. Nichterlein and her son and grandson only to slaughter the unfortunate man Phuttoo. I commit him to

[1] Has been spelt as 'Neta' elsewhere in this document; (p.665) Correct name may be 'Natha'.

[2] The name of this witness is not clear in the manuscript, perhaps it is 'Dhima'.

[3] It may be 'Lekha'.

[4] Spelt as 'Puttoo' above.

[5] It may be 'Jiwa Ram' and not 'Jiwa Rani'.

the Special Commissioner, and record my opinion that I think he is worthy to suffer death.[1]

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED AT ALIGARH

WALIDAD KHAN MADE SUBEDAR OF ALIGARH

One Wulle-dad Khan is said to have been made *Soobadar* of Allygurh, by the King of Delhi.[2]

GHAUS MUHAMMAD AS NAIB SUBA OF KOIL

Translation of a Notification issued by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor.

Notifying that whosoever being a subject of the British Government will enter the service of Ghous Mohammad Khan, who has rebelliously declared himself *Naib Soobah* on the part of Walleedad Khan, Chief of Malagurh, or any other rebel's service shall whether he be a *zemindar* or otherwise forfeit his *zemindaree* title and all real and personal property belonging to him, and he shall also be punished. In case he be a servant of the Government, he shall, besides the above-mentioned penalties, be dismissed from his appointment, and will not be permitted to enter the service of the Government again.[3]

GHAUS KHAN PROMISES HELP TO RAM BAKHSH AND OTHERS

Translation of a letter from Mohd. Ghaus Khan, Naib Suba of Koel, Aligarh, to Ram Bakhsh Thakur, Hira Singh Thakur and Gopal Singh, dated 29th Zilhijja 1273 Hijri corresponding with 20th August 1857.

Your application reached me. If it does not rain heavily,

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Angana* charged for being principal in the murder of Phuttoo Kitmatgar of Mr. Nichterlein of Madrak, Tahsil Koil", File No. 90; Aligarh Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, July 23, 1857, p. 238. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] Abstract of N. W. P. Proceedings, Foreign Department for the period ending 7th August 1857, Proceeding No. 10A dated 2nd August 1857. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

in the morning, we will surely reach, rest assured. Written for your information.

P. S.—And if you send the supplies in enough quantity, the territory of Koel will be yours, rest assured. As you have stated, this district is of Jats. The country will be granted to you from the Government and Hira Singh will become *Naib Subah*, be assured.[1]

GHAUS KHAN ASSUMES POWER

Extracts from Letter No. 11 *from W. J. Bramley, Magistrate and Collector of Allygurh (Aligarh), to A. Cocks, Special Commissioner, dated Allygurh (Aligarh), 17th November* 1858.

17*th*—I wish here to remark on the good service performed by the Agra Volunteers, and especially by the body of gentlemen who stood by Mr. Watson till the last. The Post Office Authorities were thus enabled to keep open communication with Meerut. *It delayed the establishment of Rebel Government in Coel*, so that no time was left for its organization, before Mr. Cocks, with Major Montgomery's force, appeared on the scene in August. Besides, the moral effect of a small body of Europeans living in the open field, marching, halting, and attacking when they pleased, must have had a good effect on the population, and shown them how vastly inferior they were to the men they were attempting to crush.

GHAUS KHAN GRANTED NAIB SUBAHSHIP

18*th*—On Mr. Watson's departure in (the) beginning of July, a *Punch* was formed to preserve order, and save the city from plunder by the Mewatees, butchers, and other low Mahomedans. One Nusseem-oollah (Nasim Ullah), a *Wakeel* of the Judge's Court, took umbrage at his exclusion from the *Punchayut*, and invited Mahomed Ghous Khan to Coel. With Nusseem-oollah was Neyaz Ahmud (Niaz Ahmad), Zillah Visitor, both able men. Mahomed Ghous Khan, *zemindar* of Secundra Rao (Sikandra Rao), of this district, arrived (on) July 15th, and began to entertain men, with the view of usurping power. The *Punchayut* however refused to abdicate, whereupon

[1] File No. 2632, Aligarh Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Ghous Khan and Nusseem-oollah repaired to Wuleedad Khan, of Malagurh, (who derived his title of "*Soobah*" from the King at Dehli,) who granted a *Sunnud* of "*Naib Soobahship*"

GHAUS KHAN AND HIS OFFICIALS

19*th*—Armed with this they returned, declared their titles, and were allowed to assume power,—Nusseem-oollah became Ghous Khan's *Naib*, Mahboob Khan was created *Tehseeldar*, and Hussun Khan, *Cotwal*. A large number of men were enrolled to support the new power. Many of the Police *Chuprassees* and Jail-guard took service, and he was supported generally by all the Mahomedans of the town. Ghous Khan had but little time in which to consolidate his power. He had no money beyond what he could obtain by plunder, nor Artillery. He had little authority beyond the limits of the town. He collected no land revenue.

HATHRAS THREATENED BY GHAUS KHAN

20*th*—On August 20th Mr. Cocks, with a force under Major Montgomery, was sent from Agra to succour Hattrass, supposed to be threatened by Ghous Khan. At this time Hattrass was the only town and *tehseel* post in which British Authority could be said to exist. This town lies on the direct road from Agra to Allygurh (Aligarh) 20 miles distant from the former. Its inhabitants, for the most part wealthy Hindoo traders, had with the assistance of the neighbouring Jat Rajah of Moorsan, Tekum Sing, and also Thakoor Gobind Sing, (now Rajah) been able to preserve order in the town, and ward off every threatened attack from plunderers. But the mainstay of Hattrass was the blind Ex-Tehseeldar of that place, Choube Ghunsam Doss (Chaubey Ghanshyam Das), who on many occasions proved himself a most wise, brave, and zealous partisan of Government.

DEATH OF MAULVI ABDUL JALIL OF CHHATARI

21*st*—Major Montgomery's force occupied Hattrass 21st August, and advanced on the morning of August 24th to attack the rebel force, which under Ghous Khan and Moulavee Abdool Juleel (Abdul Jalil), was assembled at Maun Singh's

garden near Coel. The Moulavee had lately arrived in Coel from Chitaree (Chhatari), and ben (*sic*,-been) active and zealous in stirring up the religious bigotry of the Mahomedans; mainly through him were the Mahomedans encouraged to meet the British force. As is well known the rebels were defeated, and the Moulavee himself killed. All the Mahomedans fled the city.

22*nd*—For the reasons stated in the despatch, the city was not occupied till the 28th. Mr. Cocks, in his advance, had been joined by Thakoor Gobind Sing, the followers of Rajah Tekum Sing and other friendly persons. It was considered best to leave the city of Coel in charge of Thakoor Gobind Sing, who agreed to undertake the duty with such forces as he could raise, and that Major Montgomery's force should retire on Hattrass. This was carried out September 4th. With Thakoor Gobind Sing was associated a Council*. Aftab Raiee (Rai), a wary and experienced old *Tehseeldar*, well acquainted with the district, was left to fill that post. All the *tehseeldarees* were at this time re-occupied, though the authority of the officers was necessarily but weakly established.[1]

BRITISH FORCE AT HATHRAS TO COUNTERACT THE ALIGARH REVOLUTIONARIES

. . . The Garrison not only is not molested, but has actually detached a force against the insurgents at Allygurh, who, however, are too strong for a small force sent against them. These troops, therefore, have taken up a position at Hattrass, whence, opportunity offering, they may operate with considerable effect upon bodies of rebels that may attempt another siege of Agra as well as hold in check, pending reinforcement, the insurgents at Allygurh. . . .[2]

*"Sudder Ameen, Soondur Lall; Deputy Collector of Boolundshahur, Doorga Pershad; Ex-Tehseeldar, Pensioner, Aftab Raiee".—Marginal note in Original.

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Aligarh District*, pp. 3-4.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, September 10, 1857, p. 291. National Library, Calcutta.

ETAH

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT ETAH

Letter No. 61 *of* 1858 *from A. L. M. Phillips, Magistrate of Agra, late Joint Magistrate of Etah, to G. H. Harvey, Commissioner, Agra Division, dated Agra 9th June* 1858.

In conformity with the instructions of Government, contained in Circular No. 212, dated 30th April 1858, I have the honor to forward the following narrative of my operations before leaving the district of Etah.

2*nd*—Mr. Hall was the Assistant in the Etah District. There was at that time no uncovenanted Deputy Collector, either native or other.

FIRST NEWS OF THE OUTBREAK AND PRECAUTIONS TAKEN AT ETAH

3*rd*—News of the outbreak at Meerut, and the occupation of Dehli by the rebels, reached me about the 18th of May. The Road *Chowkees* were doubled, *Jemadars* appointed, and other precautions taken to procure intelligence and arrest suspicious stragglers, which, it perhaps, is not necessary now to dwell on. Daily communication was opened with Allygurh (Aligarh), Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), and Furruckabad (Farrukhabad). All *zemindars* of influence and character were written to, or verbally warned, that they were to exert themselves to the utmost to keep the country quiet, and to give the earliest intimation of any attempt at outbreak or disorder on the part of the villages. Almost all the treasure, leaving only a sum for ordinary expenses, was sent to Mynpoorie.

OUTBREAK AT ALIGARH AND APPROACH OF REVOLUTIONARIES

4*th*—On the 21st of May no communication was received from Allygurh. On the same day, about 10 P. M., Jumshere Khan, *Jemadar* of one of the Road *Chowkees*, about 10 miles from Etah on the Allygurh side, came to my house and reported as follows : He had observed a large body of sepoys marching down the road, and had joined them in the hope of learning

their intentions; he had discovered that the troops at Allygurh had broken out into open mutiny, that their officers had gone to Agra, and that the main body of the Regiment had started for Dehli. This body of men were on their way to warn the Companies of the same Regiment, which were on detached duty at Mynpoorie and Etah. In a few minutes he was called for by the *Havildar*, or *Soubadar*, who commanded. This person joined us, and confirmed in full the story before told by Jumshere Khan; after some more conversation, I dismissed him. The whole body ultimately left Etah early in the morning without making any disturbance.

MAINPURI AND ETAWAH DISTRICT AUTHORITIES WARNED

5*th*—I immediately despatched a Camel Sowar with a note by a bye-road to warn the Magistrates of Mynpoorie and Etawah. This he succeeded in doing.

EXPECTED RETURN OF REVOLUTIONARIES

6*th*—It was nearly certain that the detachment at Mynpoorie and Etawah would rise at the news of the mutiny of the Head-quarters of the Regiment; and quite certain that, if they did so, they would march via Etah and Allygurh to Dehli, thereby avoiding the hostile Fort of Agra; they might be expected the next day, the 22nd, or the day after.

JAIL NAJIBS SHOW HOSTILE ATTITUDE

It was therefore necessary for me to consider the course I should take. There was very little money in the *tehseelee* treasury, (there was no *Suddar* treasury at Etah). There were about 25 *Nujeebs* at the jail; but these men had displayed a very unsatisfactory disposition for several days, murmuring for arrears of pay, which, they falsely said, were owing to them. There was no place of strength, whence I could expect to offer resistance with any hope of success. I therefore determined to leave the station at the approach of the mutineers from Mynpoorie, and if possible to return after their passage through.

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Kasganj, Pargana *Isuram*, Tahsil *Kasganj*, District *Etah*—This the most important town in the Etah district, lies 19 miles to the north of Etah in 27° 48′ N. and 78° 39′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 183).

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REVOLUTIONARIES FROM MAINPURI AND ETAWAH REACH ETAH

7th—On the night of the 22nd, word was brought to me that the detachment from Mynpoorie, joined with that from Etawah, had reached Mullawun, about 14 miles off, where they had halted. At about 5 A. M. on the 23rd, they arrived at Etah, and I left it simultaneously. My escort consisted of 8 sowars. I halted about 8 miles off at the village of Nudraee (Nadrai), and there waited for tidings. About 3 P. M. these were brought (to) me by Jumshere Khan that all public buildings and my own house had been burnt and entirely looted, that the Rajah had taken no measures to preserve order, that the *Gunj* had been looted, and all was anarchy. Hearing this I continued on my way, and reached Bilram[1], the residence of Lahoree Mull (Lahori Mal), and his younger brother, Dilsookh Rae (Dilsukh Rai), whither Mr. Hall had gone before early in the morning. I was most hospitably received by these gentlemen; the latter of whom is well known to you, the former is since dead. I desire here to record my sense of the loyal conduct of both, and to express a hope that such reward as might have been deemed fit for Lahoree Mull (Lahori Mal) be now given to his son, Kashmeeree Mull (Kashmiri Mal), who has long been known to me, and is now in the service of the Gwalior Government. The remainder of this narrative would be more conveniently arranged by dates.

DISORDER IN THE COUNTRY

May 24th—The country was in great disorder; all the roads were swarming with looters, and Kasgunj[2] was reported as threatened. I sent the *Jemadar* of sowars out to collect as many sowars as he could of the Police, and as many as he could trust from villages.

[1] *Bilram*, Pargana *Bilram*, Tahsil *Kasganj*, District *Etah*—Bilram is the chief place in the pargana of the same name. It lies 19 miles to the north of Etah and about 4 miles west of Kasganj in 27° 49° N. and 78° 38′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, pp. 159-60).

[2] *Kasganj*, Pargana *Bilram*, Tahsil *Kasganj*, District *Etah*—This the most important town in the Etah district, lies 19 miles to the north of Etah in 27° 48′ N. and 78° 39′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 183).

KASGANJ ATTACKED

May 25*th*—The *Jemadar* returned about 7 A. M. with 15 sowars, making 22 in all including myself. After being decoyed by a false alarm in other direction, I reached Kasgunj. Mr. Hall remained at Bilram. I found that a body of plunderers had already made an attack on Kasgunj, and were said to be meditating another; this news was being told us at the Bara Durree, a large building, where the four broad strait (*sic*,- straight) roads, intersecting Kasgunj, meet. While thus engaged, a cry was raised that the "*Bulwa*" was returning. I saw a compact body of men advancing up to the street, filling it from side to side; the first rank marching in order, dressed in a kind of uniform with cross-belts, and carrying some guns, some *latties* held as muskets : the whole could not be less than 500 men. As soon as they saw us, there was some hesitation apparent; on which calling on the sowars to follow, I and the *Jemadar* charged them. They fired some shots as we advanced, but broke before we reached them, and the whole body took to flight. We followed for some distance outside the town, and killed many but the ground was difficult for following dispersed footmen, and we were too small a body to separate far. Indeed with the exception of the *Jemadar* and two other sowars, the rest showed little inclination to get forward. On this occasion the *Jemadar* behaved with undoubted gallantry. I saw him kill two men. The two sowars who also distinguished themselves, were Mahomed Alee and Jewun Beg[1]. They accompanied me afterwards to Agra; but I do not know how they have since behaved. I regret that the subsequent conduct of the *Jemadar* was such that I cannot now recommend him for reward. We counted the killed at ten persons, among whom one was a *zemindar* of a neighbouring village. Two prisoners were also taken, who were presently hung. Soon after this, I was joined by the *Nazir*, Nuzumoodeen Hyder[2]; the *Tehseeldar* of Etah, Daour Alee[3]; the *Darogah* of the Etah Jail, Shah Zeman Khan; the *Peshkar* of Etah *Tehseelee*, Ferok

[1] May have been spelt for 'Jawan Beg'.
[2] Appears to have been spelt for 'Najmuddin' or 'Nazim-uddin'.
[3] Probably, spelt for "Dawar Ali'.

Shah[1] Khan. With about ten of the Jail *Nujeebs* and some *Burkundazes* they had left Etah, having met with no personal ill-treatment from the Rajah, but they had found him surrounded by a crowd of black-guards, whom he was unable, or did not care to control, and they had been in fear of being plundered themselves. I ascertained personally that the plunderers had entirely dispersed from the neighbourhood of Kasgunj, and then returned to Bilram. The *Tehseeldar* of Etah also came to Bilram with his family.

May 26*th*—Considering it necessary in every respect to protect the town of Kasgunj from plunder, I left Bilram and established myself at the *tehseelee* of Kasgunj. We heard to-day of a dacoity committed in the town of Soron[2], in which the *Thanahdar* had been wounded. All night patrols, and constant watchfulness, were maintained. There were continual alarms through the night, but all groundless.

NAJIBS AND SAWARS SHOW DEFIANCE

May 27*th*—This day *Nujeebs* were murmuring among themselves. The sowars too, as I was informed, were much discontented, saying it was not their duty to fight; all excepting the *Jemadar*, a sowar named Choonnee Singh (Chunni Singh), and the two sowars whose names were mentioned before. On the night watch I frequently found the sowar sentries absent from their post, *and perceived a general tone of insubordination, and resistance to authority.*

May 28*th*—Under the circumstances above detailed, I determined to leave Kasgunj for Budaon, hoping to procure from Bareilly the assistance of some sowars of the Irregular Cavalry there stationed. I reached Suhawur (Sahawar) by the evening.

May 29*th*—I left Mr. Hall at Suhawur and reached Budaon, travelling on horse back. Despatched an express to the Commissioner of Rohilkund at Bareilly, for assistance.

[1] Correct name may be either 'Farrukh Shah Khan', or 'Firoz Shah Khan'.
[2] *Soron*, Pargana *Soron*, Tahsil *Kasganj*, District *Etah*—This town lies on the bank of the Burhganga, 27 miles from Etah, on the high road between Bareilly and Hathras, in 27° 54′ N. and 78° 45′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 223).

May 30*th*—Answer returned from Mr. Alexander, that absolutely no such assistance must be expected from Bareilly. I received a note from a *zemindar* of Etah, stating that Mr. Bramly had arrived at Putteealee (Patiali), with a large body of troops.

June 1*st*—I started for Putteealee by daybreak. At starting we heard that the troops at Bareilly had mutinied. On reaching Putteealee I met Mr. Bramly, who was accompanied by 60 Irregular Sowars on leave, belonging to different regiments, collected from the Furruckabad District, and under the command of an old *Resildar* (*Risaldar*) named Ameer Khan. Mr. Bramly informed me of the tragedy in which Captain Fletcher Hayes and other officers had met their death at the hands of the 7th Irregular Cavalry. This was discouraging us; it greatly shook our faith in the loyalty of the sowars who accompanied Mr. Bramly.

BADAUN TREASURY PLUNDERED

June 2*nd*—We were joined by Mr. Edwards, Collector of Budaon; Mr. Gibson Customs Patrol, and Mr. Donnelly and his son, Indigo Planters, all from Budaon. They reported that the detachment of Native Infantry had plundered the treasury of Budaon, and that from the presence of some Irregular Sowars, they inferred that their Regiment had joined in the mutiny. I established communication by Sowar *Dak* with Futtehgurh. Mr. Edwards' Sikh servant begged his master not to place confidence in the Irregular Sowars, that they had heard some of them speaking approvingly of the conduct of the murderers of Captain Hayes. I sent expresses to hasten Mr. Hall's journey from Suhawur to Putteealee, two days before. All the *Bunyahs* of Gunj Doondwarra (Gunj Dundwara[1]), a large and very wealthy village, had been utterly looted by connivance of the *zemindar*, a Mahometan (Mahomedan). To-day a vast mob of Hindoos, Thakoors, Jats, and Aheers collected, and completely looted the *zemindar* in revenge for his conduct. The sowar who brought a *dak* from Furruckabad reported that he had escaped with great difficulty from

[1] *Dundwaraganj*, Pargana *Patiali*, Tahsil *Aliganj*, District *Etah*—This town lies on the Sahawar-Patiali road, 22 miles north-east of Etah in 27° 46′ N. and 79° 1′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 165).

the villagers on his road. In the night some of our Irregular Sowars were found in the act of going off without previous leave.

REVOLUTIONARIES' BID TOWARDS PATIALI

June 3*rd*—Joined early in the morning by Mr. Hall from Suhawur. News from across the Ganges, *that the King of Delhi's Raj had been proclaimed on Budaon and Bareilly*. We held a council, and agreed that to stay in the district without means of coercing the rebellions, or of protecting ourselves was futile. We therefore resolved to make for Mynpoorie, and from thence to be guided by circumstances as to proceeding to Agra or not. About 4 P. M. I received an anonymous note from Kasganj, stating that a large body of rebel sepoys had arrived at Kasganj that morning, that they had enquired if any Europeans were near, and would march to Putteealee early in the afternoon. This note was, as I afterwards ascertained, sent by Soondursun Choube (Sudarshan Chaube) of Kasgunj. We therefore lost no time in starting; marched all night, and arrived at a village called Roopdhunee (Rupdhani), about 3 miles from the Grand Trunk Road at Kerowlee, belonging to Narain Singh, Aheer, about 3 A. M. in whose *Gurree* (*Garhi*) we stayed till daybreak.

SAWARS MOVING TOWARDS DELHI

June 4*th*—We sent out scouts to ascertain whether all was clear in front. They returned with the disagreeable news that the road was occupied by a regiment of sowars, who had mutinied at Lucknow, and who were going to Delhi: the place we were in was too close to such neighbours. We therefore started back to Putteealee, narrowly escaping a body of sepoys on our way, who had encamped half way between Kasgunj and Allygunj (Aliganj). We reached Putteealee by the evening.

June 5*th*—This morning Mr. Edwards, and the other gentlemen who joined us from Budaon, determined on leaving us, and making for Nynee Tal across Budaon. They said we were altogether too large a party to go through the country undiscovered. They accordingly started for Kadergunge[1]

[1] *Kadirganj*, Pargana *Nidhpur*, Tahsil *Aliganj*, District *Etah*—This village lies on the bank of the Ganges 32 miles north-east of Etah, in 27° 48′ N. and 79° 7′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 182).

(Kadirganj), where they however received such accounts of the state of the country, the other side of the Ganges, that they changed their minds and made for Futtehgurh, where they arrived after the loss of one of their party. We on our part dismissed the sowars, Mr. Bramly had brought, to their homes. I then determined to make for Agra by another route; we accordingly marched to Suhawur, the property of Chowdree Mohomed Allee Khan, where Mr. Hall had stayed before. I cannot say that his welcome was very cordial; but I feel indebted to him for the shelter he gave my servants and some property for many months. I understand he has since been shot for treason. Our party then consisted of Mr. Bramly, Mr. Hall, and myself, the *Jemadar*, and about 10 sowars.

ATTACK ON MR. GARDENER

June 6th—We started from Suhawur early, and crossing the Karee Nuddee, made for Mahrera. On the way we halted at Manota, a *Gurree*, belonging to Mr. William Gardener, an English gentleman. There we ascertained that there was a large body of sepoys and sowars at Mahrera. Mr. Gardener only two days before had been attacked by a body of sepoys, and had repulsed them, killing one. We therefore halted at Manota.

June 7th—Remained at Manota to learn the movements of these sowars. Having ascertained their departure, we started for Awah[1] (Awagarh), a strong fort, belonging to the Rajah of Awah. On the way being overtaken by a sand-storm, we got separated, and the *Jemadar* deserted taking my gun with him. We were very hospitably received by the Rajah, and lodged in his fort.

June 8th and 9th—After travelling all day (and) night, we arrived at Agra early in the morning of the 9th of June.....[2]

* * *

[1] *Awa*, Pargana and Tahsil *Jalesar*, District *Etah*—This town, in 27° 26′ 40″ N. and 78° 31′ 22″ E., lies in the eastern corner of the Jalesar tahsil, 13 miles west of Etah and 12 miles east of Jalesar. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 153).

[2] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Etah District*, pp. 1-5.

Account of Outbreak at Etah by C. H. Daniell, Joint Magistrate, dated Etah, Camp Patiali, the 22nd of April 1858.

ACTIVITIES OF DAMBAR SINGH

On May 23rd Phillips, the Magistrate of the district; after the station of Etah had been plundered by the sepoys, left for Khasgunj (Kasganj). He stayed four or five days in Bilram with Dilsookh Rae, the *zemindar*. Whilst in Bilram Rung Bahadoor, *Chela* of Dumber (Dambar) Singh, the Etah Rajah, plundered what was left by the sepoys in Etah, and the houses and public buildings, with the records, were at this time destroyed. He was assisted in this by the Sadhs of a village adjoining the station.

2nd—On June 20th Dumber Singh began to collect revenue, having set himself up as a Rajah independent of the British Government.

DURJAN SINGH HELPS DAMBAR SINGH

3rd—On June 16th Lall Ruttun Singh, *Surburakar* of the estates of the Rajah of Rujor, went to Suckeet (Sakit)[1], having usurped an illegal authority, and in all the parts of the country where the Rajah of Rujor's influence extended, collected revenue from the *zemindars* and ryots, enforcing his claims, by digging down the houses of those who refused payment, hanging them by the heels, and various other coercive measures. Doorjun (Durjan) Singh, a brother of Tej Singh, the Mynpoory Rajah, here came to his aid with nearly 500 followers, and in the middle of August they went to Manikpoor and burnt and plundered it.

4th—In the end of July, Hussan Mirza came as *Tehseeldar* on the part of the Nawab of Furruckabad to Allygunj, and took the *tehseelee* records under his protection. About the 15th of July Azeemoollah Khan, who had been dismissed from his office of *Thanahdar* by Mr. Bramly in June for refusing to stay in Putteealee, the head-quarters of his "*ilaqa*," came there

[1] *Sakit*, Pargana *Etah-Sakit*, Tahsil *Etah*, District *Etah*—This town, in 27° 27′ N. and 78° 59′ E., lies ten miles to the south-east of Etah; and in 1901 contained 4,261 inhabitants. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 213).

as *Thanahdar* for the Nawab of Futtehgurh. In August Asad Alee Khan, the *zemindar* of Saraval[1], came to Kasgunj, where he was appointed *Tehseeldar* by the Nawab of Furruckabad, and remained until the end of September, or beginning of November, when the force under General Greathed, coming to Akrabad, frightened him away. He did not return again until the 2nd of December, when he inaugurated his entry by killing Gunseeam (Ghanshiam Das), the blind Choube.

5*th*—In the end of August Mr. Cocks sent Daood Khan, of Bheekumpoor (Bhikampur), to hold the neighbourhood of Kasgunj for the British Government. He came to Kasgunj, and from all that can be discovered now, appears to have made common cause with the Nawab's adherents, and deceived Mr. Cocks by pleading his inability to turn out Asad Alee Khan, who I really believe was considerably weaker in followers and influence, than this double-dealing Khan of Bheekumpoor.[2]

ROLE OF PATHANS OF BHITHAUNA

Memo. Signed by J. C. Wilson, Commissioner, dated Camp Kasganj, March 22nd 1858.

GOVT. VERSUS

1.	Hoormut (Hurmat) Khan	Puthan
2.	Alee Jan Khan	,,
3.	Jan Alee Khan	,,
4.	Morad Sheer (Murad Sher) Khan	,,
5.	Nizam Alee Khan	,,
6.	Shumsheer Khan	,,
7.	Fazil, Loohar[3]	
8.	Akbur, Loohar	
9.	Allah Khan	Puthan
10.	Mahomud Hoosein Khan	,,
11.	Dulsheer[4] Khan	,,

[1] *Sarawal*, Pargana *Sirhpura*, Tahsil *Kasganj*, District *Etah*—This large village, lying in 27° 35′ N. and 78° 58′ E., contained in 1901 a population numbering 2,883 persons. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 216).

[2] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Etah District*, p. 7.

[3] Luhar—Blacksmith.

[4] Correct name may be 'Dilsher Khan'.

DISTURBANCES IN BHITAUNA

It appears that at the commencement of the mutiny the Puthans of Bithouna were the very first to rise and to commence plundering. The village is situated a short distance from Kassgunj on the Soron road and the Prisoners all reside in it. The Prisoner Dulsheer Khan is the *Lumburdar*. About the 22nd or 23rd May the Prisoner Hoormut Khan with a party of Puthans of Bithouna entered Kassgunj and very severely wounded Jhoonnee Lal *Bunneea* (Jhunni Lal *Bania*) who has sued him in the Civil Court, and plundered the shop of his son Bolaqee Doss (Bulaqi Das), for a debt of 11 Rs. On the following day the Puthans of Bithouna with open violence plundered the *Mundeer* (*Mandir*) of Jhoonnee Lal, Ram Doss, and Bolaqee Dass (Bulaqi Das) situated within the limits of *mouzah* Jugga Roodurpoor which adjoins the *mouzah* of Bithouna and destroyed all the idols placed therein. On the third day they plundered the Bazar of Kassgunj and carried off to Bithouna camels, rice, and sugar. Subsequently, a dispute arose between the Puthans of Bithouna and the Etah Hindoos headed by Run Buhadoor—the adopted son of the Rajah of Etah lately deceased respecting some plundered rice which had been deposited in a *Bunneea's* (*Bania's*) shop in Kassgunj. Shots were exchanged and the nephew of Run Buhadoor was killed. The Hindoos then unable to bear the oppression of the Bithouna Puthans any longer attacked Bithouna and raised (*sic*,-razed) it to the ground. The Puthans appear to have taken up their quarters in Suhawur and also in Bheekunpoor (Bhikanpur).

ATTACK ON KASGANJ

Matters remained in this state till the end of November when Mahomed Muteen Khan Puthan of Bithouna, aided by almost all the Moosulmans in the neighbourhood of Kassgunj induced the rebel forces then stationed at Suhawur, Putteealee (Patiali) etc. etc. to attack Kassgunj. This was done on the 2nd December, the faithful blind man Choube Ghunsam Doss (Chaubey Ghanshiam Das) was then *Nazim* of Kassgunj. He, because he was a Hindoo, was murdered and his head suspended to the *peepul* tree at the Kassgunj *Tehseeldaree*. The *Tehseeldar* Shaikh Feiazoodeen[1] being a Moosulman was of

[1] May be 'Faiz-uddin' or 'Fayyaz-uddin'.

course spared. During the time of the rebels' occupation of Kassgunj which lasted from the 2nd December to the 14th December on which date they were defeated at Mulsaee, the Puthans of Bithouna plundered Jhoonnee Lal's house of 25000 Rs. worth of property and in consequence of Mahomed Muteen having obtained a *sunnud* from the Nawab Raees of Furrukhabad the Bithouna Puthans were enabled to commit every act of enormity. Accordingly they tied to a gun among others Toolsee Ram *Bunneea* and thus extorted from him 200 Rs. In this act the Prisoner Dulsheer Khan took a prominent part. The Jt. Mte. (Joint Magistrate) has committed 11 inhabitants of Bithouna to his court 9 of whom are Puthans and 2 are *Loohars*. The rest of the Moosulmans of the village appear to have taken service with Khan Bahadur, the rebel of Bareilly. In my opinion the Puthans of Bithouna were deserving of being put to the sword by the military but as the Prisoners have been convicted I shall not hesitate to vindicate the Majesty of the Law for in addition to the mass of evidence produced in this case it is (a) matter of notoriety that the Puthans of Bithouna and Suhawur fought against the British forces at Mulsaee on the 4th December 1857. The upshot of the defence is that all the iniquities perpetrated by the Puthans of Bithouna were perpetrated by those Puthans who have absconded and taken service at Bareilly. This is no defence at all. I convict the Prisoners Hoormut Khan, Alee Jan Khan, Jan Alee Khan, Morad Sheer Khan, Nizam Alee Khan, Shumsheer Khan, Allah Khan, Mahomed Hoosein Khan, Dulsheer Khan of rebellion and I sentence them to be hanged by the neck till they are dead. I acquit the *Loohars* Fazil and Akbur, because not being Puthans, it is possible that they have been under such fear and restraint as to render it unadvisable to punish them. I also pronounce the *zumeendaree* of Bithouna forfeited.[1]

ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN ETAH

MUHAMMAD ALI SEEKS NAZIMSHIP OF ETAH

"Translation of a petition from Chowdhree Mahomed Alee Khan (Chaudhari Muhammad Ali Khan), Zummeendar and Talookdar of Pergunnah Suhawur

[1] Etah Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

(Zamindar and Taluqdar of Pargana Sahawar) Zillah Eetah (Etah), dated 11th Zeequd (Ziqaad) 1273 Hijree corresponding with 1201 Juloosee[1] *(equivalent to 26th June 1857).*

To the virtuous and illustrious Nuwab Mahomed Wuleedad Khan Sahib, who has in his retinue even the great luminary, who enjoys the highest title, whose fame has even reached the firmament, who is as exalted as the planet Saturn, the lion in fight and courage, the crocodile of the river of bravery and generosity, and who is favoured by the Supreme Master of the universe. May the Almighty always keep you in prosperity.

Chowdharee Mahomed Alee Khan, the humblest of all your old well-wishers and servants, most respectfully stands a supplicant for your bounty, and begs to state that, in these glorious days when the light of the religion of Islam has dispelled the gloom hanging over the realm of India by the glad tidings of the coronation of the Heaven's favored king of Delhi as Emperor of Hindoostan and by the grant of a *firman* to Your Excellency in which His Imperial Majesty has been pleased to confer on you a very high dignity, this news has made joyful the years of your poor petitioner who on his part, has offered his heart-felt thanks to the Supreme Being for the honor conferred on you. It is a notorious fact in every town, district, and country, that the accursed Englishmen have been destroyed by their soldiery, and that there is anarchy and confusion throughout their government. It is also a fact that the wicked Rajpoots are bent upon causing anarchy and by their disaffection the crimes of murder, plunder and arson, have become common in these days.

The ancestors of yours petitioner under the auspices of your illustrious forefathers, held high offices under the former Emperors of Delhi, in proof of which, he has still in his possession the *firmans* issued by those Emperors.

The prayers of your poor petitioner as well as of all your well-wishers offered at dawn of day and at mid-night, have, at last, been heard, and God has shown the bright and happy day on which your poor petitioner humbly appears as a candidate for the favor of His Imperial Majesty, and is anxious

[1] Spelt perhaps for 'Julus'—the year of accession.

that he may be appointed a *Nazim* (which rank was formerly held by his ancestors) over the district of Eetah (Etah).

Your poor petitioner is fully competent to take the administration solicited by him. The thriving condition of his own estate of Suhawur, is a fair proof of your petitioner's ability to assume the honor requested by him. Your poor petitioner by incurring a considerable expense has maintained peace and order throughout his jurisdiction, and by employing a good number of musketeers and horsemen, has kept at bay, the hordes of plunderers. Your petitioner's administration has been such, that while in the neighbouring towns, the tradesmen were afraid to open their shops, those of the market of Suhawur have not remained closed even for a moment. The villages which were at a distance from your petitioner's residence, could not, of course, be saved from plunder.

In this part of the country, no authentic news comes from the seat of war, save this that (a) handful of the panic-struck Englishmen unable to fly in security, are fruitlessly contending with the veteran and victorious army of His Majesty. The vague character of the current news keeps your poor petitioner in great anxiety. As your poor petitioner is a protege of your illustrious family, he begs you will kindly acquaint him with full account of His Majesty's coronation; of the acknowledgement of His Majesty's power by the native army of Bombay and Peshawur; and of the victories gained by His Majesty. Your poor petitioner also begs to know the time when Your Excellency will set out to take the administration of the districts of Allygurh, Eetah, Mynpooree (Mainpuri) and Furrukhabad to enable your petitioner to send beforehand his representative to the Court of His Majesty with a petition specifying his requests and wishes.

Your poor petitioner, if Your Excellency will permit him, will go in person to Delhi and entreat His Majesty to confer on him the office of *Nazim* of Eetah. May success always attend you and the strength of your army ever increase.[1]

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, April 3rd, 1858, p. 315; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, March 27). National Library, Calcutta.

MATHURA

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT MATHURA

Letter No. 102 *from M. Thornhill, Late Magistrate of Muttra (Mathura), to G. F. Harvey, Commissioner, Agra Division, dated the* 10*th August* 1858.

In reply to your letters noted in the margin (omitted here) I have the honor to submit a narrative of the events that occurred in the Muttra District, from the commencement of the disturbances till the period of my leaving the district.

EUROPEAN LADIES AND NON-COMBATANTS SHIFTED TO AGRA

2*nd*—On the 14th May 1857, I received information from the Magistrate of Goorgaon (Gurgaon) that the mutineers were approaching the district; the information was vague, but confirmed in the evening by letters from various European gentlemen on the Customs and Railway Establishments at the north of the district; the ladies and non-combatants were immediately sent off to Agra.

3*rd*—During the next and following days, no certain information was received; the European gentlemen and others in Goorgaon, and the north of the Muttra District came in, bringing very alarming rumours of the approach of the rebel army; from all that could be learnt the whole rebel army was believed to be marching down with the intention of attacking Agra.

4*th*—On 16th May, Captain Nixon arrived with the Bhurtpore (Bharatpur) Army and took command of the station. The next day, or the following, it was ascertained that the rumours of the approach of the rebels were false. Captain Nixon then resolved to march towards Delhie, with the view I believe of opening the communication between Delhie and Agra, and co-operating with the Commander-in-Chief.

5*th*—The news of the insurrection and the proclamation of the King of Delhie had now become known among the native population, the country immediately became disturbed. The disturbances were chiefly attacks on *Bunniahs* and ejectment of new *zemindars* by the old.

TREASURE TO BE SHIFTED TO AGRA

6*th*—There were six and a quarter lacs of treasure in the

treasury, under a Guard of a Company of one of the Native Infantry Regiments at Agra, I forget which. From the manner of the men and the private information I received, I thought them mutinous and wrote so to Agra; I also strongly recommended the treasure being sent in to Agra. I had carts ready waiting at the office to send it on. Unfortunately my recommendation was not attended to.

7*th*—On the 19th May, Captain Nixon marched out towards Delhie, I accompanied him, we marched slowly making long halts, a detachment was left behind for the protection of the city. A large number of new Police had been raised and I endeavored to raise new sowars, but with very little success. The great protection of the city consisted in the *Seths* Radha Kishen and Gobind Dass, who raised a large body of men at their own expense and by their influence kept the other inhabitants quiet. They also lent Captain Nixon two brass guns.

8*th*—Mr. Clifford, the Joint Magistrate, was left behind in charge of the station, but was compelled almost immediately to leave from illness, his place was supplied by Mr. Dashwood; Mr. Elliot Colvin accompanied him as Assistant.

9*th*—On the 23rd May you joined the army accompanied by several other European gentlemen. On the 25th May the army reached Kosee and next morning marched on to Hodul where it halted. Hodul being in the Goorgaon District, I remained at Kosee. A detachment of about 300 Bhurtpore Infantry and two guns were left with me under command of one of the chiefs named Ruggoonath (Raghunath) Singh, the guns were those lent by the *Seths*.

10*th*—The disturbances in the district had been increasing both in number and enormity. Kuer Dildar Ally Khan, a large *zemindar* in *pergunnah* Maot (Mat), was murdered by his villagers. On the 23rd May, Omrow Bahadoor, a relative of his who had estates in *pergunnah* Nohjheel had been besieged in his house, but on the approach of our force, the villagers had retired, and he made his escape. Several other murders were committed and other outrages, the particulars of which I do not remember.

TREASURY-GUARD DEFIANT, EUROPEANS' FLIGHT

11*th*—On the 29th May I went to Chatta. In the evening, Mr. Dashwood, Mr. Colvin, Mr. Gibbon and Mr. Joyce, my

Head Clerk arrived and informed me of the mutiny of the Treasury-guard. The Guard had been relieved by another Company from Agra, and orders had been received to send in the treasure under their escort. The treasure was packed, placed on the carts, and the carts ready to start, when a shot was heard outside followed by a rush of sepoys into the office, firing at the Europeans. All however escaped and ran towards the city where they procured horses and rode out. Mr. Burlton, Commanding the detachment, had been outside with the Guard, and it was feared had been shot and two of the Clerks (the Mr. Hashmans) had got separated from the rest of the party in the flight to the city.

REVOLUTIONARIES NEARING MATHURA

12*th*—I presumed the mutineers had marched towards Allygurh, but as a precautionary measure I sent out sowars along the Muttra Road to gain intelligence. In about two hours they returned with the intelligence that the mutineers were approaching.

RAGHUNATH SINGH IN DEFIANT ATTITUDE

13*th*—We immediately started for Captain Nixon's Camp; in passing through Kosee, I sent for Ruggoonath Singh, he refused to come, to admit me into his camp, or to give up the *Seths'* guns. We reached Captain Nixon's Camp about daybreak; Captain Nixon did not credit the intelligence of the approach of the mutineers, he however sent out a party to reconnoitre. About 9 O'clock, the intelligence was confirmed; the mutineers were approaching Kosee. Captain Nixon then made preparations for opposing them, on which the whole force broke out in open mutiny and turned their guns upon us; Captain Nixon then ordered us to fly. The rest of the Europeans went with you towards Sonah, I and Mr. Joyce returned to Muttra.

14*th*—We arrived about three in the morning, and found the station burnt and deserted. We proceeded on to Agra in the hopes of obtaining assistance. The news of the mutiny had spread with great rapidity *and the whole country had risen almost instantaneously*. We were fired at from several villages and had several narrow escapes.

EUROPEANS RETURN TO MATHURA

15*th*—No assistance could be given from Agra, and we returned the following evening to Muttra. We put up in the *Seths*' house in the city who received us most kindly. We found the two Mr. Hashmans there; we arrived at evening; the next morning I visited the office and found it burnt, and Mr. Burlton's body lying in a ditch in the compound; we buried it on the spot as well as we could.

16*th*—The following is an outline of what occurred after the mutiny; I gathered the information from many sources and compared it carefully; I think it may be depended on. On the treasure being laden, Mr. Burlton gave the word to march; The *Subadar* said "where" ? "To Agra, of course", Mr. Burlton replied; on which a shout arose "no to Delhie to Delhie". Mr. Burlton exclaimed "you traitors" (*Bey-eeman*). On this a sepoy standing close by fired his musket at him, the ball passed through his chest, he fell off his horse, and I fancy died instantly.

JAIL-GUARD JOINS THE REVOLUTIONARIES

17*th*—The sepoys then set fire to the office; the flames were the first notice the Europeans in the station had of the mutiny; they instantly left and all succeeded in making their escape to Agra; the office being well on fire, the sepoys marched off with the treasure; they sent a detachment to release the prisoners in the jail. The Jail-guard at once joined them; they then marched on towards Delhie. They burnt two bungalows besides the office, but did no other damage; they however burnt all the Government buildings on the road, Customs *Chowkies* and Bungalows, Police *Chowkies*, etc. The *zemindars* of all the villages along the road joined and assisted them. On reaching Kosee, Ruggoonath (Raghunath) Singh, although he had a larger force and two guns, allowed them to pass; he also plundered my property left at Kosee.

18*th*—The sepoys carried off only the five lacs of treasure packed on the carts. A lac and a quarter in pice, uncurrent Rupees, etc. besides several thousand Rupees in cash and jewel , deposited by the Europeans in the treasury for safety, they left behind, from what motive, I am unable to conjecture. As soon as it was known that this money had been left, the

whole city headed by the *Kotwal* and the Bhurtpore detachment flocked down to plunder it, and continued to do so till the flames drove them out. From plundering they commenced fighting; the greatest confusion followed; about 30 men more or less were killed. Captain Burlton's body was meanwhile stripped and thrown into the ditch, where I found it. The next afternoon all the villagers for miles round poured into the station and plundered and burnt it.[1]

* * *

Copy of Letter No. 1 from M. Thornhill, Magistrate, Muttra (Mathura), to C. B. Thornhill, Secretary to Govt. N. W. Provinces, Agra, dated Muttra (Mathura) Collector's Office, the 5th June 1857.

67TH AND 44TH N. I. REGIMENTS IN OPEN DEFIANCE, TREASURY RANSACKED

I have the honor to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, the mutiny of the Treasury-Guard on duty at this Collectorate consisting of a Detachment of the 67th Regiment N. I. and another of 44th Regiment N. I.

2*nd*—The Detachment from the 67th N. I. having been on duty for the last 2 months and the time (for) its relief having arrived, a Company of the 44th Regiment N. I. was ordered for this purpose, and in the meanwhile instructions were received by me from the Accountant, N. W. P., to send all the surplus funds of this treasury to Agra by the relieved Guard. In pursuance therefore of this order and on the arrival of the relieving Detachment on the 30th ultimo Mr. Dashwood, the Treasury Officer, made preparations to make over treasure to the amount of four lacs, sixty thousand one hundred in Company's and Furruckabad Rupees, to the men of the 67th Regiment N. I. commanded by Lieutenant Burlton. Between the hours of 4 and 5 P. M. on that day the treasure chests were placed on hackeries and as the last hackery was being driven off to take its place in the Lines, the mutiny broke out by the discharge of a musket by one of the sepoys of the 67th N. I. at their officer Lieutenant Burlton, which I regret to say

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Mathura District*, pp. 1-3.

proved fatal to that Officer. The men of the 44th immediately joined the mutineers and shots were fired by them at the rest of the European and Christian officers at that time assembled in the office but without effect, and these succeeded in making their escape; Lieutenant Gibbons of the 44th received a slight bayonet thrust in the palm of the right hand. The mutineers then set fire to the office buildings and destroyed all the public records of the district. The portion of Government money which remained in the treasury was plundered, it is believed, by the surrounding inhabitants. *The mutineers also let loose all the prisoners confined within the jail and during that same night marched on, taking the road leading to Delhie.*

SADAR STATION RAIDED BY VILLAGERS

3*rd*—This state of things continued until the afternoon of the 31st ultimo, when the inhabitants of the surrounding villages made an inroad into the *Sudder* Station and plundered all the inhabited bungalows of the entire property belonging to the residents and from these which were not occupied they removed the doors and *chowkuts*, including those of the Government buildings; a few of the bungalows have also been burnt down by the insurgents.

4*th*—Immediately on my arrival at this station from Agra on the evening of the 3rd instant I took measures towards the recovery of the plundered property and to tracing the parties concerned in the plunder, the result of which, I shall do myself the honor of reporting at a fitting opportunity, though it may be stated that a good portion of the property has been discovered, in, however, an irretrievably damaged condition, and some few of the insurgents have been apprehended.

RAIDS ON KACHEHRI

5*th*—I have the honor further to report for the information of Govt. that the *tehseeldaree kutcherries* of Suhar (Sahar)[1] and

[1] *Sahar*, Tahsil *Chhata*, District *Muttra*—The town of Sahar is situated in 27° 38′ N. and 77° 30′ E., at a distance of 21 miles from Muttra. (*District Gazetteers*, Muttra, Vol. VII, 1911, p. 330).

Kosee (Kosi)[1] have also been plundered by the mutineers and the records destroyed. Kosee is situated on the Delhie Road and the Suhar *Tehseelee* was removed by me some time previous for better security from that place of Chattah (Chhata)[2] which lies also on that line of road.

6*th*—The records of the *Huzoor Tehseel* office being placed in a building adjoining the *Suddur Cutcherry* were destroyed as a matter of course at the first outbreak.

7*th*—Information has also been received to-day by means of an escaped *Tehseel Chupprassee* that, yesterday the *tehseeldaree cutcherry* of Nohjhil[3] was plundered and the records destroyed by large number of insurgents, villagers of that and the surrounding villages.

8*th*—The *thannah* of Rayah (Raya)[4] has also been burnt down and the record destroyed by the villagers.

ADMINISTRATION PARALYSED

9*th*—From the above brief narrative it will be evident to his Honor that *the state of the district generally is such as to defy all control* and that excepting in the cities of Muttra, Bindrabun[5] and a few other large towns, *the law is at a stand-still, the enforce-*

[1] *Kosi*, Tahsil *Chhata*, District *Muttra*—Kosi is the largest town in the Chhata Tahsil and is situated in 27° 48′ N. and 77° 26′ E., on the Agra-Delhi road at a distance of twenty-eight miles from Muttra. (*District Gazetteers*, Muttra, Vol. VII, 1911, p. 270).

[2] *Chhata*, Tahsil *Chhata*, District *Muttra*—The town of Chhata is situated in 27° 44′ N. and 77° 30′ E., on the high road between Muttra and Delhi, at a distance of 21 miles from the district capital. (*District Gazetteers*, Muttra, Vol. VII, 1911, p. 252).

[3] *Nohjhil*, Tahsil *Mat*, District *Muttra*—The village of Nohjhil lies in 27° 51′ N. and 77° 40′ E., at a distance of 30 miles from Muttra and 18 miles from Mat; with the latter it is connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Muttra, Vol. VII, 1911, p. 316).

[4] *Raya*, Tahsil *Mahaban*, District *Muttra*—The town of Raya is situated on the metalled road to Hathras, in 27° 33′ N. and 77° 48′ E. It is distant eight miles both from Muttra and Mahaban, and has a station on the Cawnpore-Achnera railway. (*District Gazetteers*, Muttra, Vol. VII, 1911, p. 323).

[5] *Brindaban*, Tahsil *Muttra*, District *Muttra*—The celebrated town of Brindaban is situated in 27° 33′ N. and 77° 42′ E., on the banks of the Jumna, nine miles north of the district capital. (*District Gazetteers*, Muttra, Vol. VII, 1911, p. 240).

ment of proceedings against criminals wholly impracticable and Government officials perfectly helpless in the discharge of their duties.

10*th*—In conclusion I beg to state that my office is at present temporarily held in the city of Muttra and that nothing but the most urgent current work can at this moment be transacted.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 335 *from C. B. Thornhill, Officiating Secretary to Government, N. W. Provinces, to M. Thornhill, Magistrate, Muttra (Mathura), dated Agra, the* 8*th June* 1857.

In reply to your letter of the 5th instant No. 1 reporting the destruction of records and plunder of the treasury etc. I am directed to intimate that the Lieutenant-Governor is painfully aware of the very difficult circumstances in which the Muttra District is now, and has for the last week been placed.

2*nd*—Every aid, which it may be in the power of the Government rightly to afford to your authority, will be granted.[2]

* * *

Translation of the Deposition of Lala Thakur Prasad, Siyah Navis.

Father's name—Durga Prasad, caste—Kayastha, residing at present in Mathura, age—37 years, profession—service.

Question—On May 30, 1857 after 4 O'clock the rebel *Tilangas* took the Mathura treasures to Delhi and set fire to the office. You were there. Give a detailed account of the incident.

Answer—On May 30, 1857, the Captain, Mr. David[3] and Mr. Colvin got 4 lakhs 60 thousand rupees loaded on bullock-carts and entrusted them to the *Subedars* and *Tilangas* for being transferred to Agra. The remaining one lakh and 40 thousand were locked in the chests of the treasury. In the meantime the *Tilangas* shot the Captain dead and also fired

[1] Agra Commissioner's Pre-Mutiny Records, (Muttra District—Judicial, Letters received March 1856-57), Book No. 97. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Appears to have been deciphered for 'Dashwood'.

at the other English gentlemen. But they were saved and the Brahman was wounded and killed. After this the Englishmen and the Christians took to flight towards Mathura[1] (?) Kunji Lal could not stir out, for fear, from the place where he used to sit and was surrounded on all sides. The *Tilangas*, after this entered the room and turned out Kunji Lal, Har Dayal and myself. We fled to Mathura. The *Tilangas* wanted to kill us but a *Havaldar* saved us and directed us to take a side-route. I did not notice any particular person amongst the rebels, being myself perplexed.

The *Tilangas* and the carts loaded with treasures were still there when we left the treasury. The *Tilangas* took away the treasure after we had fled. They set fire to the bungalows in *Mathura Chhaoni and went away on the Delhi Road.*[2]

* * *

Translation of the Deposition of Kesho Singh Chaprasi.

Father's name is Ram Bakhsh Thakur, resident of Etawah, age 40 years, profession—service.

Question—On May 30, 1857, two Companies of rebel *Tilangas* took the treasure from Mathura to Delhi and burnt the office records. Were you present there ? Give a detailed account of the affair.

Answer—I do not remember the date. The treasure was loaded on bullock carts for Agra. All the peons carried the bags from the treasury to the bullock carts. Four lakhs were loaded on eleven bullock carts. About one lakh rupees and the boxes containing pices were left in the *Kothi*. The key of the chest containing the remaining treasure remained with *Chhota Saheb* (Deputy Magistrate). The loaded bullock carts kept standing under the *neem* tree. I do not know the name of the *Captan Saheb* (Captain). He was counting the bullock carts when one of the *Tilangas* shot the Captain dead. Then the *Tilangas* fired at the *Chhotey Saheb* and the other Captain who stood in the verandah of the treasury but they were not hurt. This shot killed Sita Brahman who died shortly after. Then the Captains and other Englishmen left this place and fled to Mathura. Shaikh Ghulam Husain, Deputy Collector, the

[1] This appears to have been written for the name of some other place, or Mathura proper may be intended.

[2] Mathura Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 4, File No. 20/137.

Naib Nazir and some peons still remained in the *tahsil*. After some time when the *Tilangas* had set fire to the *tahsil* building, the Deputy Saheb also left the place and went to the Sadar Bazar. The *Tilangas* said to him, "Where are you going ? Come with us". But he left the place speedily. Before sunset, the *Tilangas* set fire to the office and took away the treasure. When leaving, the *Tilangas* asked us also to accompany them. Hearing this Muhammad Husain, *Naib Nazir*, Allah Bakhsh, Ahmad Khan, the peon whose name I do not now remember, Holi *Palladar* (coolie), eight other coolies who had come to load the treasure and myself were left at the *Kothi*.[1] We came to the house of Jan Ali *Daftari* in Sadar Bazar. The peons and the *Naib Nazir* stayed at his house. I stayed at the temple near the gate of the Sadar Bazar. Late in the evening at about 8, when it was quite dark I saw the people of the Sadar Bazar and other residents of Mathura going to the treasury in groups. They plundered what was left in the treasury. The whole night the *Kothi* remained in flames and the treasury open to plunder. The next morning, the *Kotwal* of Mathura with a few horsemen, the *Kotwal* of Sadar Bazar and Muhammad Husain, *Naib Nazir* came to the *Kothi*. The *Naib Nazir* forcibly took a bag of pice from one who had plundered it, saying that this would be deposited back with the Govt. If any of the officers had taken care to put things in order after the *Tilangas* had removed the treasure, the remaining amount must have been saved.

Question—How long did Shaikh Ghulam Husain, the Deputy Collector remain in the court premises after the English gentlemen had left?

Answer—The Deputy Saheb remained there for four *gharis*.

I did not see any other man of the staff there at this time.

Question—At what time did the *Tilangas* remove the treasure from the place and when did the plunder of the remaining begin ?

Answer—The *Tilangas* set out at 6 from the *Kothi* and at 8 the common people started looting the remaining treasure. I saw this with my own eyes.

Question—Did you recognise any of these plunderers ?

[1] The Urdu Text here appears to have been wrongly copied out.

Answer—It was night and there were thousands of people of Sadar Bazar and of the town of Mathura.[1]

* * *

Extract of charges framed against Akhtiar Khan who was tried in the court of I. K. Best, Officiating Magistrate, Zila Mathura, 4th March 1858.

....This is most clearly established by the evidence that Defendant arrived at Kosee in company with the mutineers viz., the Company of 44th N. I. R. (Native Infantry Regiment), one Co. of 67th who on 30th May '57 plundered the Muttra Treasury of four lakhs of Rupees after murdering one of their officers (Mr. Burlton 67th) and wounding another (Mr. Gibbon 44th). Defendant was mounted on a horse.... There is no doubt that he with a number of the customs establishment joined the mutineers of his own free will and accord. He afterwards proceeded to Delhi, where he with another officer (Munsoor Alee *Nazir*) in Customs Department was seen by Secunder (Sikandar) Beg, one of the witnesses.....

He was sentenced to death.[2]

DEVI SINGH PROCLAIMS HIMSELF RAJA OF RAYA

Deposition of Dindar Khan, Barqandaz of Thana Raya (Dt. Mathura).

Father's name—Sher Khan, Pathan, age 60 years, resident of Agra, profession—service.

Question—Who was the leader at the time that.... (illegible), Lalji, residents of Sahar and *zamindars* of Chowdah Taraf Raya plundered the *thana*, the belongings of the policemen and the *thana* records?

Answer—All the *zamindars* of Chowdah Taraf Raya with a party of 1000 men, plundered the carts laden with salt and gram belonging to Muqim Parao and also the residents of the town and its market. *Debi Singh set himself up as the Raja and made a proclamation of his assumption.* He besieged the *thana* for eight days and then made a raid on the policemen and the

[1] Mathura Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 4, File No. 20/137.

[2] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Akhtiar Khan*." Mathura Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 8.

thana records. Then the *Thanadar* with all of us i. e. the policemen left the place and went to Bhat Ganj. I saw that there was a large number of these men but I do not remember their names. I can, however, recognise them if I see them now. When the Magistrate returned he hanged Sriram and Debi Singh and re-established the *thana*.[1]

AGRA

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT AGRA

NEWS OF MEERUT OUTBREAK REACHES AGRA

Letter from W. Muir, C. S., to the Editor, "Bombay Times" dated Agra, 13th June* 1857.

On Sunday night, the 10th of May, telegraphic information reached us of the tragic scene that was being enacted at Meerut. But the serious sequel of this tragedy in reference to Dehli was not made known to us by any direct communication. The news therefore did not at first excite that deep concern which a full appreciation of the extent of the calamity would have caused. Many, indeed, did not know that anything unusual had occurred till Tuesday.

DAK COMMUNICATION DISRUPTED

Meanwhile the telegraph was stopped with Meerut, and of necessity with Dehli also (for the wire to Dehli passes through Meerut). The *daks* of Sunday came in as usual on Monday, both from Meerut and from Dehli, but after that the *dak* ceased.[2]

THE HISTORY OF AGRA BEFORE THE OUTBREAK

On the 11th[3] May 1857 intelligence of the Meerut catastrophe was flashed by telegraph to the metropolis of the

[1] Mathura Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 7, File No. 12 : "Rebellion of the Zamindars of Sahar".

* "This letter did not reach its destination".—Note in Original

[2] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. II, p. 241.

[3] This date is given as 10th May in the preceding document.

North-West. It came not from the authorities to the authorities, but from a private source. The news soon obtained such publicity in official circles as to reach the ears of the Lieutenant-Governor. That great and good statesman, on whose energy and tact then depended the weal or woe of India, was evidently not prepared for a shock that soon bade fair to strike at the root of that supremacy which the chances of century and the adoption of an unflinching, all absorbing policy had thrust upon his countrymen. His just impressions were, that it was a local mutiny, that the disaffection would not spread throughout the native army, that a spark here and a flash there might be exhibited at military stations in the provinces; but that the mass of the native soldiery would remain true to their colors and give a helping hand to the Government in quelling partial revolt in the Lines. He prudently awaited further information before laying down his plans. This he obtained a little later the same day by letter from Lucknow. It disclosed a plot for a simultaneous rising of the Indian army and announced that active preparations were being made by the Lahore authorities to meet the coming crisis. On the 12th May news of the Delhi massacre was vaguely rumoured within hearing of the Lieutenant-Governor, and, as it was bruited in the station that troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry from Meerut and Delhie had arrived and were tampering with the sepoys in the cantonment to the end that they might at once seize the fort and arsenal, a Company of the 3rd Europeans slipped into the Fort evidently with the object of relieving the sepoy garrison which was supposed to be wavering. Simultaneously with this movement the public offices were abruptly closed at midday and there were seen broken lines of carriages freighted with ladies, gentlemen and children of varied hue decorated with bonnets and hats streaming from the civil lines through the city towards the fort. Not a word of precaution, not a hint was given of the impending danger to the native population. The native officials in public offices were sent away to their homes after a fashion which failed not to convince them that the reason for reticence on the part of the Christian community was a general distrust of the native population—even to the extent of their admission into the secret might reveal the short journey to the fort perilous. A class of Christians that had ever since the time when an Apostle preached and prosely-

tized on the Malabar Coast been looked down upon by both Jew and Gentile, now began to breathe more freely. Its members saw that they had reached the turning point in their destination, that an opportunity had offered which might be turned to account but which neglected might never return, that a time had arrived when by killing the dead they might establish their reputation for bravery and prove to Government their loyalty. Men filling the higher grades of the service had hitherto denied them a safe position, had stigmatized them as the *Keranee* race, had learnt to distinguish them as men who had imbibed the vice of intemperance from Europeans and of mendacity from Indians; but the day had dawned upon the prospects of the race when its members hoped to wash themselves clean of every foul stain on their character of the blood of the native, and they were determined to thrive under the genial influences of the moment. Men in authority were importunate to believe that Indian nativity and loyalty were incompatibilities, that a native who was sincere in his professions of fidelity was a monstrosity, and that train him as you will, he will, when released from restraint, betray the propensities of Nanah (Nana). The local newspapers did not escape the infection. They forgot that as leaders of public opinion, it was their duty to vindicate a people from the tyranny of a class, and commenced a paper crusade against natives which is still being carried on with unmitigated rancour. Postal communications remained open long enough after the outbreak to enable the press to peal its fulmination from station to station, till the Christian, the Hindoo and the Mussulman in the North-West became alike tainted with the mischievous malice it retailed out—each according to his peculiar predispositions, and private correspondence carried on by *cossids* completed the work of alienation. European Military Officers more inflammable than their brothers of the Civil Service caught the mania first, the majority of civilians withstood the torrent a little longer, but were ultimately carried pellmell along the stream; Agra would have fared a no better fate than Delhi, Lucknow or Jhansie, had not, on the 5th of July—when emboldened by the presence of the Neemuch Brigade which had taken up a position at the most within cannon shot distance of the fort at the retreat behind entrenchments of the 3rd Bengal Fusiliers, the scum of the outlying villages were sacking the domiciles of Christians by

making a horrible bonfire which approached nearer and nearer like a semi-circular wall of fire to devour the station, when the neigh of steeds, the clattering of hoofs, the jingling of swords, volleys of musketry and the hellish yells of the marauders struck terror into the stoutest heart and announced that the wreck of society was at hand—the reins of power been held by an individual who striving against public opinion in the fort, which impetuously urged him to order the demolition of the city, in a magnanimous and exemplary spirit, conformed to the text, "If I find.....fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the place for their sakes."

But the seeds of dissension had already been widely spread, they had germinated and taken root in men's minds. No amount of fidelity was considered as a safeguard against the attacks of malice. Intelligent natives, when not under surveillance, gave vent to their aggrieved feelings but never desired a change of masters; the less intelligent not possessing so much forbearance sympathized with the rebels and the ignorant masses implicated themselves by the commission of overt acts of rebellion. But the institution of the Agra Militia, like the institution of the Calcutta Volunteer Guards, gave the stroke which destroyed all sympathy for the Christian.

The *Keranee Bahadoors* after having successfully maligned all classes of natives, so as to persuade the Government to believe that it has no other friends in the country than themselves proposed to the authorities that they might be employed as militiamen to guard the city and the suburbs, and orders were accordingly issued to enlist them and to drill them under European officers. Christian men drawing salaries in the Civil Department from 15 to 700 Rs. per month were exempted from the performance of their legitimate duties and employed as Infantrymen and troopers. With laudable perseverance was the goose step mastered, and the wonder is that officers thought their men required to be taught the practice at all. The platoon exercises were soon learnt and discipline proceeded to such a pitch that on one occasion a private mounting night guard over the jail challenged a donkey thrice and then shot the rebel animal dead for persisting to withhold the countersign. The services of the militia in the field were of a type with their garrison duties, and the battle of Shahganj immortalised the corps. On detached duty the private was all for a loot and in quarters all for a spree. But

no one would have envied these good people the enjoyment of their well earned fame provided their conduct and bearing did not induce a popular belief that the shouldering a musket or the buckling on a sword was a license for oppression. It was otherwise, however, when people began to find, that a member of the distinguished body was one day helping himself freely out of the coffers of a *mahajun* by threatening to hand him over as a rebel to the Military Authorities, and that others were another day mercilessly caning a money-lender as a thief for property entrusted to him for safe custody being found in his premises; for then they began earnestly to look at one another as if to enquire if this be the corps entertained to keep the peace of the town ?

And thus, dear Reader has a clique actuated by the most sordid motives, succeeded in kindling a spirit of hostility to all natives as a race, and, as a natural consequence, in engendering in their minds a feeling of passive antagonism to the Christian, whose end and aim they suspect is to proselytize and to oppress. The clique itself has almost secured to itself a social position, and certainly cleared the road to fortune of all obstructions which had previously to be encountered. The Board and Government are being inundated with applications, and places are being given away to men who will soon offer the world practical illustrations of the truth of the proverb, "Set a beggar on horseback and he will ride to the devil."[1]

DELHI PRINCE AT AGRA

News dated Friday, May 22, 1857.

The Hurkaru mentions that the King of Delhi's son is at Agra staying with Mr. Muir, Secretary to Government of N. W. P. He hopes to clear himself from all suspicion of favouring the designs of the mutineers by his visit.....[2]

PREPARATIONS AT AGRA

May 22*nd*....There is general suspension of work, though

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 29th April 1858, pp. 133-134. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *The Friend of India*, May 28, 1857, p. 511. National Library, Calcutta.

the offices are not closed....Incendiaries set fire to the Hospital of the Native Infantry the day before yesterday. *This is the first sign of mischief in the city*; but as it was committed somewhere about mid-night, the culprits could not well be detected.[1]

REPORTS FROM MATHURA MAKE AGRA PANICKY

May 31, 1857.....This morning another panic was raised. This was caused by an alarm having been raised that Muttra had been looted, and the troops having mutinied too, were desirous of breaking into the jail, and rescuing the prisoners, and were about to dash upon the city for plunder. Every shop was closed of course, and arms were seen flashing in all directions by the light of the sun.....

All kinds of falsehoods are concocted by the natives, who are unaware of the true state of things; and among the numerous couplets they repeat in the city, to raise ridicule of the Govt., is the following—

"Chiena na mulk Hind Ka Eran ya Roos ne
Tamam kiya Angrez ko "Kartoos" ne."[*2]

SUMMARY OF EVENTS BEFORE THE OUTBREAK AT AGRA

Letter from W. Muir to his brother J. Muir and family in Edinburgh (England), dated Agra, the 2nd June 1857.

My last letter brought down the proceedings of this eventful month to the 20th ultimo, I think. Since then we have had another weary fortnight chequered with various incidents, but upon the whole, with less of reverse than might have been looked for from the extending defection of our native troops, and the continued occupation of Dehli by the rebels.

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, Thursday, May 28, 1857. National Library, Calcutta.

[*] *cf.* Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 454:

"Na Iran ne Kiya, na Shah Russ ne,
Angrez ko Tabah Kiya Kartoosh (Cartouche) ne".

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, Monday, June 8, 1857, p. 539. National Library, Calcutta.

9TH NATIVE INFANTRY REVOLTS AT ALIGARH

The day after I wrote, the headquarters of the 9th Native Infantry stationed at Allygurh, finding the temptation of the treasury *and the overtures from Dehli*, too strong for them, mutinied, plundered the treasure, *and made off for Dehli.* All our officers escaped and retired to Hatrass (Hathras) about thirty miles from this. This misfortune again cut off our communication with Meerut, either by post, telegraph, or messenger.

OUTBREAK AT MAINPURI

The other portions of the 9th Native Infantry were posted at Mynpoory (Mainpuri) and Etawah. No sooner did the emissaries of the headquarters from Allygurh reach Mynpoory than a mutiny took place there also. This, I think, was on the 22nd, a day or two after the affair at Allygurh. Your friend John Power has behaved nobly there. He is the Magistrate and Collector. So did a young officer, a German, named De Kantzow, who stayed with the mutineers at the peril of his life, and was so well supported by half a dozen staunch sepoys that the treasure and jail were kept secure. By this intrepid and gallant conduct,—although pressed to the verge of defeat and obliged to entrench themselves in the *cucherry**, Mynpoory was prevented from falling into hopeless anarchy, and our communication with Calcutta by *dak* and telegraph was preserved.

ETAWAH FOLLOWS THE EXAMPLE OF MAINPURI

As was to be expected, the other detachment *at Etawah followed in the same manner.* Hume, the Magistrate, was able to retire across the Jumna with the inhabitants; but the station was plundered and the treasury robbed.

BULANDSHAHR LOST TO BRITISH

While our communications with Meerut were closed, *Bolundshuhur also fell*, and its treasure was carried off to Dehli,

*"Magistrate's office"—Note in Original.

but under what circumstances I am not fully cognisant. The station has since been regained, and is occupied by Goorkha troops. The impression here is that the Meerut force has not been sufficiently active; *so large a body of European troops to remain so long on the defensive under such circumstances is unintelligible.* Rohtuck (Rohtak) has been also plundered from Dehli. Tidings have been received of the mutiny of the regiments at Nusseerabad (Nasirabad), but without details. It is hoped that the treasury at Ajmere may have escaped. The Mozuffernugger Treasury also went; but in consequence of the attack, I believe, of robbers and not of mutineers.

Thus you will see that these treacherous sepoys have gained immense booty. From three to seven lacs of rupees were in the several treasuries.

OUTBREAK AT MATHURA

Our last reverse has been at Muttra. On the 30th, a Company of the 44th Native Infantry from this went to relieve the Company of the 67th, which has been hitherto in charge of the treasury there, and which it was intended should bring in here a portion of the accumulating treasure. *Both Companies united* (notwithstanding there had been a bad understanding between the two regiments before), attacked their officers, shooting one, plundered the treasure, *and went off towards Dehli.* The Officers and Civilians (Dashwood and young Colvin) got off on horseback to Mark Thornhill, the Magistrate, who was at Cosee (Kosi), some twenty or thirty miles on the Dehli Road.

TIDINGS OF OUTBREAK AT MATHURA REACH AGRA

Tidings of this event (which occurred about 4 P. M.) reached Agra about 11 at night. Mr. Colvin, finding that Companies of both the native regiments here have thus committed such enormities, promptly determined that no confidence could be placed in them, and that to appear to show confidence would be weakness. It was therefore at once resolved to disarm the two regiments next morning, leaving them, however, still organised corps, but for the present unarmed with guns.

This determination was communicated to the inhabitants at once. I was awoke from sleep at 1.30 A. M. on Sunday the

31st, and went round to warn the people at our end, to be at their various rendezvous in case of disturbance*. The disarming was accomplished on the parade quietly. The Company on duty near the jail made some demur, which we saw from our position at the top of Boldero's Hill, whither we had all removed for safety, and ran off with their arms, but eventually all laid down their arms quietly. A great number of the men, especially of the 44th, have since slunk away, and many of the 67th (supposed to be better affected) have taken leave to their homes. This measure was a critical one; it has anticipated a possible real danger from a portion of these regiments, and it has, I believe, given satisfaction and, in some measure, restored confidence to the better disposed part of the population.

BHARATPUR AND ALWAR TROOPS JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARIES

A further untoward event has occurred in the train of the Muttra mutiny. The Bhurtpore (Bharatpur) and Ulwar (Alwar) forces were at Hodul (a little north of the Muttra frontier and in the Goorgaon District), with Harvey, the Commissioner, Captain Nixon of the Bhurtpore Residency, and other European officers. This force was intended to co-operate with the Commander-in-Chief's force and check fugitives from Dehli. But the Muttra mutineers with their treasure marched right up in this direction. Mark Thornhill, the Magistrate of Muttra, was at Cosee (Kosi), some eight miles on this side (of) Hodul, with a small body of Bhurtpore Horse. When the mutineers appeared with the treasure, *the Bhurtpore Horse would seem to have fraternised with them;* and Thornhill made off to the force at Hodul on the 31st. By midday the mutineers had come up, and the whole force was a mass of confusion. Mark Thornhill fled back towards Muttra, and got in here yesterday. It is not quite clear from his statement what the Bhurtpore Horse intended to do, but his accounts imply that *the Ulwar troops had fraternised with the mutineers, and that the Bhurtpore men would not act against them.*

*"Dr. Farquhar and I went together on this occasion; and it was interesting to observe the various effects of the news on different people : in one house the husband was craven, and the wife most bold. We had to warn the Roman Catholic ladies in their Convent"—Note in Original.

EVERY CANTONMENT SEVERELY AGITATED

Meanwhile *every cantonment throughout the country has been severely agitated.* Where there have been no European troops, the trial has been one of the most delicate and critical nature that can be imagined. The wonder is that such stations as Cawnpore, Moradabad, Allahabad, Benares, Azimgurh, etc. have stood at all. Here it was simply the presence of our 600 Europeans and European Artillery that enabled us to do what was done, otherwise we were entirely at the mercy of the sepoys....

But everywhere the fact of Dehli still being in the rebels' hands is an element of strong insecurity and incendiarism. It is in the very nature of the Mahometan faith to seize on such an incident as a religious principle, impelling the more devoted or fanatical to an attempt for re-establishing the ascendency of Islam. Everywhere, therefore, the cry has been for the Commander-in-Chief to retake Dehli.

Our communications on the Meerut side have lately been reopened for the post (the electric wire is cut and mangled for miles) by the admirable exertions of a band of Volunteers from Agra, headed by Cocks and Lieutenant Greathed of the Engineers. They found no opposition, and were welcomed by the people both of Hatrass (Hathras) and Allygurh. Indeed, every incident tends to show that this is no controversy between the people and the Government (excepting in so far as the Mahometan religious feeling above referred to is called forth by the occasion, and in so far as the present weakness of Government has encouraged the wild and pillaging part of the population to rise against authority), but simply between the Government and its native soldiery.

Our position has been greatly complicated by the cutting off of our communications with Meerut and the Commander-in-Chief, by the mutiny at Allygurh. It was only on the 31st that Mr. Colvin got the Commander-in-Chief's letter of the 16th May. But now that Allygurh is clear, we may hope for better communications. Last night brought a letter from the Commander-in-Chief at Kurnal (Karnal), dated the 23rd, explaining his arrangements, and saying he would be before Dehli by the 8th. The delay had occurred in consequence of the siege-train, etc., having been lost with the magazine of Dehli, and the necessity of getting heavy artillery from

Phillore (Philaur), near Ferozepore. It is a good deal canvassed whether this delay was warranted, and whether an immediate attack with the available field-batteries should not have been made. On the one hand, Dehli's walls are notoriously weak, and no resistance would probably have been made; while every day's delay to retake Dehli involves an increasingly serious Imperial risk, and the defection of native troops. On the other hand, any check at Dehli would have been worse than delay, and been next to fatal.

Simultaneously with the above despatch came news of the death of the Commander-in-Chief*, of cholera, on the 27th, at Kurnal. This event is startling, and, at the juncture, very remarkable; but it will not, I conclude, have any effect in keeping back our movements.

To-day brings tidings of the first actual success which we have met with. The European troops at Meerut moved over to Ghazeeooddeennugger[1], a *tehseeldaree* on this side (of) the Hindun, some ten miles from Dehli. The rebels came out, whether with the view of escaping elsewhere or not we do not yet know. They were attacked by our troops, and thoroughly discomfited, their artillery being taken.

Accounts of the Nusseerabad defection have since come in, and show that the whole force, Artillery and all, has seceded from its officers (excepting a Bombay Cavalry regiment), and *left with the intention of going to Dehli.*

Amid all these events Agra holds a very marked and distinguished position. *Between us and Dehli is anarchy and confusion; between us and Meerut is the same,* but being gradually reclaimed by our Agra Volunteers at Allygurh, and by the Goorkhas at Bolundshuhur. The defection of the 9th has thrown the Dooab to the north of us into the same state of wild disorder. If we had had Police battalions, as proposed by Lord Ellenborough, we might have had a force to fall back upon when our sepoys failed us. But we had nothing; our Police had been cut down to the smallest amount, and were scattered in bodies of ten and fifteen men at the several *thannahs*. When the sepoys went off, and the turbulent and predatorily inclined saw that we had no reserve force to back our orders with, they burst forth into all

*"General George Anson"—Note in Original.
[1] Referring, perhaps, to the present 'Ghaziabad'.

manner of excesses; and one's heart bleeds for the cruel injuries to which the poor defenceless villages—unaccustomed for fifty years to anything but profound peace—have been exposed. The authority of Government, wherever the sepoys revolted and our officers were forced to abandon the stations, thus slipped through our hands; and the *country, overrun by banditti, was in a flame.*

Meanwhile, there is no prospect of material improvement, while there are serious risks at every point throughout the country, till Dehli is retaken. It is wonderful that Rohilkhund and all below this has kept so quiet. If Agra had failed, I do believe all from here to Calcutta would have gone. *The surge of insurrection beats as it were all the way from Dehli to this unopposed;* but here it is met and repelled by a hitherto steady and immovable barrier. God grant we may hold on and weather the storm.

You may imagine it has been a time of acute domestic anxiety. After the Allygurh defection, I had resolved to send B...[1] and the children to Calcutta and had actually got the *dak* carriages here. After consulting with Mr. Colvin and others, I abandoned the idea, partly because the example would have been bad and might have led to want of confidence, partly because of the risks of the way*.[2]

* * *

Letter from W. Muir to his brother J. Muir in Edinburgh, dated Agra, the 5th June 1857.

I wrote two days ago. I have not much to communicate further, besides what you will learn from the paper and extras[3] I am forwarding to you. The main points are that the defeat of the mutineers at Ghazee-ooddeen-nugger on Saturday

[1] No name is given in the Original text.
*"The fate of Cawnpore made me afterwards tremble at the thought of what might have happened to them".—Note in Original.
[2] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Govt. of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, pp. 32-37. "These letters...were written from Agra to give our family at home information regarding the mutiny of its outbreak and during the following months, before I left to join Lord Canning at Allahabad...We had five of our children in the Agra fort...The Mss. is in a few cases incomplete..."—Prefatory Note in the Book.
[3] It appears to be a misprint for 'extracts'.

the 30th was followed up the next day by the defeat of an apparently large body of the mutineers who came out (from Dehli) with guns to attack our force. The action is said to have lasted four hours, but we have not yet the details. The enemy made no further demonstration the next day. Our troops there were subsequently strengthened by the Goorkha Regiment from Bolundshuhur, and also by a small addition of Europeans.

Meanwhile, we have at last authentic information of the advance of the Umballah (Ambala) force. The advanced brigade would be yesterday within two marches of Dehli; and the whole seems well equipped and, with God's blessing, fully equal to the work before it. Should there be any difficulty in reducing the fort without siege guns they are on their way behind the force; having left Phillore on the 21st ultimo. Morever, the Punjab Guides will be at Dehli by the 9th, so that they will be able to relieve our European troops of a part of the ordinary duties which at this season of the year must press severely on them.

Meanwhile, as was to be expected from the spirit of the soldiery, *the disaffection proceeds.* A large party of mutineers from Lucknow marched towards Seetapore, *which is said also to have risen. These insurgents then turned towards Dehli*, crossing the Ganges at Canouj (Kanauj[1]), and imperilling our little body of men which still manfully holds Mynpoory. They seem to have committed outrages on the Grand Trunk Road, and waited at Bhowgaon (the fork between the Allygurh and Agra roads), breaking the telegraphic communication, and destroying our postal establishments. We are therefore at present cut off from direct communication with Cawnpore and Calcutta. These ruffians eventually passed Mynpoory and went on towards Allygurh.

A body of Irregular Cavalry, which had volunteered for service against the mutineers, was stationed at Goorsahaigunj

[1] *Kanauj*, Pargana and Tahsil *Kanauj*, District *Farrukhabad*—Kanauj, once the capital of Northern India, is still the chief town of the tahsil which bears its name. It stands in north latitude 27° 3′ and east longitude 79° 59′, on the old cliff which was once the right bank of the Ganges though that river now flows at a distance of some four miles to the east. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 217).

(Gursahaiganj)[1] between Furruckabad and Cawnpore. These, from what cause we do not know rose on their officers (among whom was Fletcher Hayes), killed them, and *went off to Dehli.*

There are reports as to *similar proceedings at Shahjehanpore*, but, I believe, not yet authenticated; and at Furruckabad and Futtehgur they live in hourly expectation of an outbreak from the sepoys.

The 29th at Moradabad is believed to be staunch. I am not sure whether I mentioned that it had pursued some Sapper mutineers from Roorkee and forced them to lay down their arms. But such conduct is almost unexampled just now.

At Agra we continue quiet. The mutiny at Muttra we cannot but look upon as a providential warning to us; and it afforded a sufficient reason which the 44th and 67th must themselves have felt to be sufficient for disarming them. The men are now going home on leave. And so we get rid of that domestic source of anxiety and apprehension.

We trust that the early effect of successful measures at Dehli may be to stop the progress of defection in the army. If, as Mr. Colvin desires, two Columns can then be marched, one down the Dooab, the other down the right bank of the Jumna, the most troubled portion of the country would be quieted. But there are immense bodies of mutineer troops abroad throughout the country. Some 15,000 or 20,000 men must have mutinied. Great numbers of these have no doubt slunk away, both from the scenes of their disorder and from Dehli itself, towards their homes, *but there are still more than enough to do fearful damage to the country.*

Muttra has been reoccupied by Mark Thornhill and a few servants, and Volunteers. All is quiet there but advantage was taken by the bad characters about, on the mutiny of the sepoys, to burn the bungalows and plunder all unprotected property. The ease with which a Magistrate and Collector with a handful of men recovers his authority after the sepoys have gone, shows the nature of the rising as a military one, and

[1] *Gursahaiganj*, Pargana *Talgram*, Tahsil *Chhibramau*, District *Farrukhabad*—This village lies on the Grand Trunk Road, in 27° 9′ N. and 79° 48′ E., 20 miles to the south-east of Fatehgarh at the point where the Rohilkhand Trunk road branches off to the north. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 206).

the source of our difficulty. We have not even a handful of men to give to our Magistrates and Collectors ordinarily to reinstate them. We have been hitherto so utterly and entirely dependent on our sepoys.

Mr. Colvin holds a fine bold front. He found he could not get on with the ordinary business of the Government and attend to these grave matters also. So he has appointed a commission, of Harington, Reade, and myself, to discharge the current duties. Reade takes the Revenue, Harington the judicial, and I the Public Works, Foreign and General Departments.[1]

FUGITIVES FROM GWALIOR TO AGRA

The same journal (*Hurkaru*[2]) mentions that several fugitives have arrived at Agra from Gwalior. On the 13th of June, several houses were set on fire, but the sepoys worked willingly in rescuing the property from the flames, and there was nothing to indicate any disaffection. But some appeared insolent, and one said, "there has been a great sight to-day, but to-morrow there will be a far greater spectacle." The mutinous spirit was first exhibited on the parade ground. The officers were shot at, but fortunately few were hit. The mutineers then marched for the house of the Brigadier and summoned him to appear, sending at the same time a few shots in at the windows to hasten his movements. But he was saved by a faithful sepoy, for as he was about to emerge from his place of concealment, his hands were seized and he was led out. The insurgents not being able to find the Brigadier, set fire to his bungalow, and destroyed his property. No despatch has yet been received at Agra from Delhi. It was rumoured that the Maharajah[3] had been killed, but the report is believed to be without foundation, the rebels have gone towards Jhansi.[4]

[1] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Govt. of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, pp. 37-39.

[2] Referring to '*The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*'.

[3] 'Maharaja of Gwalior', perhaps.

[4] *The Friend of India,* 16th July 1857, p. 680. National Library, Calcutta.

GWALIOR CONTINGENT NEAR AGRA

The Hurkaru has received a letter from Agra, dated the 20th of June, which mentions that some little alarm is felt amongst the residents of that city. There are 600 European soldiers, and every Englishman has been drilled by officers appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor. Marauders are prowling about the city, and a Troop of Gwalior Artillery is said to be within a few miles. Horrible accounts of the massacre at Jhansi have been received. Young children were caught up by the sepoys, and literally torn asunder. Four children of Mr. and Mrs. Carshore were thus brutally murdered before the eyes of their parents.[1]

* * *

Copy of Letter from W. Muir to his brother at Edinburgh, dated Agra, 17th June 1857.

EUROPEANS FROM GWALIOR REACH AGRA

As it is not improbable that the direct route to Bombay may be closed, if it be not already closed,—I send a few lines by a route opened out by Jeypore (Jaipur), the post through which now despatches will probably be in time for the mail. Events have thickened upon us since I last wrote. First, *all Rohilkhund went,* as our officers were forced to fly from the mutinous troops at Shahjehanpore (where I fear poor Ricketts, the Magistrate and Collector, was killed), Bareilly, and Moradabad. *Then the regiments at Nusseerabad (Ajmere), Neemuch, Jhansi, and Nowgaon rose. Then at Benares, Allahabad, and Cawnpore.* The mutineers were defeated and expelled from Benares, but we have no distinct accounts as to the two latter stations. Last of all, the Contingent troops in Gwalior have gone; and the Maharajah declaring that from the spirit of his own troops he could not answer for the safety of our officers, they have all come over here. Even the Political Agent, Major Macpherson, has come. Ordinarily this would involve hostilities with Scindia, but one cannot imagine it probable that Scindia would risk his present position by any inimical demonstration.

[1] *The Friend of India,* 16th July 1857, p. 680. National Library, Calcutta.

Meanwhile, the mutinous *regiments are abroad in parties all over the country*; and excepting in the positions where our officers have been strong enough to maintain their ground, anarchy prevails. We have had intelligence, though not official of *the fall of the city of Dehli,** *and we trust that the Fort* (Palace) will soon follow. The European troops there will then be partially freed and able to move down the Dooab and restore confidence. We have hitherto been graciously preserved in peace and quiet here notwithstanding constant rumours and apprehension; and we trust that God will still protect us. The mutineers have not as yet shown any symptoms of combination. What phases of events may spring up in the future, one cannot say. We hope the rains will soon begin which will impede the movements of the scattered bodies, and give time for the collection of European troops. We trust that already reinforcements are on their way from England; and that Lord Canning will be able to secure the troops on their passage to China.

I still trust that the Gwalior route may be open for a letter by the regular line.[1]

JAIL-GUARD AT AGRA JOINS REVOLUTIONARIES

Extracts from Letter from Colvin to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Agra, June 30, 1857.

7*th*—The Jail Guard, which formed the protecting force of the large central prison at Agra, deserted with their arms during the evening and night of the 23rd instant. A Guard from the 3rd European Regiment has since been placed outside the prison; the internal management of which has been successfully continued, through the agency of the Contingent Guard, under the firm and zealous control of Dr. Walker, the Superintendent.

8*th*—A fire which occurred within the jail on the night of the 25th, destroyed some workshops, and threatened the large ranges of separate cells. The prisoners confined in them

*"This turned out a mistake"—Note in Original.

[1] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Govt. of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, pp. 40-41.

were removed, during the prevalence of the conflagration, to a distant part of the jail precincts, and the fire was got under with the greatest order and system.

ATTACK ON AGRA CONTEMPLATED

9*th*—The regiments which mutinied at Neemuch are now occupying the high road between Agra and Jeypore, within but a short distance of this place. They profess to contemplate an attack on Agra; but as their force, as far as known, consists only of two regiments of Infantry, about 400 or 500 Cavalry, and eight guns, it is not believed that they will carry this threat into execution. The Civil and Military Authorities are, however, vigilant and prepared. I have thought it desirable to organize a local militia force, under the General Order entered below (omitted here).

BHARATPUR TROOPS REFUSE TO OPPOSE NEEMUCH REVOLUTIONARIES

10*th*—From intelligence received this morning, I learn that the Bhurtpore troops have refused to oppose the Neemuch mutineers, a party of whom have advanced to that town.

11*th*—The latest report from Gwalior does not speak of any advance of the mutineer battalion from there, with or without the concurrence of the *Durbar*, upon this place. The rains have begun, and the Maharajah is doubtless awaiting events.[1]

BRITISH ENCOUNTER WITH NEEMUCH REVOLUTIONARIES

Towards the end of June the country all around Agra had assumed so threatening an aspect, that the residents had all been ordered into the fort, and the Kotah Contingent, then supposed by Mr. Colvin to be trustworthy, was moved up to the assistance of the garrison. It had certainly performed good service up to the time of its reaching Agra, collecting

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 3 in No. 1, pp. 6-7.

revenue, hanging mutineers, and burning villages; but it had scarcely arrived at the seat of the Lieutenant-Governorship before the men mutinied, firing upon their officers. Next day the Neemuch mutineers arrived within four miles. The authorities had been expecting them, but had forborne to mention their fears : the consequence was that much property belonging to those who could least afford to lose it was destroyed. However, hearing of the approach of the rebels, it was resolved to meet them. They numbered about four thousand men, of whom one-half perhaps had been disciplined by us. Our force consisted of seven Companies of the 8th Europeans, one Company of European Artillery, and a few Volunteer Cavalry. The enemy had eight guns, which they had strongly posted in the little village of Sussia, on the road to Futtehpore Sikri, being themselves encamped on the plain beyond. Our force advanced against them in line, the Artillery being on the flanks, the Cavalry on the rear. When about six hundred yards from the village, their Artillery opened upon our line : it was immediately replied to by D'Oyley's battery with so great effect that they were temporarily silenced. A charge of Infantry at this time, such as Havelock ordered at Cawnpore, and Eyre directed at Beebeegunj, would have gained us the day; but no one of those possessing authority could appreciate the crisis, and, instead of a charge, a cautious advance was directed. But the enemy had gained courage from our inactivity. The gunners returned to their guns, and opened a fire on our line with great effect; at the same time their Cavalry threatened our flanks and rear, and their Infantry, advancing in skirmishing order, gave us great annoyance. It was at this time, as we were advancing too slowly for heroic souls, that Captain D'Oyley, seated on one of the gun-carriages, was mortally wounded. His horse had been previously shot under him. When struck, he called out in a loud voice, "Follow them up, follow them up", and still continued, for a short time, to direct the advance of the battery. He knew that his wound was mortal, but still he gave his orders. When at last he was overcome with pain, he turned to the man nearest him, and said, "They have done for me now; put a stone over my grave, and say that I died fighting for my guns." He did not survive long.

Meanwhile our slow advance had had some effect, for the enemy had abandoned the village to a charge of two Companies of the Europeans, and the day seemed our own, when it was discovered that all our ammunition was exhausted. There was nothing for it then but a retreat, as our creeping movements had permitted the enemy to carry away his guns. Retreat then we did, threatened by the Cavalry, even surrounded. Had they had any pluck, they might have cut up every man of our party. But they still feared the redcoated European; and our force, scarcely beaten, but certainly baffled and humiliated, at last found shelter under the walls of the fort. Our loss on this day was one hundred and forty, out of five hundred engaged; that of the enemy was not known. Strange to say, he did not think of following up his advantage, but took the road to Muttra and Delhi the next day, contenting himself with letting out from the jail four thousand of the most determined villains in India. Our countrymen were thenceforth confined to the fort, whence they were subsequently released by the arrival of Colonel Greathed's Column, of which an account will be given hereafter.

Before proceeding to the north-west, and detailing the circumstances connected with the siege and recapture of Delhi, it will be necessary very briefly to refer to the events which had been passing in the districts surrounding that city, as well as in the rich province of Rohilcund.

In the end of May, the men of the Hurrianah Light Infantry, a local battalion stationed at Hausi Hisar and Sirsa, and part of the 4th Irregular Cavalry rose upon their officers and the European residents, massacred many of them, and, after plundering the entire district, made for Delhi. Every village in that part of the country is a castle on a small scale : *the inhabitants, sympathising with the mutineers, rose almost simultaneously with them, and declared for the cause of the King of Delhi.* They did more; every unfortunate straggler who fell into their hands was ruthlessly butchered. And yet, many of the villages in which these deeds were perpetrated have been spared. It is a fact, to which there are hundreds of witnesses, that when, after the capture of Delhi, Colonel Greathed's Column reached one of the largest of these rebellious towns, notorious for the cruelties which had been perpetrated within its walls—in which too the decapitated skeleton of an European woman was still exposed, bearing besides marks of the infliction of torture—that village was, at the earnest prayer of the civilian who accompanied the force as "political adviser",

it is supposed, actually spared. Does the reader ask why ? Because it supplied a large revenue to the Government of the North-West Provinces. These are some of the sordid considerations which the agents of the East India Company allow to interpose between our soldiers and retributive justice. But this is but an ordinary instance; others remain to be told which proclaim even more clearly the cold-blooded nature of our rulers, their want of sympathy with humanity, if that humanity be allied to their own.[1]

EUROPEANS' RETREAT INTO AGRA FORT

Letter from C. B. Thornhill, the Officiating Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, to the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, dated Fort Agra, 16th July 1857.

. . . At Agra, the result of an action[2] between the European regiment (who went out only about 500 strong, with the European battery of Artillery) and a largely superior force of the mutineers from Neemuch, has been that the troops have returned into the fort, where the Christian community of the place are now assembled. Two tumbrils blew up, and the ammunition failed at the close of the action, but retirement was made in perfect order. The force of the mutineers has since gone to Muttra, where it now is. If it could obtain heavy guns, we should probably be attacked again in our position within the fort by them.

The Gwalior mutineer regiments have not yet left that place, and no immediate movement on their part seems likely.

GWALIOR REGIMENTS IN REVOLT

All the Gwalior regiments that were employed on outduties in Mynpoorie and Allygurh have mutinied in the last days of June, and British officers have been compelled to return to Agra.

REVOLUTIONARIES ESTABLISH THANAS

The mutineers have established *thannahs* in parts of

[1] *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army,* An Historical Narrative, popularly known as '*Red Pamphlet*' (1857), pp. 196-197.
[2] The Action of 5th July 1857.

the Agra District, which, from our want of Cavalry, we are unable to remove.

Many of the old officers of the British establishments have taken service in these *thannahs*. The country near Meerut is believed to be quite safe; and above it, to the hills, the country is comparatively tranquil.

The Punjaub happily remains quite quiet.

The march of an European force, in strength, up the Doab is manifestly of the first importance, but carriage must be obtained at or near Allahabad.

UNREST IN BHARATPUR

The Political Agent at Bhurtpore has been desired by the *Sirdars* to quit that *durbar*, and he has proceeded towards Ajmere.

The *Sirdars* preserved some appearance of good-will towards us, as they forwarded, yesterday, heavy *daks*, which had accumulated at Bhurtpore.

P. S.—Please pay the bearer 50 rupees.[1]

AGRA REVOLUTIONARIES MARCH TO DELHI VIA MATHURA

Extract from Telegraphic Message from Major MacLeod to the Governor General of India in Council and the Commander-in-Chief, dated Agra, July 19, 1857.

. . . The day after the action of the 5th (July) the mutineers, etc., made for Muttra, where they appear to have remained till the 18th, when they left it, giving out that *they were going to Delhi*, but they have little or no ammunition, and very little money. . . .[2]

* * *

Letter to 'Bombay Times' by W. Muir.

Our position at Agra was in some degree complicated by

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies,* 1857, Inclosure 8 in No. 1, p. 12.
[2] *Ibid.* Inclosure 9 in No. 1, p. 12.

having to guard our monster jail* by European troops, *for the jail Nujeebs (armed guard) had gone off in a body towards the end of the month.* If the 3rd Europeans should be required in the field, it would be necessary to draw off the men employed on this duty, and the only resource left was to make over the custody of the jail to the Sikh prisoners, who were to be released and armed for the purpose.

The Kotah Contingent a small force consisting of about 600 men of all arms, with two guns—reached us in the early part of June. It remained encamped for some time between this and Muttra, and was then marched across the Jumna to Sydabad (Sadabad), sixteen miles on the Allygurh Road, where it did good service in quieting the country, to such an extent that the revenue balances were beginning to come in. As danger began to threaten us from the Neemuch troops, this corps was gradually drawn in towards Agra, and was marched into the native lines of our cantonments on Friday the 3rd July. It was generally believed to be sufficiently staunch to hold this position with European guns and bayonets close at hand. But some little symptoms of disrespect to British officers, and the suspicion of them prevalent in the city, were symptomatic of disaffection, especially among the sowars. Syfoolla (Saif-ullah) Khan's levy of Keraolee (Kiraoli) Horse and Foot continued up to this time to be of the utmost service to us in keeping the Agra District peaceful. It was now brought close to the city, and encamped on the enemy's road.

Besides these purely military forces, we had an organised body of militia, consisting of unattached officers, civilians, and clerks. It numbered 50 or 60 Horse and about 200 Foot. They had been under drill for only two or three weeks, and were generally raw and imperfect in military evolutions. The effect of the Contingent mutinying at Gwalior, was slowly but surely to draw off the Contingent of Horse which had been hitherto assisting us in various quarters. About the end of June or beginning of July, accordingly, Raikes' Horse at Mynpoory, Alexander's at Hatrass, and Burlton's at or about Allygurh, became disaffected, not without violence. Pearson's battery of nine-pounders followed them. The result was the arrival

* "It was the Central Jail for the North-West Provinces, containing a vast collection of the worst prisoners in the land"—Note in Original.

of all the European officers of those troops at Agra, and the withdrawal of the magistrates of Mynpoory (Mainpuri), Allygurh (Aligarh), and Muttra from the positions they had hitherto been occupying. Such was our situation when the Neemuch mutineers came down upon us.

On Wednesday the 1st of July, we had intelligence that they were at Futtehpore Sikri, distant twenty-two miles, and had seized our officials there, some of whom went over to them. The *Tehseeldar* seems to have been carried off and maltreated, and his arm broken. The *Moonsif* was made *Tehseeldar* by the mutineers, and the *Thannadars* and *Resaldar* maintained in their posts. Arrangements had been in progress for some days, judiciously directed by the Lieutenant-Governor, for bringing the more helpless classes, schools, etc. into the fort. Almost all the ladies who were yet outside, now betook themselves to the fort; the gentlemen slept in rendezvous outside.

KOTAH CONTINGENT GOES OVER TO REVOLUTIONARIES

A picket of our Militia Horse was posted at Pithoulie, three or four miles out of Agra. On Saturday the 4th, they brought in accounts that the enemy was picketed half-way between this and Futtehpore Sikri, and that their advance guard was coming on. Upon this, it was resolved that our forces should proceed to meet them. The Kotah Contingent was to move out in the afternoon, and the European regiment at eight in the evening. Syfoolla's Keraolee Levy was already in that direction. In the afternoon, the Kotah Contingent moved and halted outside the town, but had hardly done so when they mutinied, the Cavalry taking the lead, the Infantry and Artillery passive. They shot at their officers, but killed only one Sergeant. The corps went off towards the enemy. Our militia pickets happened to be near, and, in the midst of a thickening storm, followed up the retreating troops, cutting up some, and, what was of more importance, bringing back the guns and all the ammunition.

Two of our guns, which had been placed with Syfoolla's force, were precautionally brought in the night before, the force was discontented at this mark of suspicion; and, on the ground of being unsupported, asked leave to go home. This was granted, and Syfoolla led them off towards Jugneyr

air)[1] on Sunday morning. Some of the Horse probably
ed to the enemy. *We heard nothing more of the Ulwur (Alwar)*
r troops, who promised great things in harassing the mutineers.
e were left alone with our 3rd Europeans, the Company
tillery and the Militia.

REVOLUTIONARIES OCCUPY BHONDGAON VILLAGE

A little before midday on Sunday (5th July), our picket
in with the intelligence that the enemy was within two
ree miles of Agra; their advance guard even pushing in
Shahgunge[2], a suburb close to Government House. Im-
ıte measures were taken for an advance by us. The
uard of fifty soldiers was called in to join the main Body*
ıll marched off about one O'clock P. M. Two hundred of
rd Europeans and a portion of the Militia were left behind
ard the fort. Only about five hundred of the former were
available for the field. The Company of Artillery, con-
ng that it had only lately been horsed, was in an efficient
and was officered by gallant fellows, D'Oyley, Pearson,
ɔ, and Fuller. The troops halted at Shahgunge for half
ɔur, to allow the party from the jail to come up, and to
h themselves. They then moved forward, and, believing
nemy to be in force with their Artillery commanding the
hpore Sikri road, defiled to the right of it by the back of
h-walled garden, and took up a position beyond. The
ıent then formed into line and advanced in echelon with
front bearing obliquely on the road, and facing the village
ondagaon, in and about which, at the distance of one and
f or two miles, we subsequently discovered the enemy to
ɔsted. The European Infantry formed the centre, flanked
ıe right by half our battery, under D'Oyley, and the left
ıe other half, under Pearson. The Artillery, again, was
cted by the Volunteer Horse and Foot to the extreme right

[1] *Jagnair*, Tahsil *Khairagarh*, District *Agra*—A small town in 26° 51′
d 77° 36′ E., on the road from Agra and Kagarol to Tantpur, at a
ce of 31 miles from Agra and 15 miles south-west from the tahsil
uarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Agra, Vol. VIII, 1905, p. 294).
[2] A prominent locality of Agra City now.
* "It was at this time I carried the message to the Jail"—Note in
ıal.

and left of our position. In this order we advanced till we again approached the road, our extreme left nearly resting upon it. Between two and three O'clock, when we were about half a mile from Bhondagaon, the mutineer Artillery unexpectedly opened upon us from their right. We found it to be planted on either side (of) the village, and there are believed to have been as many as eleven or twelve guns (six and nine-pounders). The mutineer Infantry, some two thousand strong, *occupied the village;* and large bodies of our well trained Cavalry—some six or eight hundred—were scattered around.

EXCHANGE OF FIRE

Our Artillery lost little time in replying to the enemy's fire, and a fierce cannonade was kept up,—our line advancing till the left guns had well crossed the road. The advance continued till our Infantry came up to the village. About this time the cannonade was so hot that they were directed to lie down and take such advantage as they could of the shelter of the walls or trees to fire upon the village. Meanwhile, two of our tumbrils on the left blew up from the enemy's shot *for their guns were well served;* and one of our cannon had its carriage destroyed. The remaining two guns with their tumbrils executed a rapid movement about 60 yards backwards to avoid the contact of exploding ammunition, amid the cheers of the enemy; but they soon turned, unlimbered, and were at work again.

The enemy's Horse now appeared in great numbers on our left, and at one time made a charge which threatened our guns on that side. They were met by our left flank Volunteer Horse, twenty-five in number, who made a brave counter-charge, and checked their advance. The mutineer Horse were, however, so greatly superior in numbers that, though obliged to stand at a safe distance, they crept round our team, and began to harass our Infantry, but a volley obliged them to retire. If that immense body of Horse had shown any courage, or had been at all efficiently handled, it would have seriously affected our position.

EUROPEAN FORCE RUNS SHORT OF AMMUNITION, ITS RETREAT TO THE FORT

The battery on our right continued to advance; and our Infantry, having entered the village and set fire to it, were now

in a position to have stormed and entirely dislodged the enemy, when, to the dismay of all, it was announced that our ammunition, owing to explosion of the tumbrils and our rapid firing, had been entirely expended. There was now no alternative *but to retire;* and the retreat, in the face of Artillery and clouds of Horse, was executed in an admirable manner. The troops in fact retired with all the order and steadiness of a parade, and reached the fort at about 5 P. M. The action lasted full two hours. We had 30 killed and about 80 wounded. The enemy's loss we do not know; but although they were under cover of a village, their casualties were probably greater than ours. Their Brigade Major lost his two hands, and is said to have died afterwards. The result certainly has been that, although the field was left in their hands for a time, they decamped without delay, towards Muttra. The fact is that their ammunition was nearly as low as ours : that we were on the eve of a great victory against tremendous odds; and that if we had gone out again the next day, well supplied with ammunition, we must have driven them from their post. Various circumstances, however, prevented this; among others, the disorganisation of our field battery from the desertion of the greater portion of our native artillery drivers, so that the day after the fight we could only have effectively equipped two guns of Horse Artillery.

REVOLUTIONARIES LEAVE FOR MATHURA

In criticising the battle, it is the opinion of some of our authorities that the ardent European Infantry should have been led earlier to a dashing charge at the village, which might have been carried and the enemy routed before our ammunition ran so low. I do not pretend to judge this point. I am satisfied with the final result. Against immense odds we held our own ground and pushed forward. All our ammunition was used up. Then we quickly retired, and the result was the disappearance of the enemy next day.

Although no large body of the enemy ventured from their camp, the lose Cavalry that harassed our rear prowled around the outskirts of the city and station, firing the bungalows and cantonments, and giving the signal of licence and plunder to the too ready villains of the town. In sight of our retreating Column, the Normal School, an elegant building,

erected by the late Lieutenant-Governor was set on fire, and the wild sowars could be discerned from the fort galloping savagely round it. All night the lurid flames of burning houses lighted the heavens. Fortunately, by the foresight of the Lieutenant-Governor, the whole of the Christian population, with exception of a few too venturesome* were safe within the fort. Beyond one or two guns, fired in defiance as well as to protect buildings within easy range of the fort, nothing passed that evening. Next morning, the Mussulmans of the city, on a rumour that we had almost all been killed, were debating whether they should not proceed to the enemy's camp and make their peace, when the disaffected were confounded and our adherents overjoyed by tidings that the mutineer army had gone. We did not know this for some considerable time, and were preparing ourselves for an attack which was noised abroad, probably by the mutineers themselves, to cover their departure. But we were ready for any attack; and even if shut in by siege train—which they had not—possessed two months' provisions in the fort.

EUROPEANS STILL CONFINED IN THE FORT

Monday and Tuesday were passed inactively. We kept ourselves shut up in the fort, though we had positively not a man to oppose us. On Wednesday (8th)[1] a demonstration was made by marching a Column through the city, and (I regret to say) by plundering the shop of a large Mahometan merchant in the military bazaar. Our friends from the city now began to come in and arrangements were set on foot for the reorganisation of the Police.

20th July—Our Magistrate, the Hon. R. Drummond, had preserved an admirable front throughout the disturbances, and had maintained the city in perfect peace and security up to the time of the appearance of the enemy before our walls. Then, of course, when the inhabitants of a town, open and unprotected, saw themselves exposed to the ravages of the enemy if he chanced to drive back our so much smaller

* "About twenty, I believe, lost their lives that night by not retiring to the fort."—Note in Original.

[1] 8th July 1857.

force, the reins of ordinary authority were cut asunder. The Civil Administration gave place to the Military.

At this point, moreover, a peculiarity in the system, pursued by Mr. Drummond, was felt to be a serious defect and embarrassment. He had not only trusted mainly to the respectable Mahomedans for information and advice, but had employed them almost exclusively in the Government service, both Revenue and Police, both in high and in low office. However excellent and trustworthy these men under other circumstances might have been, they were now placed in peculiarly trying position from the religious and Mahometan element at this time dominant in the mutineer movement. *The whole Police Officers and men (almost all Moslems) quitted their posts.* The *Burkundazes* are said to have been forward in committing enormities against us in the city, and in plunder; while some of the influential Moslem citizens, both in and out of office, are suspected of connivance. A few joined the enemy. Many respectable and, I believe, strictly loyal men, who in our rearrangements would have been of essential use to us, were repelled and alarmed by the fierce anti-Moslem feeling which they knew pervaded most Civilians and almost all the Military leaders. Mahometans therefore, both high and low, fled in multitudes from Agra, partly, no doubt, conscience-stricken, partly through apprehensions just described. Crowds, it is said, repaired to the mutineer camp at Muttra, complaining against imaginary cruelties and excesses committed by us against them, to whom the General commanding the enemy promised to send a detachment for their assistance.

Our Police having thus vanished, it became necessary, on the return of tranquillity, to make new constabulary arrangements. The Lieutenant-Governor (who for a week had been entirely prostrated by illness, but was now able partially to resume business) determined on the judicious plan of working mainly through the Hindoos, whom alone we can, at this juncture, as a body depend upon, without displaying any antagonism against or any active distrust of the Mahomedans. This policy, however, ran so counter to Mr. Drummond's previous system and agency, that the Government was obliged to supersede him, and appoint another officer to his post. The arrangements for the security of the city have been thus peacefully and effectively carried out.

(The correspondence with Bombay here ends by saying

that the Neemuch troops, being now bound for Dehli, everything was quiet at Agra, and our only apprehensions were in regard to the mutinous body at Gwalior.)[1]

* * *

Letter from Colvin to Brigadier-General Havelock, dated Fort Agra, July 22, 1857.

Agra—Here we remained undisturbed until the *5th of this month*, when the mutineer force from Neemuch, swelled by accessions on the road, came to the station. Our single European regiment, with a European Horse Battery, very rawly formed, but under an excellent officer, Captain D'Oyly, went out to meet them, although the force of the enemy was greatly superior, and they had about 800 Cavalry, of which we were destitute, except a few Volunteer Horse, composed of the gentlemen of the station. We drove them back; but in the end two of our tumbrils blew up, and our gun ammunition fell short, *when the troops made an orderly retirement into the fort.* That night the usual scene of plundering and burning bungalows, *cutcheries*, etc., took place. We had ourselves begun, by releases, to lighten the number of prisoners in the jail, but all were now, of course, set free. The loss of property, records, etc., has been serious, but there has been comparatively small loss of European life. Almost the whole of the Christian population, including the native Christians, has been safely brought into the fort. Their number is large, and they must of course be a great embarrassment in the defence.

NEEMUCH REVOLUTIONARIES MARCH TOWARDS MATHURA EN ROUTE TO DELHI

The Neemuch mutineer force went from this to Muttra, where it extorted some money from the bankers, and demanded heavy guns from Bhurtpore (Bharatpur) for the declared purpose of attacking this fort. They seem also to have asked for ammunition and guns from Delhi, but were refused, and summoned up there at once, and they have gone.[2]

* * *

[1] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Govt. of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, pp. 7-13.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 19 in No. 3, pp. 140-141.

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated 13th August 1857.

The Defence of Agra—For a long time past there has been some anxiety felt for the safety of Agra, but accounts which have been received up to the 16th of July place its safety at that date beyond a doubt. On the 4th of July, *the Kotah Contingent deserted*, and joined a large body of the Neemuch mutineers about 5,000 strong with some 3,000 camp followers who had encamped about four miles from the city, at a place called Bussia[1] close to Futtehpore Sekree (Fatehpur Sikri). All the residents at Agra retreated into the fort, excepting the 1st Division of the Militia and the regular troops, numbering perhaps in all some 800 Europeans. On the 5th at 11 A. M. 500 Infantry with 4 guns were ordered with some 40 Cavalry to advance and attack the enemy. This movement was not executed with sufficient rapidity so that the rebels had sufficient time to take possession of Futtehpore Sekree, and thus fought under cover. When the British troops had arrived within 600 yards of the village, the enemy opened fire, and were replied to with such excellent effect that they wavered and many were observed to retreat. Unfortunately full advantage was not taken of this temporary panic, and the enemy having got the range, opened fire with considerable precision. They became emboldened, and their Cavalry made repeated charges upon the flanks and rear of the English forces. Some even rode right through the centre of the British position, and managed unscathed to return to their position. After the affair had lasted about an hour, two Companies of the 3rd Europeans charged through the village, and drove the enemy to the other side. Both batteries of the enemy, were silenced, and there was every prospect that they would have been completely routed, when the ammunition failed. A retreat was accordingly sounded, and the whole force after an engagement which lasted three hours succeeded in reaching the fort. The enemy followed the retreating troops closely and greatly harassed them with their Cavalry, threatening to cut off their retreat. In this engagement the loss on the side of the British was 140 killed and wounded, and the rebels are supposed to have lost 700 men. The native inhabitants of the city

[1] Spelt as '*Sussia*' in *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army*. (See p. 714).

before the troops could make their entrance had set fire to various parts of the town. The work of plunder and devastation went on during the nights both of the 5th and 6th of July, and there is now scarcely a house that possesses a roof. The doors and windows have been entirely demolished, and nothing is left standing but the brick walls. There is reason to believe that the enemy had no hand in effecting this, but that some of the refugees who about the end of July were observed to pass through Allahabad, in such numbers took no small share both in the destruction and the plunder. The enemy are supposed to have gone towards Bhurtpore, but their movements are not accurately known. The fort is well provided with provisions and ammunition and *though the Gwalior Contingent are expected to make an attack*, yet their advent is not looked forward to with any apprehension. Only one officer appears to have been killed, Captain D'Oyly; he behaved in the most gallant manner, sitting on a tumbril and continuing to give his orders after he had received his mortal wound. Lieutenant Lamb, Major Thomas, Lieutenants Pond and Fellows, Captain W. Alexander, 10th Light Cavalry, Lieutenants Cockburn, Williams, and Brambley, Dr. Watson, Conductor Hunter and Captain Prendergast were wounded. The Militia in addition lost six men killed, Messrs. O'Connor, C. Horne, P. Horne, J. Carleton, R. Smith, Jourdan, and McDeedes, and Messrs. White, Ray, Black-burne, Bembey, C. S., Freeze, Outram, C. S., Oldfield, C. S., Bagely, Mayho, Steadman, Halligan and Faville were wounded.

Though the last accounts from Agra are on the whole cheering, and there seems to be no want of provision, yet an attempt should be speedily made to throw in reinforcements. It cannot be expected that the large bodies of the insurgents which are in its immediate vicinity will long remain quiet or that the fort will not be completely invested. All hope that succour will come by way of Delhi, must now be given up, for the siege of that city cannot be raised. Should General Havelock receive sufficient reinforcements he may be able to effect much, and it is from this quarter that aid must be expected. If it had not been for the unfortunate mismanagement at Dinapore, reinforcements would very shortly have reached General Havelock; but owing to the detention of the 90th, there seems scarcely any probability that anything will be done. But the case is urgent. In Lucknow there must

have been at the first outbreak some 1,100 Europeans most of whom are women and children. Though of these probably many have died from wounds and disease, still there must be a great number left. From General Havelock they can alone expect help, and though he has advanced, yet he runs great risk and he may not be able to effect his purpose. Should he succeed in escorting the Europeans from Lucknow to Cawnpore, then Agra may expect succour....[1]

PROGRESS AT AGRA

Communication from J. R. Colvin to Brigadier-General Havelock, Fort Agra, dated 24th July 1857.

I have said, in answer to the communication from Brigadier-General Wilson, of the 19th, with abstract of his letter to Sir J. Lawrence, of 18th, that "I urge in the strongest terms his holding his ground, and support with all my power his application to Sir P. Grant for reinforcements;" adding, that time is everything for us. It allows of reinforcements gathering in strength in Calcutta to advance and save the empire. A retirement once made we shall not recover it, so as to save this magazine.

The enemy can bring vastly superior numbers of men, and ample means, and they will then have all the prestige of triumph. Let me hear from you what has been doing in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore.[2]

FARRUKHABAD

DETAILS OF OUTBREAK AT FARRUKHABAD

Narrative of what occurred at Furruckabad (Farrukhabad) during the Outbreak.

When the outbreak at Mecrut took place and the news came here Mr. Thornhill wrote a Persian letter to the Nawab[3] (produced by Prosecutor) stating that he had made arrange-

[1] *The Friend of India*, 13th Aug. 1857, p. 769. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 20 in No. 3, p. 141.

[3] 'Nawab of Farrukhabad'.

ments for the safety of Futtehgurh and asking the Nawab to do the same for Furruckabad. Nawab wrote in reply that he would do all in his power. Several letters passed between the Nawab and Mr. Thornhill. *A few days after this the 10th N. I. became mutinous.* On the same day several of the Europeans got alarmed and went across the river, Colonel Smith and some others remaining in the Dak Bungalow. On the same day the *Kotwal* Meer Ukbur Aly (Mir Akbar Ali) and Wuzeer Aly the Nawab's *Naib* came to the Nawab and informed him that the Europeans had left the station with the particulars of their departure. The *Kotwal* added that in consequence of the Europeans having left, the whole city was in a turmoil and he apprehended that it would be looted and acts of violence committed as many people of bad character had come into the city from its neighbourhood. Nawab therefore directed that a proclamation should be made in the city by beat of *tom tom* to the effect that the peaceably disposed persons need be under no fear, that the Europeans would return the next day and that all wicked people attempting to make a disturbance would be apprehended and severely punished and that this was the order of the English Govt. and the proclamation made by their orders. Several respectable people from the city informed the Nawab that the *budmashes* would not listen to the proclamation as it purported to emanate from the Europeans who they said had fled and that unless other measures were adopted the city would be certainly looted. Therefore the Nawab consulting with Wuzeer Aly and others *by their advice caused another proclamation to be issued to the same effect and purport only stating that it was by the orders of the Nawab.* On the following day the Europeans returned to the station and Colonel Smith sent a Persian letter to the Nawab informing him that the English were all here, and asking him by what authority he had caused the proclamation to be made in his own name on the previous day. This letter was the one sent by the Collector's Sowar. In reply the Nawab sent a letter by his *Naib*, Wuzeer Aly, to Colonel Smith informing him of the reason and stating that Wuzeer Aly would give him all particulars. Wuzeer Aly went to Colonel Smith and explained all matters and brought back a letter from him stating that he was satisfied and thanking him for what (had) been done.

Two days after this the Nawab received another letter

ɔm Colonel Smith requesting that 30 trustworthy men ight be sent to him. The Nawab could not prevail upon y of his old servants to go to Colonel Smith. Finding this sent for an old servant Mutloob Aly (Matlub Ali), plained the difficulty to him and requested him to try and get trustworthy men for the Colonel; he said he would do so and the following day he collected 30 men whom he thought could rely upon and sent them with a letter by Mutloob Aly ıan to the Colonel who placed them on guard at the Puscimya[1] ırwaza of the city. Colonel Smith wrote a reply to the Nawab ınking him for sending them. One or two days after this : Nawab received a letter from the *Seristadar* of the Collector ting that (Colonel) Smith wanted him to send him a guard 10 men to the *cutchery daftur*. They were sent, new men ing employed from the city.

Five or six days after this Ahmed Yar Khan and Ushrut[2] ıan came from Mhow with 1,500 or 2,000 Puthans and en-nped in a mango tope near the Mhow Durwaza. Three four days after this the Collector's Sowars came in the morn-; to the Nawab and very shortly after 2 Companies of the h N. I. and the native officers with the band and colors, ne also. The sowars had in the meantime gone across the er to call the 41st N. I. and 10th Oudh Irregulars. The wab was asleep at the time the sowars came; they had him led and told him that the 10th N. I. were coming and that y were going to call the other regiments.

NAWAB INSTALLED ON GADDI

On the 10th N. I. coming Ameer Khan *Soobahdar* (*Subedar*) h whom there was Ameer Khan the *Ressaldar* with some ten a dozen troopers and Bhoo[3] Aly Bux, the Havildar-Major he 10th N. I. and Emam Bux *Soobahdar* came to the Nawab. *eer Khan Soobahdar* was the spokesman and said, "*Up to this we have been servants of the Company, we are now servants of the g of Delhi.* Your ancestors were formerly tributary to hi also. *So we have come to place you in your old position on the*

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Guddee as Nawab under the King of Delhi." The Nawab declined to be put on the *Guddee* in this way stating that the English (had) already put him on the *Guddee*. They replied, "Your *Naib* Wuzeer Aly and yourself are always with the English and we believe you to be Christians, and favorable to the English." The Nawab said, "Leave me alone, I am content as I am. As you say you are servants of the King of Delhi you had better go to Delhi." He said this to get rid of them. They replied, "We are not to be got rid of in this way. If you do not do as we direct we will at once loot you and kill you." The two Ameer* Khan took him each by the hand and led him to a chair. Bhoo Aly Bux stood behind him with a drawn sword. They were all in uniform. The *Soobahdar* and *Ressaldar* then sent two servants to the Bazar for Powder and directed salute to be fired, the Nawab having told them he had none. The *Soobahdar* then requested that *sherbot* (*sharbat*) might be served out to the sepoys as the weather was very hot. Toorab Aly (Turab Ali) was present. The *Soobahdar* asked Nawab, "Who is your head *Karzindah*" ? He replied "Toorab Aly" (who used to have charge of the Nawab's *Toshakhana*). When the Nawab was forced on the *Guddee* he had on the clothes he had been sleeping in when awoke by the Collectory Sowars. The *sherbot* was served out by Toorab Aly. The officers then said they wanted to return to their Lines but as it was very hot they asked him for his carriage which he was obliged to give them, and they left and the Nawab went into the female apartments and got his food. At noon on the same day the Collector's Sowars came to the camp of the 10th N. I. accompanied by the Doobye (?) 41st N. I., Pyulla[1] (?) 10th Oudh Irre : (Irregulars), Aga Hussein *Ressaldar* and guns and *Golundazes* and magazine. The 41st broke open the jails and let the prisoners loose and set fire to the Europeans' houses in the station first looting them. *The Collector's Sowars went and encamped with the 10th N. I.* The 41st, 10th Oudh Irr: and Aga Hussein *Ressaldar* encamped near the grove in the garden named "Lacoolah and Birra". In the evening of the same day the 41st, 10th Oudh Irre: and Aga Hussein's *Ressalah* called upon the 10th N. I. to divide the treasure in

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their keeping among them. They refused and a dispute arose between them. The next morning the 10th N. I. began to loot the treasure and to get away with what they had individually secured. About 100 sepoys of the 10th N. I. came to the Nawab about 9 A. M. and encamping some in the Pye Bagh and some in Ukkab[1] Khan's house in the city, which house belongs to the Nawab's mother-in-law, some went to Kalle Bagh. Bhoo (?) Aly Bux looted a *Buggy* and went to live in the house of Hurry Naraen (Hari Narain) taking the *Buggy* with him.

The 10th N. I. had ten guns, colors and magazine on the parade ground—the whole of the Regiment having left except the 100 that had gone to the city. The 41st and 10th Oudh Irr. (Irregulars) on the same day took possession of the guns and magazine left by the 10th N. I. and their colors and took them to their own Camp. Everything remained quiet that day and night. On the following day the 41st and 10th Oudh Irr. (Irregulars) went to invite the remaining portion of the 10th N. I. who were in the city to their Camp. They went with Bhoo Aly Bux at their head. Bhoo Aly Bux was then for the first time arrested by the 41st and 10th Oudh Irre : (Irregulars) who then fired upon the other sepoys and looted them. The Collector's Sowars were at Ukkab[1] Khan's house where they had gone when the 10th N. I. left their Camp. The next day the Mhow Puthans came and encamped in the Pye Bagh. This was in the morning, and in the evening the Nawab sent Kureem (Karim) Jan to Mr. Thornhill in the fort at Futtehgurh to tell him that the Nawab had up to that time done all in his power, but that he was now utterly powerless, and in the hands of the rebels.

Mr. Thornhill wrote to Nawab (vide letter of 22nd June). Two, or three days after, the native officers of the 41st, 10th Oudh Irre. and Aga Hussein came to the Nawab in the evening about 5 P. M. The Nawab was going to a raised mound, in his garden on which there was a seat. The native officers and Wuzeer Aly were going home, when Wuzeer Aly was fired at and the cloth on his shoulder burnt; it was not known who fired. Nawab then called Wuzeer Aly to him, he came

[1] Name incomprehensible.

followed by all the native officers who came with drawn swords, stating that Wuzeer Aly was a Christian, and believed that the Nawab was one also, and after threatening him, the Nawab slipped quietly away thro' (through) the crowd, which consisted of some 6 (600) or 700 persons, and got into his own house and took refuge in the female apartments and remained there 3 days without coming out. At the expiration of that time Ahmed Yar Khan came to the door of the female apartments and sent word to the Nawab requesting him to come out as he wished to speak to him. The Nawab came and Ahmed Yar Khan informed him to have no fear, that if he came out he would not be hurt. The Nawab upon this came out. The next morning all the native officers of the various regiments came to the Nawab as also the native officers of the Mhow Puthans; Aga Hussein, Gunga Singh and one of the Doobyes decided and ordered all the troops to proceed the next morning to attack the English at the Futtehgurh fort and would consider any one that did not join them as Christian, and would kill him and loot their (his) house. At the same time they had the order proclaimed in the city by *tom-tom*, saying it was the order of the officers of the force. They then went home. The Futtehgurh fort was attacked 2 days after this, about 200 of the Mhow Puthans joined the sepoys but not the general body under Ahmed Yar Khan.....[1]

PANIC IN FATEHGARH

Copy of Letter from H. Heathcote to Thornhill, dated Futtehgarh, June 6, 1857.

I wrote to you a very hurried note on the 4th instant and although you may not have received it, I feel it my duty to correct a mis-statement or two which it contained. I must recapitulate as a precautionary measure in case my first should have been lost. We were all right here up to the 3rd instant, notwithstanding an inclination to panic which affected a portion of our community who had procured boats for a start, should it become necessary to seek for safety in flight. On the evening of the 2nd we heard of the Lucknow mutiny but that the mutineers were marching via Seetapore (Sitapur)

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 17th June 1859, Part I, Cons. No. 36 C, pp. 233-237. National Archives, New Delhi.

towards Bareilly. We then heard of the massacre of Shahjehanpore but that the mutineers were not coming down here. We then heard that a large body of mutineers were at Gosainganj[1] and were coming in here. The Regt. (Regiment) were in a hopeless state and the Colonel prepared to receive them with grape and musketry. The approaches were barricaded with hackeries, the officers with the Colonel went into the Lines to sleep. The civil portion of the community eventually had not (no) confidence in the Regiment and by their preparations and flight rather clandestinely made, it was evident they did not mean to support the Colonel by their presence. About 9 P. M. the cry was "They come, They come !". At 10 the report was they come; at 11 or 12 some dacoits burnt a village on the opposite side of the river and the cry was "Let go the Hawser and off they went—June 4th." The sun arose upon an almost deserted station. The mutineers were reported to have advanced a few miles in the direction of Futtehgurh and halted to deliberate. Their scouts reported that preparations had been made to receive them *and it was thought better to go on towards Delhi* and in the evening we heard they were off to Chibramou. As the Collector had left the treasury all standing the Colonel took what seemed to him proper measures for its security and had it escorted into the fort by the sowars. Owing to some misconception of orders. Misunderstanding some when the treasure no sooner arrived in the fort than a party of sepoys came down and carried it back to the parade ground and there was a slight disorganization for the moment but the Colonel very wisely let them have their own way as they did not seize, but said they would defend it with their lives if it was placed with the colors of the Regiment and the guns on the parade they did not like to come into the fort.[2] The old men of the Regiment were very angry with the younger who were the actors in this little breach of discipline and for several hours great excitement prevailed. As it had been intended to give the men an advance of pay this day if all

[1] *Gosainganj*, Pargana and Tahsil *Mohanlalganj*, District *Lucknow*—A market town situated on the Lucknow and Sultanpur road, in latitude 26° 46′ north and longitude 81° 7′ east, at about fourteen miles from Lucknow and eight miles from Mohanlalganj, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Lucknow, 1904, p. 183).

[2] The sentence is somewhat confusing.

had gone smoothly, the Colonel ordered each man to receive an advance which employed them and by evening all was serene and quiet. But the men received another shock in the afternoon at discovering that 4 of their officers had absented themselves since the morning and were not to be found. The Colonel was everywhere, even Mr. Smith drove about in the evening as usual to shew the men that we all had confidence in them. I have brought my wife and child into the fort but visit my hospital as usual and go about as much as possible amongst the men. Lieutenant Simpson who commands the Fort-Guards is an excellent officer, he is for ever with his men cheering them up and seems to work night and day without taking rest.

PRISONERS KNOCK OUT THEIR FETTERS

The Colonel and officers are in the Dak Bungalow surrounded by their men with the guns in front and treasure between them. Captain Vikart of the 2nd. L. C. (Light Cavalry) *en route* from Naini Tal to Cawnpore has volunteered his services and the Colonel has made him Acting Magistrate and given him charge of the treasure and jail. The jail is still intact; the story I told you of the escape of the prisoners is unfounded. The Guard of the 10th are doing their duty nobly though most of the prisoners have knocked off their irons and if they make a rush for freedom they will obtain it only through a shower of lead. The clothing agency contains several lacs of Rs. worth of cloth and having been abandoned by the officers in charge and all his subordinates is protected by a Guard of the 10th. We are in a highly excited and anxious state feeling that we are sitting on a volcano which is *grumbling below us* but up to this time 10 A. M. of the 6th, all is well and quiet, thanks to the Gracious God who helped us though man forsook us.

We have at present the 10th N. I. and all its officers excepting the 4 above referred to, Major Robertson and family with all his subordinates save one and Mr. Sutherland and family. All the rest are fugitive wanderers on the face of the earth or water and their whereabouts not known. If the station and Govt. property here be saved and if the Regiment continues staunch, it will be owing under Govt. to Colonel Smith and the officers who have remained with him. We

have had no *daks* in for 3 days and know nothing of what is going on round us. I feel it my duty having written to write again to correct my unintentional misstatements and with kind regards.

P.S. Although the station has been deserted for 3 days and much valuable property left in the houses nothing but a few petty pilferings have occurred.

P. S. The officers spoken of having been struck off the strength of the Regiment in station and Regiment orders I give their names:

Lt. Fitzgerald Inft. and Qr. Mr. (Quarter Master)
Capt. Bignell
Ensign Eckford
Ensign Byrne.

Mr. Kea has left the P. O. to its fate. Mr. Elliott has left the Estate *Toshel* (*Tosha*) *Khana* of the Maharajah Dhuleep (Dalip Singh) Sing to take care of itself.

I will take charge of the jail and civil station during the absence of Dr. Maltby.

Colonel Tucker has left cloth enough to dress the city of Furruckabad to take care of itself, nothing has been burnt, stolen or destroyed public or private. Sunday calm and serene. Monday morning prisoners tried an emeute under the leadership of two sentenced men and a few others. They were driven into their sleeping cages by the sepoys' fire and then the ring-leaders were brought out and shot; sepoys behaved admirably. Sixteen of the worst characters killed; 1 P. M. I have just heard that Mr. Probyn has come in and Mr. Fitzgerald and Eckford, the latter placed under arrest. The former, having deserted his post and left 2½ lacs of treasure and 1,000 prisoners to our mutinous sepoys who have taken care of the first and shot 16 of the second, cannot receive his charge until reappointed by the Lieutenant-Governor. An Express from Mynpooree (Mainpuri), the Lieutenant-Governor's confidence in the 'Duffrels' will not be abused; I will send this if I can by the returning messenger.[1]

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th Sept. 1857, Nos. 100/103. National Archives, New Delhi.

OUTBREAK AT FATEHGARH

Letter from Colvin to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Agra, June 30 1857.

Since the date of my last despatch of 18th instant, the following events have occurred.

2*nd*—At Futtehgurh, the 10th Regiment, which had for a considerable time abstained from open disaffection, and had, as has been before reported, enabled the Commanding Officer to preserve some degree of order in the city and station, *broke out into open mutiny on the appearance of the mutinous regiments from Seetapore in Oude*, the 41st Native Infantry and the 9th Irregular Oude Infantry.

3*rd*—Four Companies went off with the treasure, which had been for some days in their custody. One Company guarded the civil residents, and the officers who were not at the time killed (of the names of these I cannot speak with certainty), and attended them into the fort Gun-Carriage Agency, but would seem to have subsequently left them; and the latest information which has been received represents that there are about 35 men, and 50 women and children, shut up in the fort with provisions but for few days, and threatened with attack by the mutineers encamped in their vicinity. The Nawab Raees is said to have been set up by the mutineers. Personally, he may probably not be disposed to extreme measures of hostility, and one or two of the neighbouring *zemindars* may be willing to afford some secret aid. But the situation of the inmates of the fort must be regarded as extremely precarious; and it is a subject of the deepest regret to me, that the situation of things here, and the limited extent of the force at the station (one Regiment European Infantry and one Company European Artillery), have precluded my sending assistance to them.....[1]

10TH N. I. IN REVOLT AT FATEHGARH

Probyn then gave us an account of matters at Futtehghur (Fatehgarh) and elsewhere in his neighbourhood; which was

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 3 in No. 1, p. 6.

far from cheering. He informed us that the 10th Regiment N. I., which formed the Futtehghur Garrison, had already broken out into open mutiny, and threatened its officers, but had been temporarily brought back to its duty, and was then apparently staunch; though in his opinion not to be depended on. The European residents, with the exception of the officers of the 10th Regiment and Major Robertson, in charge of the gun carriages manufactory, had, in consequence of the state of the regiment, left Futtehghur; some of them had proceeded in boats to Cawnpore, and others, including Probyn's wife and children, were at a fort across the Ganges, in Oude, belonging to a *zemindar* of considerable influence named Hurdeo Buksh, who had offered to protect them.[1]

* * *

Narrative of the Futtehghur (Fatehgarh) Mutiny by G. S. Jones, dated Cawnpore (Kanpur), September 13, 1857.

On the 3rd of June information was received at Futtehghur (Fatehgarh) that the troops at Shahzehanpore (Shahjahanpur), and Bareilly had mutinied, and that a body of the Oude mutineers, consisting of an Infantry and Cavalry corps were marching into Futtehghur. This caused great anxiety, as the 10th were known to be mutinously disposed, for they had given out that as soon as another corps arrived, they would rise, and murder all the Europeans, only sparing their own officers. That night a consultation was held, and it was considered absolutely necessary to send off the ladies and children to Cawnpore; and as boats had been secured, it was settled that a start should be made at once, as it had been before agreed that it was impossible to hold the fort, and it was at that time thought that the river was quite open. All was settled, when several gentlemen said that unless the Magistrate accompanied them, they would not leave the station. He agreed to go; accordingly the party started at 1 A. M. on the 4th, and got on very well that night. The next morning we

[1] Edwards, William : *Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion in Rohilcund, Futtehghur and Oude,* pp. 62-63.

were joined by some of the officers of the 10th, who reported that the 10*th had mutinied, seized the treasure, abused the Colonel, and fired on one or two of their officers;* and that there was little chance of any of those who had remained behind having escaped. We accordingly proceeded on our way, and when opposite the village Koosoomkhore *were fired upon by the villagers,* but only one of our party was slightly wounded. The next day we had not gone far when a report reached us that Oude troops were crossing at one of the *ghauts,* a few miles below. The boats were anchored till information could be received from the man at the ferry. When he came up, he said it was false, so a consultation was held to know what was best to be done, and as the party was very large, it was agreed that it would be safer to divide. Hurdeo Buksh (Hardev Bakhsh) having offered Mr. Probyn protection with any of his friends, it was settled to go to his fort. About forty Europeans availed themselves of the protection offered. The remainder of the party proceeded to Cawnpore, as no intelligence of the mutiny there had reached us; and I may here anticipate the narrative by stating that the whole of the party, amounting to about 126 souls, who went down the river, were foully murdered by the Nena (Nana) Sahib at Cawnpore. Arriving within a few miles of Dhurrumpore (about ten miles from Futtehghur) we learnt that the Colonel had induced the 10th to return to their duty; that though they had the treasure in their possession, all was going on much as usual. Accordingly Mr. Probyn and two officers rode into Futtehghur, to ascertain the state of affairs. After remaining two days, Mr. Probyn returned to Dhurrumpore (Dharampur), where he and his family, with Mr. W. Edwards, Collector of Badaon, eventually remained under the protection of Hurdeo Buksh.

PREPARATIONS MADE FOR FLIGHT

After remaining a few days, and being convinced that the *Gurhee* of Dhurrumpore was not a position which could afford any effectual protection against any armed force, it was determined to return to the station on the 13th of June, and we commenced sleeping at the fort and returning to our duties each morning; preparations were made to secure boats, and have them ready for flight, in case the Regiment again mutinied.

JAIL STORMED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Early on the morning of the 18th of June, we were suddenly roused by one of the officers (Lieutenant Swetenham), who informed us that the Regiment was *in open mutiny;* the sepoys had broken the jail and released the prisoners. This event took us by surprise, for a couple of days previously the 10th had handed to their Commanding Officer, Colonel Smith, a letter written by the *Subadar* of the 41st (who had come from Seetapore via Shahzehanpore, and were then a few miles distant across the river), requesting the 10th to murder all their officers, as they had done theirs, seize the treasure, and join them. The *Subadar* informed the Colonel that they had said, in reply, that they had served the *Company Bahadoor* too many years to turn traitors, and that they were determined to abide faithful to their salt and advised the 41st not to come in their way, as they would certainly oppose them.

THE NAWAB ENTHRONED

The sepoys had also assisted their officers in breaking up the bridge of boats, and sinking all other boats at the different *ghauts*, to prevent, in every way possible, the mutineers crossing to the Futtehghur side. *All this, however, was merely to serve as a blind*, for no sooner did the 41st cross and enter the city walls, than a Company of the 10th and the Artillerymen, with the two guns stationed on the parade guarding the treasure, marched to the Nawab, placed him on the *guddee*, and laid the colours at his feet, and fired a Royal salute of twenty-one guns. From all accounts, the Nawab declined to accept of their colours, *but said, if they brought him the treasure, he would have no objection to receive them into his service.* The sepoys, however, were not to be done out of their money, so returned to the parade-ground, saluted their colours, and shared the money, among themselves. Up to this time, a few had remained with us, as a guard, in the fort; these now took their departure quietly; one or two returned now and again, to fetch away their *lotas* and other articles they had left in the fort. The Regiment then divided into two parties. The *Purbees* (*Purbias*) crossed over at once to Oude, with (the) intention to make for their homes (accompanied by Captain Bignell). We afterwards learnt that this body had been plundered by the villagers, and

Captain Bignell killed. Others went off, by twos and threes, to their homes; and those who remained were killed by the 41st, because they were not allowed a share in the public money. Thus this Regiment was completely disorganized and destroyed.

EUROPEANS FORTIFY THE FORT

It was now suggested by some to take to the boats, but the river was much too low, so that idea was abandoned, and it was resolved to hold the fort. Out of upwards of 100 Europeans, including women, and children, there were but 33 able-bodied men, and these proved our sole available force for defence. We then endeavoured to prepare against any attack: a 6-pounder, loaded with grape, was mounted over the gateway; and about 300 muskets, stored in the fort, were brought out, loaded, and placed ready for immediate use; while Mr. Thornhill was loading his, it accidentally went off, and wounded him severely in the hand and arm, incapacitating him from further duty.

The godowns were next searched for ammunition for the guns and muskets, but only a few muster round shots and shells were found, together with six boxes of ball-cartridge, and an equal quantity of blank; the latter we broke up, and used for the guns, and a lot of nuts, screws, hammer-heads, etc., were collected to serve as grape and round. We were then mustered, and divided into three parties, each under the orders of a military officer, and the whole under the command of Colonel Smith, of the 10th.

REVOLUTIONARIES PREPARE TO ATTACK THE FORT

Our first day passed very quietly, but we heard that the 41st were encamped in Lackparah (Lackhpera)[1], a large fosse, about a mile to the west of the fort, and were making preparations to attack us. At night-fall, pickets were posted at each bastion, but the night passed without any attack. In the morning, we mounted a 3-pounder, and by the evening

[1] *Lakhpera*—Apparently a grove named Lakhpera near Mallanwan which is 60 miles west of Lucknow.

a 9-pounder was brought into position. Provisions were also stored, and we busied ourselves in strengthening our position as much as possible; and by the time the 41st attacked us, we had seven guns mounted, viz., 3-pounder, 6-pounder, 9-pounder, 12-pounder, 18-pounder, and a 24-pounder (the last three being howitzers), and a small brass mortar.

On the evening of the 26th or 27th of June, a party of our coolies, who were employed in pulling down some walls close to the fort, were fired upon by the enemy. An alarm was immediately sounded, which brought every man to his post; a few shots were exchanged, but nothing particular occurred.

FIRING ON BRITISH POSITIONS

Next morning, before daybreak, the mutineers opened fire on us with their two guns; but it was too dark for them to aim with any certainty; so after a few rounds they stopped, and recommenced firing at daylight.

The sepoys took up their position behind trees, bushes, and anything which afforded them cover, and kept up a heavy musketry fire, and gave us little or no chance for a shot at them. Their fire, heavy though it was, did us no harm; they maintained it till a little past noon, when most of them began to retire; and by the evening only some random shots were heard, now and again.

Next morning the guns began to play again, but from a different direction; still doing no harm, as the shots either passed over or hit the bastions. The discharge of musketry was heavier this morning than on the preceding.

Several ladders were seen being borne towards the fort, but the bearers were shot down by us as soon as they came within range.

For four days the enemy's guns and muskets played on in this manner, and several ineffectual attempts were made to escalade.

BRITISH GUNS RENDERED INEFFECTIVE

On the fifth day a decided decrease of firing was observed; a Company of the Riflemen had taken up their position on the

fire upon us. Captain Phillimore, Mr. Sutherland, and one or two of the servants, were thus wounded. Some of the Riflemen had also taken up their position in a small out-house, about seventy or eighty yards from the fort. They loopholed the walls, and kept up a harassing fire from them, which rendered our guns perfectly useless, as we dared not lift our heads to fire.

COLONEL TUCKER KILLED

It was here my poor brother, whilst covering one of the gunners (Conductor Ahern), with his rifle, was mortally wounded by a ball in the head, which killed him a few hours after. Colonel Tucker was killed on the same spot a day after my brother was wounded, and they were buried together in one grave.

On the following morning, Mr. Ahern blew away with a discharge of grape some dozen men who were constructing a breastwork for their Riflemen on the wood-yard wall, which place they had reached by means of a covered way they had erected with *jhow* (*jhau*) and sandbags, under the protection of the fire of their Riflemen.

They did not attempt the same again, but first procured the assistance of some Sappers and Miners, and cut a hole through the wood-yard wall, and by this means got into the yard. There was large store of firewood and straw in it; so we allowed them to get in and work away, for they were unable to do us any harm; and when they had fairly worked for two days, we fired the wood and drove them out baffled.

ATTEMPT TO BLOW UP THE FORT

They commenced a mine, and worked two nights, and early on the third morning sprung it. The explosion was awful; it shook the whole fort. We all thought it was over with us; but an examination proved that it had blown down only five or six yards of the wall, leaving the inner half standing.

BID TO ESCALADE THE FORT

The bastion where I was, happened to be the next to that where the explosion took place; I at once ran to the spot

our party engaged in moving a gun to the breach, I returned to my own post and noticed from 100 to 150 Pathans and sepoys congregating below the breach in order to attempt an escalade as soon as the dust and smoke cleared off; I at once sent notice to the others to get aid and, in the meantime, by pouring the fire of two double-barrels and eight muskets, already loaded, into them, and discharging them as they were reloaded by a native, managed to disperse them before any of my comrades came up to my aid. Somewhat later in the day a second assault was attempted, which was defeated by Mr. Fisher's shooting the leader of the party, which caused his followers to fall back. We this day lost our best gunner, Mr. Ahern, who was shot through the head while laying a gun.

The enemy had now brought a gun to bear upon the bungalow containing the ladies and children; the shots generally passed over, but two or three struck the house; another gun they got to bear against the gate, and contrived to break a hinge and knocked several holes through it, but little harm was done, as we had piled up the archway with timber, which effectually stopped the shots. Two of our guns were soon after disabled. The enemy then commenced another mine close to the first.

EUROPEANS' FLIGHT FROM THE FORT

The determination thus shown by them, as also the loss of three of our best men, disheartened the garrison, already worn out by fatigue from watching. It was also certain that if the second mine was completed and fired, the enemy would attack us by both breaches, which we could not possibly defend; *our position became desperate; we began to look to the boats as our only mode of escape*, the river having risen considerably by the rains. After due consideration it was determined to evacuate the fort. No time was lost in getting everything ready for a start; the ladies and children were divided into three parties; at midnight they were got safely into their respective boats; one of the party was then sent round to the pickets to call them in. At about 2 A. M. of the 4th of July, we had all embarked; the guns in the fort had been spiked, and the little ammunition we had left destroyed. The order was given to let go; we started in very good order, but no sooner did we pass the fort walls than showers of bullets were sent after us, and a cry raised that the *Feringhees* were running away. The sepoys followed

us about a mile, firing all along, but doing no harm, for we were a long way out of range.

BOATS WITH EUROPEANS ABOARD PURSUED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

We had not proceeded far when it was found that Colonel Goldie's boat was much too large and heavy for us to manage; it was accordingly determined to be abandoned; so all the ladies and children were taken into Colonel Smith's boat. A little delay was thus caused, which the sepoys took advantage of to bring a gun to bear on the boats; the distance, however, was too great; every ball fell short. As soon as the ladies and children were all safely on board, we started, and got down as far as Singheerampore (Singhirampur)[1] without accident, although fired upon by the villagers. Here we stopped a few minutes to repair the rudder of Colonel Smith's boat, and one out of the two boatmen we had was killed by a matchlock-ball. The rudder repaired, we started again, Colonel Smith's boat taking the lead; we had not gone beyond a few yards when our boat grounded on a soft muddy sandbank; the other boat passed on; all hands got into the water to push her, but notwithstanding all our efforts we could not manage to move her. We had not been in this unhappy position half an hour, when two boats, apparently empty, were seen coming down the stream. They came within twenty yards of us, when we discovered they carried sepoys, who opened a heavy fire, killing and wounding several. Mr. Churcher, Senior, was shot through the chest; Mr. Fisher, who was just behind me, was wounded in the thigh. Hearing him call out, I had scarcely time to turn round when I felt a smart blow on my right shoulder; a bullet had grazed the skin and taken off a little of the flesh. Major Robertson was wounded in the face. The boats were now alongside of us. Some of the sepoys had

[1] *Singhirampur*, Pargana *Bhojpur*, Tahsil *Farrukhabad*, District *Farrukhabad*—This village, whose name is also spelt Sangrampur is picturesquely situated on the high bank of the Ganges about 11 miles south-east of Fatehgarh, in 27° 18′ N. and 79° 46′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 258).

already got into our boat. Major Robertson, seeing no hope, begged the ladies to come into the water rather than fall into their hands. While the ladies were throwing themselves into the water, I jumped into the boat, took up a loaded musket, and, going astern, shot a sepoy. I loaded again, but, finding no cap, was obliged to retreat as the enemy were now coming in great numbers. Lieutenant and Mrs. Fitzgerald were at this time sitting in a corner of the boat, with their child; Lieutenant Fitzgerald had a loaded musket, with the bayonet fixed, in his hand. Mr. Churcher, Senior, still lay weltering in his blood; the others had all got out of the boat into the water. Major and Mrs. Robertson, with their child, and Miss Thompson, were standing close to each other, beside the boat; Lieutenant Simpson and Mr. Churcher, Junior, were near them also. I, all this time, lost sight of Major Phillott, Ensign Eckford, and a few others; I suppose they were killed. Mr. and Mrs. Fisher were about twenty yards from the boat; he had his child in his arms, apparently lifeless, Mrs. Fisher could not stand against the current; her dress, which acted like a sail, knocked her down, when she was helped up by Mr. Fisher. I now resolved to make an escape if possible, to the leading boat, which I knew could not have proceeded far; so at once I struck out into the stream. Mr. and Mrs. Fisher continued in a distressing position when I passed them, unable to render any assistance.

I saw Mr. Fisher again, alone, floating on his back, but soon lost sight of him, as it was getting dark. I continued swimming for about an hour or more, when, at some distance, I saw the other boat. On reaching her, I found everything in confusion : Mr. Rohan, the youngest Miss Goldie, a child, and the only man who was on board, were killed; Lieutenant Swetenham, Mr. Maltby, and one or two others, were severely wounded, opposite Singheerampore, by a heavy fire of grape from two guns planted on the heights by the sepoys who had followed us. We repaired the rudder, which had been damaged, and continued our voyage with heavy hearts all that night.

Early the next morning a voice hailed us from the shore, which we recognized as Mr. Fisher's. He came on board, and informed us that his poor wife and child had been drowned in his arms. His wound was very painful, the ball having passed through the middle of the left thigh.

EUROPEANS FIND REFUGE IN A VILLAGE

We continued our voyage the whole of that day, till we reached a village opposite Koosoomkhore, in the Oude Territories; here the villagers offered us assistance and protection. We at first feared treachery, but(were) soon convinced that they were friends, accepted their kind offer, and put to shore for the night. We were all hungry, and begged the villagers to bring us some food, which they soon did, giving us *chupaties* and buffalo's milk, which greatly refreshed us.

My wound had now become very painful; and my naked back, having been exposed to the sun and rain all day, was smarting severely. The boat now, as I supposed, was anchored for the night. I determined to find rest in the village, as I had none the two previous nights. I asked one of the Thakoors if he could accommodate me with a *charpoy* for the night in his village. He at once took me with him, and gave me plenty to eat, and a *charpoy*. By this time my back had become so sore that I could find no ease in any position.

At night message came from Colonel Smith, saying the boat was going to leave. I was too weak, however, to pay any attention to it. A second and a third came, but I would not go; I had determined to stand my chance, happen what might. The boat left. I heard nothing more of it for several days, till their *manjee*, who took her down, returned and gave out that Nena (Nana) Sahib had fired upon them at Bithoor, and all on board were killed. I remained in the village for about a month, and subsequently joined Mr. Probyn, and came down with him to Cawnpore.

Major Robertson and Mr. Churcher, Junior, are said to be concealed in a village in Oude, near Futtehghur.[1]

ACTIVITIES OF GANGU SINGH AND CHHATAR SINGH

Extract from the Case against Gangu and Chhatar Singh.[2]

Towards the end of May, 1857, no dependence being

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 60 in No. 4, pp. 233-237.

cf. Further Papers (No. 7, in continuation of No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 18 in No. 8, pp. 138-142.

[2] These leaders were charged for being instigators and leaders of an attack on Europeans at Biloi and on Kanauj.

placed on the 10th N. I. at Futtehgurh, it was determined to send down in boats to Allahabad, the majority of the women and children, a few gentlemen forming the escort.

BILOI THAKURS SURROUND ENGLISH BOATS

Very early on the 4th of June, upwards of 150 men, women, and children left Futtehgurh in some 12 to 14 boats. This party met with no opposition till they neared the junction of the Ramgunga with the Ganges, when they were fired on by the villagers of Koosumkhore.[1] Mr. Brierly's boy was here slightly wounded in the thigh. At the suggestion of Hurdeo Buksh's followers, the boats halted at the mouth of the Ramgunga. Hurdeo Buksh now appeared and offered protection to the whole party. Mr. Probyn, with a small number, alone accepted it, and at once proceeded up the Ramgunga to Hurdeo Bukhsh's fort at Dhurrumpoor (Dharampur). The majority, some 125 in number, distrusting Hurdeo Buksh, continued their voyage down the river, on the night of the 6th of June. As they approached Belowee and Putora Ghat, the river being shallow, the boats were surrounded from all directions by the Thakoors of Belowee and Mahadewa, under the command of Gungoo, and Chuttur Singh of Mahadewa, and Aman Singh of Belowee, shots were fired during the night by the Thakoors, but more it would seem with the view of intimation[2] than of inflicting injury. All the boats now halted at one spot till daylight. In the morning, messengers were sent to the Thakoors to ascertain their intentions.

EUROPEANS COME TO TERMS WITH THAKURS

After much discussion, terms were agreed to. The Europeans were to be furnished with a safe escort as far as Cawnpoor, on the receipt of a thousand Rupees in cash, and the promise of another thousand on arriving at Cawnpoor. The thousand Rupees were given to the Thakoors, about 4 P. M., on the 7th of June, when all dispersed. A few Thakoors only, forming a portion of the promised guard, remained with

[1] *cf.* Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 60 in No. 4, p. 236. (See pp. 739, 747).

[2] Appears a misprint for 'intimidation'.

the boats, but these men also left during the night. Of the six boats possessed by this party, on their arrival at Belowee, one had been wrecked and plundered by the Thakoors, and one was abandoned during the night of the 7th.

EXCHANGE OF FIRE NEAR BITHOOR

Of the remaining four, the one belonging to Mr. Brierly, was large; to it almost all the party removed for mutual protection. The second and third boats were small, and were each occupied by two or three gentlemen only. The fourth boat contained the provisions and property of the party. Thus distributed, the party proceeded down the river in the four boats, leaving Belowee early on the morning of the 8th June. The Thakoors kept their promise, and the boats were not again molested, till passing Bithoor. They arrived this place early on the morning of the 10th June, when the Nana's followers opened fire on them, but none in the boats were injured, though the return fire from the Europeans killed several of the enemy. The boats continued their course till about 8 A. M. the same morning, when they all halted at a small island, partially covered by the river in the rains, and situated considerably above the old Cawnpoor Magazine. From this point they saw the bungalows in the station on fire, and heard heavy firing. It was thought that the bridge of boats might be in the possession of the enemy, and their further progress impracticable; to halt and obtain information was consequently necessary. Mr Brierly's *chowkeedar* and *khitmutgar*, with Kashee, a boatman, were now sent to procure information, the last being entrusted with a letter. The *chowkeedar* and *khitmutgar* returned unsuccessful, having found it impossible to pass the sentries. Kashee was seized, and imprisoned for some time in the compound of the house from *which the Nana was superintending the attack on Colonel Wheeler's intrenchment.* On the 11th of June, a party of rebels crossed over in boats with guns to the left bank of the Ganges, and opened fire on the boats. Each of the first three shots struck the largest boat, one round shot killing an *ayah* and child. All now abandoned the boats, and took shelter under a bank of sand. Some ten or twelve shots were fired by the Europeans, but all intention of resistance seems soon to have been abandoned as hopeless, and only endangering the lives of the ladies, and children. This party

had apparently little idea that all would share the same fate. The native servants, who up to this period seem to have behaved well, now scattered over the sands, or took to the river. Shortly after, a large force, both Cavalry and Infantry, landed on the island. The Europeans gave themselves up, were bound, transferred to the right bank of the river, and marched to Cawnpoor during the night. The next day, the 12th of June, all were executed on the parade ground. Of this execution I have been unable to procure any eye-witnesses. The native witnesses are totally ignorant of dates; but the narrative of each day's events being given with clearness, has supplied this deficiency, as the starting point, the 4th of June is known.

The success attending Gungoo and Chuttur Singh's attack on the English boats, induced more extended efforts.

KANAUJ ATTACKED BY GANGU SINGH

After plundering their own neighbourhood, they attacked Kunouj with a considerable force, towards the end of June 1857. Kunouj defended itself successfully, inflicting a rather severe loss upon its assailants. Several of the town's people were however killed.

Both in the attack on the boats and at Kunouj, Gungoo was the most prominent, though both prisoners were leaders of their respective clans on those occasions. These attacks were the more rebellious, in consequence of their having taken place whilst British authority was still represented in the person of Colonel Smith, then in Civil and Military charge of the district of Furruckabad.[1]

VILLAGERS ATTACK EUROPEANS ON BOATS

Deposition of David Churcher taken on oath on 9th day of September 1872, before the Magistrate, B. W. Colvin.

Question—Were you on board Major Robertson's boat with fugitives from the Futtehgurh fort when it grounded on the Manpoor Kothee ?

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, Appendix to *Farrukhabad District*, No. III, pp. 44-46.

Answer—Yes.

Question—Were any Europeans murdered there ?

Answer—Yes. Our boat grounded within about 6 yards of the left bank of the Ganges : and we were unable to get it off. The sepoys crossed over from Singheerampore in ferry boats, and coming within 20 yards opened fire upon us from under cover of their boats. *The villagers, in a large crowd—probably not less than* 300 *or* 400, *collected on the bank all or nearly all armed*—with swords and shields chiefly—some with clubs. I was in the water, trying to get the boat off along with others. After a time, as they saw us getting fast killed and disabled, the sepoys pushed forward in their boats and boarded ours. At the same time, from the bank the crowd of villagers, and a number of sepoys who had also joined them, waded through the shallow water from the bank and boarded our boat. I swam off down the river. I saw several men and women killed in the water by our assailants, for the women and children, when the boat was boarded, had jumped into the water.

Question—Could you recognize now any of your assailants ?

Answer—No. They were all strangers to me, and I could take no notice of faces under the circumstances.[1]

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT FARRUKHABAD

NAWAB OF FARRUKHABAD PROCLAIMS HIS RULE

Deposition of Joseph Dore taken on the oath of a Christian on 16th day of February 1859.

My name is Joseph Dore aged 38 years, my father's name Joseph (*sic*,) Dore, at present residing in Futtehghur, a writer by profession.

Question—Where were you when the outbreak occurred?

Answer—In Futtyghur in the... (Mss. torn).

Question—When the outbreak took place where did you go to ?

Answer—Kalay Khan and his wife both lived with me. Kalay Khan was a Puthan, his wife a Christian girl. On the

[1] Farrukhabad Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 4, File No. 134.

16th June 1857 I heard a drum going in the camp here, i.e. in Futtyghur, saying *Khulck Oollah ka moolk Badshah ka hookm Nuwab Raees Buhadoor ka.*[1] I heard this in the forenoon. About 3 P. M. I was sitting very sad, when Kalay Khan came, he asked "Why" ? He said, "Don't be afraid I will die by your side". He left me in charge of his wife and children, and with a candle light came back crying, and said, "Sir, Soobratie Khan Wuzeer Khan coachman had come with Bolee Bux[2] Havildar-Major of the 10th N. I. from the Nuwab Races, and had desired Bolee Bux come three others name unknown[3], that the 10th N. I. would take their turn and destroy all their officers and go and serve the Nuwab. I therefore got a circular directing on the 17th morning all to go into the fort. I did not see it and remained. About 9½ or 10 O'clock the 10th N. I. broke out. Mr. Knowles who gave evidence yesterday went at their head to the Nuwab with native six band boys and crowned the Nuwab and played "God save the Queen". I saw this myself. On the 18th June the Dobee Regt. in the evening was hunting up Christian fugitives and went to a man named Wuzeer Khan with my family and Kalay Khan who kept us two days. After two days Kalay Khan went to the fort. Then Wuzeer Khan coachman of Nuwab came to Wuzeer Khan tent maker my...(Mss. torn) before me, and said "turn out Christians, you are a Musulman or I will be the cause of your death". I went away with my wife and children. We ran away like mad dogs to Ghysegunj[4] about 9 miles hence on the Agra Road. I fled thence after a time to Ghauspoor, my master Mr. Maclean's factory, where I was seized by the Ghysegunj *Thanadar* of the Nuwab. There were sepoys seizing us. They would not recognise us. It was so till 30th July. They were all the more our enemies. I know what sepoys are, I was in a native corps myself. I was tied tight and dragged with my poor wife and taken to the Nuwab's fort in Furruckabad before this very...(not legible). I can recognise very well. When I was taken before the Nuwab there was one dark man along

[1] 'People of God, country of the King and Govt. of the Nawab of Farrukhabad.'

[2] Spelt as 'Bhoo Aly Bux' elsewhere. (p. 730).

[3] The phrase is confusing; it may be, 'from the Nawab Raees who had desired Bolee Bux come with 2 or three others".

[4] Name not clearly decipherable, Mss. being torn.

with a short man. I did not know their names at the time, but I heard when I got out that one was Ahmed Yar Khan. I was confined with Knowles and his son, and Jankee Purshad *Fukeer*, and about 25 natives and Ulbel Singh, a Sikh *Havildar*, Nurayn Doobee[1], I do not recollect the names of others. Kalay Khan was blown off a gun. I saw his head hanging from the city gate i.e. on the left hand side of the Lall Durwaza. I know his head. I never saw him alive after he left us; he was blown away, about four days before I was imprisoned in the Nuwab's palace. I was 32 days in imprisonment (again says 31 days). On the 31st through the Nawab's falling ill (for he went out in his chariot before me from the fort escorted by sepoys and sowars to the camp, and returned in the evening and remained all night unwell) I understand his family determined that as he had oppressed the poor he had become ill, and should release them. Next day I was brought before the Nuwab in .....[2]; I saw the Nuwab on a bed; there were (16) sixteen of us. There were present the *Resaldar* who had charge of the *Ressatah* in this place, but I don't know his name, and several others; the natives were brought up first, and as their .....[3] knocked off they were told to pray to God for the Nuwab's recovery. There we were brought up one by one, first Knowles was asked to pray for the Nuwab. I was brought next, called up and told to pray. I said "just now I have suffered too much at your hands to pray for you; I will return thanks when I get well". The Nuwab rolling on his bed with sickness said, "he says truly, let him go." Four English pice were allowed during my imprisonment but so reduced by pilfering that I received but one pice worth of food, in fact had to live like a parrot. In my opinion the Nuwab was the real master and rejoiced in his day, and was directed by the troops, soldiers sowars, sitting in a silver *howdah* and received salutes. When I was first captured and brought before the Nuwab there was a cry, the Nuwab himself and many of his chief men thinking some gentleman was brought ran out to see. Ahmed Yar Khan a dark man said "who are you" ? I said "*Dore Sahib*,

[1] May have been spelt for 'Narain Dubey.'

[2] This word is not legible; perhaps it may be 'chains' or 'irons'.

[3] The words are not legible here; Mss. being very brittle; perhaps 'irons were' might be written.

Maclean Sahib ka kerany". He said "Imprison him, take him away, put him in irons, when 10 or 12 men come you shall be blown away". The Nuwab gave a sign with his head indicating the prison to which I was taken away. He did not speak.

Question by the Prisoner's Counsel—You say there was a great crowd at the palace when you saw it. Was it at the gate of the palace or in the palace ?

Answer—At the gate of the palace there were sepoys and sowars. At the place where I was kept there were only the Nuwab's own people.

Question by the Court—When you were imprisoned under the Nuwab's men did the sepoys use to pass by your door ?

Answer—Yes, the Regular sepoys passed by constantly and used to smoke with the Guard.[1]

* * *

Deposition of Mrs. Mary Bignell on Oath.

Prisoners Presented before the Nowab.

Question—Were you in the city of Furruckabad during the revolt ?

Answer—Yes I was principally concealed in Saadatmund Khan's house. I saw the Nowab Raees pointing to the prisoner in front.[2] I went there through his Begum. She sent 2 women for me. I refused to go at first but there was one woman remained with me and one went back with my message of refusal. She brought word back again "You must not be afraid, come at once for a few hours." I then went with her. She took me in the *Muhul*, I passed many guards. And those people enquired "who is going in the *Dolee*" ? these (*sic*,) woman said "my relation going to see the Begum." When I went into the *Muhul* I saw the Bigga Begum first, she took me to the Nowab. He was in the next room.

Question—What conversation passed between you and the Nowab ?

Answer—He asked me where Captain Bignell was.

Question—What month or time was this ?

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Nawab of Farrukhabad*", English-Urdu File; Farrukhabad Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Note—The Manuscript is very brittle and at many places it is worn out with the result that words at some places had to be left out.

[2] These words are not clearly decipherable.

Answer—In the month of July I believe; about three or four days after the prisoners were brought. I heard they were Christian prisoners.

I replied to his question, "I do not know." I asked him, "Why you want to know ?" He says, "I heard he is not in the fort so I think he is somewhere else with you." He then said, "Will you do anything for me ?" I say "Yes if I can." He said he wanted to send a letter to Lieutenant-Governor-General[1] at Agra. I said, "What about ?" He says, "There are a few prisoners come in the fort and I could not save them so I want them to send some troops over here to take them away." I said, "Yes but if I am caught on the road (he wanted me to take the letter) by the mutineers and they bring me to you will you save my life ?" He said no he could not do that he could kindly (*sic*,) save his own life. This conversation took place in the *Muhul* inside the fort. I saw Torab Ellee (Torab Ali) there; he brought about 50 pieces of paper with Persian written on them and asked the Nowab to sign these papers. Nowab said, "let them remain I will sign after a time." Torab Ellee went away and returned in ¼ or ½ an hour and asked if the papers are ready. Nowab said "not yet." Torab replied "some *Resaldars* and *Soobadars* are waiting outside and growling." Then the Nowab commenced signing. Then I asked Nowab, "Do you know what is written in the papers." He says he "does not know and don't wish to know." He signed in English. Torab Ellee took the papers. Then I went away saying "if you can't save my life I can't take a letter." That was the only time I saw the Nowab.

Cross-Examined by P. P. (Public Prosecutor)—This conversation occurred in the *Muhul*. It is not usual for men to go into the *Muhul*. I heard that only Torab Ellee went. I knew Torab Ellee before. My name was Mary Macdonald before I resided with Captain Buknell[2]. I have made a claim on the property left by Captain Bignell. I have received no answer to that claim. After the interview with the Nowab Raees I returned to Nowab Saadutmund Khan's house.

Cross-Examined by Court—I wore a native dress during this

[1] 'General' is superfluous.

[2] This appears a slip of pen for 'Bignell'.

interview. I was behind the *Purdah* so I would not see the guards but I heard the challenges. They said in Hindoostani '*Kone Jata hy Dolee Myn*', or '*Kis ky doolee*' or something of that sort. It was about 2 or 3 P. M.

Question—How was your life preserved ?

Answer—Captain Bignell made me over to Nowab Saadutmund Khan and told me "if I have a chance I will come over there myself." I was made over sometime in May about 4 days after the Meerut massacre. Nowab Saadutmund Khan prohibited (*sic*,) me all the time from the time I went there till the English returned except 4 days. Then he sent me to another house at my own request. A gun was going to knock down his house because the people, mutineers, those sepoys suspected he had Christians in his house. There was no other Christian or English woman in Saadutmund's house but myself. I heard a few more were saved in Nowab Surbuland Khan's house. I did not see them. I know who they were—Mr. Dr. Fountain, Mrs. Birch, Mrs. Byrne, Mr. Birch. I heard these names afterwards. I don't believe they stayed with Surbuland Khan the whole time. I heard they were caught. I do not know how they were saved.[1]

ROLE OF GHULAM ALI KHAN AS KOTWAL OF FARRUKHABAD

Extract from the Decision on the trial of Ghulam Ali Khan, Kotwal of Farrukhabad, given by H. D. Robertson, Deputy Commissioner, dated Fatehgarh, 11th December 1858.

Golam Alee Khan, prior to the outbreak, was *Thanadar* of Mohumdabad[2], *zillah* Furruckabad. By the Magistrate's orders, in conjunction with the *Peshkar*, he escorted treasure from the *tehseelee* to the *Sudder* Station, early in June, and was then sent back to his *thanah*; when the Europeans retired into

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Nawab of Farrukhabad*", English-Urdu File; Farrukhabad Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

Note—The Statement is very defective in many places from the point of view of 'grammar'.

[2] *Muhammadabad*, Pargana, District *Farrukhabad*—This pargana, one of the four that make up the Farrukhabad tahsil, is bounded on the north-east by Pahara, on the north-west and south-west by Shamsabad East, and on the south-east by Bhojpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 237).

the fort, abandoning his *thanah*, he made his appearance in Furruckabad. About the 19th of June, in the Nawaub's name, he was appointed *Cotwal* of the city, on a salary of Rs. 100 per mensem, by the sepoys of the 41st N. I. The sepoys did not commence their attack on the fort till the 24th of June from which date Golam Alee Khan was unremitting in his endeavours to supply the besieging force with provisions and other necessaries, such as sulphur and ladders for the assault. *Everything that could possibly be done in furthering the views of the mutineers, was carried out by him.* On the 3rd of July the Europeans abandoned the fort, and Golam Alee Khan had a considerable share in organizing the pursuit. The Europeans proceeded at first in three boats, but one becoming unmanageable, all were divided between two boats, about 8 A. M. on the 4th July. During this operation the pursuing party kept up a constant fire; some 200 men in boats, now also joined in pursuit. Colonel Smith's boat happened to be considerably ahead of Major Robertson's when the latter stuck opposite Singhee Rampore, about mid-day on the 4th July. Making up to this boat the sepoys managed to kill or capture all except three, who escaped by swimming. This pursuing party, accompanied by Golam Alee Khan, consisted of two Companies of the 41st, two of the *Gulla*, (new Levy) and two guns, with about 150 coolies. Amongst those taken prisoners were Mrs. and Miss Sutherland, with a child; Mrs. Jones, wife of an Indigo-planter, and a child; European child, and native family of Mr. Jones of the Gun Carriage Agency, and apparently one other lady. After the capture of the boat, all the prisoners were at once marched back by the direct road from Singhee Rampore to Furruckabad. During the night, they seem to have halted a short time at a village on the road; Mrs. Sutherland and Mrs. Jones and child, being wounded and unable to walk, were carried on a *charpoy*. The heat of an Indian July, must have rendered a march of 14 miles a hard task to delicate ladies, who seem to have been treated harshly by the sepoys when pressing them on. Alee Jan, a sepoy of the 41st Native Infantry, was permitted to separate one lady from the party and he did not bring her into Futtehgurh till long after the others had arrived. Golam Alee Khan, being present, was responsible for this conduct. The ladies on arriving at the parade ground, where the 41st were encamped, were detained about two hours, and thence Golam

Alee Khan took them to the Nawaub's house in Furruckabad, distant about three miles, which they reached about 11 A. M. on the 5th July. On arriving they were placed in a small out-house ordinarily used for horses, but they do not seem to have been in any way bound. They daily received from the Nawaub's *Zananah* an allowance of gram and barley. Their arrival gave rise to a more pleasing feature in the case. A native doctor was sent for to attend the wounded ladies. He was the only person, except Golam Alee Khan and the Guard, that ever obtained admittance, and according to his own account was placed under a separate Guard to prevent his becoming a medium of correspondence. This may have been the case, for though he was a servant of Tuffuzool Hoosein (Tafazzul Husain), Hidayut Alee, Golam Alee Khan, and the sepoys seem to have acted much as they liked. This native doctor was last February seized and tried by me, but released in consideration of the attention he had doubtless shown to the wounded ladies. Mrs. Sutherland was wounded by a musket shot; the bullet entered one thigh, passing out through the other. With Mrs. Jones a bullet entering just under the ribs, passed through her body without injuring any vital spot; the same bullet broke her child's arm. *Golam Alee Khan through his Police had ever since his appointment been very active in apprehending Eurasians and native Christians.*

GHULAM ALI KHAN RULES SUPREME

In one house he secured three Eurasians, being a father, mother, and daughter; the last was some 12 to 14 years of age, and being good-looking was taken possession of by the Nawaub. The Eurasians and native Christians, thus seized, constituted the major portion of those executed on the parade ground. About a fortnight after the Singhee Rampore affair, Golam Alee Khan, who had been in constant attendance on the Nawaub, and in conjunction with Hidayut Alee, *was still supreme*, introduced an English letter into the place where the ladies were confined. This he brought to the Nawaub, and insisted that the execution of the ladies alone would put an end to such correspondence. He is reported to have been in the habit of informing the ladies of their impending fate, when one remarked, "that by killing them, England would not be cleared of Englishmen." At any rate this letter

formed the ostensible justification for an execution that had already been determined upon. Some of the witnesses refer to the general impression existing at the time regarding the conduct of the sepoys to the ladies while under their charge. But it is clear that, with the exception of Golam Alee Khan, and occasionally the native doctor, the Guard most jealously excluded even from the vicinity of the out-house all not of their own number. It is impossible therefore to place much confidence to this stamp of evidence whatever probabilities might exist in its favor, as Indian Sepoys under the control of their own impulses alone would hardly be superior to an European soldiery similarly circumstanced. Mrs. Sutherland's wound was much better, when on the morning of the 23rd of July the ladies were placed in a *keranchee* and taken to the parade ground. Alee Jan, sepoy of the 41st, here interfered, and wished to save the life of the lady he had taken possession of on the march, but was not permitted to do so. The men amongst the prisoners, who consisted entirely of Eurasians and native Christians, had been confined in a separate portion of the Nawaub's out-houses and were now marched up from another direction. On arriving at the parade ground, the male prisoners were taken inside the late Mr. Mden's (*sic*, may be Mclean's) close to the huts, and cut down with *tulwars*. The women and children were then assembled under the huts, and shot down with grape. All were killed, except Miss Sutherland, who said, "That as the Almighty had protected her, they might do the same." Several witnesses now heard Golam Alee Khan give the order to cut her down, which was accordingly done with *tulwars*. The bodies according to some, remained on the spot till 3 P. M.; others state till next morning, when they were thrown into a well, a little behind the huts. Altogether about 22 men, women, and children were killed on this occasion. Amongst these were Dhokul Pershad, native Christian, with his family, and a native woman who, though a Mahomedan, was killed in consequence of her son, a Mr. Anderson, being a Christian. Ten days after, this Golam Alee Khan, as *Cotwal*, attended at a brick-kiln, the execution of Kalay Khan, a loyal sepoy of the 10th N. I., who had accompanied the Europeans. On both occasions, particularly the first, the assemblage of people from the city and surrounding villages is described as having been very great, but no public proclamation on the subject seems to have been issued. All the

evidence speaks of these executions as if the prisoners had been blown from guns. But this was not the case. They were killed by discharges of grape. This mode of expression (*sic*,-execution) doubtless originates in a false impression, as to the manner in which such executions are carried out; of the sepoys even, none had probably ever actually seen a man blown from a gun, though they had often heard of it, and when they came to try their hands at it themselves the effect of powder alone was probably unknown to them. From this date executions of men supposed to be in correspondence with the English were of frequent occurrence, but Golam Alee Khan's influence now gradually diminished, and in about four months after his first appointment he was imprisoned. On being released he went to his father-in-law's house at Attaeepore[1], and on the advance of the English forces fled to Allygurh and Shahabad. The documentary evidence in this case consists chiefly of replies to reference in the ordinary decision of disputes during Golam Alee Khan's tenure of office. In this respect the old English Office routine seems to have been maintained. There are a few of the prisoner's notes to the Nawaub, mentioning the successful collection of sulphur and the sums realized by sales of English property; also under his signature a proclamation, *levying a tax on butchers with the evident view of winning the good-will of the Hindoos, notifications to the Nawaub, intimating appointment*; and one peculiar order, dated the 19th July, to a certain Ahmed Hoosein Khan in charge of the Mow Gate of the city commanding him not to admit the fugitive sowars from Cawnpoor, who had fled in this direction after General Havelock's occupation of that place. These documents are of some importance, as assisting to illustrate the extent of power and influence possessed by Golam Alee Khan. Golam Alee Khan in defence denies all the charges, and states that he was forcibly placed in the Cotwalship under a guard of sepoys. To prove this he rather overreaches himself. In spite of imprisonment, flight, and wanderings, he kept by him what he evidently considers an important document. It is a request made to Tuffuzul Hossein (Nawab of Farrukhabad) to be relieved of the Cotwalship.

[1] Apparently *Ataipur Jadid*, Pargana *Kampil*, Tahsil *Kaimganj*, District *Farrukhabad*—This village, in 27° 35′ N. and 79° 26′ E., is a suburb of Kaimganj. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 184).

It is dated the 25th June 1857, or the day after the fort of Futtehgurh was invested by the sepoys; not till 16th of July 1857, it is returned to him with an order refusing to grant the request. Had there not been ample proof in other directions, this paper would simply be valuable in showing the rapidity with which Golam Alee Khan abandoned his *thanah* at Mohumdabad to accept the Cotwalship in the city, and that he was supreme Police Officer of the district, when some of the worst features of the rebellion at Futtehgurh were developed. The prisoner, when *Cotwal*, was decidedly popular with the wealthy *Mahajuns* and *Buniahs*. He evidently in an underhand-way tried to protect (them) from the plundering expeditions of the sepoys; when the sepoys, through whose influence he had been appointed, discovered this fact, he was imprisoned. In his defence he has taken advantage of the good-will of many of this wealthy class whose gratitude enables them to view the rest of his conduct with exemplary charitableness. They all admit that Golam Alee Khan was *Cotwal* of the city. Of such trifling irregularities however, of the execution of a few English ladies, children and native Christians, they know nothing; probably many of them were present at the time on the parade ground. But this might be accepted, as the natural recognition of a substantial service, the preservation in fact of all their wealth which, had Golam Alee Khan not been *Cotwal*, they would have been unable to secret and secure.[1]

* * *

Extract from "Narrative of what occurred at Furruckabad (Farrukhabad) during the outbreak."

GHULAM ALI APPOINTED KOTWAL

...The day the 41st came the old *Kotwal*, Meer Ukbur Aly (Akbar Ali) ran away, and 2 days before the fort was attacked the native officers said that as there was no *Kotwal* in the city and as Gholam Aly had given them great help in crossing the river, and came with them, they intended appointing him *Kotwal*, and then and there directed Toorab Aly to write the *Purwanah* which they made (the) Nawab sign. This was the first paper the Nawab ever signed and it was first signed

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Farrukhabad District*, pp. 41 to 44.

in English which displeased the Doobye people who tore it up and made him a[1] sign a fresh one in Persian, saying 'there are no English here, you must sign in Persian.'

When the force proceeded to attack the fort, they left three picquets in the city—one of the 41st, one of the 10th Oudh Irr. (Irregular Cavalry) and (one) of sowars.

The sepoys used to take from the city whatever they required and got all the munitions of war from the city through the *Kotwal* using the Nawab's name. The siege continued 8 days, then the Europeans left at midnight in boats. In the morning this was discovered by the force and the sepoys gave chase immediately. The Nawab did not know of this until 12 O. C. (12 O'clock) when Gunga Singh and Aga Hossein came to him and told him the Europeans had left the fort and that they had sent 2 Companies, 2 guns and some sowars after them. Gunga Singh, Aga Hussein and Ahmed Yar Khan remained with the Nawab. At 2 P. M. some prisoners arrived being brought by the sepoys, the Nawab directed them to be taken to the 'Khas Mahal' and put a Guard of his old servants on them to prevent their being injured or insulted by the soldiery and *budmashes*, sent for Bencoo[2], the native doctor, to attend upon them, and sent his old *Khansamah*, who used to prepare the dinner for the Englishmen he (*sic*,-who) entertained them and who was known to them, Imaum Khan, to attend to them and Nawab directed Mooneer Aly (Munir Ali) Khan to enquire and give them everything they required. About this time Ahmed Yar Khan began to collect the old *Omlah*—Sheo Pershad, Hydaet Aly, Mahomed Tuckee (Muhammad Taqi), Moulvie Omeed Aly (Ummid Ali), Abdool Wajid, Busharat Aly (Basharat Ali) and others and so formed *kutcherries*. Ahmed Yar Khan, Ushrut Khan[3], Gunga Singh, Aga Hossein and one from the 41st N. I. used to attend regularly daily and make the *kutcherry* people work and in the evening all the papers used to be brought to the Nawab for signature. The representative of the 41st was repeatedly changed during the time. At first the Nawab declined and he was told that they (the native officers) did all the work and

[1] 'a' is superfluous here.
[2] Name not clearly decipherable.
[3] The name is not legibly written in the Original; perhaps 'Ashraf Khan, or 'Ishrat Khan'. (pp. 763, 765).

all the fighting and that unless he did something they would make a new Nawab and kill him; so he had better be thankful for the little he did and be quiet. The Nawab never read a single paper he signed, or knew their contents. Toorab Aly was the man who generally brought the papers. Ahmed Yar Khan ordered new seals to be made, one for himself, one for Mohsum Aly Khan, one for Morally[1] Khan, one for Thacoor[2] Pandey (a *Soobadar* in the 41st) exactly like the Nawab's old seal, only differing in the date. These new seals were made upon a dispute taking place between the officers of the Mhow Puthans and Doobye for the chief power, when it was decided that Ahmed Yar Khan should be made a *Nazim* of the East which he declined and was accordingly made *Nazim* in the West. In the meantime the Mhow Puthans had been reinforced by about 4,000 men and 25* guns had been taken possession of in the fort when the English left it.

ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS BY THE NAWAB

Upon Ahmed Yar Khan being appointed *Nazim* of the West, he proceeded to Mhow, his own home, taking 9 guns and 6,000 men. After Ahmed Yar Khan left, Mohsum Aly Khan came from Mhow with 1,000 men and collected 3 (3000) or 4000 men here and was appointed *Nazim* of the East and proceeded to Chubbramow (Chhibramau) taking 5,000 men and nine guns and a seal. Then Morad Aly Khan came from Mhow bringing 6 (600) or 700 men with him and raised 1,000 here. He was appointed *Nazim* at Etawah near Agra and went there with 5 guns and a seal. Thacoor Pandey was made Collector of Futtehgurh and got a seal. Ushrut Khan[3] went to Mhow with his brother-in-law Ahmed Yar Khan. Aga Hossein, Gunga Singh† and one officer of the 41st remained in the city doing business but resided at the Camp. Of the Mhow Puthans only about 200 remained and they had joined the *Gulla* and Doobye *Pultuns*. Ahmed Yar Khan left for Mhow previous to the destruction of the ladies who were destroyed

[1] Name incomprehensible. Might have been spelt for 'Morad Ali'.
[2] Not legibly written in the Original.
* "About 31 or 32 altogether"—Note in Original.
[3] Spelt as 'Ashrut Khan' also. (p. 766).
† "of the Gulla K. Pultun"—Note in Original.

before the arrival of Mohsum Aly Khan, there not being about 200 Mhow Puthans in the city when their destruction took place.

The day previous to the destruction of the ladies Aga Hossein, Gunga Singh, an officer of the Doobye and some 30 or 40 sepoys came to the Nawab and shewed him a letter which they said they understood had been written by the ladies who intended sending it to Agra for assistance and so they were afraid they were not strictly guarded (and so) they should take them to their Camp. The Nawab objected to this, but was advised he had better remain quiet unless he wished to share their captivity. The sepoys took them away and the next thing that the Nawab heard was that they were destroyed.

The very day the two Siekhs (Sikhs or Shaikhs) arrived they were brought before Aga Hossein, Gunga Singh and the Doobye Officer Juggut Singh, who enquired into the matter and forthwith ordered them to be blown from the guns and they were taken to the Loll (Lal) Durwaza and blown away from a gun that the 41st had taken away from Hakeem Menhdie's (Hakim Menhdi) garden belonging to Munowur-ood-Dowlah. No one else was executed on this day.

On the following day Moulvie Hydaet Aly (Maulvi Hidayet Ali) who was the *Sherishtadar* of the *kutcherry* produced the *Misl* of the case of the 2 Khuttries and the Chamar; it was read and order for execution was passed by Aga Hossein, Gunga Singh and the Doobye Officer.

At 4 A. M. when Aga Hossein, Gunga Singh and the Doobye Officer were going home they took the 2 Khuttries and the Chamar calling for them at the Guard and upon seeing Kalay Khan there they made of (up) their mind to take him too and destroy him which they did; the Nawab never heard of Kalay Khan's death, or intended execution till it was over.

COMMUNICATION WITH DELHI COURT

(*Khadum*)—Kadum[1] Aly was sent by the 'Doobye Ke Pultun' with the petition of the 41st excusing themselves, the *Gulla* and Sowar, for not going to Delhi, and was accompanied

[1] Might have been spelt for 'Khadim Ali'.

by a Guard composed from the 3 Corps. He returned with an answer to the 41st N. I. from the King of Delhi, accepting their excuses and *telling them to remain where they were and oppose the advance of the English.*

The dispute between Bukht Khan and Gunga Singh was settled thus : When Bukht Khan's petition came in Gunga Sing, Aga Hossein and the Doobye Officer were present in *kutcherry* and these two settled the matter, had the order drawn and signed by the Nawab.

NAWAB'S REPORTED ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE TO AGRA

After Wuzeer Aly was shot at and previous to the fort being attacked the Nawab tried to escape to Agra and it was upon this occasion that Ahmed Yar Khan came to the Nawab telling him that he had found out that he was trying to escape and he therefore set a Guard over him to prevent a recurrence of the attempt and when the Doobye and *Gulla* heard of it, they also set a Guard of their own men over them.

The reason the Nawab was forced to sign all documents was, in consequence of the jealousy existing among the various native officers of the different regiments who could not agree amongst themselves to empower any one of their number to perform this duty, fearing that he should use the power thus given for his own purposes.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Occurrences by C. R. Lindsay, Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Furruckabad (Farrukhabad), dated December 20th, 1858.

ROLE OF ISHRAT KHAN

Soon after the residents of the station were shut up in the fort, a noted rebel, Ashrut[2] Khan, in company with Ahmud Yar Khan and Mooltan Khan, came to Futtehgurh from Shumshabad, Kaemgunje (Kaimganj)[3], and Mhow. Ashrut

[1] Foreign Political Proceedings, 17th June 1859, Part I, Cons. No. 36, pp. 237-240. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Correct name may be 'Ishrat Khan'.

[3] *Kaimganj*, Pargana *Kampil*, Tahsil *Kaimganj*, District *Farrukhabad*—This town, the headquarters of the tahsil of the same name, stands on the high cliff which once formed the bank of the Ganges, in 27° 30' N. and 79° 21' E. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 208).

Khan is a native of Delhi, and brother-in-law to Ahmud Yar Khan; both were pensioners of the British Government; the former, as a reward for his father's services in Lord Lake's time, was in receipt of Rs. 700 a month. Ashrut Khan was styled Nawaub; he laid claims to the Futtehgurh *Musnud* (throne) and was in some way related to the Bungush (Bangash) family. *This man was the soul of the mutiny.* He with Bhigga Begum, the wife of the Nawaub, had great influence, and did what they pleased, was appointed *Musheer Khas* (Principal Councillor) to the Nawaub.....

These men received a salary of Rs. 100 each, and fees to the amount of 10 per cent, on the amount decreed in any suit; also one anna in the rupee on every execution served out.

This Court was not composed of men of any talent; one alone Ahmud Alee (Ahmad Ali), amongst them, was a man of average abilities. These men were the Civil and Sessions Judges of the city of Furruckabad.

The Nawaub Tuffuzool Hoosein (Tafazzul Husain) Khan of Furruckabad was supposed to look down from his lofty throne, and watch and guide the proceedings of these various Courts; but in truth he had very little power shortly after the commencement of his reign. He was a man of quiet habits, more given to painting and gilding and the society of immoral characters than fitted to rule, and direct a turbulent soldiery, and a rural population not ever well inclined to his rule or to any system at all, except what their own ideas and wishes suggested.

ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP UNDER THE NAWAB

The division of the district with six *tehseels* and ten *thannahs* or police stations, remained as under the British Government. The pay of the *Tehseeldars* was the same as previous to the outbreak, viz. Rs. 200 per mensem; that of the *Thannahdars*, ranged from Rs. 50 to 70, per mensem. The *Burkundazes* (Policemen) received Rs. 5 a month, but were in much greater number.

NAWAB ISSUES CODE OF PROCEDURE

On the accession to the throne, the Nawaub issued a Code of Procedure for the Criminal and Revenue Departments which closely resembled that in force under the British

Government. For the Government revenue he at first fixed eight instalments; it was afterwards reduced to five.

PROVISIONS OF HIS NEW CODE

For the *Khureef*, four monthly instalments, commencing from beginning of the month of Kuwar, (September 5th), to the end of Poos, (January 10th).

For the *Rubbee*, four monthly instalments, commencing from Ist of Falgoon, (9th February), to end of Jaet (Jeth), (7th June).

MEASURES OF REVOLUTIONARY GOVT. TO COLLECT REVENUE

If the revenue was not paid into the *tehseeldaree* by the 15th of each month, the *Tehseeldar* was empowered to issue a *dustuck* (summons) by a *piadha* (footman) at 2 annas a day. After the lapse of a week if the instalment still remained unpaid, he was to issue another *dustuck* by a sowar, bearing a charge of 8 annas or 1 shilling a day, upon the defaulting party or parties. One quarter of this *tulubana* (*talbana*), that is daily pay, was to be entered in the accounts, when realized, to the credit of Government; the remainder was divided amongst the men who served the *dustucks*. If the amount due was still unpaid, he was to issue a proclamation to the effect that, if within one week the balance was not paid into the Government treasury the movable and immovable property, such as trees and gardens of the defaulter, with the exception of implements and cattle for agricultural purposes, would be attached and sold. If the demand still remained unpaid, a similar proclamation was to be issued, that the landed property of the *zemindar*, or the share of the *putteedar* (*pattidar*—shareholder) as the case might be, would be farmed to the highest bidder for three, seven, or twelve years. The papers in the case, with good security, and an account of receipts and balances, were then to be sent to the Nawaub for approval and sanctionful (*sic*,).

The *Tehseeldar* had it likewise in his power, after the issue of the two *dustucks*, to imprison the defaulter in the *tehseelee* for fifteen days in lieu of attaching his property. After this if the demand was unpaid, he was to be sent to the Nawaub for further imprisonment.

In the event of the *assamees* (*asamis*), or the cultivators, not paying their rents to their landlord, the *Tehseeldar* was empowered to go in person to the village, and before the *Putwaree* (village accountant) and the Headman to realize the Government portion of the rent from each cultivator separately.

SUMMARY SUITS INSTITUTED

Summary suits too were instituted, and the procedure was the same as in our Courts. The *Tehseeldar* however gave judgment in the case, keeping a copy of his decree in his own office, and sending the *Misl* (Proceedings) to the Nawaub, to whom an appeal was open; and for this purpose the *Tehseeldars* were forbidden to execute their decrees till one month after the date of decision, thus giving ample time for an appeal.

PROCEDURE FOR FILING OF PETITIONS

Petitions of all kinds were filed on plain paper but a fee of 8 annas was taken by the Court before whom the petition was filed.

Kharij Dakhil petitions, i. e., petitions for transfer of property, under every form, were to be presented to the Nawaub alone, who having passed orders on them, sent them to be carried into effect by the *Tehseeldars*.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The procedure for the Criminal Courts was as follows :—

Tehseeldars were empowered to take petitions in trivial cases, and to pass final orders upon them, but a report was first to be written in the daily Register of Occurrences by plaintiff; he was then to file his plaint. In cases of assault, the wounding without bone fracture, or not very severe wounding, the *Tehseeldar* could imprison for one year, fine Rs. 200, and give another year in lieu of the fine if not paid; but was first, if possible, to realize the fine by attachment and sale of property. The Register of Daily Occurrences (*Roznamcha*) was to be despatched each evening from the *thannahs*.

The *thannahdars* were empowered to grant leave of absence for one month to all *Chowkeedars*, and *Tehseeldars* held the same power with reference to *Chuprassees*, *Burkundazes*, and *Jemadars*, whether in the Police or Revenue Department.

Such was the Code of Procedure ordered by the Nawaub; but how little it was attended to, how little carried into effect, the sequel will show.

INDIAN OFFICERS UNDER BRITISH EMPLOY JOIN NAWAB'S GOVT.

The conduct of the officials, serving the British Government at the time of the outbreak, was not praiseworthy. Out of the six *Tehseeldars* employed in this district at the period of the outbreak, three took service with the Nawaub.

Out of eleven head Police Officers (*Thannahdars*), six accepted situations under the new Government.

Amongst the nine *Peshkars*, (an officer next in rank to the *Tehseeldar*), five gave in their adherence to the Nawaub. The *Canoongoes* were all, save one, employed.

All the Collectory Sowars, with the exception of one, went over to the Nawaub *en masse*.

Of the other officials, such as Record-keepers, *Mohurrirs*, *Nazirs*, etc. whether in the Revenue or Criminal Department, the *Burkundazes and Chuprassees, all or nearly all, tendered their services to the Government of the time.*

The *Sheristadars* of the Criminal and Revenue Departments, and the *Nazir* of the former, did not accept appointments. The latter official got rather severely handled by the rebels; he was fined and plundered of a portion of his property.

The following were among the chief officials of the Nawaub's Court, such as it was:—

Mohummud Tuckee (Muhammad Taqi) became *Musheer Khas*, or Principal Councillor, in conjunction with Ashrut Khan; Hidayat Alee, formerly *Tehseeldar* of Mohumdabad, became *Dewan*.

Tarut Alee, a servant of the Nawaub's before the outbreak, on Rs. 4 or 5 a month, became *Sheristadar* of both Departments; Bisharut Alee was his *Naib*, and Beharwadeen became *Nazir*; both these men had held responsible appointments under the British Government.

GENERAL POLICY OF THE NAWAB

The men about the Nawaub tried to inculcate moderation and justice. In one case, the *Thannahdar* having reported

that in a petty case of assault committed by a sepoy on a *Buniya* he had sent a *Duffadar* and 30 *Burkundazes* to call the offender to the *Thannah* to be reprimanded; the following order was passed on the report:—

"*ORDER*"

"Why did the *Thannahdar* interfere in such a case ? If he wished only to reprimand the offender, he would not have sent such an army on an expedition to arrest him. It is hence clear that the *Thannahdar* had some covetous motive in sending so many men; for according to the procedure of the present Government, he ought only to reprove in such a case, and prevent any further violence, so that plaintiff may obtain justice, and the offender be terrified from committing further evil. For the future he must be careful to act by these intructions, that the subjects of the Government may not be oppressed and ruined for nothing. Had he been as active in a serious case, he would have been all right."

The Nazims—Mohsan Alee (Mohsin Ali) of the Eastern Division, Ahmud Yar Khan of the West, Moorad Alee Khan of Etawah,—very soon upset the arrangements of the Nawaub for the administration of justice. Each man ruled as he liked; the *Tehseeldars* under them became non-entities; Police and Revenue matters they took into their own hands, and complete havoc they appear to have made. Criminal and Civil suits belonged especially to the *Mooftee's* Court.

The procedure in this Court was much the same as under the British Government. There was much writing; there was the *Urzee-dawa*, petition of plaint; *Jawabdawa*, reply; *Rudjawab*, etc., etc., as in our Civil Courts.[1]

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Farrukhabad District*, pp. 20 to 23.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PROTRACTED STRUGGLE IN AGRA DIVISION

ETAWAH

ENCOUNTER NEAR SHERGHAT

Extract of Letter from W. Muir to J. W. Sherer, Cawnpore (Kanpur), dated Agra, 10th Nov. 1857.

Hume is keeping up the administration in Etawah through influential men in a manner which, considering the difficulties and successive bands of marauders that district has had to contend against, is quite surprising. A new *cotwalie* is going on being built, crime punished, a Customs tax levied, and *Abkari* Settlement made etc. etc. There are of course abundance of bad characters, Mewattees, etc., who raise their heads whenever they think there is nobody to chastise them; and they have gained in insolence since our troops, they say, passed by the Nawab of Furruckabad without chastising him. But with all this the comparative quiet and subordination which has prevailed is very remarkable, and decisively indicates that the country is at the least not against us. You heard, I conclude, of Juswunt Rao having defeated Rampershaud and a party of our ill-wishers near the Shere Ghat,[1] killing 17 and wounding a considerable number.[2]

RAJA OF MAINPURI IN ETAWAH

Narrative of Events, dated December[3], 1857.

...The Mynpoorie Rajah is said to be prowling about in the Etawah District, with a few hundred followers.

The Jats were coming in "with a will", for enlistment.[4]

[1] Apparently, spelt for '*Shergarh Ghat*'.

[2] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 257.

[3] No date is given in the Original. Apparently it has been written after December 10, 1857.

[4] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 4, p. 147.

2000 REVOLUTIONARIES AT ETAWAH

Extract of Letter from W. Muir to his brother, dated Agra, 20th December 1857.

There are a couple of thousand, mostly untrained, rebels at Etawah with six guns. But these will not stand after the capture of Furruckabad; and the capture of Furruckabad will, I trust, be the Commander-in-Chief's next operation.[1]

ATTACK ON PHAPHUND, AURAIYA AND OTHER PLACES

Extract from Narrative of Occurrences by Allan Hume, Magistrate and Collector, dated November 18th, 1858.

NEEMUCH BRIGADE NEAR AGRA

...All was so quiet at Etawah (for up to that time not one *zemindar* had turned against us) that I was thinking of returning to the district, when the Neemuch Brigade neared Agra. Then came the battle of the 5th of July (5th July 1857) in which I served on the right half battery. The same night I was told off to No. 6 battery, where I was on guard for several nights, till laid up with cholera, then very prevalent. When I recovered I found that the district had been comparatively quiet but that several of the *Talooquadars* were inclined to quarrel as to their respective jurisdictions, while all were in doubt as to what their powers really were. These points I settled summarily and a few days later, on the 8th of August, drew out with the sanction of Government a more detailed scheme assigning portions of the district with certain monthly stipends to each of the most respectable and competent *Talooquadar* and *Tuhseeldars*. Previous, however, to the receipt in the district of the orders in this matter, three separate bodies of mutineers had for the 4th time disturbed its peace, one on the 26th July attacked Phuppoond (Phaphund)[2] and plundered

[1] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 49.

[2] *Phaphund*, Tahsil *Auraiya*, District *Etawah*—This town is situated in 26° 36′ N. and 79° 28′ E., at a distance of 36 miles from Etawah and 10 from Auraiya : with the latter place it is connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 220).

the *tuhseel*, the records however being saved; a second a little later passing the already plundered *tuhseel* of Oreyah (Auraiya), advanced avowedly to plunder that of Lukna (now called Bhurtanah)[1] but being baffled as before, went off to Mynpoorie disappointed; a *third made a dash at Beylah*, which they took, but not before the *Tuhseeldar* had managed to secure the treasure and records at Chutter Sing's (Chhattr Singh) fort at Sehar[2].

ACTIVITIES OF SOME TALUQADARS

Our continued want of success at Dehlee, the universal anarchy that prevailed everywhere around, my long absence, and the intermission (during illness) of my letters, were begining (*sic*,-beginning) at last to shew their effects. Rana Mahunder Sing of Secrolee (Sikrauli) with Nirunjun Sing of Chukkernuggur (Chakarnagar)[3] attempted to eject Zohur Sing and the Government officers from Etawah; the Rajah of Rooroo in *pergunnah* Beylah (now Bidhoonah) with his kinsmen Kamul Sing and Inderjeet collected Revenue, molested the Government servants, took forcible possession of numerous villages and looted two or three. Roop Sing, the uncle of the minor Rajah of Bhurrey, did likewise in Oreyah (now Dullelnuggur)[4]. The rest of the *talooquadars*, however, and the mass of the people remained quiet and faithful, regularly reporting to me all that occurred, and some of them exerting themselves to send camels, horsemen, and supplies of different kinds into Cawnpore.

[1] *Bharthana*, Tahsil *Bharthana*, District *Etawah*—The headquarters of the tahsil of the same name lie in 26° 44′ N. and 79° 17′ E., and are distant 12 miles from Etawah, with which they are connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 189).

[2] *Sahar*, Tahsil *Bidhuna*, District *Etawah*—A village in 26° 46′ N. and 79° 46′ E., distant 40 miles from Etawah and 16 miles south-east of Bidhuna, on the road from the latter place to Sahayal. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 224).

[3] *Chakarnagar*, Tahsil *Bharthana*, District *Etawah*—A village lying in 26° 36′ N. and 79° 8′ E., 16 miles south-west of Etawah, between the Jumna and the Chambal. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 198).

Dalelnagar, Tahsil *Auraiya*, District *Etawah*—A village in 26° 36′ N. and 79° 13′ E., situated on the road from Etawah to Auraiya, distant 28 miles from the former and 9½ miles from the latter place. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 199).

PARGANA AURAIYA THREATENED

Even the rebels above mentioned, were kept within bounds (at first by the letters I addressed to them, and subsequently by the advance of Grant's Column to Mynpooric) till towards the end of October; when however that Column had passed on without visiting our district and it began to be rumoured that we were holding even Cawnpore and Lucknow with difficulty, the mutineers and dacoits, especially the latter (all of whom had fled on hearing of the approach of the Column) returned in greater numbers and more determined on mischief than before, while the refractory *zemindars* began to collect forces and entertain mutineers with unmistakable energy, and "*mauvaise entente*". Just at this juncture the Gwalior forces loomed upon the south-east horizon. Rajah Bhow of Sekundra commenced a bridge at Calpee, where an advanced guard of the mutineers had arrived, and threatened the Government officials of our neighbouring *pergunnah* of Oreyah. Simultaneously Roop Sing who had collected about 1000 men commenced, at the request of the mutineers, a bridge at Sheregurh. Urgently pressed for assistance by the officers of the *pergunnah* and authorized by me to do what they could, Rao Juswant Rao and Moonshee Ishureepershaud (Munshi Ishwari Prasad) marched down, broke the bridge and though at first surrounded by Roop Sing who had been joined by Nirunjun Sing and the noted dacoits Rampershaud and Peetum Sing, on the 1st of November, having received reinforcements from other loyal *zemindars*, defeated and routed the enemy, killing Rampershaud himself (the real leader in the field) and 17 others. In Etawah too matters began to improve; the vernacular proclamation which I then issued, and which Government later had printed for general circulation, produced a most marked effect and strengthened Koor Zohur Sing's (Kunwar Jauhar Singh) hands most materially. Once more, although the rebel leaders still maintained a menacing attitude, the district was at peace. On the 1st of December, however, the *Nazim* of the Nawab of Futtehgurh summoned by the Rajah of Rooroo and the Rana of Secrolee, with a force of some 5000 men and 12 guns, entered the district and reached Etawah on the 3rd; the same day the Rana attacked Koor Zohur Singh, who had procured the loan of 2 guns from the Bhadoreea Rajah, and by a surprise seized the guns and killed the principal

men with them. Zohur Sing was compelled to fall back on Pertabnere and the Mewatees as usual set to work, plundering every one they could. The Government servants of Beylah were now unable to venture outside Chutter Singh's *Ghurree* at Sehar, those of Phuppoond had to seek refuge in Lala Laik Sing's fort at Hurchundpore (Harchandpur)[1], Roop Sing took possession of the Dullelnuggur *Pergunnah*, but Juswant Rao and Ishureepershaud held their own in the huge *pergunnah* of Bhurtanah and though the *Nazim* sent there, as elsewhere, his *Tuhseeldars* and *Thanadars* the total result of their labours was the realization of the sum of Rs. 7-8 from an unfortunate *Abkar*.

TAJ KHAN AND MEWATIS BESIEGED IN THE TAHSIL; FALL OF ETAWAH

Their triumph was short lived, Brigadier Walpole's Column on the 25th December entered the Oreyah *Pergunnah*, the rebels fled in confusion everywhere, only at Etawah Zohur Sing surrounded Taj Khan and other Mewatees in the *tuhseel*, and kept them there till on the 28th the force arrived and after 3 men of the Rifles had been wounded in an ineffectual attempt to storm, the place was mined, blown up, and some at least of the most notorious of the Mewatees disposed of. All this time I had been most anxious to rejoin my appointment, but the Government declined allowing me to do so till they could support me with some force. On the 30th December, the Chief Commissioner having directed Brigadier Walpole to leave 2 guns and 200 Europeans at Etawah, authorized my proceeding thither with Mr. C. B. Maconochie, under an escort of 50 of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Sherriff. En route we learnt that no detachment had been left, but we determined to push on and re-occupied Etawah on the 6th of January. That the people were really glad to

[1] *Harchandpur*, Tahsil *Bidhuna*, District *Etawah*—A large village in 26° 43′ N. and 79° 27′ E., 6½ miles due south of Bidhuna, three miles north of Pata railway station, and 30 miles east of Etawah. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 212).

see us I cannot doubt, the unmistakably spontaneous rejoicings at our arrival with so insignificant a force were convincing.[1]

ATTACK ON AJITMAL AND OTHER VILLAGES

Extract of a Letter written by W. Muir to C. Beadon, dated 21st January 1858, Thursday.

Hume, writing from Etawah on the 19th, says he is entirely relieved from the apprehension of attack; the insurgents had hastily retreated to the southern side of the Jumna. The cause he did not know; but it was evidently the presence of the Cawnpore Moveable Column near Secundra (Sikandra) or the Etawah frontier. This Column was magnified by native report into 10,000 Europeans. Meanwhile, however, much damage has been done. Ajeetmul and 13 other towns or villages between Sukna[2] and Oreya (Auraiya) have been burned or plundered; and Hume fears that some portion of the Oreya revenue will be lost. If the Cawnpore force had been out 10 days earlier, this misfortune, he says, would have been averted.[3]

SHARP ENCOUNTER NEAR A GARDEN

There are many rebels in this district (Etawah) on the banks of the Jumna; they are said to have several guns, but to have been deterred from advancing in force by the action at Bhogneepoor in the Cawnpoor District reported in last week's narrative. They pushed forward one party, however, with a gun to Anunt Ram but this was gallantly attacked on the 7th instant by Captain Alexander and Messrs. Hume and Maconochie. They had with them 80 Police Sowars, and Mr. Hume procured from a loyal *zemindar* a small gun and 400 matchlockmen. Mr. Hume led the latter against the rebels who were strongly posted in a garden, while the other gentlemen led the sowars on either flank. The enemy stood

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Etawah District*, pp. 5-6.
[2] Appears a misprint for *Lukna*. (See p. 775, 3rd line).
[3] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 355.

boldly but were dislodged, put to flight and charged by the sowars, and in all about 125 were killed and their gun captured, on our side 12 were killed and 20 wounded.[1]

KALPI REVOLUTIONARIES THREATEN ETAWAH

The state of this district (Etawah) remains unchanged, the southern position[2] of it is still threatened by rebels from Calpee, and the *pergunnah* of Oreyah is disturbed by the presence of insurgents for the dispersion of which the limited force at the disposal of the Magistrate is inadequate.[3]

PARGANA AURAIYA DISTURBED

About 300 of the enemy have crossed into the Oriyah *Pergunnah*. As the orders to the military officers in command at Etawah are strictly to act on the defensive, this *pergunnah* has again become unsettled.[4]

HEAVY CONCENTRATION OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES ALONG THE GHATS

The southern part of this district was, at the latest advise, (*sic*,-advice) seriously threatened by the rebels on the right bank of the Jumna. It is not believed they had actually crossed but are said to be assembled at the *Ghats* in great force. They are said to include 2,500 sepoys of the Gwalior Contingent—300 of the 32nd and 400 of the 42nd N. I. and about 300 of various regiments of whom all are well-formed and armed, a portion of the magazine of the Gwalior Contingent having been left at Calpee. About 1,000 Rohillahs from Mundisore

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 14th Feb. 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] Appears a slip of pen for 'portion'.
[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 21st February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

(Mandasor)[1] with the Shahzada[2] from that place are also described as forming part of the force. Their guns are believed to be 12 in number (besides wall pieces etc.) of which 6 are 9-pounders, the other heavy guns.[3]

TAHSIL AND THANA OF PHAPHUND PLUNDERED

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, April 1, 1858.

Etawah—Intelligence dated the 22nd March, states that the *thana* and *thessildaree* (*tahsildari*) of Phuphoond (Phaphund) were plundered a few days previously.[4]

AURAIYA IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

The rebels still hold Oreyah and the neighbouring country, and the dacoit leaders who are with them are doing much mischief, *and are acting with some degree of concert under orders from the Nana's brother and Agent in Bundlecund.*

The Calpee rebels though their numbers are undoubtedly formidable, do not seem to have much heart for aggressive movements.

Mr. Hume however considers it unwise at present to collect the Revenue except to meet current requirements lest any accumulation of treasure should act as a bait to the enemy.

RAJA OF ROOROO COMMITS SUICIDE

The *Raja of Roowao*[5] *having been detected in a treasonable correspondence* poisoned himself on the 5th instant. His

[1] *Mandasor* (*Gwalior State*)—Headquarters of the pargana and zila of the same name, situated 1,516 feet above sea-level, in 24° 5′ N. and 75° 5′ E., on the bank of the Siwana (Seuna or Sau) river, a tributary of the Sipra, and on the Ajmer-Khandwa branch of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. (*Gwalior State Gazetteers*, Vol. I, 1908, pp. 265-266).

[2] Referring to 'Shahzada Firoz Shah'.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 11, p. 130.

[5] Appears misspelt for 'Rooroo'.

relatives have threatened the life of the *Tehseeldar* through whom his guilt was discovered.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events ending 20*th March* 1858.

The presence of Colonel Riddell's Moveable Column has had a beneficial effect in this district, which remains tranquil, except the Oreyah (Auraiya) *Pergunnah*, from which contradictory accounts have been received; the numbers of the rebels there, however, have probably not increased; and their advanced party has certainly fallen back from Ajeet Mul[2] (Ajitmal).[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 30*th March* 1858.

The Judge of Cawnpore reports on the 29th that the rebels were said to have occupied the fort of Chuppurghat on the confluence of the Samghur[4] with the Jumna; he does not however believe this as his news from Bhogmeesre[5] is quite contrary to the above. A large detachment of Maxwell's Column is at Ghattumpore (Ghatampur)[6]. The rebels in that *purgunnah* have recrossed the Jumna. On the 27th there was still at Oorya (Auraiya) and its neighbourhood a rebel force said to consist of two hundred sowars, five hundred sepoys and two guns; they were making iron cannon balls.[7]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 13th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ajitmal*, Tahsil *Auraiya*, District *Etawah*—Ajitmal or Sarai Ajitmal is situated in 26° 33′ N. and 79° 21′ E., on the old imperial road from Agra to Kalpi, and is distant 34 miles from Etawah. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 179).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Appears wrongly received for 'Chambal'.

[5] Might have been wrongly received for '*Bhogneepore*' (*Bhognipur*).

[6] *Ghatampur*—In District *Kanpur*.

[7] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

HUME'S ADVANCE GUARD ATTACKED

Bulletin dated 2nd April 1858.

Ajeetmul—On 29th March at night Benkut Sing (Bankat Singh)[1] with dacoits and mutineers attacked Mr. Hume's advance guard, and killed 3 men. Mr. Hume arrived at midnight. The enemy fled into the ravines. The villages which sheltered them were burnt.[2]

AJITMAL OCCUPIED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Mr. Hume's Moveable Column was at Ajeetmul on the 30th March. On arriving near the place, he heard it was attacked, and pressed forward to succour it; but did not arrive till the place had been carried, plundered, and burnt. Of the Police garrison, four were killed, and four or five wounded.

SEVERE ACTION AGAINST VILLAGES WHO HELPED REVOLUTIONARIES

Mr. Hume ascertained *that the enemy had been assisted by the entire population of the villages of* Shahpore, Rajpoorah, Ramnugger and Ayanah, he therefore marched against the former village, which he *found entirely deserted, even by women and children.* In the middle of the village was an unfinished mud fort which promised to be of very great strength. The village was therefore burned and the party were employed in levelling the fort; when the[3] heard the assembly sounded, and on going out saw some Infantry in line at a short distance, and Cavalry in considerable numbers all round, but at a distance.

Forming up immediately Mr. Hume fired 2 rounds from right to left of his battery and then advancing, the enemy sought refuge in Rajpoorah, but both they and the inhabitants fled on the approach of Mr. Hume's party.

Rajpoorah was therefore burned also and the Column was retiring, when the sepoys and a large force of armed villagers issued from the village of Ramnugger, which though unwillingly,

[1] Correct name would be 'Vyankat Singh'.
[2] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] Appears a slip of pen for 'they'.

Mr. Hume was also compelled to attack. Storming parties were pushed forward under an artillery fire which latter had scarcely commenced when the enemy fled precipitately. Five of the enemy only are known to have been killed. One sowar was wounded on our side.

These are the only villages as yet burned by our troops in the Etawah District, and the punishment was in this instance, under the circumstances described, unavoidable.

Colonel Maxwell's Column has been making a series of demonstrations towards Oreya (Auraiya), with a view of (to) supporting Mr. Hume.[1]

TEJ SINGH IN ETAWAH DISTRICT

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 12th April 1858.

MOHSIN ALI REPORTED DEAD

Hume writes on the 10th : I hear today a detachment from Ackberpoor (Akbarpur) at Secundra consisting of two guns, two hundred of 88th, three hundred natives but they cannot under any circumstances move one step further in this direction. Brigadier Seaton writes that Mohsum Allie has died. Taij (Tej) Singh has halted at some place in the Etawah District afraid to move further. Gilbert Money has reached, all well here.[2]

RAJA TEJ SINGH REACHES AURAIYA

The official narrative has not been received from this Division; the following is given from official telegrams and demi-official reports.

Two days after the action of Kunrour[3], Tej Singh, Rajah of Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), who was in that neighbourhood, considering it no longer safe, made a dash with about 100

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] See pp. 395, 407 also, for the Action of 'Kunrour'.

followers across the Dooab, a little above the junction of the Etah and Futtygurh districts, and through the Mynpoorie District to the Jumna; he did not, however, at once cross that river but availing himself of the ravincy nature of the country, joined the rebels at Oreyah (Auraiya), in the Etah[1] District.

He was closely pursued by Captain Eckford, and some Mounted Police; all his baggage and 4 of his followers were actually captured, two more of the latter were also drowned in the Kali Nuddee.

HUME FALLS BACK ON BAKEWAR

Nothing clse of importance has transpired in this Division. Mr. Hume at the end of the week still held his position at Ajeetmul; but as the arrival of Tej Sing added considerably to the strength of the rebels, he eventually fell back on Bukewar (Bakewar)[2], half way to Etawah.[3]

* * *

Narrative of Events ending 18th April 1858.

No event of importance has to be reported from this direction. But the rebels in Oreyah have received material accession to their strength, by the arrival of the Ex-Rajah of Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), and of parties detached from the Calpee force.

Emboldened by these circumstances, the rebels advanced towards Ajeetmul in considerable force; at the same time Colonel Maxwell's advanced party was recalled to Ghatumpore, and Mr. Hume suddenly found the safety of his small party seriously compromised; he was therefore compelled to fall back 14 miles on Buckewur (Bakewar), which he did without being followed by the enemy.[4]

[1] This appears a slip of pen for '*Etawah*'.

[2] *Bakewar*, Tahsil *Bharthana*, District *Etawah*—A large village in 26° 39′ N. and 79° 12′ E., distant 13 miles south-east of Etawah, on the road to Auraiya. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 186).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 11th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *Ibid.* Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 18th April 1858.

ENQUIRIES ABOUT RAJA TEJ SINGH

Telegraphic Message from H. Vansittart, Futtehgurh (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 23rd April 1858.

Please say, what is the real condition of Etawah ? Is Tej Sing captured and are they evacuating Calpee ? for which direction ? Narput Sing has returned to Madho Gunje.[1]

ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN HUME'S FORCE AND REVOLUTIONARY FORCE UNDER KUNWAR NIRANJAN SINGH

Mr. Hume still maintains a bold front; and on the 25th crossed the Jumna at Dibhole Ghat in pursuit of a party of rebels under Koer Narunjun Sing (Kunwar Niranjan Singh) who had carried off a guard boat from our side.

The expedition was completely successful, the enemy were surprised, several killed, and others captured and the boat retaken and brought away. Mr. Doyle, a Volunteer, was shot through the shoulder, but is doing well. Mr. Hume had previously made a successful reconnaissance towards Anunt Ram, and cut up several of the enemy near that place.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Etawah ending 2nd May 1858.

On the 25th[3] Mr. Hume moved against a party headed by one of the sons of the rebel Raja of Chukkernugger which had ventured to carry off our guard boat at the Dibholee (Dibhauli) Ghat. They had their Head-quarters at Gowhanee in the Jumna and Chumbul Doab. Mr. Hume attacked them there in two parties. The 1st consisting of 150 Cavalry under Mr. Doyle (a Volunteer) crossed at a ford above Dibholee Ghat, Mr. Hume with the rest of his force and light guns lower down the river. Full success attended this measure, the rebels

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 25th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] 25th April 1858.

were surprised and dispersed with considerable loss, and the guard boat recovered. The effect in the neighbourhood of this affair has been most beneficial, our sole casualty was a severe gunshot wound which Mr. Doyle received in the shoulder.[1]

REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES POURING INTO ETAWAH

The disturbances in this district have reached a climax, in consequence of the influx of various parties of the rebel force endeavouring to escape from Sir H. Rose.

From the 3rd to the 6th large bodies poured into the *pergunnahs* of Oreya and Paphoond (Phaphund) and another force crossed under Nirunjun Sing[2] at Nowgowan, many of these men were sepoys or suwars and they had at Anantram at least six guns. Colonel Riddell represented that he was prohibited by positive orders from moving to check them and his advanced detachment under Lieutenant Sheriff was forced to fall back but the Commissioner reports, that subsequent to the date of Mr. Hume's narratives, Colonel Riddell had been directed to clear the line of the Jumna simultaneously with Sir Hugh Rose's advance.[3]

AYANAH—THE STRONGHOLD OF RUP SINGH

The following is an extract from a letter dated Camp Nowedah, 35 miles from Etawah and 10 from Oreyah, 15th May—

"Yesterday the Mynpoorie Moveable Column arrived at the above village, near which is the mud fort of Ayanah, the terror of the neighbourhood, having been for some months the stronghold of a rebel *zemindar* named Roop Singh...."[4]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 2nd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Name is not clearly decipherable.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 9th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* May 25, 1858, p. 492. National Library, Calcutta.

RAVINES STILL INFESTED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

The events of this week in the Etawah District have been chiefly narrated above. The Magte. (Magistrate) has been employed with his levies in seizing and collecting boats of which a considerable number has been procured. The ravines on the Jumna are still full of dacoits and fugitives retiring from the rebel force in Bundlecund.[1]

GANGA SINGH DECLARES HIMSELF NAZIM OF ETAWAH

The country on the banks of the Jumna and Chumbul has been a good deal affected by the news from Gwalior. Gunga Singh dacoit gives out he has been appointed *Nazim* of Etawah; meanwhile the Rajah of Chuckurnuggur (Chakarnagar) who had been negotiating his surrender, now seems confirmed in rebellion, and to add to this difficulty the Jumna had fallen and the Chumbul was reported to be everywhere fordable....

So also the Ranee of Rorow (Rooroo) the widow of the late Rajah has paid in Rs. 28,520 which she admits her late husband had illegally collected from Government villages last year. It will be recollected that the Rajah recently poisoned himself[2] when he discovered that Mr. Hume possessed proofs of his having joined the rebels.[3]

RUP SINGH ACTIVE IN ETAWAH

Etawah, 9th June—The Ajeetmul *Thannadar* was attacked by a party of Burhee rebels as he was passing the rebel village Bowain, on the Jumna; he and his party escaped, but two of his *Burkundazes* who were lagging behind were seized, disarmed,

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *cf.* Foreign Department, N. W. P., Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 13th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (pp. 780–81 and 797).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

and murdered at the village, and their heads carried off to Roop Sing at Burhee.

.....Mr. Lance immediately proceeded..., but before Bowain was reached the rebels had recrossed the Jumna, and were comfortably settled in their stronghold, the Burhee fort.

The afternoon was spent in an unsuccessful attempt by some of our *mullahs* (*mallahs*) to carry off a rebel boat from opposite Mohewah where the force bivouacked.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated July 15, 1858.

We are sorry to hear that the peace of the *Etawah District is still threatened by the rebel Roop Sing.* He was attempting to cross the Jumna on the 4th instant with a body of rabble and a number of mutinous sepoys.[2]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 11*th July* 1858.

Perfect tranquillity continues in this Division, except in the Etawah District where Roop Singh, the formidable dacoit, who holds the fort of Burhee on the right bank of the Jumna, has twice crossed the river in the direction of Oreyah and Ajeetmul, which latter place he burnt.

On the 5th, 6th and 11th the Etawah Levies attacked and drove the rebels back. The Levies were led by Lieutenant Forbes and Mr. Lance, Magistrate, with other officers. The enemy on the latter occasion were in considerable strength (about 600 at one period of the day) and a large proportion of them were mutineer sepoys from Gwalior, their position in the ravines was moreover very strong.

The loss of the enemy (who, however, carried off most of those that fell on their side) is believed to have been nearly 20. Our loss was one killed and one wounded.

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* September 2, 1858, p. 220. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* July 15, 1858, p. 52; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette,* July 7). National Library, Calcutta.

The rising of the Jumna which has since commenced, will probably put an end for the present to these incursions....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES IN BURHI FORT

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mainpoori (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 12*th July* 1858.

Kooar Jodh Sing writes from Etawah that the rebels have been driven across the Jumna but have taken refuge in a fort, the name of which is spelt "Burteh" the Rajah of which was seized on his endeavouring to escape. The fort is close to Gohun.[2]

SKIRMISHES AT AJITMAL

The reports from all the districts except Etawah are blank. Those from Etawah contain merely more details of the skirmishes with the rebels at Ajeetmull and its neighbourhood reported in the last narrative.

PITCHED FIGHTS ON 5TH AND 8TH

The first skirmish on the 5th was a mere exchange of shots between some of the Police Horse, and the rebels whom they were watching. It was not till the 8th that the defence of Etawah itself being provided for, by a detachment from Mynpoory, the main body of the levies were able to advance. At day-break on that date however they surprised a strong party of the rebels in the village of Niamutpoor (Niamatpur) but the neighbouring ravines afforded an excellent position protected by a kind of natural breastwork; to this the rebels fled and kept up a smart fire at the distance of 400 yards till the guns opened upon them when they fled precipitately into the ravines, and the Infantry were too weak to pursue them, except with a support from the other branch of the force,

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 11th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

which the nature of the ground disabled them from affording. The rebels were about 600 strong.

ENGAGEMENT AT RAMNAGAR

On the 12th the rebels occupied the ruined village of Ramnugger on the edge of the ravines. Mr. Lance endeavoured to cut them off from the ravines with 50 sowars but found the village so strongly held that he was compelled to withdraw his men under cover. 60 Infantry of the levies coming up under Lieutenant Forbes, the attack was renewed. The latter portion of the force with Lieutenants Forbes and Graham crossing a heavy ravine entered and carried the village, while Cavalry moved round to intercept the retreat of the rebels; but the Infantry charged through the village pushing the insurgents before them whom they pursued some way among the ravines.

On the withdrawal of the force into Ramnugger itself, however, to escape the intense heat, the rebels had the boldness to return and attack the village; they were allowed to advance within 100 yds. when the Infantry again rushed out and charged them, driving them this time nearly to the Jumna.

RUP SINGH CROSSES YAMUNA AGAIN

The result of these fights has been to clear the district. On the 14th no rebels were said to exist on the left bank of the Jumna. Roop Singh had again crossed his party on the previous day but failed to persuade them to advance beyond the *ghat* and they almost immediately returned to the other side.

GWALIOR REVOLUTIONARIES BREAK UP INTO PARTIES

The movements of the Gwalior rebels are somewhat uncertain. After their flight from Tonk however, it would appear they separated into several bodies who moved in different directions. The bulk of the men are believed to have gone to the S. and S. W. but another considerable party rumoured to be about 3,000 men with 3 guns, and led by the Nuwab of Banda is said to be wandering about with some desultory

purpose of escaping towards Ulwur[1]. The Nuwab himself is said to be desirous of surrendering one of his nephews by name "Aboo Jan" and some others of his followers have been arrested near Gwalior.[2]

ENCOUNTER WITH LANCE'S FORCES

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 15th July 1858.

Mr. Lance in a note dated yesterday from Ajeetemul writes for assistance at Etawah as he has all his troops with him. The rebels have twice been driven across the Jumna.

They are at a place one *coss* on the opposite side, a great number of them being Gwalior sepoys. Mr. Lance has had a fight, the rebels suffered considerably and of his men two were wounded, a squadron of Alexander's Horse has gone to Etawah.[3]

RUP SINGH AND GANGA SINGH IN STRONG POSITION AT BARAGAON

There is no occurrence to report from this Division which is quiet. There is however a considerable gang of dacoits estimated at about 500 strong under Roop Sing and Gunga Sing who occupy a strong post at Burragaon (Baragaon), the confluence of the Jumna and Chumbul rivers. These men it will be necessary to dislodge to secure the passage of boats which it is proposed to send down the Jumna under a Military Police escort. Arrangements have been made for this purpose and though 150 to 200 of the party are mutineer sepoys it is not expected they will resist but probably disperse on the approach of the attacking party.[4]

[1] Apparently spelt for '*Alwar*'.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 18th July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Original Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 8th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

RUP SINGH STILL A HEADACHE TO THE BRITISH

THANEDAR OF AJITMAL AT JOHEKHA ATTACKED

Except in Etawah all is quiet. There the dacoit Roop Sing, and his fellows who hold Burhee have been giving some trouble. On the 8th[1] they attacked the *Thannadar* of Ageetmul (Ajitmal), who had gone to (the) notoriously disaffected village, called Joheka (Johekha) on his ordinary duties; two of his men were killed, and he got away himself with some difficulty.

On the 10th Mr. Lance, the Offg. Magistrate, went out with 100 Cavalry, 200 Infantry, and 2 guns of the levies, but the rebels had recrossed the Jumna; an attempt to capture a rebel boat on the other side was frustrated by the heavy fire kept up by the rebels. On the 11th the Magistrate taking two boats found at "Joheka" proceeded up the river to "Totarpoor" opposite the "Kharee" Nuddee, which here flows into the Jumna from the S. W. Crossing at this point under cover of artillery fire, the Infantry captured five boats and drove the enemy from their main post,...[2] a strongly fortified temple which was found full of plundered English property. These operations were all conducted by Lieutenant Forbes, who commands the levies, among whom no casualties occurred. The following day (the 12th) the rebel village of Neemree was similarly visited but it was found evacuated. From the traces left it must have been held by, from 150 to 200 men. The troops remained here, and during the night, the picquets were fired upon from the neighbouring ravines, one *naik* was mortally wounded.

BRITISH REAR-GUARD ATTACKED

The two following days were occupied in removing captured grain, and plunder, and in receiving the submission of the neighbouring *zemindars*, many of whom promised good behaviour, and surrender of their plunder and to take their trial if accused of any grave offence beyond robbery and rebellion. Mr. Lance informed them that if they

[1] Probably 8th August.
[2] Space left blank in Original.

would now side freely with Government, these offences would be punished only with a fine. On the evening of the 14th as the party were retiring a body of about 400 rebels from across the Chumbul came down on their rear with great determination; they were however ultimately repulsed with some loss, not however until some of our men had been recrossed in support of the rear-guard. No casualties on our side.

The Gwalior rebels have continued their flight on the 9th after a march of 30 miles; the Column under General Roberts overtook them on the Kotaree river near Shamgurh. They quietly retired after a brief skirmish, and the want of Cavalry prevented pursuit. On the 12th and following days, General Roberts marched on by Barion (Baral) and Kokerow; and on the 14th overtook them at Nathodwara (Nathdwara)[1] near Bheelwara, attacked and entirely defeated them, killing 700, and capturing all their guns 4 in number, one of heavy calibre. Our casualties were about 20 in number, including a Serjeant-Major of the 8th Hussars.

Tantia Topee's family have been taken prisoners near Gwalior.[2]

A MAHANT SIDES WITH THE REVOLUTIONARIES

"10*th August*..—100 Etawah Infantry and one light gun with 10 Artillery-men, moved down to the junction of the two rivers which is commanded by the rebel temple of Gurreah Kalesur. The *mahunt* of this temple with 150 sepoys and some neighbouring matchlockmen, has long over-awed the passage of the river and plundered the neighbourhood.

"11*th August*—Boats being now in our possession a visit was paid to the arch-rebel village Meemree, which is situated just in the ravines on the south side of the Jumna and opposite Mohewa.

[1] *Nathdwara*—Walled town in the State of Udaipur, Rajputana, situated in 24° 56′ N. and 73° 49′ E., on the right bank of the Banas river about 30 miles north-by-north east of Udaipur city, and 14 miles north-west of Maoli Station on the Udaipur-Chitor Railway. (*Imperial Gazetteers of India*, Vol. XVIII, 1908, p. 415).

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 15th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

It was occupied by Roop Sing's son, the Rajah Bhow (one of the Nanah's dependants), Bunkat Sing the dacoit and others, leaders of the band of sepoys and other rebels who have long made Meemree their headquarters.....[1]

STRONGHOLD OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES BURNT

Except from Etawah there is nothing to report. The loss of the rebels on the 14th was pretty well ascertained to have been 12 killed. On the 15th as they held the village of Neemree[2] in great force, Lieutenant Forbes recrossed the river and advanced against them; they fell back on his approach and the village which has been a notorious rebel strong-hold was burnt. Mr. Lance was preparing for an attack on the fort of Burhie where at the last accounts the rebels were prepared to make a stand and where they were reported *to have been joined by* 200 *rebels from Jaloun.*

The defeated Gwalior rebels flying in great disorder and distress along the Neemuch border were at the last account making for the fort of Rampoora closely pursued by Lieutenant Colonel Paske's light Column.[3]

ETAWAH STILL DISTURBED

The districts of the Division excepting only the Etawah District, are tranquil. There Mr. Lance with the bulk of the Etawah local force went, with the assistance of the Madras Sappers returning from Agra, to clear the country between Chumbul and the Jumna, and especially the fort Bhurreh which commanded the passage of the river.

FIGHT AT THE FORT

This fort was itself evacuated but the approach to it was disputed with some obstinacy at two points; at one of these

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* September 2, 1858, p. 220; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette,* August 25). National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Spelt as *Meemree* above; but Neemree (Nimri) appears correct.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 22nd August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

the enemy suffered severely losing over 200 killed and wounded. Our own loss was 22 wounded, one mortally. Mr. Collet, a Volunteer, was also somewhat severely hurt. When writing the Magistrate states the Raja of Chukkurnuggur with a small following alone of all the rebel forces, remained on the left bank of the Chumbul.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events for Agra Division ending 12th Sept. 1858.

This Division continues quiet, only in *Etawah is there any show of rebellion.* There, the fort of Bhurreh, long a rebel stronghold at the confluence of the Jumna and Chumbal, has been blown up, but the ravines on the banks of the Jumna, are the head-quarters of dacoits and bad characters in the quietest times.

RAJA OF CHAKARNAGAR IN RETREAT

The Raja of Chukurnuggur, who in concert with Roop Sing maintained the only remaining hostile force in the Etawah District, was driven across the Chumbul by Lieutenants Forbes and Allen with the local levies on the 6th. No casualties on either side are reported.....[2]

BRITISH ATTACK ON CHAKARNAGAR

Our correspondent at Etawah furnished us with the following items of intelligence, dated 11th instant:

".....Chuckernugger, the Headquarters of the Raja of that name, was next attacked,....the Raja Nirunjun Sing escaping on foot.

This district may now be considered clear of every rebel force....[3]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 29th August 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 12th September 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* September 29, 1858, p. 312, (Reproduced from *Punjabee,* September 18). National Library, Calcutta.

ACTIVITIES OF RUP SINGH IN ETAWAH

Extract from Narrative of Occurrences in Etawah District by Allan Hume, Magistrate and Collector, dated 18th November 1858.

RUP SINGH RETURNS TO AURAIYA WITH A LARGE FORCE

....The district was all quiet except towards Oreyah (Auraiya), where Roop Sing had returned with a large force the day Walpole's Column left Etawah, viz. : the 30th of December. Foreseeing that it might be long before I received assistance I commenced raising the Etawah Local Levies and before the end of January had about 200 Infantry, 150 Cavalry 5 guns* and 50 gunners. Our position was undoubtedly a very critical one; my trust was in the accuracy of my information which never failed me. Whilst we grew stronger, so did Roop Sing and the mutineers at Oreyah, and twice they marched to attack us in great force, once they arrived within 13 and once within 15 miles, and each time hurriedly fell back owing to our determined attitude and the rumour of an advance from Cawnpore in the direction of Calpee. Towards the end of the month we were strengthened by a detachment of Alexander's Horse.

SKIRMISH NEAR ANANTRAM

On the 7th of February (1858), Captain Alexander and myself with detachments of his Horse and the Local Cavalry, and a number of matchlockmen supplied on the spot by loyal *zemindars*, attacked a large force of the enemy in a strong position near Anuntram and utterly defeated them killing as we have since learned more than 150, (125 were counted at the time) taking their only gun and all their baggage.

REVOLUTIONARIES GET SUPPLIES FROM RAJA OF ROOROO

Pergunnahs Etawah and Bhurtanah (Bharthana) were now entirely tranquil. In Bidhoonah our authority was re-established, and though the Rajah of Rooroo retained a number of mutineers in his fort and furnished supplies to

*"1—long French 12-pounder Ship Carronade. 4—3½-pounders." Note in Original.

wandering bodies of rebels who at that time continually passed through the *pergunnah*, he abstained from further overt acts of rebellion, and ultimately, after planning an expedition to attack us, his heart failing him, committed suicide on the 7th of March, since when the *pergunnah* has remained undisturbed, except by trifling raids of mutineers from outside. At Sheregurh there was always a strong guard of regular troops from Calpee, and there they had a swinging bridge of boats. This continued to be the chief obstacle to the entire tranquillization of the district; we might have defeated the rebels in Oreyah, *but they could at a few hours' notice be reinforced from the other side of the river*. As it was, by this bridge large predatory bands of mutineers used to cross, and after a few days' plundering in Phuppoond (Phaphund) or Oreyah return, to enjoy their spoils in safety. I am thus particular because this was the turning point of the re-organization of the district, and the neglect of my earnest representations prolonged the trouble in it 6 months. I applied in vain, to various authorities, who had the power, to break or seize this bridge, and had determined to attempt to do it myself when Brigadier Seaton, considering us too weak, absolutely forbade my moving any of the regular troops towards Oreyah; thereby, as my levies were then only armed with matchlocks, utterly crippling me and precluding the possibility of my moving my guns against the enemies' Regular Infantry. So Roop Sing and friends remained in possession of the Oreyah *Pergunnah*. I may add, that though every opportunity was given them, Rajah Koosal (Kushal) Sing and his son Nirunjun Sing of Chukkernuggur refused to come in, and remained in defiant possession of that portion of the Jumna-Chumbul Doab till September. The rest of the district was quite quiet, but it was kept so partly by forbearance and tact; not being sure of being able to enforce them, I issued as few orders as possible, and none that I thought would provoke resistance. When we were firmly established I felt that no one would resist, it would have been folly by seeking prematurely to exercise full authority (when as the people well knew we were weak) to embroil myself with any who had not hitherto been openly disloyal.

REVOLUTIONARIES RECROSS YAMUNA

Early in March I re-occupied Ajeetmul with 600 matchlockmen; placing another similar body, with 50 sowars of the

local levies, at Anuntram, with a view to check the advance of Roop Sing whose force was very materially increasing. The desired effect was produced, and on Colonel Riddell's arrival at Etawah on the 13th with his Column, most of the mutineers, who in considerable numbers had flocked to Roop Sing's standard, re-crossed the Jumna.

Up to this time I had collected no money but what was required for immediate use, now however that the presence of Europeans ensured its safe custody, the *zemindars* of Bhurtanah and Etawah were directed to pay up the revenue. In the Oreyah *Pergunnah* the rebels were actively engaged in collecting the same, and on the 16th of March they attacked Phuppoond in great force, plundered the place, killed several of the town's people and one of the Police. Throughout March the *pergunnah* of Oreyah was held by the mutineers, whose strength varied with the movements of Colonel Maxwell's Column in the Cawnpore District. At last about the close of the month I received permission to move out with a force as per margin (here omitted). I was accompanied by Koor Zohr Sing and Rao Juswant Rao. On the 3rd day, early on the morning of the 30th, we arrived at Ajeetmul, about 2 hours after the place had been stormed, burned and looted by a large body of mutineers and rebels who had driven out our garrison of matchlockmen after killing 4 and wounding several. We however followed the offenders up sharply, burnt their 3 strongholds, killed 5 of them, and drove the whole body in confusion into the ravines.

PHAPHUND AND AURAIYA IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

We occupied that position for some time, being prohibited from moving any nearer to Oreyah. Our not advancing, as I begged we might be allowed to do, gave the enemy confidence and more overtime to obtain large reinforcement from Calpee, so that by the 11th April finding our levies surrounded on 3 sides by an overwhelming force, and Colonel Riddell assuring us that he would send us no supports under any circumstances, we fell back most reluctantly after sundry skirmishes, to Bukewur (Bakewar). Immediately the whole of Phuppoond and Oreyah (Dullelnuggur) were occupied by the rebels, while bands of plunderers made their appearance

everywhere in Bidhoonah (Beylah). Nirunjun Sing who had for some time past been very active at Churkharee (Charkhari)[1] and later in the attack on Colonel Maxwell's Column near Bhogneepoor, now re-appeared with a force in the Oreyah *Pergunnah;* and Gunga Sing the famous (notorious) dacoit, who had joined Roop Sing made his appearance there with Peetum and Bunkut. Having however the enemy only on one side now we endeavoured to check his advance by sudden attacks on his out-posts. On the 21st we made a most successful Cavalry attack on a party of Roop Sing's at Ajeetmul, and though the enemy were in great force all round, drove them with the loss of 7 men helter-skelter into the ravines. The audacity of this attack, for the time, completely frightened the rebels; the western half of the Oreyah *Pergunnah* was cleared, and Nirunjun Sing fell back to Chukkernugger with a small party of about 150 mutineers and the usual crowd of matchlockmen. The *ghat* of the Jumna opposite Bukewur is Dibhoulee (Dibhauli), and during the night of the 25th a party of his men crossed over, beat off the weak *zemindari* guard placed over the boat, and made off with it to their side. Next day, by a very pretty combined movement from two directions, we surprised the enemy, cut up 15, took prisoner and hung 3, recovered the boat and entirely dispersed the force on the other side of the river; we had however Mr. C. Doyle, who acted under me as Commandant of the local Horse, shot through the right shoulder.

RUP SINGH'S DIWAN KILLED

By the beginning of May (1858) the district began to feel the advance of Sir H. Rose's Column, numbers of mutineers crossing into the Dullelnuggur *Pergunnah*. Reverting to our former tactics, we had on the 2nd a Cavalry skirmish near Ajeetmul, in which Roop Sing's *Dewan*, and some other of his followers, who were stationed there to collect *rusud* for their force, were killed. The enemy however were growing rapidly in strength, and going into Etawah to escort the treasure and endeavour to induce Colonel Riddell to move out, I was taken ill; the enemy increased in strength hourly, and threatened our Camp; Lieutenant Sherriff fell back 2 miles to a strong

[1] Erstwhile Princely State, now merged in *Hamirpur* District.

position. Anuntram was taken and burnt; Lieutenant Chapman going out thither found himself opposed to a strongly posted force of some 600 Cavalry, from 1,000 to 1,200 Regular Infantry with 5 or 6 guns, and most judiciously fell back after a thorough "reconnaissance." On the 5th as the mutineers still kept advancing and increasing in numbers, and Colonel Riddell's instructions would not, he informed me, allow him to move out, I authorized Lieutenant Sherriff to fall back on Etawah. This he did with the whole of the *tuhseel* records (on 80 Sowars) and almost all the respectable *zemindars* of the neighbourhood; and the Lukna *Pergunnah* passed into the hands of rebels. The inhabitants, having always been eminently loyal, fled in thousands and tens of thousands, our force escorting their valuables.

NIRANJAN SINGH ACTIVE AT NANDGAON AND LAKHNA

Nirunjun Sing crossed the Jumna at Dibhoulee and taking up his quarters at Nandgown (Nandgaon) on this side, burnt and plundered several villages and attacked Lukna, but was beaten off by Rao Juswant Rao's men. Phuppoond being utterly in the rebels' hands they seized and murdered two unfortunate *Chuprassies*, sent by the Government officials to us to beg for assistance. I had volunteered at Sir R. Hamilton's request to collect and send down boats to Calpee, for the construction of a bridge there, and at last orders came directing Colonel Riddell to march down towards Oreyah to support me in doing so. He moved on the 9th May to Bukewar and on the 10th commenced our Jumna expedition, in which Koor Lutchman Sing and Rao Juswant Rao accompanied us.

BATTLE AT BIJALPUR

Of this it is sufficient here to say, that in an open boat, in the middle of May (1858), with the force as per margin (omitted here) we in 7 days collected and raised (often from under the enemies' fire) 36 boats, and after many skirmishes and a pitched battle at Beejulpore Silowah (in which we defeated a far superior force of the mutineers, taking the whole of their guns (6) all their baggage and killing 81 regular sepoys) safely conveyed them 63 miles down the river, *though the whole of the villages on the right bank were hostile to us*, and many forts and strong positions on the left were occupied by an enemy intent

on arresting our progress. On the 18th of May having arrived at Sheregurh, Colonel Riddell desired us to go across and burn the enemies' standing Camp, which we did in their very face, falling back later in good order before a large force, and re-crossing in comparative safety under a very heavy fire. This was a service of considerable danger and difficulty in which a rebel of some importance was killed. For several successive days the enemy (Colonel Riddell considering it inexpedient to attack them) continued to fire at us across the river and succeeded in killing and wounding a few horses, goats, and camp followers, but news of the fall of Calpee having reached they disappeared on the 24th, and on the 25th some 3,000 of the Calpee fugitives crossed at Beejulpore and made off north-wards for the Ganges; but Colonel Riddell considered it inexpedient to pursue them, and still having the boats in charge I was not permitted to do so, (though on my own responsibility I did despatch a few Cavalry to watch them) or indeed to move into the Phuppoond or Beylah *pergunnahs* where bodies of mutineers were still moving about. At last orders arrived, the boats were safely conveyed to Calpee, the district (except across the river at Chukkernuggur) being evacuated by the large bodies (of) mutineers for about the 6th time, became immediately tranquil, and on the 2nd of June we marched into Etawah, and Lieutenant Sherriff with his gallant Seikhs (Sikhs) left us to rejoin his Regiment. During June, though the adjoining territory of Gwalior fell into indescribable confusion, though Gunga Sing, Nirunjun Sing and other dacoit leaders continued threatening us in various directions, and parties of mutineers here and there had fights with the villagers, order prevailed, the whole of the *tuhseels* and *thannahs* of the district were in full play, the revenue collections went on quietly everywhere; Inderjeet of Rooroo and several sepoys and absconded convicts were arrested, and Rajah Tej Sing of Mynpoory surrendered himself to me.[1] I fell ill and on the 2nd of July, left on sick leave, making over charge of the district to Mr. G. E. Lance, and command of the Etawah Local Levies, as per margin (given in footnote)*, to

[1]. See p. 856 also.

* "250 E. Local Horse; 340 E. Local Infantry, 60 Artillery and 5 Guns. N. B. The infantry has been since raised to nearly 500."—Note m Original.

Lieutenant L. Forbes of the 2nd Grenadiers. All honor to the Levies; they had done their duty faithfully and gallantly, and since then, under Lieutenant Forbes, they have nobly sustained their reputation in many a hard struggle. The day I left, Roop Sing appeared with a large force on the borders of the district, and on the 4th of July commenced crossing the Jumna into the Oreyah *Pergunnah* opposite Bhurrey.

PITAM SINGH AND BANKAT SINGH ATTACK AJITMAL

On the 6th, Peetum Sing and Bunkut Sing, dacoit leaders in his train, attacked Ajeetmul, but though in considerable force they were driven back on the same day to the ravines, with the loss of several men, by a detachment of Cavalry under Messrs. Maconochie and Lieutenant Graham, who had preceded the main force under Lieutenant Forbes and Mr. Lance, as a kind of advance guard; after defeating the enemy thesefell back to Anuntram, where the main body joined them the next day by forced march, but they were too much fatigued to push on at once, and during the day Ajeetmul was again attacked and a second time thoroughly burnt and gutted (even to the gates).

RAMNAGAR REOCCUPIED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

On the 8th (July) Messrs. Lance, Forbes, Maconochie, and Graham, with levies as per margin (given in footnote)*, attacked the rebels at Ajeetmul where they still were, and drove them in confusion into the ravines whence they fled across the river to Bhurrey. On the 11th July the enemy re-occupied Ramnuggur, one of the strongholds that we had burnt on the 30th March, but Mr. Lance with the rest of the force drove them out, and though later in the day they returned in great force and attacked our position, they were signally defeated with considerable loss, ours being only one sepoy killed and one sowar badly wounded. Mr. Lance continued to hold Ajeetmul, and cowed by the last defeat, the rebels across the river remained perfectly quiet till the 7th of August, when they suddenly crossed and surprising the *Thanadar* near Joheeka

* "200 Infantry, 120 Cavalry, 5 Guns, 60 Artillery-men"—Note in Original.

(Johekha) killed two of the peons who were with him. After some ably conducted operations Mr. Lance succeeded in obtaining possession of all the rebels' boats, and crossing to Nimree, one of the chief rebel strongholds of the Jumna-Chumbul Doab, took up a position there, repelling on the 13th a well organized attack under Gunga Sing, Peetum Sing and Bunkut Sing, in which the rebels again suffered considerably.

RUP SINGH STILL HOLDS CHAKARNAGAR

On the 14th our force destroyed the place thoroughly and re-crossed into the Dullelnuggur *Pergunnah*. Throughout the district all was quiet except that at Bhurrey and Chukkernuggur Roop Sing and the Rajah and his son, still held court, surrounded by their mutineer and dacoit allies, and that nightly small parties of picked marksmen used to swim the river, creep up through the ravines, and fire at our picquets, one *Naik* of the Levies was the only victim. Late in August the Agra fleet of merchant boats arrived, and reinforced by Lieutenant Gordon with his Company of Sappers and Miners, 50 Seiks (Sikhs) of the Agra Police, 100 Infantry of the Mynpoory Levy, and an 18-pounder carronade, Mr. Lance and Lieutenant Forbes, though vigorously opposed between the 28th of August and 5th of September, brought down the convoy safely, took and destroyed the very strong fort of Bhurrey, and on the 6th of September, a road having been made to it from the latter place, attacked and took Chukkernuggur. The whole of the district south of the Jumna was then occupied by us in force. Suhson on the Chumbul, where the Chukkernuggur rebels at first fled, being immediately after taken and 200 of the Levies, under an European officer, stationed there where they still remain; since then all has been tranquil in our district. The southern frontier still requires to be most carefully watched, as Roop Sing and other rebels are continually endeavouring, but hitherto without success, to make good plundering expeditions; the most important of these was signally defeated at Parlee on the 23rd of October by the Levies under Lieutenant Allan, (lately appointed to do duty with them), the rebels losing above 30 men, the whole of their camels horses, baggage and magazine.[1]

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Etawah District*, pp. 5-11.

RUP SINGH APPEARS ON ETAWAH FRONTIER

The other events of the week do not demand much notice. On the Etawah frontier, the rebel Roop Singh with his own, and one or two other small gangs, have (has) appeared in the ravines on the Gwalior bank of the Chumbul. An expedition was in consequence organized during the week, and they were chased from this stronghold by an expedition under Lieutenant Forbes. The *zemindars* who had sheltered them were warned that if repeated, their conduct would be punishable.[1]

RUP SINGH ATTACKED BY BRITISH

The Officer Commanding the Etawah Yeomanry Levies submitted a report from Lieutenant Allen describing a successful attack made by him on a body of rebels under Roop Sing. The rebels numbered about 300 men and were pursued for several miles and utterly dispersed, a good portion of their arms, baggage and cattle were captured and 28 of their number killed. Lieutenant Allen was commended for his services.[2]

NANA'S MOVEMENT THROUGH ETAWAH

Letter from Harvey to A. Hume, Magistrate, Etawah, dated Agra, December 6, 1858.

NANA INTENDS CROSSING INTO BUNDELKHAND

We have just received a telegram from Furrukabad to say that the Nana was reported to have crossed the Ganges with a considerable force yesterday 5th at noon, somewhere between Futtehghur and Cawnpore. Troops had gone out but it was feared would hardly prevent the scoundrel from getting into Bundelcund. Shower thinks he may point (?)

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 6th November 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, 1853 to 1860, No. 4 of 1859; Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of N. W. Provinces in the Foreign Department for the 4th quarter of 1858, Collection No. 21, Foreign Proceedings: 13th Nov. 1858, Nos. 57 to 59. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

for Battesur (Batesar) or Shereghur[1] (Shergarh) and is moving out to Shekoabad (Shikohabad)[2] to-morrow after-noon. Whatever intelligence you get, let me have it with all speed, send to Showers at Shekoabad on marching to that place via Moradabad—that he may go into Etawah if you are threatened in any way. It is very untoward but not unexpected seeing the wonderful loopholes it is the fashion to leave. Nothing is said of guns; I should think he had none or even a considerable force with him. He has a gathering and will do incalculable mischief in the Dooab. So let us have your tidings of his course as quickly as possible.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade to Collector of Mynpooree (Mainpuri), dated 6th Dec. 1858.

Send an express to Hume at Etawah for him to send on an express to Jhansee Commissioner warning him that rebels supposed to be led by the Nana are making their way across the Dooab for Bundelcund.[4]

NANA CROSSES AKUN GHAT

Copy of Letter from C. R. Lindsay, Camp Tirwah[5], to A. Hume, Collector and Magistrate, Etawah.

That rascal the Nana has crossed the Ganges at Aukun Ghat, Cawnpore *zillah* some 3 *koss* below Daepore (Daipur)[6] the best *ghat* in my district.

[1] Can be read as '*Sheugarh*' also.

[2] *Shikohabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Shikohabad*, District *Mainpuri*—This town, in 27° 7′ N. and 78° 40′ E., is situated on the Agra-Mainpuri road about two miles from the railway station of the same name and 30 miles from Mainpuri city. (*District Gazetteers*, Mainpuri, Vol. X, 1910, p. 215).

[3] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 11—XVI-8.

[4] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] *Tirwa*, Pargana and Tahsil *Tirwa*, District *Farrukhabad*—This town, in 27° 47′ E., lies 25 miles south-east of Fatehgarh, and consists of two parts, Old Tirwa and Ganj, or Market, Tirwa. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, pp. 261-262).

[6] *Daipur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Kanauj*, District *Farrukhabad*—This, the extreme south-eastern village of the district, stands on the Ganges cliff

I have just heard of this, he must have crossed about 4 P. M. today. He has more men alive (?) with him; his arrival has kicked up much a dust in the G. T. R (Grand Trunk Road). The travellers going east frantically rushed back to Kunnoujh (Kanauj).

I don't know which way the fellow is going, but I write to apprise you of what I believe to be a fact. The authority as I think, nay I am sure, good. I got it from loyal *zemindar* ...(illegible) Aukun ghat. So see what you can do to intercept the rascal but I am afraid he will be over the Jumna before this reaches you.[1]

FIROZ SHAH WITH ETAWAH LEADERS CROSSES ARAUL

Copy of Letter from Harvey to A. Hume, Collector, Etawah, dated December 7, 1858.

Here is the Telegram just received from Futtehghur and also Sherer's note.

The Nana is said now not to be with R.'s (rebels') party who crossed at Aroul but Ferose Sha, Ellakund (?) Khan of Etawah, Wajid Ally, Ganga Sing. They have only one gun having lost one in the Ganges and a lot of women and children and elephants. They will not molest you but you might frighten them with a few rounds; let me know what you hear and your plans to save this part. In haste.[2]

FIROZ SHAH AND WALIDAD KHAN PASSING THROUGH ETAWAH

Telegraphic Message from Goodall, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 7th December 1858.

Heard from Futteghur today that Ferozshah, Waleedad Khan and others with some thousand men were at Arroul yesterday and it is said are going via Etawah. Brigadier Showers is moving down from Agra towards Etawah. All communication is cut off with Cawnpore. Road below

about 40 miles to the south-east of Fatehgarh. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 192).

[1] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 11-XVI-8.

[2] *Ibid.*

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Meerun Ke Serai (Miran-ki-Sarai)[1] in the hands of the rebels. They have only one gun having lost one in the Ganges. Force partly Cavalry, they have four elephants and numerous women. Troops have been sent from Futteghur and this to prevent rebels coming up the Grand Trunk Road. Five Cos. (Companies) Police Infantry are going from this to Etawah.[2]

ESCAPE OF SHAHZADA FIROZ SHAH ACROSS DOAB FROM AVADH

....In the Doab, the event of the week has been the escape across it, of the Shahzadah Feroze Shah and his party from Oude.

ISMAIL KHAN SURRENDERS

It appears the rebels under Feroze Shah and Ismael Khan in the latter end of the previous week encountered Brigadier Troup at Biswah in the Seetapoor District and were defeated; immediately after this action Ismael Khan (nephew to Waleedad Khan of Malagurh) surrendered with 200 followers and claimed the amnesty.

FIROZ SHAH MARCHES TOWARDS GANGES NEAR KANAUJ

Feroze Shah on the other hand supported by Mohsun Alee Khan of Mow Shumsabad, one or two leading *Resaldars* of Irregular Cavalry and the two fanatic Moulvees, Goolab Shah and Lukkur Shah together with about 1500 Cavalry, 500 Foot, 4 or 5 guns of various sizes, several elephants and a number of followers, many women and much baggage on quitting the field of battle made straight for the Ganges near Kanouj.

[1] *Miran-ki-sarai*, Pargana and Tahsil *Kanauj*, District *Farrukhabad*—This village, also known as Miran Sarai, and Sarai Miran, stands on the Grand Trunk Road, 32 miles south-east of Fatehgarh, in 27° 1′ N. and 80° 1′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 236).

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

They passed north of Sandeela and evaded the detachment there, reached the Ganges in safety but experienced some difficulty in crossing at the point, where they originally struck it. They moved, however, a little higher up to Aukund Ghat and here by aid of merchant boats which they seized they crossed on the 5th and 6th. On the latter day they passed the Arowl Dak Bungalow upon the G. T. R. (Grand Trunk Road) which they thoroughly sacked and destroyed and marched by Beylah to Russoolabad and Mungulpoor devastating as they went and especially the latter place, where they halted for some time on the 8th. They appear to have marched in a more westerly direction, for going towards Puphoond (Phaphund), they encountered the Etawah Levies under Lieutenant Forbes and accompanied by Mr. Hume, the Magtr., Mr. Doyle and other Europeans.

An action ensued which began between 8 and 9 A. M. and lasted for 3 hours; it consisted of a charge on the guns and Infantry of the Levies (who were out-numbered fourfold) which were repulsed every time. Unfortunately two charges by the Cavalry of the Levies were less successful in the first. Mr. Doyle who throughout the rebellion had done excellent service and holding a local commission in these Levies had contributed materially to their former successes, was killed with 12 of his men and though a small party fought over and recovered his body the bulk fled when he fell.

The Infantry formed into a square and received repeated charges of the enemy's Cavalry with discharges of muskets and grape which forced the enemy eventually to retire with the loss of 50 or 60 men. Mr. Hume's party lost above 20 in killed and wounded. On retirement of the enemy Mr. Doyle's body was recovered unplundered. The intelligence (subsequently found to be false) reached Mr. Hume that a fresh body of 2000 Horse were advancing to the attack, on which he threw himself into the fort of Hurchundpoor the protection of which was one object of his march against the enemy. The behaviour of the Police and District Levies (excepting 50 or 60 sowars who fled) was bold and daring.

The enemy whose loss is said to have included at least one man of importance, retired and made the best of their way towards the Jumna. Hither they were closely pursued by Brigadier the Hon'ble Percy Herbert from Cawnpoor with detachments of Tawana Horse, Alexander's Horse, the Meerutt

Light Horse, two guns and detachments of H. M.'s 23rd and 80th Regts. and by the Etawah Levies who pushed on immediately to join the Column, but the pursuers did not reach the Jumna till 11 when the main body of the enemy had crossed at Jaleeka[1] near the Bureh fort into the Doab, between the Jumna and Chumbul. A few only were left and these were cut up to the number of 40 to 50 by a detachment of Tawana Horse under Lieutenant Angelo who also captured a small gun; many of the enemy, their horses and baggage were also lost in the quicksand which abound in the Jumna at that spot and which prevented our force crossing in pursuit.

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS INTO JALAUN DISTRICT

The enemy subsequently moved across the Chumbul at Chukkernugur, and down the Pobooj river pursued by Brigadier Macduff, and on the 11th were at Lohar in the Jaloun District. Brigadier-General Napier had however started with a force from Gwalior to intercept them and on that day was moving parallel to them at a short distance. From Agra, too, a force was sent to Etawah but it reached only after the enemy had passed.[2]

FIROZ SHAH AND OTHERS MOVE UP THE GANGES TO AKUN GHAT

Contents of a Paper forwarded to the Magistrate and Collector of Etawah by T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Avadh), dated Lucknow, 8th December 1858.

After the defeat of the rebels at Biswa, 50 miles north-west of Lucknow on the 1st instant, a body of rebels started for the Ganges, which they reached on the 5th. They tried to cross at Nana Mow Ghat, but finding that impossible they went up the river to Akum[3] Ghat, above Bilhour, and below Kanouj.

Their numbers are—

[1] Spelt perhaps for '*Johekha*'. (See p. 792, also p. 832 for '*Jaleeke*').

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 11th December 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Spelt as '*Akun Ghat*' in other documents of this file. (See pp. 805-806).

900 Horsemen, of whom 400 are well mounted and armed. The rest are badly equipped.

300 Foot-Camp followers etc. including 100 women, 6 elephants.

1 small gun called a *Goorda*.

The leaders of this body are,

Ferozeshah, Delhi Prince.
Lukkur Shah (Lakkar Shah)
Goolab Shah, alias Peerjee
Mohsin Ali Khan of Mow Shumsabad (Furruckabad) who passes (poses) himself as an European,
Fuzul Huq, Moulvi—formerly *Serishtedar* in the Delhi Commissioner's Office. Several of his relations have held high appointments under Govt. His brother is now in the employ of the Puttiala Raja. Hurree Singh (Hari Singh) of the 12th Irregular Cavalry.
Jareeb, or Jacoob Khan[1] of 12th Irregular Cavalry
Summund Khan of Jhujjur
Saligram 11th Cavalry
Diler Singh of Pareechutgurh.

These men were last seen at sunrise on the 6th instant at Akim[2] Ghat by the *Kotwal* of Sundeela (Sandila) who was taken prisoner, but contrived to escape from them when engaged in crossing. He and two prisoners taken by the District Authorities, state that, the rebels are making for Calpee *en route* to Runthumboor 20 *kos* distant from Kotah, in the Jyepoor Territory. They hope to join Tantia Topee who, they believe, rules at Agra.

Summund Khan will probably make for his own country.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 8th Dec. 1858.

FIROZ SHAH EXERTS TO JOIN TATYA TOPE

The following intelligence dated 6 Decr. is from Lucknow : Ferozeshah with 1500 fled from Biswa and was making

[1] Correct name may be 'Yaqub Khan'.
[2] Spelt as '*Akum*' also, in this document. (p. 809)
[3] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 11–XVI-8.

when last heard of for the Ganges intending to cross near Kunouje (Kanauj) and enter Bundlekhund and join Tantia Topee. One Ishmael Khan and 200 sowars have surrendered to Major Carnegie at Biswa under the terms of amnesty. The C. I. C. (Commander-in-Chief) will this day be at Ramnugger near Byramghaut (Bahramghat). It is known from other sources that the above authorities did cross the Ganges at Bhiloor[1] and made across the Doab in the direction of Calpee. Mr. Harrington, the Depy. Supdt. of Ele. Tele. (Electric Telegraph), reports the following from camp Bilhour dated 7th Decr. *Enemy last heard of at Etawah.* Mr. Sherer with troops from Cawnpore and Lucknow said to be at Muckunpore (Makanpur) 8 miles from this and 4 miles from Etawah Aroul completely deserted, wire destroyed for some distance, shall be repaired to-morrow, roads clear.[2]

MOVEMENTS OF NANA AND FIROZ SHAH

Letter from G. F. I. Graham to Forbes, dated Etawah, 8th December.

NANA AND FIROZ SHAH REPORTED MAKING FOR ETAWAH

Last night (this morning rather) at two O'clock while at Behewar (Bakewar) I got a note from Paisley[3] telling me to come in at once as he had just got an express saying *that the Nana and Ferozshah with* 1000 *men and* 1 *gun were making for Etawah.* I marched at once and got in at 6 A. M. to find all right. The station and treasury were certainly in great danger last night as he might have come at any time and ridden straight into the entrenchment. The entrances to it are being cut, at least the 2 which were to be. They were begun last night. I should have been at Ajeetmul[4] if it hadn't been for that but certainly I think this detachment ought to remain here. I shall stay here as I have received no orders of any kind. *The Nana must be in your direction.*[5]

[1] Apparently wrongly received for *Bilhaur*.
[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] Can be read as 'Paisby' also.
[4] Spelt for *Ajitmal*.
[5] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 11–XVI-8.

CONCERTED MOVE BY NANA AND FIROZ SHAH

Telegraphic Message from Goodall to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 8th Dec.

NANA WAITING TO ASSIST FIROZ SHAH

...That Feroz Shah with a large force crossed the Mulluoh[1] and Suneela[2] Road on 3rd instant having been defeated by English force, there seems to be no doubt of Feroz Shah having been with the force which crossed the Ganges on the 5th and 6th instants. *On the other side of Jumna Nana is waiting with his forces to assist Feroz Shah....*

Feroz Shah was present in yesterday's fight, *our loss yesterday was too heavy.* The force engaged consisted of Infantry, Cavalry and guns. These were charged five times. Our baggage twice taken and retaken....

COMBINED ATTACK BY FIROZ SHAH AND NANA

It is also indicated from another wire dated nil that the above attack was made *by the combined forces of Nana and Feroz Shah. The advance column was under the leadership of Feroz Shah while the rear party was under Nana. It seems as if Hindoos and Muslims both were fighting in close harmony with each other.*[3]

ETAWAH REPORTED ATTACKED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to Cal., Bom., Agra, Madras, Lahore, Hydrabad and Nagpore, to C. Beadon, H. L. Anderson, Pycroft, J. Lawrence, E. A. Reade, Lt. Col. Davidson and G. Plowden, dated 9th December 1858.

Brigadier Herbert was at Rushupore[4] *en route* for Munglepore on the 8th at 10-45 A. M. and hoped to get there on the same night. The enemy were reported at Beylah to the west of Russoolabad (Rasulabad) on the 7th at noon. The Brigadier hoped to cut them off from Shereghurh ghaut. If the

[1] May have been wrongly received for *Mallanwan.*
[2] Wrongly received for *Sandila.*
[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[4] Appears wrongly received for some other name; may be *Rasulabad.*

rebels are making for Etawah the Brigadier is on a good line. Telegram, just received from Captain Hume, states that detachment of 80th Regt. is marching upon Etawah which place is reported to be attacked.[1]

EMBRASURES OF ETAWAH FORT CUT

Letter from G. B. Pasley to A. Hume, Magistrate, Etawah, dated December 9, 1858.

We received yours for Brigadier Showers at a little after 12 and were all grieved to hear of poor Doyle's death. Mrs. Hume and my wife broke the news to Mrs. Doyle. I sent on your letter by sowar to Juswuntnuggur (Jaswantnagar) with an order to the *Thanahdar* to send it on by a sowar if he had one to Sirsagunj but if he had no sowar the letter was to be made over to the Deputy Post Master, then to be sent on by express runners to Shikohabad, to the Post Master of which place I wrote to send it on by express cart. I also made an abstract of it and sent the abstract by sowar to Mynpoorie to be telegraphed from there to Agra and in my note to the Asst. in-charge of the Telegraph I told him to send copy of the message to the Officer Commanding at Mynpoorie for his information so that if we require assistance from there it will be ready. What are your plans, and do you want anything done from here ? The fort all right, the drawbridge, the other entrance blocked up, the embrasures cut and we are getting on with the redoubts.

P. S.—I have asked Zohur Singh for messengers to take this to you, I did not like to send it by sowars as, if there were any rebels on the road, footmen could get along better than horsemen.[2]

FIROZ SHAH LEADS AN ATTACK

Copy of Letter from A. Hume, Collector, Etawah, to G. B. Pasley, Joint Magistrate, Etawah, dated Harchandpur, 9th December 1858.

On receipt of this prepare a grave for poor dear Doyle, his body will reach you in the course of the night of today (9th)

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 11—XVI-8.

and must be buried early on the 10th. You must read the funeral service. I had the poor body nicely washed and wrapped up in clean muslin but blood still oozes from them. I have made the best coffin I could. You must not under any circumstances allow Mrs. Doyle to open and look at the corps, it is so frightfully mauled. I have cut off some locks of his hair and have his rings and studs and other articles of his property. Make such arrangements that when the corps comes in Mrs. Doyle may not be woke (?) or know of it. Take up all the criminal reports that are in arrears and all that come on till further notice. We killed yesterday two great leaders —awful smells in shawls etc., names unkown, and about 20 more known but they carried off a great number of the corpses. They have spured (spurred) off at a great pace; we are off in pursuit and shall we hope chaw them up in crossing the Jumna. Lots of them are Sikhs and Afghans. The number of Cavalry actually against us was about 1400—but they came by different routes and have gone off by different routes in *gholes* of 4, 5 and 6 hundred. The story about the 2000 Infantry was as I thought false. We saw very little, we have taken several horses etc. A lot of our Cavalry say half bolted clean and it is a good-deal to this that our heavy loss is attributable. Anyhow we did the enemy more damage than they did us. We have several of their horses, they of ours, we several carbines etc.[1], but we lost a portion of our treasure about 8000 Rs. *The enemy were led by Feeroz Shah.* The Nana was not I think with the force. I think you need be under no apprehensions at Etawah.

Extract from this at once and send off to Brigadier Showers. I do not think that with reference to the present force he need advance on Etawah, but that there is a strong rumour that there is a strong Infantry force in the rear, and more coming. They give out that they will loot Etawah. Send Gaubuk[2] out at once in one march to Hurchund (?)[3] with the amputating instruments, we have lots of wounded and send out an urgent indent to Mynpooree for a docter (*sic*,) say that we must have one; telegraph to the Secretary of Government that our wounded are dying from want of medical aid, pray order some doctor at once.

[1] The phrase is confusing.
[2] Word is not legibly written.
[3] Perhaps *Harchandpur* is meant.

POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS INTERCEPTED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Report to Commissioner that the *Dak* which reached Etawah on the 7th and was sent out by you the same day was cut off on the morning of the 8th and all letters lost; ask him to send duplicates.

Find out how many of our runaway sowars (privates and officers) have reached Etawah, noting who are wounded and whether severely or not.

I send no guard of regular troops with Doyle's body because Lulla Laik Singh[1] engages to convey it there safely, which is all that our whole force could do and more than any small detachment could do. Have 3 volleys of musketry fired over the grave. You will find blank cartridges in the magazine.

Send your own letters to me at Ajeetmul, ask Graham to let us know why he did not join us.

Having attended to, give this letter to my wife to read and keep.

If bearer arrives by 9 P. M. pay him 3 Rs. if by 10, 2 Rs. Mind you put pickets on the roads and get the wounded in from the jail etc.[2]

FIROZ SHAH AT PHAPHUND

Letter from G. B. Pasley to A. Hume, Magistrate, Etawah, dated December 10, 1858.

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES SANDWICH HUME'S FORCES

Your letter did not reach me till 6 O'clock this morning, at the same time that poor Doyle's corpse arrived. I sent off a Telegraph to him about a Doctor, a letter to the C. O. Mynpoorie to send us in a Doctor sharp. I wrote to Showers sending him an extract from your letter and as I saw in the Moff : that 300-3rd Europeans, C. O. Riddell's Light Battery and Alexander's Horse, C. O. Chapman had started from

[1] Correct name may be 'Lala Laiq Singh'. (See p. 777).
[2] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 11–XVI-8.

Agra yesterday (9th) at 4 P. M. and that it was supposed Showers would command them. I enclosed my letter in an open envelope, directed to Showers; and put envelope and all into another addressed to Officer Commanding force from Agra. I asked him if Showers was not there to despatch my letter after he had read it to him. The Moff : said that the force had started *en route* for Mynpoorie but I expect that a letter which I sent off last night by Camel-sowar along the Agra Road will induce the force to move here. I wrote the letter last night after receiving the letter from Binsia which I sent to you and I gave them a description of the position of the 2 rebel forces showing that you were between them. We buried poor Doyle at 2½ P. M. today. I had the bottom of the grave made *pucka* and *pucka* arch thrown over the coffin so as to prevent it being dug up by animals. The 5th Company and the sowars accompanied us and as we got on the parade ground the recruits turned out to a man and joined us. The *Daks*, that you said were lost have come back here. I have made a list of the bolter sowars, Luchman Singh came in last night and this evening has gone out to Lukhna to bring in the treasure Rs. 22,000. He has taken 60 sowars with him, the sowars to bring in the money across their saddle bows. I thought this a safe plan than sending out elephants as they might attract the notice of any party of rebels who might be eloping about. Zohur Singh has just been here with the camel-sowar who left you this morning at Ajeetmul and has told me of the fight that was going on at Johika. I hope the rebels have catched (*sic*,) it. I send you a list of the leaders of the party with whom you fought; it arrived to-day from Chief Commissioner Lucknow. I have kept a copy in case of accident A certain Dr. Sewell or Lewell has been appointed to physic us. Come up sharp. What about your *Syce* Fureed Buksh (Farid Bakhsh) ? Did you order him to be put into *Hawalat*. The sowar who came in with him said you had ordered it. Is Sibboo all right? your wife wants to know as his parents have been here crying "Whose horses were lost ?" *We hear Dick has joined the rebels*. Your wife expects a magnificent riding horse vice Dick turned *Bhagee* (*Baghi*). Write and let us know how you are getting on. About Graham, not joining you, I was the cause of it. He started from this on Tuesday, 7th at midday and marched to Bukewur, from which place I heard from him, that he had been obliged to halt as the men were

so knocked up. Soon after I got his note I received the Telegraph which *announced that the Nana had crossed the Ganges and was moving via Etawah*. Mr. Shaw and I tried all we could to make the entrenchment defensible and as we had a very small force and no guns I thought it advisable to recall him to make certain of the lives and treasure here. As it happens it was as well. I did so because had he gone on, he would just have reached Puhpound (Phaphund) as *Feroze Shah's party after fighting you reached it* and he must have been cut up. No more news.[1]

THE BATTLE OF HARCHANDPUR

Letter No. 107 *from A. Hume, Magistrate, Etawah, to the Secretary to Government, N. W. P., dated Camp Sahson, December* 12, 1858.

NANA CROSSES WITH A BIG FORCE NEAR MIRAN-KI-SARAI

I have the honor to inform you that at 4½ P. M. of 6th December (our camp being at Deenapoor) we received an express from the Magistrate of Futtehgurh to the effect *that the Nana had crossed at some ghat near Meerun-ka-serai at about* 4 *P. M. of the* 5*th, with a considerable force.*

2*nd*—Lieutenant Forbes and myself determined to march at once to Puhpoondh (Phaphund) with every available man, leaving for the protection of Etawah men as per margin (omitted here).

I chose Puhpoondh because from experience I knew that it commanded all the rebels' favourite routes in crossing the Duab from Oude into Bundlekund, via Oreyah and Sheregurh Ghat, Dullelnuggur (Dalelnagar) and Beejulpoor Ghat and lastly Ajeetmul and Joheeka Ghat.

ATTACK ON BELA AND SAHAR

3*rd*—We arrived at Puhpoondh (32 miles by the only road for guns) before daylight of the 7th and sent out sowars at once to Sehar, Russoolabad and Munjulpoor (Mangalpur) who returning in the course of the day reported that no rebels

[1] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 11—XVI 8.

were to be seen, though strong rumours of their having crossed the Ganges were everywhere afloat. About 5 O'clock P. M. letters reached simultaneously from Beylah and Sehar (where the *tuhseel* office is at present located) announcing that both places were attacked and that the former had been taken and plundered after the *Thannahdar* and several others of the Police had been wounded. A little later in the evening a letter from Lulla Laik Singh[1] of Hurchandpoor announced that his residence also was invested. At Sehar we had a large sum of money and the *pergunnah* records besides all the *tuhseel Amlah* and Lulla Chutter Singh, a loyal *zemindar*, to protect at Hurchandpoor Lulla Laik Singh—one of the staunchest and most unwavering adherents of the British Govt. in these provinces.

4*th*—We therefore determined to march at all hazards to relieve these two places. At Puhpoondh we had been joined by reinforcements as per margin (omitted here) which we had ordered out to join us on first moving.

We ought also to have been joined by 82nd Infantry and 76th Cavalry under an European officer (some of the very best of the levies who had gone into Mynpoory on treasure escort) who reached Bakhewur *en route* to Puhpoondh but were thence recalled under a misapprehension (which though excusable was very greatly to our detriment) by one of my subordinates. As we heard that the enemy numbered at least 3000 and many reports send from 5 to 7 thousand, (including of course women, camp followers etc.), it was absolutely necessary to make all arrangements for the due protection of treasure and record at Puphoondh and Oreyah in case of these rebels forcing us to fall back towards Etawah or to take up some fixed defensible position. Due orders were accordingly issued and admirably executed. At Oreyah, even had the *tuhseel* been like that at Puhpoondh plundered and burnt, Govt. would have not directly suffered, but at Puhpoondh though we delayed the whole night in order to allow the *Tuhseeldar* to make the necessary arrangements and though he personally reported to us that all had been done, it has since proved that nothing was really done and in consequence a portion of the treasure and all the records (except the *Canoongoe's* papers) were lost.

[1] May have been spelt for 'Lala Laiq Singh', (See p. 777).

This is no fault of mine; acting in the absence of any other military man as 2nd in command of the force, having the men, guns, *russud* etc. to look to, and arrangements for the safety of the whole district to make, I could do no more than give the necessary orders and wait till I had the direct assurance of the *Tuhseeldar* that they had been completely executed. He is a new man and must be dismissed. As the money lost (8000 Rs.) did not fall into the hands of the rebels, we have hopes of recovering it.

ENCOUNTER NEAR KANDHON BRIDGE

5*th*—At day-break we marched from Puhpoondh on Hurchandpoor distant about 9 miles; our force strengthened as above, consisting of 200 Infantry E.[1] Levies under myself, the 4 guns and 46 Artillery-men, under Mr. Maconochie, Dept. Col. (Deputy Collector), 207 Cavalry (13th Troops Etawah L.[2] Horse), under Mr. Doyle, the whole viz. 453 men of all arms and ranks under command of Lieutenant Forbes. We reached Kundhon bridge over the canal 4 miles from Puhpoondh without seeing any of the enemy. Soon after crossing the bridge we came in sight of a party of about 200 Horsemen and finding that they fell back as we advanced, we unlimbered and gave them one round from the guns killing one horse and one man on which they galloped off. The first shot was fired at ¼ to 8 A. M.

6*th*—By this time having received intelligence from various quarters we had become fairly informed of the strength and character of the enemy and subsequently this has been accurately ascertained from Chutter Singh and the *Tuhseeldar* whose position they surrounded for nearly 24 hours, from various villages where they pressed men to carry their wounded or halted to buy...(illegible), and from a prisoner whom we captured near Suhson in the pursuit.

SAHAR AND HARCHANDPUR THREATENED

They had 1600 well mounted and armed sowars, 400 badly mounted (chiefly Infantry) men on *tattoos*, armed for

[1] May have been abbreviated for 'Etawah'.
[2] 'Etawah Local Horse'.

the most part with rifles, muskets and carbines, about 125 Regular Infantry (28th N. I.) 200 women and children, some 4 or 5 hundred unarmed or badly armed camp followers servants etc., two small guns, 8 elephants, a few camels (20 or 30) and a host of *tattoos*, baggage cattle etc. Attacking a force like this, weak as we were was we knew a desperate measure; every man of us fully felt the danger and the responsibility and it was not done without full consideration; but on the other hand these wretches (accompanied, in fact really led by an Etawah rebel) had marched through the district so far as they had come, plundering and (in some cases partially burning) every well affected village, killing numbers of inoffensive villagers and wounding even woemen (women). Sehar and Hurchandpoor (the former where there was much treasure and no regular garrison) were threatened and we saw the absolute necessity of making the attempt however desperate to arrest their course trusting in a good cause to carry us safely through. I am particular as to the numbers because in a memo of the 8th of December received from the Chief Commissioner of Oude the Horsemen are stated at 900. The cause of the discrepancy apparently is their having been subsequently joined by several large parties of mutineer Cavalry. The leaders were, as correctly stated in the memo, Feeroz Shah, Lukker Shah, Goulab Shah (Gulab Shah), Mousum Alee Khan[1], Fuzzul Huq, several *Risaldars*, of the 11th and 12th Irregulars, Diler Singh of Pareetchutgurh, but Summund Khan of Jhujjur (Jhajjar) mentioned in the memo was not with the force. Jussa Singh, Morad Allee Khan alias the *Nazim*, Aleedad Khan and *Risaldars* of the Ist and 2nd Cavalry and the 14th and 15th Irregulars (none of whom are mentioned in the memo) were also there. The leader was Feeroz Shah but the General in the field of the whole force, was Aleedad Khan—the last of the 3 noted Etawah Mewatee dacoits, a very fine man, and noted *Pulwan* (*Pahalwan*). The 1600 Cavalry consisted chiefly of the 1st and 2nd Cavalry, 11th, 12th, 14th, and 15th Irregulars, with parties of from 20 to 50 from almost every other Cavalry corps in the service. They included a number of Sikhs and Afghans and the Pustoo (Pashto) abuse that passed between one or two of our men and these latter was very edifying.

[1] Apparently, spelt for 'Mohsin Ali Khan'.

7th—To return, when their picquet (for it proves to have been such) fell back we limbered up and for a short time advanced towards Hurchandpoor. When the main body of the enemy gradually came in sight, it was a very striking spectacle; as far as we could see masses of Cavalry hovering about, but not at first showing inclination to attack us; after the picquet had been driven back we had continued to advance in line the guns being covered on the left by Mr. Doyle with the Etawah Cavalry, on the right by 2 Companies of Infantry, beyond these on our right (there being high *bajera* fields) a Company was thrown out in skirmishing order, and beyond these again were the 13th Troop M. (Military) Police. It appears that we surprised the enemy and the delay that took place in their attacking us and opposing our advance was owing to their being engaged in concentrating their forces from Sehar and Hurchandpoor and in sending off their baggage, women etc. to the west towards the canal bridge of Kumara higher up than Kundhon. They sent off with these and the camp followers 200 of the Regular Cavalry, and a large portion of the *tattoo* sowars and their about 1400 of the Regular Cavalry, their Regular Infantry and some of the Riflemen on *tattoos* advanced to attack us on our left flank. We changed front to the left so as to face them, shifting the Etawah Cavalry to our right where the enemy appeared in greatest force and the 13th Troop to our left. There was a village between our centre and theirs, and the 13th Troop were sent round the village.

BRITISH RIGHT FLANK THREATENED

The whole body of the enemy then wheeled and changing front (all this time we were giving them the guns) came down on our right flank, but we shifted front at the same time so as to face the enemy and immediately advanced to meet them, in the same direction as that in which we were originally moving. As we drew close, as it was obvious that they were hugely outflanking us, Lieutenant Forbes gave the word to advance and went off to the right with Mr. Doyle and the Etawah Cavalry, while the 13th Troop charged on our left. Mr. Doyle's charge was magnificent; after killing two men with his own hand, he was dismounted and I regret to say cut to pieces. On this, about 59 men ignominiously fled altogether

in every direction spreading confusion through the district and giving out that we had been entirely destroyed, a similar portion galloped back to the guns for protection throwing the Infantry into confusion and driving the little baggage and few camp followers we had, in amongst the guns and limbers. About 37 stuck by Mr. Doyle's body and after a very severe hand to hand combat which lasted nearly 10 minutes in which 6 were killed and about the same number wounded fell back on our right in good order. At the same time the Meerut Troop on the left under Resaldar Mahomed Assud Ollah (Asad Ullah) Khan charged most gallantly, 19 of them indeed fled, but the rest after a very severe fight in which they killed a number of the enemy fell back in good order to our left. When the enemies' Cavalry advanced besides the 3 bodies of the enemy kept in check by our Infantry and guns and detained in confict (*sic*,-conflict) by Mr. Doyle and Assud Oollah, two other bodies on their extreme right and left came down unopposed; that on their left wheeling round charged our rear, that on their right simultaneously came down on the unprotected left of our guns. Lieutenant Forbes was away with the Cavalry. I wheeled one gun round to our left, one to the rear, and divided the Infantry between the guns, so as to form 3 sides of a hollow square, of Infantry with 2 guns in one face and one in each of the other. This was done rapidly and I cannot praise too highly the conduct of the men or sufficiently express my sense of the assistance I received at this critical moment, from Mr. G. B. Maconochie or Sergeant-Major Edmonds. Down they came on all 3 sides, not a shot was fired by the Infantry till I gave the order. When the enemy were about 100 yards distant I gave the word. Then they gave it with a will but the smoke and dust was so dense that but little execution was done and though repulsed in confusion on the front and rear the enemy pushed in at the left and for a moment got possession of the magazine camels; but the Infantry beat them back and recovered (I really can't exactly say how, for the noise and smoke were overpowering) the baggage and our 3 sides were in a few minutes clear. The party who had attacked our rear, some 400 in number, had shifted further towards our original right and had managed to cut off some baggage camels etc. which they were carrying off. I did not see this, I was busy on the other side, but Lieutenant Forbes who had just returned from the Cavalry charge on the right saw it and detaching one

Company of Infantry with an amount of courage and resolution rarely equalled dashed after them and after a chase of about 6 or 8 hundred yards, actually recaptured our baggage after killing 6 or 7 of the enemy. As he started after them, the enemies' Cavalry re-forming charged down on the front and left face of our square and the 13th Troop or at least such as remained of them still under the Ressaldar Assud Ullah who was desperately wounded and charged again to the left while the Cavalry in front were brought up at about 50 yards by musketry and guns. Such of the 13th Troop as went in with the *Ressaldar* got carried away in the rush of the enemy and rejoined us on the right flank. Twice more the enemy charged down, at full galop (gallop) on the front, left and rear of our square, once on the left getting almost up to the muzzles of the guns; each time they were repulsed and fell back helter skelter in confusion. Suddenly forming into one mass they came down some 800 strong at least at right angles to our front and a little to our right, obviously with the intention of wheeling in and charging our right where the broken Cavalry had taken refuge and where we consequently neither had nor could use Infantry or guns. This was also a trying moment but Sergeant Edmonds running our 12-pounder carronade outside the front face of our square, wheeled it round to the right and gave them one steady coolly aimed round of grape at 200 yards. The effect was miraculous, they turned and fled in utter confusion and the battle was virtually ended (after a severe struggle that lasted 3½ hours) at 11.30 A. M. A gun was then turned in the direction where Mr. Doyle lay and to whose corpse Cavalry was again approaching. Lieutenant Forbes returned with the baggage and advancing, we recovered his body, which the enemy had never had time to loot; we collected our killed and wounded and formed into line once more. The enemy had disappeared. We received apparently trustworthy intelligence that a body of 2000 Infantry were advancing to attack us. The men were tired and parched with thirst and dust and we conceived it best to advance the remaining mile to Hurchandpoor, where we knew we could well defend ourselves to rest and feed the men, and ascertain the truth of the report in regard to the Infantry. As we advanced, a considerable body of the enemy suddenly appeared in the rear charging down on us at a hand a gallop; we let them come to within 250 yards and then unlimbering one of

the guns and making the Infantry right about face, gave them at about 150 yards a reception that entirely broke them. Many were killed and wounded and the whole body turned and fled. We saw no more of them. Throughout the fight the 28th N. I. did nothing beyond firing into the Local Horse when they advanced under Mr. Doyle and a few round shot broke and dispersed them.

BRITISH LOSSES IN HARCHANDPUR BATTLE

8*th*—Thus ended a fight in which the Etawah Infantry and Artillery Levies displayed a steadiness and courage unsurpassed I believe by any Hindostanee troops in the annals of Indian warfare. We lost heavily; besides Mr. Doyle we had 21 killed 19 wounded. One of the best and bravest men I have ever been acquainted with, Mr. Doyle died as befitted a soldier's son, (so true a soldier himself), fearlessly leading his men (and victorious so long as he was there to lead), again overpowering number of his country's enemies, and if anything can lessen the regret that we feel for his loss, it is the consciousness that he fell so gloriously and in such a hard fought fight. I feel sure that a generous Govt. will amply provide for his helpless widow and orphans.

The enemies' loss was considerable. At first knowing of only 21 bodies, we thought their loss confined to that number but from enquiry at the villages where they pressed labourers to carry their wounded, where they burnt and buried their dead and from the statements of the prisoner who appears to be dying and who has given the fullest circumstantial details, it appears that they lost two leaders, Morad Allee Khan alias the *Nazim*, and a Mahomedan *Ressaldar* (name unknown) buried at Oncha, *pergh.* (*pargana*) Puhpoondh and 55 to 58 others, killed, that a third leader Goulab Shah lost his right hand, that 25 men were carried away in *doolies* and on *charpoys* badly wounded, besides a great number, not so severely wounded as to prevent their riding. We have captured, several carbines, some muskets and altogether about 50 horses and we have recovered a considerable number of the horses of our men who were killed. There is no doubt that but for the report of the supposed Infantry advancing on us which chiefly deterred us from the pursuit we should have killed many more and obtained many more horses.

10*th*—By 10 A. M. the next morning (the 9th) we had ascertained that there was no Infantry in our rear as far as Beylah[1] and were just starting in pursuit as we heard that the rebels were still at Puhpoondh when we heard a force had arrived at Schar. This delayed us nearly two hours, but being joined at last by Lieutenants Thainer and Franks with 104 Horse, being a party sent out from Brigadier the Hon'ble Percy Herbert's Column to obtain information, we pressed on to Puhpoondh sending all the information we had to the Brigadier. We reached Puhpoondh (. . . miles) after dark, but found that, news of the Herbert's Column had reached them at the same time as ourselves and that the rebels had fled. The Cawnpoor Column as we subsequently learned had reached Oreyah and shut them out from the Sheregurh Ghat.

11*th*—At 5 A. M. of the 10th we pushed on to Ajeetmul (10 miles) where we learned that Brigadier Herbert having made a rapid move from Oreyah to Shahjoonpoor[2] had succeeded in coming up with some stragglers of the enemy, killing 12, causing 21 to be drowned and capturing over 200 horses, 8 camels excluding numbers of horses and some camels that stuck in the quicksands and were killed. Having communicated with the Brigadier and news having arrived towards the evening that the enemy who were now between the Jumna and the Chambul were marching on Chukkernugger with the intention of making up the customs line and sending a party across at Dibhowlee to plunder Lukna, we sent an express to Lieutenant Allen directing him to march with 2 Companies of the levies to Gotal[3] between the 2 rivers, so as to arrest their progress west while we marched for Lukna (16 miles) which we reached before daylight on the 11th. The Brigadier followed rapidly in support and soon after his arrival at Lukna, the Etawah force marched (at 2½ P. M.)to Suhson[4] 10 miles crossing the Jumna and Chambul, he sending in support a considerable force of Cavalry as far as Chukkernugger. Beyond Suhson one of the enemy's disabled men was captured, but the rest were we found out

[1] Spelt for *Bela* (now *Bidhuna*).
[2] Apparently spelt for '*Shahjahanpur*'.
[3] Not clearly decipherable.
[4] *Sahson*, Tahsil *Bharthana*, District *Etawah*—This village lies in the extreme south of the tahsil in 26° 33′ N. and 79° 6′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etawah, Vol. VI, 1911, p. 224).

of reach indeed, they made (for) Mahona in Gwalior 20 miles from Suhson by evening by the same time we reached Suhson.

12*th*—It is impossible to overrate the effect produced by Brigadier Herbert's most energetic and judicious pursuit. The fugitives besides the actual loss they sustained are entirely dispirited and numbers have already separated themselves from the leaders. My humble but earnest thanks are due to him for the effectual and cordial assistance which he so promptly came forward to render to my district at a time of great need and could I but have known of his approach 24 hours sooner I scarcely think one rebel would have escaped.

13*th*—On the 11th Brigadier Showers by forced marches (having made 75 miles in 40 hours, an unexampled march with Europeans) reached Etawah, ready as he has ever proved himself to succour us when necessary and I hope I may be allowed to express how warmly I feel the generous aid which he on this and on former occasions so promptly tendered.

14*th*—Row Jeswant Row (Rao Jaswant Rao) and Moonshee Ishree Pershad were as usual present in the fight well to the front and in the pursuit making themselves useful as no one else can.[1]

* * *

Copy of Letter from Parker to A. Hume, Collector, Etawah.

I have heard a melancholy tale to-day of sundries, *Bhagees* (*Baghis*) having entered the Doab and having had an engagement with your little force near Harchundpoor from which I understand that you being the weakest party had to bolt. It was a *Chapprassee* of the Railway who brought it, and I was induced to believe him inasmuch as he brought me two horses one of which had a saddle very like Doyle's Cavalry saddle and one with a housing of black edged with red which is also perhaps one of Doyle's; one is a grey and the other a cream nondescript. I have sent the man to Cawnpoor with these horses being the nearest station. He says that he met Angelo with his Punjaubees at Khumylah 8 miles from here on the track of *Bhagee*.

If this is true and that you have escaped unhurt as I trust sincerely that you have, allow me to congratulate you on that account. I hope Mrs. Hume was not with you.

[1] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 11–XVI-8.

I was at a place only 2 days ago only 2 miles from Kundown with Purser and Collet who went on towards Etawah and only arrived in Bhooneh[1] this morning and find myself alone in the world for Bailey and Middleton have gone towards Cawnpoor.

The Devil take the C-in-C, what are his arrangements that he lets the brutes get into the Doab again which was getting quite safe. I hope they won't stay long here as I don't feel quite easy having only 4 sepoys armed with matchlocks for my army. I don't like to bolt as I don't yet know for certain which way the *Bhagees* have gone but I strongly suspect, away from me. So much for the "amnesty".

I hope Mac. is all right. I should be very unhappy if anything happened to either of you....[2]

* * *

Copy of a Message from Goodall, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, and to G. Harvey, dated 10th December 1858.

The following received by Captain Eckford this morning from Adjutant Graham : 'Etawah dated 6 P. M. 9th Decr. Do you think you can spare us a few sowars ? Hume and party are at Hurchundpore (Harchandpur) shut up I believe in the fort there, I tried to open communication but failed, the enemies' piquets being all round. The main body of the enemy were yesterday at Kuttra near Beylah reported to be two thousand strong with six guns. This party with whom Hume and Forbes fought were only the advance party; they are splendidly mounted and number about one thousand eight hundred. Doyle fell nobly. There was a long fight for his body but we got it at last. *The Nana is with the rear party. Feroze Shah was present in yesterday's fight. Our loss yesterday was heavy.* The force engaged consisted of two hundred E.[3] Levies, one hundred and twenty Etawah Horse, 50 Artillerymen and four guns These were charged five times, our baggage twice taken and retaken. For Mr. Harvey, with reference to above, Captain Eckford wishes to know whether he may go out to Etawah with all his available Cavalry

[1] Spelt as '*Bhoonah*' in other documents. (See p. 830).
[2] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 11–XVI-8.
[3] Abbreviated, perhaps, for 'Etawah'.

and join Brigadier Showers' Column, Lieutenants Bramely and Stone are with Mr. Bolders with three troops.[1]

* * *

Copy of Letter No. 110 *from Allan Hume, Magistrate, Etawah, to the Commissioner, dated Etawah,* 14*th December* 1858.

In enclosing copies of Captain Forbes' and my own reports in regard to the operations of the past week against Feeroz Shah's force and *more especially the battle of Harchandpoor* I have the honour to state that one thousand Rs. of the missing treasure has (have) already as I forsaw (foresaw) been recovered and that I have still hopes of recovering the greater portion of the rest if not the whole.

I think it only due to that officer to state that during my absence Mr. G. B. Pasley displayed much activity in arranging for the defence of Etawah (which it was at one time apprehended might be attacked), in which he was materially assisted by Mr. Shaw, my Head-clerk.[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES REACH PHAPHUND AFTER BATTLE OF HARCHANDPUR

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Showers, Shakoabad (Shikohabad), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 10*th Dec.* 1858.

Mr. Hume has had his fight near Hurchundpore and appears to have kept his grounds. After the enemy moved off he went into the *Gurhee* at that place and there he was yesterday. The rebels, Mr. Paisley reports were at Puhphund (Phaphund) and had thrown out picquets towards Hurchundpore. The *Thanadar* here states the rebels are collecting at Sherghur to cross. I arrived here this morning and move on to Etawah during the night. The place appears to have been unmolested.[3]

* * *

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 11–XVI-8.
[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Copy of Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 11*th December* 1858.

Intelligence has been received from Lucknow regarding the party of rebels which lately entered the Dooab. They are fugitives from the fight at Biswa[1] and are stated to muster 900 Horse, 300 Foot, with 1 small gun, some elephants and several women.

Their leaders are Feroze Shah, Lukur Shah, Goolab Shah alias Peer Jee, Mohsun Alee Khan of Shumshabad who wears the European dress, Moulavee Fuzul Huk (Maulvi Fazal Haq) of Delhi, Summund Khan of Jujjur[2] and others.

On the 8th instant they were encountered by Mr. Hume with local levies only near Hurchundpoor and after a severe fight of three hours and a half in which Mr. Doyle was killed the enemy appear to have retired towards Papoond (Phaphund) where they were last heard of, on their way it is supposed to Sherghurh Ghat. Brigadier Showers with his force will be at Etawah today.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, to W. Muir, dated 11*th December* 1858.

Brigadier Showers telegraphed from Shekoabad (Shikohabad) last evening. Hume safe in fort at Hurchundpoor, enemy at Pappoond (Phaphund), Etawah unmolested. The Brigadier will be at Etawah this morning. Precise intelligence respecting the rebels received from Lucknow, and communicated to the Brigadier, and to Gwalior.[4]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from H. B. Goodall, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade and G. F. Harvey, Agra, dated 10*th December* 1858.

The following from Mr. Farley[5] dated Etawah 9th

[1] *Biswan* is in *Sitapur* District.
[2] Spelt for *Jhajjhar* in *Bulandshahr* District.
[3] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Appears wrongly received for 'Pasley'.

received this morning. Mr. Hume, after the severe action yesterday at Hurchundpore, retired into the fort at that place, and by latest accounts was entrenching himself there, the enemy going on to Phuppoond, where they still are reported to be. The enemy have piquets thrown out towards Hurchundpore. Mr. Hume has only a very small force with him. Bhoona is only thirty-one miles north-east of Hurchundpore, and should the enemy's force which are besieging Bhoona, move up to the support of the party with whom the action was fought yesterday and who are now at Phuppoond, Mr. Hume's position will be critical.[1]

* * *

Copy of Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, to General Napier, Major Macpherson, dated 11th December 1858.

We have precise intelligence from Lucknow of the party who have crossed into the Dooab. Their strength is nine hundred Horse, three hundred Foot, one small gun, some elephants, and several women. Leaders Feroze Shah, Lukurshah and Mohsun Alee Khan who dresses as a European. Their object is to cross the Jumna, and to reach Ruttunpore (*sic*,-Ranthambor) north of Kota in the Jeypoor territory. By last account they were at Pappoond (Phaphund) in the Etawah District making for Sheregurh Ghat.[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated 17th December 1858.

The rebels under the leaders whose names are given below, came upon Mr. Hume, the Magistrate of the Etawah District, whilst on his circuit in the neighbourhood of Belah, on Tuesday last. The firing was distinctly heard at this place. Mr. Hume was forced to retire upon Hurchandpoor where he threw himself into a small fort, but this movement was not effected without considerable loss, correct particulars of which

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (See p. 810 also wherein 'Ranthambor' is mentioned for 'Ruttunpore')

have not as yet reached us : it is feared, however, that some of our guns were taken. The rebels leaving a sufficient number of men to watch the fort at Hurchandpoor, then proceeded south, south-east, to a place called Phuppound (Phaphund), whence it is believed to be their intention to make arrangements for crossing the Jumna at the Sherghur Ghat on the Jalloun (Jalaun) or Jhansi road. Their movements, however, were watched, and their arrangements likely to be interfered with,....[1]

ENCOUNTER WITH KANPUR FORCE

Telegraphic Message from Bolders, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to G. Harvey, Agra, dated 11th December 1858.

I hear from Etawah to-day that Mr. Hume has left the fort at Hurchundpore in pursuit of the enemy with whom the Cawnpore force have had an encounter. It is said that the rebels have been prevented crossing the Jumna.[2]

ANOTHER ENCOUNTER WITH HUME'S FORCES

Service Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government of India with the Governor General, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 12th December 1858.

The rebel leaders who crossed the Ganges were Feroze Shah, Lukur Shah, Golab Shah alias Peerjee, Mohsin Alee Khan, who posses (poses) himself as a European, and Moulvie Fuzul-Huck (Fazal Haq)....[3]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated 16th December 1858.

The Rebellion—The rebels have made one more movement *evincing great audacity*. The portion of them under Feroze Shah,

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette,* December 17, 1858, p. 588; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette,* Dec. 11). National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Ibid.*

Prince of Dehli, having united with the scattered remnants of the defeated forces of the Oude chiefs have crossed the Ganges, and spread confusion in districts sometime before freed of insurgents. Etawah was besieged by them, and communication for some days,[1] along the Grand Trunk Road and the telegraph was stopped for a few days. The former town has been relieved, and the communications have been reopened.

A subsequent message states—

"The rebel leaders who crossed the Ganges were Feroze Shah, alias Peer Jee[2], Morad Alee Khan who passes (poses) himself as a European, and Moulve Fuzzul Huck (Maulvi Fazal Haq). Brigadier Herbert reports from the bank of the Jumna near Jaleeke[3], noon December 10th, that he had marched from Ooryah (Auraiya), fifteen miles on the Etawah road to the Jumna, that the enemy about fifteen hundred were on the opposite bank, that Lieutenant Angelo with a patrol had taken a small gun from them, and that Feroze Shah who commanded was making for Tantia Topee. The Brigadier adds that he would have lost all[4] his horses in the quicksand or would have crossed, that he had taken thirty camels, one hundred fifty horses and ponies, a good many arms, and property abandoned on the banks. From another source we hear that Captain Hume had engaged the rebels for three and half hours with 200 men of 80th Regiment, the particulars of which were not known.[5]

REVOLUTIONARIES LEAVE CHAKARNAGAR

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Showers, Mynpooree (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, G. Harvey, Col. Abbot, Major-Genl. Bradford, and Brigadier McCausland, Agra, Meerut, Futtehgurh (Fatehgarh), dated 11th Dec. 1858.

I arrived here this morning about eight A. M. The rebels

[1] 'For some days' appears superfluous.
[2] This should have been 'Gulab Shah alias Peerji'.
[3] Spelt as *Jaleeka* elsewhere. (See pp. 792, 809, 834).
[4] In the 'Original Telegram' available in the Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow, word 'half' is given in place of 'all'.
[5] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 16th December 1858, p. 395. National Library, Calcutta. *cf.* Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858: 'Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government of India with the Governor General to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 12th December 1858.' Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

were at Chukernugger at 6 A. M. yesterday. This morning they crossed at Palee to Piprowlee; they have escaped us. Brigadier Herbert was at Orayeh[1] yesterday. He proposed crossing the Jumna and Chumbal after them. The rebels consist of about fourteen hundred men chiefly Cavalry; some arrived with carbines; no guns; the report here is they have forty elephants. This (is) doubtful.

N. B.—Recd. by sowars, from Rutwonapoora[2] to Owkie[2].[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, to W. Muir, dated 12th December 1858.

Brigadier Showers reports from Etawah: the rebels who had got over the Jumna into Chukurnuggur on the 10th crossed the Chumbul at Palee to Piplolee[4] on the morning of the 11th. Brigadier Herbert was at Orya[5] on the 10th and proposed to cross in pursuit.[6]

* * *

Copy of Telegram from E. A. Reade to R. Napier, Major Macpherson, dated 12th December 1858.

Brigadier Showers reports the rebels having crossed the Chumbul at Palee to Piplolee on the morning of 11th. Brigadier Herbert was at Oreya (Auraiya) on the 10th, and proposed crossing the Jumna in pursuit. Brigadier Showers estimates the number to be fourteen hundred. No guns.[7]

* * *

[1] Name not clearly decipherable. Apparently it is *Auraiya*.
[2] Names appear wrongly received for some other names.
[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[4] Spelt as '*Piproulee*' in the previous document.
[5] Probably spelt for *Auraiya*.
[6] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[7] *Ibid.*

Telegraphic Message from Bolders, Mynpooree (Mainpuri), to G. Harvey, Agra, dated 12th December 1858.

Report from Etawah that the rebels crossed the Jumna at the Joheek[1] Ghat, from thence to Chukurnuggur crossed the Chumbul Peeprowllee (Piprauli) Ghat. Hume and Forbes followed them up, as also Colonel Herbert's force.[2]

DEATH OF MAULVI FAZAL HAQ

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier Showers, Mynpooree (Mainpuri), to Genl. Bradford, Meerut; E. A. Reade, Agra; G. Harvey and Col. Abbott; dated 12th December 1858.

I arrived here yesterday morning. Etawah is safe. It has not been attacked. The rebels were at Sundowh on the night of the 10th. Native reports state they give out, they are going to Koonch[3]. Sir R. Napier's detachments may drive them back to the Chumbul and oblige them to fly by the banks of that river. I will move to-morrow in Bah Panipath[4] *Purgunnah* to watch the north bank. A rebel of high rank called the Moulvie was killed in the action of the 8th. This must be Fuzl Huq. Penny's (or Remy's) 4th Seikhs arrived this morning. I have recommended the *Jazailchees* not to come till I communicate again.[5]

* * *

Copy of Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, to G. F. Edmonstone and W. Muir, dated 13th December 1858.

The rebels with Feroze Shah have started for Koonch. They are watched by Captain McMahon with his party. General Napier was to leave Gwalior for Duttea (Datia)[6]

[1] It may have been received for *Johekha Ghat.* (See p. 832, F. N. 3, also).

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Konch* in *Jalaun* District.

[4] Appears to have been wrongly received for *Bahpinahat.* (p. 835).

[5] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[6] Erstwhile Princely State in Bundelkhand, now merged in Madhya Pradesh.

day to intercept them. Brigadier Showers has left awah to return through the Bah-Pinnahut[1] *Pergunneh*, watching the Chumbul should the rebels double back. Mr. Hume is with Brigadier Herbert. In the fight of the 8th instant, a leader was killed supposed to be Moulavee Fazul Huk of Delhi.[2]

FIROZ SHAH'S ENCOUNTER WITH NAPIER'S FORCE

Telegraphic Message from Major Macpherson, Gwalior, to G. F. Edmonstone, E. A. Reade, R. Hamilton and Officer Commanding of Lucknow, Allahabad, Agra, Indore, dated 18th December 1858.

On the 17th of Decr. Sir R. Napier's force beat and pursued with slaughter for eight miles the rebels under Feroz Shah. Captain Meed 14th Dragoons captured 6 elephants : Captain Pretty John fourteen (14th) Dragoons wounded in leg and 8 or 10 men wounded, none killed.[3]

MEASURES AGAINST VILLAGERS WHO HELPED RUP SINGH

Copy of Letter No. 37 from Major S. C. Macpherson, Political Agent, Gwalior, to Brigadier-General Shakespear, Agent, Governor General, Central India, dated Phool Bagh, 10th May 1859.

I had the honour to receive from Sir Robt. (Robert) Hamilton, Bart. (Baronet) with his letter No. 677 of the 12th of March, received on 20th March, copy of Mr. Simson's letter No. 607 of Jany : with encls. conveying the orders of His Excellency the Governor General to me to make a representation to the Gwalior *Durbar* with a view to obtaining its consent to a suggestion by the Magistrate of Etawah that he should have authority in effect to punish at his discretion certain villages of

[1] *Bah*, Tahsil *Bah*, District *Agra*—The capital of the south-eastern tahsil is a small town lying in 26° 52′ N. and 78° 35′ E., on the road from Agra to Etawah, at a distance of 45 miles south-east of Agra and six miles from Batesar. (*District Gazetteers*, Agra, Vol. VIII, 1905, p. 227).

[2] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858 to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

the ravines of the Chumbul and Koaree in Gwalior which had harboured or abetted Roop Singh and other rebel plunderers mostly natives of Etawah.

2*nd*—The *Durbar* replied to my representation, that they had as I knew long desired anxiously to bring to account and order the border district in question, and that they had considered it the first work to be done when their new levies should be fit for service, their intention being then to solicit, as indispensable to success, the co-operation of the British authorities.

3*rd*—The *Durbar*, as His Excellency may understand felt extreme natural reluctance to any precedent for the entrance into their territory of our Magistrates with authority to punish villages at discretion.

4*th*—But they begged me to submit to His Excellency the assurance that, from the usages of the Rajpoot tribe to which the offending villages, indicated by the Magistrate, and other offending villages, belonged, and from Rajah Roop Singh's family connection with them and from their actual position under the *Durbar*, a blow struck by the Magistrate unaccompanied by arrangements by the *Durbar* and without the discrimination possible, from its knowledge, to the *Durbar* alone, would not advance and might seriously retard His Excellency's objects which, if the Etawah authorities and the *Durbar* should co-operate it would be able signally to vindicate its authority making the future clear.

5*th*—While that was the strong and, I believe, correct view of the *Durbar*, Roop Singh, whose attack the Magistrate had apprehended, had crossed the Gwalior Territory to join Maun Singh, and I had moreover sent, at the *Durbar's* request on the 10th of November a strong detachment of European and *Durbar* troops towards the quarter in question, so that when I received Sir Robert's letter on the 20th of March, the situation described by the Magistrate on the 5th of November had very materially changed. Under these circumstances I thought that I might best do the part directed by His Excellency by urging Scindia to press on the preparation of his new levies for despatch to the border in question. Of them, I beg to say that 500 Infantry and 200 Cavalry with 3 or 4 rough old iron guns have marched.

6*th*—The *Durbar* pray the Etawah authorities may now, or as soon as convenient, be authorized to co-operate with as large a portion as may be available of the Etawah Levies; they

hope with at least 300 men and two Camel Howitzers, invaluable for ravine warfare, to bring the offending villages of the Bhind District to account. The *Dewan* will himself join the expedition if His Excellency should concede this request. The course to be taken against the villages, should the *Durbar* submit and as seems in my mind necessary, be in exact accord with (the) advice of the *Dewan*, acting in communication with the Magte. of Etawah. From the concerted action proposed, a full settlement will I trust be effected.[1]

* * *

Copy of Letter No. 1284 *from Brigadier-General R. Shakespear, Agent, Governor General, for Central India, to Major S. C. Macpherson, Political Agent at Gwalior, dated Indore Residency,* 18*th May* 1859.

In reply to your letter No. 37 of date 10th instant, I have the honor to forward copy of my letter No. 1285, of this date, to the Secretary to the Government, N. W. Provinces, from which you will see that, I deprecate the employment of the Etawah Levies in any operation undertaken by *Durbar* troops, unless the latter are supported by European troops from Gwalior.

2*nd*—I can understand that it may be desirable, and even necessary for the Gwalior *Durbar* to move (500) Infantry and (200) Cavalry and (4) old guns to support the *Amil* of Bhind, their presence would greatly strengthen the *Dewan's* efforts to separate Thakoors from Roop Singh, and vigilance on the part of the Etawah Levies on their side of the river would have a great effect, but an attack by the *Durbar* troops alone from Bhind will only lead to a disaster which would make Scindia weaker than at present.

3*rd*—I beg you will with as little delay as possible, supply me with information on following points—

(i) The European and other troops which marched from Gwalior on 10th November 1858, where did they go ? what operations were they engaged in ? and have they returned to Morar ?

(ii) Roop Singh who is he ? and what were his possessions in 1857, and in 1856 ? and does he still

[1] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 17-XVI-9, 1859.

enjoy them ? Are his crimes such as to preclude forgiveness ? If so, does the *Durbar* propose to set him aside in favour of some other representative of his family ? and if so, are they prepared to continue the Estate entire to the latter.

(iii) The Thakoors who are, or have been, acting with Roop Singh I beg you will call on the *Durbar* for detailed list showing their names and possessions in 1857, 1856, and at present; with remarks as to the arrangements the *Durbar* proposes to make with each. I beg you will express to the *Durbar* my opinion that it is sound policy to separate these men from Roop Singh, and as quickly as possible.

4*th*—I beg to draw your attention to the fact of Sir Robert Hamilton's letter which is acknowledged by you on 10th May, having reached you on 20th March we have unavoidably been unable to reply promptly owing to the great mass of business, but I hope we shall in future be able to remedy this.[1]

* * *

Copy of Letter No. 1285 *from Brigadier-General R. Shakespear, Agent, Governor General, for Central India, to G. E. W. Couper, Secretary to the Government of N. W. P., Allahabad, dated Indore Residency,* 18*th May* 1859.

I have the honor to forward copy of a letter No. 37 dated 10th instant, from the Political Agent Gwalior, reporting that the *Durbar* proposes to co-operate with the Etawah authorities in punishing the villages on the Chumbul and Kooari rivers, which have harboured and abetted Roop Singh and other rebel plunderers, mostly natives of Etawah.

2*nd*—I agree with the views of the *Durbar* and Political Agent as expressed in Para 4 of enclosed letter. Punishment inflicted by the Magistrate of Etawah on Gwalior villages, would only complicate matters.

3*rd*—The *Durbar* has sent 500 Infantry, and 200 Cavalry with some old guns, and begs that the Etawah authorities may

[1] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 17–XVI-9, 1859.

co-operate with as large a force of the levies as may be available; it is hoped that the force may not be less than 300 men and two Camel Howitzers.

4*th*—The Dewan Dinkur Rao is to go in person, he is a man of high ability and as far back as 1846, I know him to have been intimately acquainted with the people and country on the Chumbul. No better person could possibly be selected, the *Durbar* force is inadequate to oppose the rebels if as strong as when the (Magistrate) of Etawah wrote to your office on 5th November last. I conclude that the strong detachment of European troops moved by Major Macpherson on 10th Novr. as detailed in his 4th Para is still employed there, and will act in the contemplated combination. Without them I would not recommend the measure, for the country is to my personal knowledge very strong, and the *Durbar* troops will not face the people of that country in their own ravines. Scindia's troops when organized and efficient, could not do it, unless supported by strong Artillery.

5*th*—If the excessive heat renders it impossible to move Europeans now to aid in the operation, I would strongly advise that no troops in British employ be engaged from the Etawah District on the Gwalior side of the Chumbul for I am certain that the *Durbar's* new levies will not stand, and we shall share in the odium of failure. But I would strongly advise that the Etawah authorities be ordered to prevent the passage of any armed parties, and that the Gwalior *Durbar* be told that until we can support their troops by a strong detachment from Morar, we cannot share in the operation by crossing Etawah Levies into Gwalior Territory.

6*th*—Dinkur Rao has such vast influence, that I confidently hope that the great progress made by our Government in recovering from our late disasters will enable him to separate most of the influential Thakoors from Roop Singh, but a doubtful engagement in which any troops in our employ shared, would be most prejudicial

7*th*—It is much to be regretted that the combined movement was not arranged when the detachment moved from Gwalior on 10th November, 1858. It appears that the Etawah troops acted on this side of the Chumbul on 31st October but there appears to have been no combination, and it is not clear whether the European detachment is still on the Chumbul or has returned to Gwalior.

8*th*—I have the honor to forward copy of my letter of this date to Major Macpherson.[1]

* * *

Copy of Letter No. 3178 *from R. Simson, Under-Secretary to the Government of India, to Major S. C. Macpherson, Political Agent, Gwalior, dated Fort William,* 30*th May* 1859.

In reply to your letter dated the 12th instant No. 12 forwarding copy of your letter to Sir Richmond Shakespear respecting the coercion of some revolted villages, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General-in-Council entirely approves of the course adopted by you in the matter.

2*nd*—The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces has been furnished with a copy of this correspondence in view to such co-operation with the *Durbar* troops on the part of the Etawah authorities as His Honor may deem advisable.[2]

DISARMING OF ETAWAH DISTRICT

Extracts from Office Letter No. 95 *to the Commissioner written by A. Hume, Magistrate, Etawah, dated* 15*th June* 1859.

AGRICULTURISTS' HOSTILITY AGAINST THE BRITISH

So long as that portion of the Gwalior Territory bordering on my distt. continues imperfectly under control, to disarm the tract of country referred to would be merely to place the inhabitants at the mercy of their savage neighbours and to offer a premium to dacoity and other crimes of violence. Even in the most peaceful times the labyrinthic ravines of the Sinde, the Koaree and the Chambal were the favourite and secure retreats of the most noted *professional dacoits and thugs. Now that the numbers of these have been swelled by all the most hardened and desperate survivors of the mutineers and rebels who for so long ravaged this and surrounding districts, and that even the ostensibly respectable agriculturists of the neighbourhood are in open rebellion against their own Government,* it would be in the highest degree

[1] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 17–XVI-9, 1859.
[2] *Ibid.*

impolitic and undesirable to deprive our ravine villages (the rampart of our more peaceful plainland *pergunnahs*) of their arms.

I am, under the orders of the Government, now planning with the *Durbar* and *Dewan*, an expedition, that is, to sweep the ill-affected portion of the Gwalior Territory and if possible establish there firmly the authority of H. H. the Maharajah. If this be successfully accomplished (which I doubt for it requires undivided and despotic authority, whereas I shall be fettered with the *Durbar's* etc.) matters will present a very different aspect.

So for that time A. O. Hume suggested the Etawah District should not be disarmed.[1]

RUP SINGH TRIES TO JOIN MAN SINGH

Extract from Letter No. 12 *sent by Major Macpherson, Political Agent, Gwalior, to Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department.*

Para 5—Roop Singh, whose attack the Magistrate has apprehended, has crossed the Gwalior Territory to join Maun Singh and I had moreover sent at the *Darbar's* request on the 10th of November a strong detachment of European and *Darbar* troops towards the quarter in question.[2]

ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE RUP SINGH FAILS

11*th*—This Collection contains detailed reports from the Magistrate of Etawah of the measures adopted for the capture of Roop Singh, a noted rebel leader, who had taken up his abode in the village of Manickpoor, near Baiswarraha on the Chumbul, by a party of the Police Levy, under the command of Lieutenant Forbes. The attempt failed in consequence of the sinking of a ferry boat, and *Roop Singh succeeded in making his escape.* His son, however, a child about eight years of age, and six servants, with all their property and arms, were secured. The Magistrate proposed to make over the child with the servants and property to Lalla Laikh (Liaq) Singh, of Hurchundpoor (Harchandpur), his great uncle, one of the most loyal and

[1] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 27, XVI-16, 1859.
[2] Etawah Collectorate Mutiny Basta, File No. 17, XVI-9, 1859.

upright *talookdars* in the district. Although the servants were rebels, no specific charge had been brought against them, and he therefore recommended their being pardoned under the terms of the amnesty, on the condition of their continuing to reside quietly at Hurchundpoor. With regard to Roop Singh himself, the Magistrate was of opinion that it was of importance to capture him; and suggested that he might be empowered to promise *him his life and freedom from personal indignity on condition of his surrender at once.*

12*th*—His Honor regretted that so well devised a scheme for the capture of Roop Singh should have been frustrated by a vexatious accident. Mr. Mayne's proposals in regard to the child and servants were approved, and His Honor had no objection to his offering Roop Singh terms. He was therefore authorized to inform that individual that his life would be spared, and that he would be subject to no penal imprisonment, on the distinct understanding, however, that this concession would not debar the Government from exercising over his movements such surveillance as might be thought necessary.[1]

CAPTURE OF NIRANJAN SINGH

News dated Wednesday, May 29, 1861.

The Delhi Gazette mentions the capture of Nurunjin (Niranjan) Singh of Etawah who assumed independent authority and seized the revenue of the district in 1857. Three servants were apprehended along with him by the Political Agent of Jeypore. The whole now await their trial in Etawah. Thus late these rebels are brought to justice. There is not one of the chief movers in the rebellion of 1857 who has not been satisfactorily accounted for except *Feroz Shah and probably Nana Sahib.*[2]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, 1853-1860, No. 3 of 1859; Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, in the Political Department, during the 3rd quarter of 1859, Collection No. 5, Political Proceedings: 5th August 1859, Nos. 31-33. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Friend of India*, May 30, 1861, p. 597. National Library, Calcutta.

MAINPURI

REVOLUTIONARIES LEAVE BEWAR

Telegraphic Message from Lieutenant Norman to the Chief of the Staff, dated Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), October 20, 1857.

The Moveable Column, now commanded by Brigadier Hope Grant, marched twenty-four miles into this place yesterday, and re-occupied it without opposition. The Rajah fled a few hours before our arrival, leaving behind him a good deal of property, a brass 6-pounder, several small native guns, and about 14,000 lbs. of gun-powder, together with 2,30,000 rupees, the treasure left here when the outbreak first took place. We march on Bewar[1] to-morrow, and if all goes well undertake to reach Cawnpore by the 28th instant. A body of mutineers with eight guns were reported *to have taken up position at Bewar.* But are now said to have fled. The Gwalior troops are believed to be making for Jhansi, and a large number of Delhi fugitive mutineers were at Meerumun Ka Serai[2], between this and Cawnpore, a few days ago, doubtful whether to march into Oude or to make for Banda, and that neighbourhood.[3]

RAJA OF MAINPURI ABSCONDS

Extracts from Letter from H. Fraser, the Chief Commissioner of North-West Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Agra Fort, October 31, 1857.

7*th* (*Para*), *October* 21—Brigadier Grant writes that he reached Mynpoorie on the morning of the 19th, that the town and fort were given up without opposition; that the Rajah had absconded, but the Rao remained, affirming that he had treasure which he would deliver over to Mr. Cocks in the evening. Three small guns, two of them were (–mere) playthings, were only found in the fort, which was in a dilapidated state. In a later letter of 20th, also received this day, it was mentioned that from 2,30,000 to 2,50,000 had been received from the Rao,

[1] *Bewar*, Pargana and Tahsil *Bewar*, District *Mainpuri*—This village, in 27° 14′ N. and 79° 21′ E., lies on the Grand Trunk Road at the point where it is crossed by the Etawah-Farrukhabad road, 17 miles east of Mainpuri. (*District Gazetteers*, Mainpuri, Vol. X, 1910, p. 191).

[2] Spelt for *Miran-ki-sarai.*

[3] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 87 in No. 1, pp. 40-41.

and that Colonel Grant finding a want of money in his camp, had resolved on taking it on to Cawnpore; this is unfortunate, for we shall ere two or three months feel the want of funds here, whilst it is believed that money could readily be supplied to Cawnpore from Calcutta. Mr. Bramley, C. S., also reports that on arrival at Allyghur on the 19th he found 30,000 rupees ready collected there for Government; the clouds begin to clear away, the rural population is not against us, and (a) very small additional force will, I anticipate, be sufficient to clear the Doab; and *Rohilcund, Oude, and Bundlecund remain the chief battle fields.* A letter of the 14th, addressed to the Chief Military or Civil Authority at Allyghur from Captain Gowan of the late 18th Native Infantry, has just been received, stating that he and several other Europeans, including women and children, are still in existence, and have hitherto been protected by landholders and cultivators in villages between Bareilly and Shajehanpore, and on the banks of the Ramgunga; that the Hindoo population, though timid, are generally in our favour; that a small body of troops to co-operate with them would speedily secure peace and order; and finally, that if he had funds, and if *perwannahs* were written by some Chief Military or Civil Authority to the effect that landholders and others could now best serve Government by escorting the various refugees to the right bank of the Ganges, he expected he could easily save his own life, and probably the lives of many other refugees. Troops unfortunately we have not to spare, money, though scarce, we have, and have therefore ordered the requisite *perwannah* to be written on the part of Government, but to be cautiously worded and cautiously sent. I have promised a reward of 10,000 rupees if the refugees are delivered up in safety at any of our nearest military posts; and if circumstances admit I may perhaps soon be able to send a military party towards Kutchla Ghaut...aid in the release of these unfortunates. Captain Gowan further states that there are only about 500 or 600 mutineer sepoys at Bareilly, but that immense numbers had gone away in the direction of Lucknow, and may probably give much trouble there, as they are aware of the rewards offered by Government for their capture.[1]

[1] Further Papers (No. 7, in continuation of No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure I in No. 9, p. 191.

BRITISH EXPECT TEJ SINGH TO MAKE A STAND AT MAINPURI

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Malawan[1], *December* 25, 1857.

I had the honour yesterday, and again this morning, to forward to your address a dispatch, giving for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, a brief summary of my proceedings since I left Delhi in command of this Column. I have now the honour to acquaint you that I shall be at Mynpoorie on the 27th (December 1857), where I hope to meet with and destroy the forces of Rajah Tej Sing. In concurrence with the opinion I expressed to the Chief Commissioner, Colonel H. Fraser, he advises me to leave behind at Allygurh (Aligarh) all the grain and flour etc., except a portion of the grain my convoy contains. I therefore propose to bring on the spare camels and elephants, the tents, quilts, blankets, *doolies*, dooly-bearers, barrack and hospital establishments, and all such things, as are required by European troops, recently arrived in the country, and when marching, I propose, and have ordered, the grain, flour, etc. to be stored at Allygurh, but in the carts ready to be sent on whenever necessary. The hackeries are, in number, 3,288; and it seems to me an absurdity to encumber the march of the army by such a tail as this, which, in single file, would stretch nineteen miles : of these carts, 694 are unladen; if, therefore, any empty carts are required for His Excellency's camp, I beg to be favoured with your instructions. I hope the convoy will start from Allygurh on the 27th, and join me at Mynpoorie on the 2nd January. If I hear of His Excellency's approach to Futtehgurh, I shall bring the convoy on direct, or otherwise, as I may receive instructions. I hear that Tej Sing is sending his baggage beyond the Jumna. *He may, possibly, make a stand at Mynpoorie;* if he does, I shall endeavour, then, to stop the bridges over the canal, *and do my best to catch him;* but I shall gain more correct information to-morrow, at Kurrowlie (Kuraoli).

TEJ SINGH ALERT AT MAINPURI

Kurrowlie, December 26, 1857—The Rajah Tej Sing is still

[1] Apparently *Mallanwan*.

at Mynpoorie, *and will, probably, make a stand;* but I hear he has sent off all his baggage and valuables across the Jumna to his wife's relations. The *zemindar* of this place, Lutchmun Sing, is most friendly to the British Government, and has behaved throughout this insurrection remarkably well.[1]

RAJA TEJ SINGH ENGAGED AT MAINPURI

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi Field Force, dated Camp Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), December 28, 1857.

TEJ SINGH PREPARES FOR A BATTLE

I have the honour to report for the information of Major-General N. Penny, C. B., commanding at Delhi, that I marched yesterday morning from Kurrowlee (Kuraoli) for the purpose of attacking Rajah Tej Singh, *who had collected a large body of armed men and six guns, at Mynpoorie.*

From information brought by my spies, I learned that the insurgents had erected a field work, and had taken post in some gardens outside the cantonments, where there was a Hindoo temple. Therefore, on reaching Kurreem Gunge (Karimganj)[2], I left the main road and struck into a cross one that would take me over the Eessum *nullah*[3] by an easy ford, and put me on the flank of the enemy. On reaching the enemy's position, they opened on my advanced parties from four guns. I sent the Light Artillery forward, supported by Cavalry, to engage the enemy, whilst I brought up the Infantry and heavy guns; but a few discharges from Captain Bishop's guns broke the insurgents, and they fled in every direction, pursued by the Cavalry. They had expected me to advance along the metalled road, down which they had pointed an 8-inch howitzer, so that when I came upon them from a different direction they were, like all irregular troops, completely bewildered, were thrown into confusion on the guns opening on them and at once

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 40 in No. 1, p. 26.

[2] *Karimganj*, Pargana *Kuraoli*, Tahsil *Mainpuri*, District *Mainpuri*—This village, in 27° 19′ N. and 79° 8′ E., lies six miles from Mainpuri on the Etah road. (*District Gazetteers*, Mainpuri, Vol. X, 1910, p. 216).

[3] Esan Nadi.

broke and fled. I sent the Cavalry in pursuit and they destroyed about 250 of the fugitives.

TEJ SINGH'S PALACE OCCUPIED BY BRITISH

Six guns were captured, as per return annexed (omitted here). I had not a man killed, and am happy to say but few wounded. As soon as the enemy fled, I marched direct upon the Rajah's palace with the heavy guns and Infantry; there was not a soul in it, and I took possession at once.

My thanks are due to the troops for the great zeal and alacrity they showed on this, as, indeed, on every occasion, and to my staff I am particularly indebted for their untiring endeavours to aid me. The only troops under fire were the Artillery and Cavalry, and I consider that the very utmost was done that the enemy's precipitate flight permitted.

Captain Hodson, who made a circuit of some fifteen miles, and got ahead of all the fugitives, assures me that none escaped in a body.

Lieutenant Hennessy, who accompanies my Camp with some fifty Jat Horse, also pursued the enemy, and did excellent service.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES LOSE MAINPURI

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton, Commanding Moveable Column, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), December 28, 1857.

I have the honour to report for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that I reached this place yesterday, and found Rajah Tej Singh's force posted outside the cantonments. I attacked him at once, routed them, took six guns, and killed about 250 of his rabble. I took possession of the town at once, which I found nearly deserted. I had only two men wounded.

Since I left Delhi, this little force of 1959 men has captured 22 guns and killed 1400 insurgents. I shall remain here until the 31st, and, on that morning, march for Bhowgong (Bhongaon) to cover the march of the convoy, and be on the main road ready to communicate with His Excellency's camp. I have

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 15 in No. 3, pp. 81-82.

sent six letters to your address, but have not as yet received any reply. I shall await His Excellency's orders, and be prepared to move with the convoy the moment I hear of His Excellency's approach. The guns I captured at Gungeera (Gangiri), and Puteella (Patiali), I sent in to Allyghur. Nine of them are of our own manufacture. Of the guns captured yesterday, one is a fine new pattern 8-inch howitzer, and was the fitting-gun of the carriage manufactory at Futteghur. Rajah Tej Singh fled to Bhowgong yesterday with only 16 Horsemen.[1]

TEJ SINGH'S FLIGHT TOWARDS BHONGAON

...The rebels from Furruckabad are supposed to have fled towards Lucknow. Some might have found their way towards Rohilkhund. Colonel Seaton's Column captured Mynpooree (Mainpuri) on the 27th ultimo.... The Rajah of Mynpooree, Tej Singh, who headed the rebels, fled towards Bhowgong whither he was to have been pursued by Colonel Seaton before joining the Commander-in-Chief's force...[2]

TEJ SINGH'S ESTATE CONFISCATED

News dated Monday, the 11th January 1858.

A proclamation in the Gazette declares Tej Sing of Mynpoorie a rebel and his estates forfeit.[3]

RAJA OF MAINPURI AND NAWAB OF FATEHGARH ARRIVE AT LUCKNOW

A letter from Alumbagh dated the 6th instant states that *the Rajah of Mynpoorie and the Nawab of Futtehghur have arrived with their troops at Lucknow, where there is a great concentration of the rebels.* The city is said to have been strongly fortified since we left it....[4]

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 13 in No. 1, p. 9.
[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, January 14, 1858, p. 11. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[4] *The Dacca News*, January 23, 1858, p. 45. National Library, Calcutta.

MAINPURI CONTINUES DISTURBED

This district is becoming more tranquil though a spirit of disaffection still exists in some places; the chief local insurgent one "Gungta" has been driven from his stronghold in the Beebamow *pergunnah*.[1]

REWARD FOR APPREHENSION OF GANGA SINGH

This district is tranquil. The notorious dacoit Ganga Sing who as noticed above has been concerned in the attack on Bah Pinahut is held in great dread in this district. The Commissioner therefore proposes a reward of Rupees 5000 for his apprehension. The 3rd European Regiment (about 350 strong) with two field guns and 150 Horse moved to Bewur and thence to Etawah. The Column is under the command of Colonel Riddell.[2]

AHIRS ACTIVE IN MUSTAFABAD

This district is quiet, except in the neighbourhood of Mustafabad[3], where the Aheers, who have for many years, been notorious for turbulence, are causing some slight uneasiness. On the 12th, Colonel Riddell's detachment moved on to Etawah, and on the 14th, 300 Punjab Police arrived. On the 18th, some auxiliary Horse under Lieutenant Bramley left with 25,000 Rs. for General Penny's Camp at Etah.[4]

* * *

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Mainpuri for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] *Ibid.* Narrative of Events for Mainpuri for the week ending 13th March 1858.
[3] *Mustafabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Mustafabad*, District *Mainpuri*—This village, in 27° 19′ N. and 78° 39′ E., is about 34 miles west of Mainpuri and 17 miles north of Shikohabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Mainpuri, Vol. X, 1910, p. 238).
[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Mainpuri for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Narrative of Events for Mainpuri ending 28th March 1858.

With (the) exception of the pursuit of Ram Ruttun (Ram Ratan), this district has not been disturbed. The Ranee of Pharya has been openly aiding and sheltering Ram Ruttun; her house was therefore destroyed. *The Aheers about Mustufabad are still troublesome.*[1]

TEJ SINGH ON THE BANKS OF KALI NADI

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoory (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 9th April 1858.

A report just reached that Tej Sing with a force is on the banks of the Kalee Nuddee at Hunookheyauh[2] Ghat. I imagine he is endeavouring to effect his escape across this district It is said the Column under Brigadier Seaton came across the rebels on the other side of the Ganges and obtained a victory over them, hence this movement of Tej Sing; a party of sowars under Captain Eckford has gone from this to reconnoitre.[3]

KALI NADI CROSSED BY TEJ SINGH

Telegraphic Message from H. Vansittart, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade Agra, dated 10th April 1858.

Rajah Tej Singh (Tej Singh), of Mynpoorie (Mainpuri) has it is said crossed over the ferry of Kalee Nuddee on his way to the south; he has two hundred fifty Cavalry with him.[4]

TEJ SINGH ON WAY TO YAMUNA PAR

Telegraphic Message from Cocks to Muir, dated Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), April 10, 1858.

Ex-Rajah Tej Sing has escaped this district, and is on

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Mainpuri for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] Name incomprehensible.
[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow
[4] *Ibid.*

his way to Jumna Par[1]. Captain Eckford, with his sowars, rode twenty-five miles yesterday trying to catch him. He is said to have left all his baggage behind, and four followers have been seized, two of his sowars were drowned in the Kalee Nuddee. The report (native) is, that we made an attack from Futtyghur, on the rebels at Gunga Par[2], and took four guns, wounding Mussum Allie Khan[3]; but this requires confirmation.[4]

* * *

Extract from 'The Dacca News', dated April 24, 1858.

The Delhi Gazette has the following Postscript dated the 10th instant : By a Telegraph just received from Mynpooree, the ex-Rajah of Mynpooree Tej Singh, with a party of fugitive Horse, has escaped across the Mynpooree District. He was chased some 25 miles by Captain Eckford, lost his baggage and four of his followers have been seized. Two of his horses were drowned in the Kallee Nuddee (Kali Nadi).[5]

TEJ SINGH OF MAINPURI ESCAPES TOWARDS REWA

Bulletin dated 21st April 1858.

Lukna, 17th (April)—Tej Sing of Mynpooree crossed the Jumna on the 12th and reached Gopalpoor. There his escorts demanded pay, and having received, what he could give them, deserted all but 20 men. He had left Gopalpoor for Rewah hoping through the chief of that territory to make peace with the British Government.[6]

* * *

[1] Across Yamuna.
[2] Across the Ganga.
[3] Probably spelt for 'Mohsin Ali Khan'.
[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
cf. Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 12 in No. 13, p. 143.
[5] *The Dacca News*, April 24, 1858, p. 205. National Library, Calcutta.
[6] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Narrative of Events for Mainpuri for the week ending 18th April 1858.

Nothing has occurred since the escape of the Ex-Rajah (of) Mynpoorie; of his followers who were captured, one has been recognized as a *Havildar* of the late 44th N. I.[1]

EXCHANGE OF FIRE AT SILAMA

The Mynpoorie District is also perfectly tranquil. Colonel Riddell's force having received orders to march direct on Oreya[2], to clear that *pergunnah* of rebels, effected this object after several slight skirmishes in one of which local Lieutenant Furnell, of Alexander's Horse was dangerously wounded, and Lieutenant R. Thompson, Adjutant of the 3rd Beng. European Regt., died of sunstroke. The enemy's strong-hold of Ayana[3] was evacuated and destroyed, and some of their number cut up. It was arranged that Mr. Hume should simultaneously proceed down the Jumna to Sherghur Ghat, securing the boats by the way; he was accompanied by Lieutenant Sheriff with one Comp. (Company) 2nd Punjab Infantry, and about 250 Irregular Levies, Foot and Horse, with 2 light guns, in boats. At Silama they found the channel commanded by a very strong entrenched post situated amidst the ravines on the right bank, defended by several smaller outlying works. The Garrison consisted of 200 regular sepoys, and a crowd of matchlockmen; and the main entrenchment mounted 5 guns. The enemy immediately on seeing the party opened fire on the Cavalry under cover of which some 40 sepoys crossed and attacked them. Mr. Hume sent a reinforcement which beat back the assailants, who lost 11 killed. Meanwhile Mr. Hume, after consulting with Lieutenant Sheriff, determined on attacking the main position, which rendered their further progress down the river impracticable. These gentlemen therefore, with Sergeant Purcell—80th Punjaub Infantry and 50 Levies, landed, having sent the boats and light guns with about 100 Levies to distract the enemy's attention in front. Lieutenant Sheriff planned the attack, which was perfectly

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Mainpuri for the week ending 18th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] Apparently *Auraiya* in *Etawah* District.
[3] See p. 786 also.

successful. The rebels were driven in succession from all their outlying posts, and their main position entered by the rear and carried before the boats could come into action. 70 sepoys were killed, their guns, correspondence, plunder etc. and 3 new boats, were all taken. Our casualties were 3 men wounded, and 1 horse killed; but the troops suffered much from the excessive heat and Mr. Hume was compelled to halt for the day.

In the Etah District all was quiet, but it was known that other bodies of the Rohilkund rebels were anxious to cross and the appearance near Soorujpoor of a large party (said to be 4,000 strong) had created some alarm.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES REPORTED NEAR SULTANGANJ

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpooree (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 23rd May 1858.

There was a rumour yesterday of a few rebels being somewhere near Sooltangunge. Mr. Castle with a party of sowars was looking after them. Ross reported by Telegram yesterday morning that no rebels had crossed at Soorujpore. We have sent out scouts from Eckford's Horse and a party is told off in case of further tidings.[2]

* * *

Bulletin dated Agra, 24th May 1858.

Mynpooree (*Mainpuri*), 23*rd*—Yesterday's report from Bowgaon[3] is not confirmed. There were rumours of a few rebels being near Sooltangunge. By telegram from Futtehgurh there had been no crossing at Soorujpoor. Mr. Castle with a party of sowars and scouts from Eckford's Horse had been sent out to enquire.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Mainpuri for the week ending 16th May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] Apparently spelt for *Bhongaon*.

Futtehgarh, 23rd—The Moulvee[1] is said to have occupied Palee with 4 Regiments of Infantry, 3 of Cavalry, and 3 guns. His intention appears to be a junction with Nurput Singh. Messrs. Clarke, Balmain, and Thurburn had vacated Dhurumpoor (Dharampur).[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT KUSMARA

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 27th May 1858.

A body of rebels are reported to be passing through the district at a place called Khoosmerah (Kusmara)[3]. They were last seen about six miles from Bewar. I conclude they will try to get over the Ganges but it is not known yet what route they propose.[4]

REVOLUTIONARIES' ACTIVITY AT NABIGANJ

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 29th May 1858.

The fugitive rebels had crossed the Kalee Nuddee before Eckford got up. They had done a great deal of damage at Nubbeegunge cutting wire, burning carts etc.; they are said to have been met by a force from Futtyghur and to have made a detour towards Suraj Uguth[5] and Allygunge[6] (Aliganj). The Koopurtollah (Kapurthala) Raja is to be at Baw Gonge[7] today; it is distinctly reported by several parties that another and stronger

[1] Referring to 'Maulvi Liaqat Ali' of Allahabad.

[2] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (See p. 946 also).

[3] *Kusmara*, Pargana and Tahsil *Bhongaon*, District *Mainpuri*—This village, in 27° 7′ N. and 79° 20′ E., lies on the Farrukhabad-Etawah road, 25 miles to the south-east of Mainpuri. (*District Gazetteers*, Mainpuri, Vol. X, 1910, p. 227).

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] Not clearly decipherable. Spelt as '*Serai Uguth*' in another document. *cf.* Foreign Department, N. W. P., Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Farrukhabad for the week ending 31st May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (See p. 946 of this volume).

[6] May have been spelt for *Allahganj* in *Farrukhabad* District.

[7] Received probably for *Bhongaon*.

body of rebels is coming from Calpee; it is impossible to say what route they will take; it is very annoyance (*sic*,-annoying) to be so weak when we might be quite set up without any addition to our force. I alluded to no guns.[1]

INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING RAJA TEJ SINGH'S CONFINEMENT

32*nd*—A Telegram was sent to the Magistrate and Collector of Etawah instructing him that if Tej Singh, the rebel Rajah of Mynpoory, gave himself up, he might promise him his life, and state that no indignity would be offered to him. It was however desired that restraint might be put upon his movements, but not in such a way as to inflict dishonour. In a subsequent communication Mr. Hume was instructed that should it be necessary to place Tej Sing in confinement care should be taken not to associate him with ordinary criminals, as eventually, he would probably be sent to reside in some distant part of India under surveillance.

33*rd*—These instructions were given with the view of guiding the Collector in any communication he might have with Tej Singh.[2]

REPORTED SURRENDER OFFER BY RAJA TEJ SINGH

The effect of the fall of Calpee has not been neutralised by the disaster at Gwalior, though some of the dacoits are collecting again across the Chumbul. The Ex-Rajah of Mynpoorie had entered into communication with Mr. Hume offering to surrender. The regular troops have been all withdrawn from Etawah, and Mr. Hume has only his Police and Local Levies but unless some extraordinary emergency arises, these irregular troops will probably suffice.[3]

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, 1853-1860, No. 2 of 1858; Narrative of the Proceedings of the Governor General during the 2nd quarter of 1858, Collection No. 19, Foreign Proceedings: May 1858, No. 163. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah from the 31st of May to the 7th of June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

RAJA TEJ SINGH SURRENDERS

Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 11th June 1858.

Mr. Hume writes that Tej Sing gave himself up this afternoon nine[1]. He is at present in confinement in the little entrenchment in the city under a guard of the local Infantry.[2]

* * *

Extract from Narrative of Events for the week ending 13th June 1858.

...On the other hand Tej Singh, Ex-Raja of Mynpoory, on a guarantee of his life, surrendered to Mr. Hume on the 10th instant. His hereditary position makes this step of much importance; though personally he is a man of insignificant ability, still his influence over his clan is considerable.[3]

* * *

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, June 14, 1858.

Mynpoorie—On the 11th June[4], Tej Singh, the Rajah of Mynpoorie, surrendered himself.[5]

RAJA TEJ SINGH REMOVED TO BANARAS (VARANASI)

49*th*—The papers, noted in the margin, (see footnote)* have reference to Tej Singh, ex-Raja of Mynpoorie, who went

[1] Perhaps 9th June 1858.
[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etawah for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[4] This date is given as 9th and 10th June in the preceding documents.
[5] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 18, p. 166.
* Marginal Note in Original—"Collection No. 9: Removal of the Ex-Rajah of Mynpoorie to Benares Foreign Proceedings, 13th April 1859, Nos. 131 and 132. Ditto ditto, 3rd March 1859, Nos. 3 and 4. Ditto ditto, Ist February 1859, No. 1. Ditto ditto, 7th December 1858, No. 77. Ditto ditto, 29th October 1858, Nos. 273 and 274. Ditto ditto, 15th October 1858, Nos. 129 A to 129 C. Ditto ditto, 13th September 1858, No. 115. Ditto ditto, 2nd July 1858, Nos. 17 A and 17 B. Ditto ditto, 25th May 1858, No. 163."

into rebellion, and ultimately *surrendered on the promise that his life would be spared, and that he would be treated with no indignity.* His removal, however, from the Mynpoorie District being considered expedient, the Right Hon'ble the Governor General was pleased to determine, that Tej Singh's place of residence should be fixed at Benares *and that he should receive a monthly allowance Rs.* 250, *with a house to be provided by Government.*[1]

NANA ESTABLISHES HIS POLICE STATIONS ACROSS YAMUNA

Mynpoorie—A letter from Mynpoorie, received this morning, states that the Nana has established his police stations all through the country across the Jumna, *though his own whereabouts does (do) not seem to be exactly known.*[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSSING GRAND TRUNK ROAD

Telegraphic Message from E. A. Reade, Agra, to the Civil Officer, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), dated 7th December 1858.

Send the precise intelligence of the movements of the rebels crossing the Trunk Road as you obtain it.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES PITCHED AT RASULABAD

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Meeran ka Serai (Miran-ki-Sarai), to J. Bolders[4], *G. Harvey, E. A. Reade, dated 8th December* 1858.

The road is not I think safe at present. The Mynpooree Levy has not arrived. A rumour is just in that the forces from

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, 1853-1860; Narrative of the Proceedings of Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces in the Foreign Department for the 2nd Quarter of 1859, Collection No. 9. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, June 15, 1858, p. 563. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] Copies of Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade from 11th May 1858. to 12th January 1859. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[4] Can also be read as 'J. Boldero'. Given as 'Bolders' elsewhere. (p. 828).

Cawnpore and Futtehghur which had joined at Muckunpore, are returning, there being a very strong force of the enemy ahead of them at Russoolabad. I expect more information every moment.[1]

MOVEMENT OF REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS SHERGARH

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Meerun-Ka-Serai (Miran-Ki-Sarai), to J. Bolders[2], G. Harvey, E. A. Reade, Mynpooree (Mainpuri) and Agra, 8th December 1858.

The force has returned from Muckunpore the rebels being down near Calpee and towards Shereghur. Brigadier Herbert is watching them on the Calpee road. Tiwanah Horse went from Muckunpore to join Brigadier Herbert. 200 of the 80th, 300 of the Cawnpore Levy and a few Seikhs also returned this morning *en route* to Cawnpore. The rebels are gone off ahead as fast as they can. I should say the Grand Trunk Road is safe at present, traffic is open. The *dak* horses at the post, as far as I can learn.[3]

ALIGARH

REVOLUTIONARY POWER BEING ORGANIZED IN UPPER DOAB

Copy of Message received by Electric Telegraph from Magistrate, Allahabad, dated 24th August (1857) 12.45 *P. M., to Commissioner, Banaras, to be forwarded from Agra to Governor General, Calcutta, signed by J. R. Colvin, H. Cotton.*

Letter begins: My Lord. It appears to be our duty to bring prominently to your notice *the extent and rapidity with which the rebel power is being organized in the Upper Doab.* Allyghur (Aligarh) has been reoccupied as had been mentioned in various *Cossid* messages by one Ghose Mahomed (Ghaus Muhammad) as Agent of the rebel "Walleddeb (Walidad) Khan" who holds Bullundshuhr (Bulandshahr). Very possibly regiments may be sent down to support him in

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Can also be read as 'J. Boldero'.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Allyghur. The force here is too small to admit detachments to any distance. All was well and cheer fulin the Camp before Delhie to August 4th the latest direct date, but there was no propects (*sic,*) of an early assault and capture of the place. The instructions under which General Havelock is acting were, we believe, drawn on the supposition that Delhi had been or would be speedily captured. A connexion and concentration of forces in a continued link from Punjab downwards to this may be better than sending one brigade only to Agra and Delhie, and leaving one in the Central Doab. This valuable Magazine is now quite isolated and without support. The advance of the two brigades with Artillery would be probably indeed required to clear away all opposition. The Nabob of Farruckabad's force of three regiments of mutinous Native Infantry and one Cavalry joined by Forty Second N. I. from Saugor is on the road between Futtehghur and Cawnpore as well as the troops at Bullundshuhur. We would therefore submit for decision that there should be a movement upwards of the main strength and both brigades, one of them being estimated to maintain itself at Allyghur and to control the country at this and Meerut and the other be sent to Delhie as may be at the time necessary. An addition of a wing of Infantry and some Artillery would be most valuable to the garrison. Below is a memo of a siege train ready to start from this when there is an adequate strong escort. The general political effect of the early movement of this brigade would be most important; it would enable us to raise funds much more readily and this is becoming a very pressing want. The despatch of money has been asked for in my letter. We would give stores and camels for carriage to a force here, if an escort was sent for them. If the squadrons of Dragoons forthwith and a battery from Mhow were ordered to march by Neemuch to this point the reinforcements to the brigade on the Doab would be exceedingly useful. Thus we may be permitted to throw out a suggestion for the consideration of Your Lordship in Council. There can be no certain calculation of the movement or plans of the mutineers' course, now at Cawnpore in pay of the Maharaja who takes credit for restraining them. They may be reckoned at four thousand five hundred Infantry, nine hundred Cavalry and thirty battery guns besides some siege guns and ammunition. They might act at any time against a single fort in the Central Doab. We have ventured to submit this

statement to Your Lordship in Council in due form according to the best local information in our possession.

Statement of siege guns ready mounted and packed for despatch on field service—

Six twenty-five-pounders Iron Guns. Three Eight Inch Howitzers, with five hundred rounds each complete. Two thirty-two-pounders will be ready the day after to-morrow, and more can be got ready as fast as carriage can be supplied.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ON WAY TO ATTACK HATHRAS

Letter from Major Montgomery to Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton, dated Camp Hattrass (Hathras), September 1, 1857.

For your information, I have the honor to state that the detachment under my command, as per margin (in foot-note)* arrived at Hattrass (Hathras) on the evening of the 21st ultimo; and on the day following, intelligence was received that the Allyghur insurgents, numbering from 5,000 to 6,000 under Ghose Mahomed (Ghaus Muhammad) Khan, *Naib Soobah* of the King of Delhi, had assumed the offensive, and were marching to attack our position; further, that their advanced guard had been pushed forward to Mudrok (Madrak), about twelve miles from Hattrass. But as the information, though most important could not be depended upon, Mr. J. O. B. Tandy volunteered, accompanied by Mr. C. Daniell, Civil Service, and Lieutenant De Kantzow, to ride on in the direction the enemy were said to have taken up their position, for the purpose of obtaining reliable and certain information of the movements and position of the insurgents, as far as possible.

In the meantime I made the necessary arrangements for repelling an attack, and to prevent a surprise during the night.

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th Sept. 1857, No. 223. National Archives, New Delhi.

* "2nd Company, 5th Battalion, Artillery—1 Lieutenant, 3 Serjeants, 1 Corporal, 5 Bombardiers, 1 Bugler, 16 Gunners, 1 Saddler-serjeant, 12 European drivers, 2 Havildars, 15 Native Drivers, 1 Havildar of gun lascars, 3 privates, Total, 61".

"3rd European Regiment—2 Captains, 4 Subaltern officers, 11 Serjeants, 13 Corporals, 3 Drummers, 121 Privates, Total 154. Militia—2 Serjeants, 20 Troopers, Total 22. Two 9-pounder guns, and one 24-pounder howitzer."—Note in Original.

At midnight Mr. Tandy and party returned, bringing intelligence that the advanced guard of the insurgents had fallen back leaving a party of Horse (supposed to be the mutineers of the 15th Irregulars) at Mudrok, and had taken up their position, determined to fight, in a garden with high embankments, belonging to Maun Singh, close to and connecting with similar inclosures, near to, and on the outskirts of, the city of Allyghur.

From the information I received, I determined at once in concurrence with the Commissioner, A. Cocks, Esq., on special duty, to attack their position at all hazards, and on Sunday, the 23rd ultimo, commenced our march towards Allyghur, lightly equipped and prepared against any contingency, and arrived at Sasnee (Sasni) about the close of the evening, having been detained by heavy rain upon the line of march, and halted for the night : an old indigo factory, close to the road, with adjoining buildings, and the Government carts placed at my disposal afforded tolerable shelter for both men and officers, and by the assistance of the Civil Authorities large fires were lighted throughout the camp, by which the men dried their clothes. Every precaution was taken for the protection of the camp, and the night passed off without anything occurring worthy of notice beyond the capture of a youth near one of the guns, who was confined, and subsequently flogged, it having been ascertained that he had come from Allyghur. At daybreak we resumed our march towards Allyghur in good heart, and elated with the prospect of meeting and chastising, with retributive vengeance, rebels and mutineers unequalled for their cruel, fiendish malignity, and cowardly atrocities to our helpless (in most instances) countrymen and their families, though so vastly superior in number; but still fighting in a good cause, and with the fullest reliance on the Almighty's aid, of the result, on closing with the enemy there was but one feeling which animated and pervaded the minds of most composing the detachment.

I must here mention that, on starting from Sasnee, Mr. Cocks placed at my disposal seventy Jat Horse and matchlockmen, belonging to Thakoor Gobind Sing, the former being under the command of Captain J. J. Murray, of the late Gwalior Contingent and the latter of Mr. Daniell, Civil Service, and who, as will afterwards appear, were of great service.

On nearing Mudrok, about seven miles from Allyghur,

we observed a party of Cavalry quietly retiring fully a mile ahead of our advance guard, which consisted of a Company of the 3rd Europeans, on elephants, preceded by the Militia Cavalry, and Jat Horse; the enemy's Cavalry had evidently no wish to interfere with our advance, and continued to retire, till nearing their position they sidled off to the left and were joined by others.

The detachment continued to advance to within a quarter of a mile of Maun Sing's garden, and on ascertaining the exact position of the enemy, measures were promptly taken for the protection of the carriage, &c. consisting of a numerous train of waggons, 130 head of cattle, 16 elephants, and many camels, with ammunition and stores, which, surrounded as we were on nearly all sides by overwhelming numbers of the enemy, caused me no little anxiety.

The carriage etc., having been collected on the smallest possible space by Captain Fanshawe, I placed at his disposal, for their protection, the Jat matchlockmen and a few sowars, under Mr. Daniell, who performed that important duty most efficiently and satisfactorily.

Having secured the baggage, etc., my greatest care and anxiety, I commenced the action by attacking, with the Militia Cavalry under Lieutenant De Kantzow, and the Jat Horse, a large body of Cavalry, chiefly Irregulars, who threatened our left and rear.

This duty was most gallantly and promptly performed, and our left and rear having thus been cleared of the enemy's Cavalry, who were driven back to the rear of their main body, I brought the guns into position, under cover of skirmishers, and opened fire, which was sharply replied to by the enemy from behind the garden walls, against which I found the Artillery of little avail. Information was now brought to me by Mr. P. Saunders, who considerately and kindly placed his service at my disposal, that the enemy were in great force on the right of the garden. I immediately directed Captain Murray to move round to the right with the Jat Horse, and cut off the enemy, on the general assault, and carrying off their position with the Infantry at the same time ordering Lieutenant Griffin to move up two of his guns in the same direction.

This movement took some little time, evidently occupying the attention of the enemy, and enabled me to make arrangements for the assault.

ENCOUNTER NEAR MAN SINGH'S GARDEN

Leaving a sufficient number of men under Captain Strover to protect the gun on the left, and all being ready, I gave the word "forward" and went to the front, accompanied by Lieutenant Clarke, and followed by No. 8 Company of the 3rd European Regiment under Lieutenant Blake. On reaching the garden-wall a large party of fanatical Mussulmans, headed by *Moulvies*, rushed forward, sword in hand from the right corner, and there ensued a most desperate hand to hand encounter, which terminated in their total destruction, and where we met our chief loss, which might, in a great measure, have been avoided, had Captain Bacon's Company attached to the two guns on the right fired upon them as they debouched from the garden immediately on their front. Fortunately at this moment Lieutenant Griffin, at Captain Murray's request, moved up his two guns, and getting well to the right, opened fire with terrible effect on their reserve, killing great numbers, and completing (*sic*,-completely) dispersing the remainder; Captain Murray at the same time taking advantage of an opening in the wall, dashed forward with part of the Jat Horse, entered the garden, and cut up the *Ghazees* who remained in it, among whom was the chief *Moulvie*, Abdool Zuleel (Abdul Jalil), who was cut down in a hand-to-hand encounter with that officer.

REVOLUTIONARIES DISPERSED IN ALL DIRECTIONS

The field was now our own, after two hours' fighting the enemy having been completely routed and dispersed in all directions, leaving at least 300 dead, thus terminating in a decided victory against great odds, and with comparatively small loss (on) our side, considering the strength of their positions, and the number of *Ghazees* who fought with the desperation and contempt of life of Mussulman fanatics.

On the termination of the action, Mr. Cocks, who throughout the day, was by my side, strongly urged following up our success, on political grounds, by an immediate advance on Allyghur; but having to thread a defile of walled enclosures (most of which were occupied) a greater part of which running under and close to the city with an enormous population,

with our grape and canister nearly expended, without scarcely the possibility of getting at the enemy with our detachment in the first instance scarcely equal to the undertaking, much reduced by the killed and wounded, with reports of aid for the insurgents being daily expected from Delhi, with no possibility of obtaining assistance from any quarter nearer than Agra (from there a man could scarcely be spared), with our wounded to attend to, and all being well considered and explained to Mr. Cocks, I, with his fullest concurrence, decided on returning to our head-quarters at Hattrass, taking with us our killed and wounded, with the determination of occupying Allyghur on completing our ammunition, and which we did on the 27th without the slightest opposition.

The force opposed to us, commanded by Ghose Mahomed Khan, *Naib Soobah*, on the part of Waleedad Khan, appointed *Soobah* by the King of Delhi, was chiefly composed of Mussulmans, among whom were many *Ghazees*, numbering from 5,000 to 6,000 with 150 Irregular Cavalry, and 200 Mahomedan Horse, aided by levies of *Zemindaree* Horse, and Foot, chiefly Mewatees, amounting to 600 or 700 men, the whole headed by Moulvie Abdool Zuleel (Abdul Jalil), a very influential religious instructor, and leader of the *Ghazees*, being assisted by several other *Moulvies*, three of whom, including Abdool Zuleel, were killed, and a fourth wounded.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events by Colonel R. J. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India, dated 9th September 1857.

A party from Agra to Hattrass (Hathras) had attacked the enemy near Allyghur, and inflicted heavy loss; but our party was not strong enough to take possession of Allyghur.[2]

[1] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 8 in No. 4, pp. 155-57.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 1 in No. 3, p. 115.

BRITISH ATTEMPT TO REOCCUPY ALIGARH

Extract from Letter No. 11, *from W. J. Bramley, Magistrate and Collector of Allygurh, (Aligarh) to A. Cocks, Special Commissioner, dated Allygurh (Aligarh), 17th November* 1858.

ATTACK ON ATRAULI TAHSIL

The arrangement answered very well till September 25th (1857) when Nusseem-oollah (Nazim Ullah), at the head of a Mahomedan rabble, surprised the Thakoor, and turned him out of the city. On the same day (September 25th) the Mahomedan rabble of Atrowlee (Atrouli) rose and murdered the *Tehseeldar*, Mahomed Alee. They attacked the *tehseel* building, but were unable to take it.

DELHI REVOLUTIONARIES REACH HATHRAS

24*th* (*Para*), *September* 26*th* (1857)—Major Montgomery's small force was obliged to fall back from Hattrass in the direction of Agra, to avoid the very large force of rebels in retreat from Dehli, via Muttra, which threatened Hattrass. This body of rebels eventually arrived at Hattrass October 3rd, and Secundra Rao on 4th, where they halted on 5th, and marched on 6th, while Colonel Greathed's Column arrived at Coel on 5th, and at Akrabad[1] on 6th*, (one march from Secundra Rao,) and then proceeded to Agra, where it arrived October 10th.

25*th*—After the action of the 10th at Agra, Coel was speedily re-occupied on the 19th by a force of 150 Europeans and two guns under Major Eld, Mr. Cocks again being deputed as Special Commissioner, and myself as Magistrate. The old fort of Allygurh was cleared up and taken possession of. This fort, which had cost Lord Lake so severe a struggle in 1803, and which in the old times of confidence and security had been left to the care of a *Naik* and four sepoys, was now found to be a valuable possession.

[1] *Akrabad*, Pargana *Akrabad*, Tahsil *Sikandra Rao*, District *Aligarh*—The capital of the Akrabad pargana is a mere village standing in 27° 48′ N. and 78° 16′ E., on the Grand Trunk road, at a distance of 14 miles from Aligarh, two miles east from the Nanau bridge and eleven miles north-west from Sikandra Rao. (*District Gazetteers* Aligarh, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 196)

*"To punish Mungul Sing and Mahtab Sing"—Marginal note in Original.

26*th*—With its aid the above small force and 100 Sikhs kept the whole district in check with ease. The Police at the different *tehseel* and *thanah* posts were strengthened by levies of Horse and Foot, raised within the district; for these purposes any number of men required were available. The city of Coel being two miles from the fort was held by Thakoor Gobind Singh : a strong force of Police was necessary there, to give confidence to the people, who had been so often plundered by friends as well as foes.

27*th*—The collection of the Revenue proceeded steadily with the returning confidence in the stability of our Government. Payment, except in a very few instances was withheld only where there was really inability to pay.

28*th*—During the month of November we were continually harassed by flying parties of rebels from across the Jumna going eastwards; but these did little or no harm in their passage, though they caused great feeling of insecurity at our Police and Revenue posts. It was then felt of what consequence it was that our Police posts should be of a defensible character, and guarded by a few trained men, who would not run at the first summons of an enemy. As it was, one could not but feel that they were completely at the mercy of the smallest bodies of the enemy; the mere cry of "*baghees*" was enough to put to flight the raw Police levies.

FATEHGARH REVOLUTIONARIES THREATEN BRITISH POSITIONS

29*th*—In December we were threatened by a body of the Futtehgurh rebels, who advancing by Ulleegunge (Aliganj)[1], Putialee (Patiali)[2], Sahawur[3] and Kasgunge (Kasganj),

[1] *Aliganj*, Pargana *Azamnagar*, Tahsil *Aliganj*, District *Etah*—This town in 27° 29′ N. and 79° 11′ E., is situated on the Etah-Farrukhabad road 33 miles from Etah, and in 1901 contained 5,835 inhabitants. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 147).

[2] *Patiali*, Pargana *Patiali*, Tahsil *Aliganj*, District *Etah*—The village, in 27° 42′ N. and 72° 5′ E., lies on the old bank of the Ganges, 22 miles to the north-east of Etah, and in 1901 contained 4,243 inhabitants. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 201).

[3] *Sahawar*, Pargana *Sahawar*, Tahsil *Kasganj*, District *Etah*—This town lies 24 miles to the north-east of Etah in 27° 48′ N. and 78° 51′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 207).

gave out their intention of annexing the country up to Coel. It took them long however to occupy the above ground; their extreme slowness and want of enterprise lost them their opportunity. By December 11th Colonel Seton's (Seaton) Column arrived at Allygurh, and proceeded by regular marches towards Kasgunge. On the morning of 14th December Colonel Seton (Seaton) having made his march, found the enemy close by, marching to attack him;—the result is known. It is sometimes said that our information of the enemy's movements is bad, but it would be difficult to match the gross blunder of the enemy on this occasion.

30*th*—After Colonel Seton's triumphant march via Kasgunge and Putialee to Mynpoory (Mainpuri) this part of the Dooab was thoroughly cleared of the enemy. Our only danger then was from the Rohilkhund side. For our escape from inroad by the swarms of Irregular Cavalry in Rohilkhund we must thank the want of enterprise of the enemy, for even after the occupation of Futtehgurh, the whole river face between it and Allygurh was at his mercy. In March General Penny's force marched down and took up a position at Putialee and afforded some show of protection.....

35*th*—Behaviour of people to Christians generally—Only one Christian in this district was murdered. His name was Nichterlein, mentioned in paragraph 5. The whole party was stripped and plundered, and might, if not rescued, have been murdered; but again they were rescued by natives, and entirely at the suggestion of natives. Mr. Hoggan and family, five persons, were kept concealed in a *Bhungee's* house at Coel, for six days after the departure of the European residents. Serjeant Ryan, of the Nanow (Nanau) Toll Bar, was plundered and stripped by villagers; but the *zemindar*, a small man, the owner of but one village, though certainly a man well known for humanity, made the plunderers disgorge, and sent the Serjeant safe into Hattrass. At the same time little trust can be placed in the humanity of the lower classes, whether Hindoos or Mahomedans. They have I think proved themselves little better than savages. All that can be said, is, that they treat us not worse, perhaps better, than they treated one another....

37*th*—Behaviour of people towards Government officers—The records of the *Suddur Cutcherry*, and those of four out of eight *tehseels*, were destroyed; of these one act of destruction

only was purely the work of villagers, i. e. the case of Khyr above mentioned, paragraph 9. In the other cases the populace took a share after order had been first upset, or plunder commenced by mutineer troops. As elsewhere, the people plundered one another freely. Two towns of importance were plundered,—Khyr to the amount of one lac of Rupees, and Hurdooah Gunge (Harduaganj), four lacs; these estimates are moderate. Coel was also a good deal plundered by Mewatees, etc. of the town, also by our own troops.

38*th*—The attack on Mr. Watson at Mudroc (Madrak) by the Coel Mahomedans, June 30, and the attack of the Jats on Major Burlton at Iglas, have been already mentioned. The rise of the Mahomedan *zemindars*, and other inhabitants of Atrowlee, September 25th, (vide para 23) and the murder of Mahomed Allee *Tehseeldar*, was (*sic*,) a case of the worst description. The influential inhabitants, chiefly converted Mahomedans of old, bore turbulent character. During the disturbed months they took the management of the town into their own hands. Early in September Mahomed Allee was deputed by Mr. Cocks as Joint Magistrate, with Daood Khan as *Nazim;* but the *zemindars* refused to acknowledge him, and on September 25th, when the Mahomedans (at the time unaware of the fall of Delhi,) broke out into open rebellion, he unfortunately left the *tehseel* building, and was murdered. I never saw him, but I have little doubt that Government has seldom had a better servant.

MANGAL SINGH AND MAHTAB SINGH AS REVOLUTIONARIES

39*th*—The behaviour of Ghous Khan, of Secundra Rao, and of the Mahomedans of Coel has been mentioned in para 21. The only other case of marked rebellion among men of consideration is that of Mungul Sing and Mahtab Sing, Rajpoot *zemindars* of Akrabad, who after the plunder of Akrabad *Tehseel* Treasury by sepoys, permitted the destruction of the records by their own people, refused all aid to the *Tehseeldar*, and generally lived a life of open rebellion [1]

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Aligarh District*, pp. 4-7.

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS YAMUNA AND ATTACK HATHRAS

Telegraphic Message from Muir to the Secretary to the Government of India; dated Agra, October 4, 1857.

The whole fugitive force at Muttra has crossed the Jumna, and yesterday plundered Hattrass, excepting the Neemuch brigade, which marched yesterday to Furrah on its way to join the Indore troops at Dholepore. Nothing further from Delhi, or Colonel Greathed's Column. The Bareilly, Nusseerabad, and Delhi fugitives are passing onward to Grand Trunk Road at Secundrabad Rao[1], and after that, may either go north or east.[2]

GREATHED'S COLUMN OPPOSED AT ALIGARH

Memorandum of Intelligence, dated Fort Agra, October 6, 1857.

Colonel Greathed's Column reached Allyghur yesterday morning. He was opposed by the Mussulman fanatics and rabble, who, it will be remembered, a short time cleared of them all (*sic*,). Two 5-pounder guns fell into our hands. The Cavalry did most excellent service, and cut up fully 400 men, with arms in their hands.

The Column was to march next day to Akrabad, a stronghold of fanaticism and revolt which deserves a signal chastisement.

In the operations for blowing up Malaghur (Malagarh), Lieutenant Home, Engineer, lost his life by the explosion of a mine which was fired too soon.[3]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Muir to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Agra, October 12, 1857.

Greathed's Column arrived at Allyghur on the morning of the 5th : was opposed by fanatics and rabble of district;

[1] This should be *Sikandra Rao.*

[2] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 51 in No. 2, p. 75.

[3] *Ibid.* Inclosure 59 in No. 2, p. 77.

took two 5-pounder guns, and cut up 400 of the enemy; after that, Coel quietly reoccupied by us. Greathed would be at Akrabad, half way to Secundra Rao, this morning. As fugitives have escaped, has been ordered to march this way to attack mutineers at Dholerpore (Dholpur). Europeans of his force much fatigued, and require a little rest. Forces sent by Khan Bahadoor Khan from Bareilly to attack Nynee Tal dispersed by Captain Ramsay on the 18th ultimo, at Huldwanee (Haldwani). Lieutenant Home killed by accident at blowing up Malaghur. Fugitives from Muttra said to be going towards Bareilly.[1]

ALIGARH AND BULANDSHAHR THREATENED

Extract of Letter from W. Muir to J. W. Sherer, dated Agra, 25th Oct. 1857.

Reiterated reports are received at Allygurh and upwards, of an immense gathering in the direction of Budaon, whence an armed force with guns is said to threaten Allygurh; and Boolundshuhur is also similarly menaced. It would be very sad, not only for the people who would be again abandoned to the Mahomedan tyrants if this occurred, but also for our communications, which, now re-established on their old footing, would in that case be again closed.

The Telegraph, too, which is advancing towards Allygurh and will be steadily pushed forward, would also be again destroyed. Wherefore I cease not to urge the claims of the Upper Doab so soon as the first necessities of Lucknow have been met.[2]

ATTEMPT TO DESTROY MANGAL SINGH AND MAHTAB SINGH

Extracts from Letter from H. Fraser, the Chief Commissioner of North-West Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Agra Fort, October 31, 1857.

3rd (Para), October 17—.....I have previously omitted to

[1] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 109 in No. 2, p. 90.

[2] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 222.

cf. Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*,



Chhatris of Mangal Singh and Mahtab Singh, Akrabad (*Aligarh*)

mention that I authorized the disbursement of 2,000 rupees for the destruction of the Akrabad leaders, Mungul Sing or Khan, and Metab (Mahtab) Sing, and that the Irregular Cavalry of Colonel Grant's Column, who will share the money equally, are much delighted with this recognition of their services by the local Government. A strong body of Bhurtpore Cavalry arrived here this morning to escort Captain Nixon (whom I lately appointed Political Agent at that Court with the concurrence of Brigadier Lawrence), to his charge. He will start this evening, accompanied by Captain Munbee of the Bombay Engineers, whose services at Ajmere are much required by Brigadier Lawrence. This party brought in fifteen of the Dholepore mutineers, who will be tried by court-martial immediately. Some nine mutineers have also been seized by the Police at Areeng, a village near Muttra, with large quantities of gold on their persons. I have ordered the prisoners to be sent in here, and the money to be distributed among the captors.[1]

ATTACK ON AN INDIGO FACTORY

Extract from the case Government vs. Shobha Ram, signed by W. Lame, Asstt. Magistrate, dated Nov. 21, 1857.

Defendant is one of those charged with assisting and aiding in the destruction of Chotwah Indigo Factory. There is no doubt that this place would have remained unmolested if the rebel army had not passed by the spot, but it is also established that the servants of the proprietor and the surrounding villages also took part in the affair when the sepoys had made a beginning. Defendant was *Jemadar* of 20 or 30 *Chaprassees* appointed especially for the protection of the Factory in these troublous times and although I considered several of the others guilty in a minor degree and punished them accordingly yet this man began the business several days before by opening the grain store and distributing wages "in kind"—an act quite unauthorized and punishable.

He is sworn to have been present and active at the scene of destruction and not till obliged by the presence of the

[1] Further Papers (No. 7, in continuation of No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure I in No. 9, p. 190.

officers of justice and constrained probably by fear he shewed the way to a spot in the grounds where a far larger portion of the Factory property had been buried than was discovered in the possession of any other of the delinquents. His pretext of being directed to save what he could by the owner (Mr. P. Saunders) is clearly shewn to be false by the letter of the latter's agent annexed. I consider him worthy of graver punishment than I can give and therefore commit him.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ASSEMBLED AT RAMGHAT

Narrative of Events, dated Fort William, January 23, 1858.

Allyghur—Major Eld, commanding in this district, has moved out towards Atroulee (Atrauli)[2], to check the rebels at Ramghat, where they are said to be collecting, and, having brought down guns, were firing across the river; though it is not considered likely that they will effect a lodgment on the right bank of the Ganges, still their attempts and repeated intentions, have harassing effect on the district, especially since the march downward of Grant's, Greathed's and Seaton's Columns, which has so greatly weakened the available force in this and the Meerut districts.[3]

RAHIM ALI TOWARDS HATHRAS

From private accounts we learn that the line of country from Boolundshuhur (Bulandshahr) to Futtehghur having been denuded of troops, whether as a loophole for Rohilcund, or some other incomprehensible military policy, the rebels have availed themselves of the invitation. Raheem Ali crossed the Ganges on the 12th instant, with about 1000 men, and three guns, and by the latest accounts had taken the road to Hattras.....[4]

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Shobharam*"; Aligarh Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

[2] *Atrauli* is 17 miles from *Aligarh* connected by a motor road.

[3] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 2, p. 31.

[4] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 21, 1858, p. 479. National Library, Calcutta.

RAHIM ALI CROSSING THE GANGA TO ENTER ALIGARH

The following intelligence received from Allahabad dated 15th and 16th May is communicated to the press.

"Two rebels named Regan Allie[1] were said to be crossing the Ganges into the Allighur (Aligarh) District on the 12th May, with one thousand men, and three guns.....[2]

RAHIM ALI AT ALIGARH

....A rebel named Rahem Ally (Rahim Ali), crossed the Ganges on the 11th May with one thousand men and three guns. He is said to be now in the Allyghur District.....[3]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated May 21, 1858.

A letter from Allyghur, received this morning says:—"Some 600 sowars crossed the Ganges in the Allyghur District, on the night of the 12th[4]. They are said to be sloping towards Rajpootana. Mr. Bramley, the Magistrate, and Captain Murray, commanding the Jat Horse, are at their heels.[5]

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY BETWEEN AKRABAD AND SIKANDRA RAO

Telegraphic Message from Joint Magistrate, Allyghur (Aligarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 14th May 1858.

The rebels reached Gopee[6] half way between Akerabad and Secundra Rao last night about five O'clock, they burnt some waggons and then went in the direction of Hattras.

[1] Appears to be wrongly spelt for 'Rahim Ali'. The second name is not given.

[2] *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, May 20, 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *The Friend of India*, May 20, 1858, p. 463. National Library, Calcutta.

[4] Date given as '11th May' in the preceding document.

[5] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 21, 1858, p. 479. National Library, Calcutta.

[6] A village on the metalled road from *Aligarh* to *Kasganj*.

At five A. M. today Murray had not heard any thing of the rebels. He was then at Sasnee.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES LEAVE THEIR POSITIONS NEAR THE RIVER

Telegraphic Message from Joint Magistrate, Allygurh (Aligarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 18th May 1858.

Colonel Farquhar is at Harrunpore[2] nine *coss* below Ram Ghat. Bramly is at Nah close to the Ganges and can hear of no rebels near the river. Captain Ross with Europeans and Rajah's Seikhs (Sikhs) is at Akerabad[3]. All quiet.[4]

ROHILKHAND REVOLUTIONARIES OCCUPY ALIGARH

A fort about 16 miles from Allyghur is said to be in the occupation of about 2,500 rebel fugitives from Rohilcund who have four or five guns with them.[5]

NASIMULLAH KHAN CAPTURED

This district will gain much by the reoccupation of Budaon. A notorious rebel one Nuseemoolla Khan who was a leader of the insurrection in Ally Ghur (Aligarh) has been captured by Mr. Daniell's Police.[6]

MAHBUB KHAN HANGED

The notorious scoundrel Mhyboob (Mahbub) Khan, the rebel *Tehseeldar* of Allyghur and a *Ressaldar* of the Postal

[1] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Name not clearly decipherable.

[3] Appears to have been received for *Akrabad*.

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[5] *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, June 7, 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.

[6] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etah for the week ending 13th June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Establishment graced the scaffold at Allyghur on the morning of the 17th instant. The murder of Mr. Tucker, the Judge of Futtehpore, was clearly brought home to him.[1]

KOTWAL OF ALIGARH HANGED

A letter from Allyghur, dated 24th July, states, that a few days back the rebel *Kotwal* of that station paid the penalty of his folly on the gallows. Hussun Khan Mewattie was one of the rebel leaders in the affairs at Man Sing's garden last year.

KISHAN SINGH NAIK ALSO SENT TO GALLOWS

On the 23rd instant (July), a *Naick* of the Alleghur (Aligarh) Levy, by name Kishun Sing, was hanged for attempting to tamper with sundry troopers of Captain Murray's Jat Horse, and to persuade them to join in refusing the messing system and to eat bread baked except by themselves.....[2]

MUHAMMAD ALI'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH WALIDAD KHAN FOR BECOMING NAZIM

Memo signed By C. I. Daniell, dated Patiali, 21st April 1858.

This man was caught by the force under Colonel Seaton's Column in December and made over to the Civil Authorities to try, and in investigating this case the following circumstances have come to light and been clearly established. That he wrote a petition to Walleedad Khan of Malagurh requesting his influence to have him made *Nazim* of Etah. This was in the beginning of the disturbances. He about that time was entertaining in his house Majors Phillips, Bramley and Lt. Hall. A second letter was found in his house apparently never sent to Walee Dad Khan and written about the time that Delhi fell, which accounts for its never being sent. It appears

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, June 26, 1858, p. 604; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, June 19). National Library, Calcutta.
cf. The Dacca News, July 3, 1858, p. 325. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, August 4, 1858, p. 20. National Library, Calcutta.

that he made arrangements for collecting the *Abkaree* revenue in his neighbourhood. Mehndoo Nasab *Abkar* of Sahavur deposes to Mohommed Ali Khan, trying to induce him to take a....(manuscript torn)....*Abkari* of Sahavur on the part of the English Govt. but he says he refused to do so, as our *thannah* was not established : but a *Thekah namah* in the names of Cheddoo and Mehndoo is on the *misl* for 12 anahs (annas) a day, granting them the "*thekah*" and signed by Mohommed Ali. The condition is inserted that the money is to be paid if the agreement receives the sanction of the district officer whenever he may return. The *Putah* was for 22/8 per mensem. The deponent denies having had any connection with the Nawab. Whatever excuses may now be made on this point, it cannot be doubted that Mohommed Ali took upon himself this authority either to avoid the pressure that the rebels were exercising or to ingratiate himself with them. It will be seen that the *Tehsildar* addressed a letter to him, desiring information on the state of the *Abkaree* revenue and the arrangements he had made to levy the tax. Letters are contained in the *misl* from Asad Ali Khan, Ismael Khan and other rebel chiefs. There is also a petition to one Azeemooddeen in Furruckabad desiring him to keep him informed of all that took place there and to let him know what petitions he presented on his part to the Nawab as to the....(manuscript torn) the petitions. The handwriting of one of his....(manuscript torn) clearly proved. In those he wrote to Walleedad Khan, being written in the same handwriting as *mahzarnamah* which he admits was written by his *mootsuddie* Khuswakt Rai. This man and the other *mootsaddie* did all they could, on the trial, to obstruct the proof in this matter but the appearance of the paper and Mohommad Ali's own admission in the matter leave no doubt of the genuineness of the documents. Their discovery in his house is proved by evidence taken before Mr. Churcher. Witnesses have been brought forward in this case who prove how constantly this man was in communication with Asad Ali Khan being constantly at his house and giving him such countenance as has led people to say that he was one of the *punchayet* for Khasgunje (Kasganj). His offering his services and congratulations to the Delhi family at a time when no pressure cd. (could) have been exerted against him and the way in which he held aloof from the officers of Govt. when Colonel Seaton's Column came into this district cuts him off in my opinion

from all consideration.... (manuscript torn) ....to the Court of J. C. Wilson Esqre., the Commissioner, for the detection of rebels and mutineers.[1]

MUHAMMAD ALI HELPS FARRUKHABAD REVOLUTIONARIES WITH PROVISIONS

Letter from Hall to the Deputy Magistrate of Etah, dated Bulandshahr, the 18th April 1858.

Having received a vernacular proceeding from you, informing me that Muhammad Ali Khan Chowdry of Sahawur has mentioned me as a witness to his loyalty to the British Govt. during the disturbances, I beg to state that all I know in his favour is, that on the 26th May last, Muhammad Ali Khan visited Mr. Phillips and myself at Kasgunje, with a considerable number of armed men and asked us to stay with him at Sahawur, whither we accordingly went. I staid (stayed) at Sahawur for some days in perfect comfort and safety, while Mr. Phillips was at Budaon, and again staid (stayed) a night with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Bramly, on our way from Putialee (Patiali) to Etah. On leaving Sahawur I entrusted all my property to Muhammad Ali Khan as also did Mr. Phillips and it was afterwards safely returned to me at Agra, in October last. These are the only circumstances of which I can speak from personal knowledge; I am informed however by my servant whom I left at Sahawur till the beginning of August, that during that time no party of rebels came to Sahawur and that Muhammad Ali Khan had no open communication with any, and I have not heard of his ever having overtly done anything for them, except that once a party of sepoys from Furrukhabad occupied Sahawur and compelled the Chowdry[1] to furnish them with provisions. I have only heard of this, and believe he must have acted, (if it be true) under compulsion. I may also mention that he went to pay his respects to Mr. Bramly, at Kasgunje, in October 1857. My servants who were at Sahawur till August last, will be able to testify, if summoned, to any circumstances that

[1] Etah Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 2: 'Muhammad Ali Khan's File.' (The document is very brittle.)
[1] 'Chaudhary Muhammad Ali Khan'.

occurred during that time. Mr. Phillips will be able to inform you if he endeavoured to give any assistance at the beginning of the mutiny by sending sowars of other....to be.....[1]

FARRUKHABAD REVOLUTIONARIES' MOVEMENT TOWARDS ETAH

Extract from Letter written by William Muir to J. W. Sherer, Kanpur, dated Agra, the 9th November 1857.

We have a telegraphic message this morning from Allygurh, intimating that 1200 Infantry and 600 Cavalry are said to have marched from Furruckabad with two guns towards Etah, with the intention of dislodging Mr. Churcher and our post there. Their (these) men were reported to have already reached within 20 or 30 miles of Etah, but I question whether they will dare advance farther.

There are the usual vapouring reports from Rohilkhund, but a station occupied on the Trunk Road as at Etah—by rebel troops would be the likeliest thing to embolden them to cross.[2]

ALIGANJ OCCUPIED BY FARRUKHABAD REVOLUTIONARIES

Extract of a Letter from W. Muir to J. W. Sherer, Kanpur, dated Agra, 10th Nov. 1857.

All well at Allygurh. Mr. Churcher at Etah does not believe that the Furruckabad troops will come near him. But the latest intelligence certainly is that they have occupied Allygunge (Aliganj) with above 1000 Foot, 500 Horse, and two guns. Allygunge is 20 or 30 miles from Kassgunge (Kasganj) and Etah. The force is throwing its *thannahs* here and there in reoccupation of the country. It is likely enough that this is a preliminary to attempting a collection of the *khurreef* instalments of Revenue. But its effect is of course bad on Allygurh. It fans the embers of fanaticism still smouldering in the district; and strikes terror into the loyal subjects

[1] Etah Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 2: 'Mahammad Ali Khan's File.'

[2] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, pp. 254-55.

who have so often already experienced the horrors of a revolution. Until this nest of insurgents—Furruckabad—be put down, there will be no permanent security for the middle Doab.[1]

ETAH MENACED

Extract from the Letter written by W. Muir to J. W. Sherer, Cawnpore (Kanpur), dated Agra, 15th Nov. 1857.

Etah is still menaced by the Furruckabad rebels. But we hope the troops marching that way from Allygurh and this will arrive in time to prevent Mr. Churcher being dislodged.[2]

ENGAGEMENTS AT GANGIRI AND PATIALI

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton to the Chief of the Staff, dated Etah, December 24, 1857.

I have had the honor recently to address to you three letters, but as I fear none of them have reached you, I will briefly recapitulate for the information of the Commander-in-Chief. I left Delhi on the 6th December with a force detailed below, escorting a convoy for the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, agreeably to instructions. I lodged the convoy under the guns of the fort of Allyghur (Aligarh) on the 11th December, I then proceeded into the district to attack the insurgents who had taken possession of Khasgunge[3], Gungeeree (Gangiri), and Putteealla (Patiali). I engaged the enemy at Gungeeree on the 14th, and at Putteealla (Patiali) on the 17th, utterly routing them on both occasions, capturing in the first affair 3 guns, and in the second 12; 15 in all, (of which 9 are of our own manufacture, splendid serviceable guns), and killing of the enemy about 1100 men. I had 48 killed and wounded in the first action, including 3 officers of the carabineers; in the second action only 5 killed and wounded. The district having been cleared of insurgents, I have now come down to Etah

[1] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 257.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 265.

[3] Apparently *Kasganj* is meant here.

to escort the convoy, which I have directed to march from Allyghur on the 26th, and join me at Mynpoorie, which place I propose to take possession of as soon as I have turned out the Rajah, Tej Sing. I hear he is at Sukeet (Sakit), within 10 miles of me, I have sent to reconnoitre, and if I find it to be true, I shall march so as to be with him by daybreak to-morrow. The convoy consists of 3,288 hackeries[1], laden with gram, salt, *Soojee* biscuits, wheat, sugar, *dhall*, *ghee*, *ottah*, rum–2483 gallons; quilts, 2740; blankets, 4558; cotton carpets, 2018; tents (Privates') 166, Staff-Sergeants' ditto, 3; Sepoy's tent of 2 *pauls* each 6; establishments (barrack) 1229 men; *doolee* bearers, 2000; hospital establishment, 294. From Agra have been dispatched 100 *doolies* and 600 bearers; cotton carpets (*sutrunjees*) 2000. Lieutenant Graham has hired at Allyghur 251 more hackeries, and thus the carts or hackeries, in single file, will stretch over 20 miles.

There are 1419 camels, and about 60 spare elephants, the latter are with me :—

	Rank and File			
1st Fusiliers	376	1036		
7th Punjab Infantry	540			
Sappers	120			
			Guns	
Horse-Artillery (European)	140	233	6	9-pounders.
			2	6-pounders.
Ditto (Native)	28		2	18-pounders.
			1	8-inch howitzer.
Sikh Artillery	65		2	5½ mortars.
Carabineers and Lancers	140	690		
Hodson's Horse.	550			

I have just received further reinforcement from Allyghur of 100 Sikh Sappers. Wales' Horse reaches Allyghur to-morrow, and will escort convoy to Mynpoorie.[2]

* * *

[1] See p. 845 also.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 39 in No. I, pp. 25-26.

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated January 1, 1858.

The following Telegraph Message, sent by Colonel Seaton, on the afternoon of the 17th, contains gratifying intelligence of the entire defeat of the Furruckabad rebels who had entrenched themselves at Puttialee (Patiali):

"Found the enemy strongly posted, facing the west, with the town in rear. They opened on our videttes from two guns; but as the Column approached, unmasked several others."

* * *

"21*st December*—The enemy's shoes, *pugrees* and *kummerbunds* strewed the road for miles, every gun, carriage, and tent left. An elephant with silver *howda*, and *Hakeemjee*, (one of the Furruckabad chiefs) 'captured'. The latter *ghat*, I can hardly fancy their stopping until they reach Futtehgurh."

"...About 3 miles short of Puttialee we halted.... The rebel force was commanded by Ahmud Yar Khan, the Governor of the Western part of the Futtehgurh District, and Mohsun Allee, the Governor of the Eastern part of the Futtehgurh District, both Governors being in the service of the Newab Raees of Futtehgurh. Their Artillery consisting of twelve guns, and heavy nine or six-pounder iron guns opened upon us at a great distance.... Then began the chase, and the result was that the 12 guns were captured, tents, ammunition etc. and some 7 (700) or 800 men were killed. Four elephants were a portion of the plunder."[1]

ENGAGEMENTS AT PATIALI AND MALSI

Extract from Account of Occurrences in Etah District from Nov. 1857 *onwards by C. H. Daniell, Offg. Joint Magistrate, dated Camp Patiali, the* 22*nd April* 1858.

PATIALI IN POSSESSION OF FARRUKHABAD NAWAB

6*th*—About the 18th of November Mr. Cocks, the Special Commissioner for Etah, came with a small force under Major Eld, to Kutchla Ghat by way of making a demonstration. The

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, January 1, 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.

Nawab of Furruckabad's forces were at that time in occupation of Putteealee (Patiali).

7th—On 18th October Mr. Churcher came into Etah as Deputy Collector to take charge of the district, and with the help of Tej Singh, of Pithunpoor, and other loyal *zemindars*, held his own for some weeks, occupying the *Gurhee* of Dumber Singh (Dambar Singh), the Etah Rajah, who by this time began to see the folly of his defection in May. This Rajah died about the beginning of December. Mr. Churcher at this time (about 18th November) joined Colonel Riddell, who had brought a force out to Secundra Rao and left the district in the hands of Nujjuff (Najaf) Khan, the *Moonsiff*, and the *Mofussil* revenue officers, who kept affairs going until 12th January 1858, when I took charge of it.

8th—In the end of November Mr. Wilson, C. S., with Captain Mackenzie of the 8th Irregulars, and a few foot soldiers under Captain Gowan, who had recently escaped from Rohilkund, marched to Soron with a view of getting information of Christian refugees, who were known to (be) waiting for an opportunity to escape from confinement in Rohilkund. The advance of the rebels from Putteealee (Patiali) to Suhawur obliged him to fall back upon Gungeree (Gangiri); and it was from here that Choube Gunseam Dass (Chaubey Ghanshyam Das), a blind and paralytic pensioner of the British Government, who during the whole of the disturbances had shewn the most unflinching fidelity to Government, and aided the District Officers in Allygurh in every way that the wisdom of his advice, his personal influence, and personal courage could be employed in, to the utmost of his ability, set out to get information of the rebels, and was murdered by them in Kasgunj, with the connivance of men who pretended to be well-wishers of Government. Among his murderers it has since transpired were some of the retainers of Mohumud Daood (Daud) Khan. This *Raees* of Bheekumpoor's duplicity and double-dealing have been but too evident to those who have had opportunities of seeing how he bore himself towards the Government servants at Allygurh and towards the inhabitants of Kasgunj and Suhawur.

ISMAIL KHAN'S BATTLE WITH EUROPEANS AT MALSI

9th—On the 14th of December the force that Colonel Seaton of the 1st European Fusiliers had brought down from

Delhi, engaged the enemy under Ismail Khan, son of Wulleedad Khan of Malagurh, at Mulsee, near Gungeeree; and after a brief action, entirely routed them, taking their three guns and killing about 150 or 200 of the enemy. They fled through Kasgunj to Suhawur, and our force marching to Kasgunj the next morning, they evacuated Suhawur and fled to Putteealee, where another action took place, in which they again lost all their artillery (13 guns) camp and baggage. The rebel force was completely dispersed, and the remains of it retreated to Furruckabad, Colonel Seaton returned to Kasgunj, and crossing the Kalee Nudee, marched by Etah to Mynpoory (Mainpuri), which was occupied after a brief resistance by the force about the 26th of December.

10th—I received orders to take charge of the district about the 9th of January and arrived in Etah on the 12th; since which time the usual official reports will furnish any information that may be desired on what has happened in the District.[1]

STRONG CONCENTRATION OF REVOLUTIONARIES ALONG THE GHATS

Eytah (*Etah*)—The position of affairs in this district remains much as before; the *Ghats* all along the river from Ramghat downwards are watched by the rebels, and a very detailed account furnished by a spy sent for the purpose of ascertaining their force places it at about 6500 with five guns besides a supporting force of 3000 men and four guns at Budaon; of these 2500 are said to be opposite Ramghat with 3 guns and 1200 with 2 guns at Kuchla Ghat. Other accounts go far to confirm this estimate which is probably rather below the truth.

At Kuchla Ghat they have put up bamboos to indicate the ford and have erected a sand-bag battery with embrasures for three guns. On the 16th a few horsemen actually crossed at this Ghat and burned a few houses in a neighbouring village, but immediately returned to the opposite bank. Mr. Daniell, the Joint Magistrate, is encamped close to this place and his presence with 60 or 70 Irregular Horse is said greatly to have alarmed the rebels, and to have been sufficient to check any

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Etah District*, pp. 7-8.

attempt at aggression. He is raising a small entrenchment opposite the Ghat.[1]

AHIRS ACTIVE IN ETAH

Some Aheers are also plundering in the Etah District, but the Magistrate is not yet strong enoughto deal with them.[2]

SKIRMISHES AT VARIOUS GHATS

The rebels have made several demonstrations at various *Ghauts* in this district, and at Kuchla Ghaut crossed and drove back on the 11th the 150 Jat Horse who were watching their movements. In the skirmish the enemy lost 7 killed and Captain Murray's 1 Trooper killed and his Adjutant Lieutenant Hennessy severely wounded by sabre cuts on the arm.

ATTACK ON A VILLAGE

The enemy however tho' very strong in numbers made no advance, and Captain Murray continued to hang on their flanks and subsequently retired on Kassgunge (Kasganj). The rebels then attacked the village of Oorhee, but were unable to overcome the resistance of Dara Sing the loyal *zemindar* of that place, and at night-fall they retired leaving several dead on the ground, to bury whom, they recrossed the following day but did no further mischief.[3]

GENERAL PENNY REACHES ETAH

The arrival of General Penny's force has restored confidence in this district. The Aheers about Mustafabad, on the Agra and Etah road, are still troublesome; and Mr. Daniell

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etah in the North-Western Provinces for the week ending 21st February 858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.* Narrative of Events for Etah District for the week ending 7th March 1858.

[3] *Ibid.* for the week ending 13th March 1858. (See p. 431, line 4 also).

purposed taking advantage of the neighbourhood of General Penny's force to punish them.[1]

RAM RATAN ESCAPES CAPTURE BY THE BRITISH

The state of this Division continues in all marterial points much as last reported.

Mathura—The Civil Officers of this district, in conjunction with those at Mynpoorie and Etah, assisted by a strong force of Police, and the Rajah of Awa's followers, have been employed in hunting one Ram Ruttun, a notorious dacoit who has done much to disturb that part of the country. After some time the man was tracked into a small mud fort where he was surrounded by the Rajah of Awa's men. Captain Gowan and Sergeant Hardy with the Police, on coming up, attacked the place, but failed. They tried to blow in the gate with powder bags; the powder was however bad, and the explosion did no harm. They had no trained Artillerymen, without which the Rajah's two small guns were useless. The Commissioner gives the Rajah credit for zeal in this affair, but Mr. Daniell and Captain Gowan report that *his men gave no cordial assistance*, and that when the garrison escaped, as they did at night, *it could only have been withthe connivance of the Rajah's men.* Captain Gowan had 2 men wounded. Ram Ruttun is believed to have gone to Calpee. The collections during the 3rd week in march, from 3 *pergunnahs* only, were 14,000 Rs.[2]

ETAH THREATENED BY RAJA TEJ SINGH

Telegraphic Message from Major Eld to Muir, dated Allyghur (Aligarh), April 10, 1858.

Mr. Daniell writes from Etah, that a body of 500 rebels, and three guns, under Tej Singh, of Mynpoorie, have crossed the Kalee Nuddee, near Kurrowlee (Kuraoli), and threatened

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etah for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (See p. 849 also).

[2] *Ibid.* Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 28th March 1858.

Etah. Sohurer[1], however, where General Penny is, is only twenty miles from the place. The Police at the *ghaut* Mr. Daniell says were disarmed by the rebels. Mr. Sapte informs me that Rahum Ally[2], from the other side, will try to make for Jeypore, but I will be on the look out for him.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES MUSTER STRONG AT ALIGANJ

Telegraphic Message from Vansittart to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), April 13, 1858.

I have received information that the rebel army will cross at the ford of Keniun, near to Bhutta or Phutta; they have largely increased at Allygunge (Aliganj). Watson's Column under orders to march for that direction.[4]

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN IN ETAH

Telegraphic Message from Daniel to Muir, Puttiallee (Patiali), April 24, 1858.

Khan Bahadoor and, it is said, Neebal (*sic,*) rebels, have returned from Budaon, and are collecting a body of disaffected Abeers[5] near Etah. Without foot soldiers or reliable police, I cannot be answerable for the safety of the Trunk Road, the Station, or district. Cannot a force be ordered to Rotay (*sic*, stay) in Etah, for district purposes, from Agra or Allgyhur? I consider this absolutely necessary.[6]

KADIRGANJ LAID WASTE

The village of Kadirgunje (Kadirganj), north of Putialee was burnt by the enemy on the 19th but the party who did the mischief at once re-crossed.[7]

[1] Appears wrongly spelt for *Sahawar* or *Sahar.*
[2] Spelt as 'Rahim Ali' elsewhere. (pp. 872-73).
[3] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 15 in No. 13, p. 144.
[4] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 8 in No. 13, p. 142.
[5] Apparently 'Aheers' is meant.
[6] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, Inclosure 22 in No. 14, p. 153.
[7] Foreign Department, North, Western Provinces, Narrative(Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etah for the week ending 25th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

NIHAL SINGH CAPTURED

The only item of importance is the capture by the *Cotwal* of the notorious outlaw, rebel and dacoit "Nihal Singh".[1] He with Ram Bahadoor an equally dangerous man have (*sic,*) been for some weeks in Rohilcund but returned to their home in the Etah District not long ago, and were endeavoring to create disturbances.[1]

JALESAR TOWN ATTACKED

The town of Julleysur (Jalesar) was attacked on the 14th as will be noticed below, otherwise the district is quiet. Many notoriously disaffected characters of this district are however known to have been serving in the ranks of the Rohilcund rebels; and their expected return to their homes is a matter of some anxiety to the Civil Authorities.[2]

RAHIM ALI TOWARDS ISLAMNAGAR

Bulletin dated Agra, 20th May 1858.

Soron 17th May, and Ramghat 18th May—A party of rebels said to be the main body of Raheem Alee's force, had left the banks of the Ganges for Islamnuggur.

Etah, 18th May—The rebels had retired from the banks of the Ganges, direction not known.[3]

MUHAMMAD ALI KHAN OF SAHAWAR SHOT DEAD

Allyghurh, 19th and 20th—The Collector is at Kuthampore investigating the conduct of land-holders charged with aiding

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etah for the week ending 2nd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[2] *Ibid.* Narrative of Events for Mathura for the week ending 16th May 1858.
[3] Originals of Daily Bulletins issued by Mr. E. A. Reade during March-July 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Reheem Ali's incursion...Mahomed Ali Khan of Sahawur had been shot by sentence of Court Martial.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Joint Magistrate, Allygurh (Aligarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 20th May 1858.

Mr. Bramly writes from the neighbourhood of the Ganges dated 19th. All quiet at the *Ghats*. Any news of importance will be sent to Brigadier Showers direct. Mohomed Allee Khan of Sahawur has been shot by Court Martial.[2]

ATTEMPT TO CROSS GANGES

Telegraphic Message from C. Daniel, Etah, via Allyghur (Aligarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 21st May 1858.

A report I had this morning seems confirmed. I believe a large party of rebels with guns said to be eleven hundred are trying to cross the Ganges.

They were seen on the 18th between Ossoheit (Usehat)[3] and Surajpore. I am writing to Juleysur (Jalesar)[4] and Akburabad to inform the Military. There is a ferry at Bughera[5] but I can trust the men to do all they can to prevent the boats being taken.[6]

* * *

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 27, 1858, p. 500. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] In District *Badaun*.

[4] *Jalesar*, Pargana and Tahsil *Jalesar*, District *Etah*—This town, the headquarters of the tahsil of the same name, is situated in 27° 28′ N. and 78° 19′ E., between the Isan and Sirsa rivers about a mile from the left bank of the former, and in 1901 contained 14,348 inhabitants. (*District Gazetteers*, Etah, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 175).

[5] Apparently *Bajhera*, Pargana *Khera Bajhera*, Tahsil *Tilhar*, District *Shahjahanpur*—The pargana of Khera Bajhera is named after two contiguous villages known as Bajhera Bhagwantpur and Khera Rath, which stand in 28° 2′ N. and 79° 33′ E., on the branch road from Jaitipur to Nawada, at a distance of 13 miles from Tilhar. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur, Vol. XVII, 1910, p. 157).

[6] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Rbom, Lucknow.

Telegraphic Message from Daniel to Muir, dated Etah, May 21, 1858.

As 1,000 or more rebels are trying to cross at Seerujpore (Surajpur) Ghaut, I have asked Lieutenant Hawkins to halt the Kupoorthulla Rajah's force here to-morrow. He has 1,000 men with him, and will halt here to-morrow.[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from C. I. Daniel, Etah via Allyghur (Aligarh), Joint Magistrate of Etah, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 21st May 1858.

The Ganges is not fordable. The enemy are at Soorajpore one thd. (thousand) strong and gun boats on this side at Bughera. All boats collected from the other bank. Will Soorajpore be watched from Futtehghur? The Kuppoortulla (Kapurthala) Raja came in this morning. He has about one thousand men with him. He halts here to-morrow. *Thanadar* of Oojhanee (Ujhani) reports that Islamnugher is held by rebels who again want to cross the Ganges.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 23rd May 1858.

The Joint Magistrate of Etah reports that as one thousand or more rebels were trying to cross at Sheorajpore Ghat the Raja of Kuppoorthulla who is marching towards Lucknow had been requested to halt his force of one thd. (thousand) men at Etah. No news-letter have (*sic*,-has) been received at Gwalior for five days and it is supposed that the communications have been interrupted by scattered parties of rebels. Raheem Allee's party which crossed the Doab the other day reached Indoorkee on the 18th.[3]

RAHIM ALI CROSSES GANGES

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, May 25, 1858.

Allyghur—Reheem Ally crossed the Ganges with, it is

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 10 in No. 16, p. 159

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Ibid.*

said, 1,000 men and three guns, on the 12th May. Intelligence has been received from Etah, dated the 21st May, and says that 1,000 rebels are trying to cross the Ganges at Sewrajpore Ghaut.[1]

RAHIM ALI ATTACKS MAJOR WATERFIELD

May 27th, Thursday—The Trunk Road up and down is unsafe. The Commander-in-Chief has literally not a man to escort him down to Cawnpore. A few days back one Ruheem Ali made a dash across the Ganges, out of Rohilkhand, with some hundreds of sowars, and in the night came upon a *gharry* (*gari*), in which were Major Waterfield and another officer. They cut the former to pieces; the latter had an escape little short of miraculous, after a desperate fight, and got away in the dark. Under these circumstances we shall have to stay here for some little time.[2]

VILLAGE NEAR SORON BURNT

The movements against Ram Ruttun have had a good effect on the Aheers of the district. The rebels on the left bank of the Ganges are reported as less bold; but they burned a village named Dafur, a little above Soron on the 29th re-crossing the river immediately. General Penny's Column was at Sohawur when last reported.[3]

CONFISCATION OF REVOLUTIONARIES' PROPERTY IN ETAH

6*th*—The Commissioner of the Agra Division having

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 16, p. 156.

[2] Rüssell, W. H. : *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, p. 160.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Etah for the week ending 5th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

submitted a statement of personal effects which had been confiscated in the Etah District with a recommendation that they should be sold the Lieutenant-Governor was pleased to authorize the disposal of the property indicated in the margin*.

7*th*—With regard to the rest of the property exhibited in the Statement, His Honor observed that it was not stated under what act the award of confiscation had issued nor had a year passed since the date of the sentences, that the property which had been confiscated under Act XXV of 1857 might be reclaimed not only by a suit under Act IX of 1859 but also by the surrender of the offender within one year from the date of seizure, and his acquittal of the double charge specified in section 8 of Act XXV and that such property therefore could not be sold until an year had elapsed from the date of forfeiture. Further particulars were directed to be submitted in these cases. With regard to the property of Mahomed Ally Khan case No. 5 His Honor coincided in the view taken by the Commissioner viz. that the landed property referred to by Mr. Wigram the Deputy Collector of Etah had been released not out of any consideration for his relative but because it did not belong to the rebel and there could be no reason why the personal property which was bonafide, the property of Mahomed Ally Khan, should be bestowed on his son or daughter-in-law.[1]

* Marginal note in Original.
No. 1. Property of Azeem Oollah Khan of Allygunge.
No. 2. Huzur Meer Khan.
No. 3. Mahomed Hosein Khan and others.
No. 4. Jodha Singh of Kader Baree.
No. 5. Mahomed Alli Khan of Sehawar.
No. 7. Tehoar Khan of Meeaton.
No. 8. Himmut Ally Khan of Sarawal.
No. 9. Teeka Ram of Summood.
No. 15. Amanut Ally of Bhurgain.
No. 22. Shair (Sher) Singh and Megh Sing of Mullawah.

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, 1853-1860, No. of 1860; Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces for the Ist quarter of 1860, Collection No. 4, Political Proceedings: 3rd January 1860, Nos. 1 to 4. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

MATHURA

MATHURA REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS DELHI

....A company of the 44th N. I. and of the 67th N. I. have gone off from Muttra *to join the Delhi rebels*....[1]

MUHAMMADI FLAG HOISTED IN SARAI PUKHTA

Translation of a Petition sent by the Kotwal to Thornhill, Magistrate.

In the month of July 1857, the *Bhatiaras* of Sarai Pukhta in Mathura and the rebel sawars (horsemen) hoisted the Muhammadi flag and helped the *rebels in all their rebellious activities*. Saaduddin (Saad-uddin) *Zemadar*[2] who had come with the rebels and had been always a disturber of peace was given an abode by them in the Sarai and they helped him in his rebellious actions. Consequently after the investigation of the case, Baqar, one of the *Bhatiaras* of the Sarai was hanged to death.....[3]

NANA SAHEB'S RESIDENCE AT MATHURA DEMOLISHED BY BRITISH

Translation of an Order to Kotwal, Mathura, for the demolition of Nana Rao's property at Mathura, dated 3rd November 1857.

(Salutations etc.) Per to-day's orders. You are being ordered to pull down all the building of Nana Rao and to cut down all the trees of his garden and to announce that any one who has to throw filth and offal may use the garden for the purpose.

Translation of the reply of the Kotwal, Mathura, regarding the demolition of Nana Saheb's property, at Mathura, dated 9th November 1857.

The residence of Nana Saheb is being pulled down as ordered. The trees of the garden are also being cut down. People have been allowed to deposit filth and offal there.

[1] *The Dacca News*, June 13, 1857, p. 216. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] May be spelt for 'Jamadar' or 'Zamindar'.
[3] Mathura Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 4, File No. 2/33.

After the completion of the work, a reply to the *Parwana* issued, will be submitted; (usual endings).[1]

TATYA'S MOVEMENT IN MATHURA DISTRICT

Muttra—Some excitement was caused in the district by the movements of Tantia Topey and his defeated force, who having collected again at Srimuttra in the Dholepore Territory, seemed to threaten Bhurtpore, but though said to amount to 15,000 souls of all classes, they were utterly deficient in all necessaries; they are reported to have several elephants and perhaps one or two small guns laden upon them, but are otherwise in a miserable condition.[2]

AGRA

AGRA IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

News dated July 14, 1857.

The city of Agra is in the hands of the insurgents.... the Judge and Civil Surgeon of Bareilly have been hanged by a Rohilla chief, but the rumour requires confirmation.[3]

ENCOUNTER OF 16TH JULY

The Poona Observer states that the Neemuch mutineers who have burnt Agra Cantonments were attacked by the Europeans in the fort on the 16th of July. The rebels were completely beaten, and lost upwards of 1,000 men. They have fled in the direction of Muttra almost without ammunition.[4]

* * *

Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated August 13, 1857.

After a long period intelligence was received last week from Agra It extends to the 16th ultimo. On that date

[1] Mathura Collectorate Mutiny Basta No. 4, File No. 3/79.
[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division upto the 27th of June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.
[3] *The Friend of India*, July 16, 1857, p. 680. National Library, Calcutta.
[4] *The Friend of India*, 13th August 1857, p. 770. National Library, Calcutta.

the city was in the hands of the mutineers, but the fort was occupied by the authorities with the troops and volunteers. . .[1]

AGRA EXPECTED TO BE 'FOCUS' OF REVOLUTIONARIES

News dated Friday, July 17, 1857.

The Hindoo Patriot is of opinion that Dhoondoopunt Nanajee, the miscreant at Cawnpore, the self created Rajah of Bhitoor (Bithur), the resuscitated *Peishwa*, is now the head of the rebellion and that Agra not Delhi will be the focus where will gather all the scattered rebels.[2]

COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN AGRA AND KANPUR INTERRUPTED

Extract of Letter from Muir to Tucker, dated Agra, August 13, 1857.

Our communications with Cawnpore by the Trunk Road are again interrupted by the Nawab's[3] troops, and our messengers are obliged to go via Etawah, and you will not fail to observe what Greathed says about the *cartouche* (cartridge) *being the invariably assigned origin of the rebel movement*, on all occasions of inquiry from deserters. His observations coincide, I think, with the opinion I strongly expressed in my last to you.

I should like to hear your views on this point. A respectable native who was caught at Delhi by the outbreak, and was only able to get away lately, had full and constant opportunity of conversing with the sepoys on the subject, and says, he could get no other assignable cause from them. He asserts that the Delhi people and sepoys were not prepared for the inroad of our mutineers from Meerut. But whatever may have been the views and machinations of some of the ringleaders, there can, I think, be little doubt that the fear of the cartridges as the supposed enemy of caste, was the motive that swayed the masses.

Mr. Muir joins in kindest regards to Mr. and Miss Tucker.[4]

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, Aug. 13, 1857, p. 259. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *The Friend of India*, July 23, 1857, p. 698. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] Reference may be to 'Nawab of Farrukhabad'.
[4] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 33 in No. 3, pp. 147-148.

EUROPEANS CONFINED IN THE FORT

Extract from Letter No. IX dated Calcutta, 26th Aug. 1857.

Aug. 26, 1857—The great city of Agra is in the hands of the rebels while the Governor of the North-West Provinces, with the British residents, are helplessly shut up in the fort.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES SPEEDILY ORGANISE IN DOAB

Narrative of Events by R. J. H. Birch, Colonel, Secretary to the Government of India, dated 9th September 1857.

Agra—The latest news from Agra is up to the 27th of August. All was well in the fort, sickness having decreased. The Lieutenant-Governor represents the rapidity with which the rebel power is being organized in the Doab, and alludes to the pressing want of money. Some has been obtained from the city at a high rate of interest and some is raised by supplying bills. He has had a small siege-train prepared for service, and can make it over, as well as camels for carriage, whenever an escort can be sent.[2]

DHOLPUR RAJA THREATENED BY MIR AMAN ALI

Supplementary Narrative of Events by Colonel R. J. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India, dated September 10, 1857.

Agra—News from Agra up to the 31st August, when all was well there; but the Gwalior troops were getting uneasy. Meer Amaun Ally (Mir Aman Ali), *Subadar* of the 1st Infantry of the Contingent, had, it was reported, *threatened the Dholepore Rajah with an attack if he assisted the English, and had intimated his intention of proceeding to Agra.* His spies also say, however, that they are uneasy about the troops advancing on Jhansi, and that there is some intention of going to attack them.[3]

[1] Duff, Rev. Alexander : *The Indian Rebellion, Its Causes and Results*, in A Series of letters; Letter No. IX, Calcutta, Aug. 26, 1857, p. 93.
[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 1 in No. 3, p. 114.
[3] *Ibid.* Inclosure 2 in No. 3, p. 117.

ENCOUNTER NEAR AWAH

Extract from Letter from Muir to Sherer, dated Agra, September 26, 1857.

.....We have had pretty certain intimation today that the Indore force at Dholepore are collecting carriage, and contemplate a very early move; they speak of coming this way but it is supposed that they will move via Futtehpore Sicree towards Muttra to join the great body of the mutineers and with them proceed towards Oude. The maharajah at Gwalior, has, we are assured, destroyed all the boats in the Chumbul, so that the Indore troops were in a very awkward position, and their only alternative was to go off via Etawah or Muttra, or to stand the chance of being attacked, with the Chumbul in their rear. There is talk by some that a move is projected on Bhurtpore, into the fort of which the mutineers are supposed to desire to throw themselves; but I cannot find any confirmation of the idea. Upon the whole, so far as I can see at present, the universal intention of the mutineers is to mass themselves either in Bareilly, or further to the eastward in Oude.....

I give Lawrence's account of his affair :—"I left with a force of 5 Horse Artillery guns, 2 squadrons 1st Brigade Lancers, 200 of Her Majesty's 83rd, and 250 Mhairwara Battalion, for Awah, a walled town and fort about three miles and a half from this (Chiliamas). I left Bewar on Monday, the 14th; marched the first day to Barr (finding the road through the pass very much cut up by the bad weather we had during this month, which detained me at Bewar for upwards of a week); on Tuesday we moved to Peeplia; Wednesday to Bugree; Thursday to Chaputtia, about six miles from Awah; on Friday morning I moved the force on the direct road to Awah, and pushed forward to about half a mile from the town. The approach was through thickish jungle, in which a few of the enemy's Horsemen showed themselves, but speedily retreated before a few of the Lancers.

"Their guns opened fire on us at about 800 yards, and soon got our range pretty accurately. They were placed on the *bund* of a tank just outside the town, and their fire was well kept up for some time; we returned it, and forced them to quit their position and silenced their fire for a time; their Horsemen tried to turn our right flank, and threatened our baggage.

By a change of position, I placed my force between the enemy and our baggage again and, finally, retired on this village.

"The whole affair lasted about three hours. As we were weak in Infantry, and I felt I could not afford to lose any of my Europeans, and the force was inadequate to carry the place by a *coup de main*, I did not bring the Infantry or Cavalry where they could be actively engaged.....

....Our Hattrass force safely retired on Khundowlee (Khandauli) ten miles off, where it is now encamped.....[1]

ALMOST THE WHOLE COUNTRY AGAINST THE BRITISH

Extract from Letter No. X, dated Calcutta, 19th Sept. 1857.

19th September 1857—An intelligent gentleman at Agra, writing of the state of things when the British were obliged to abandon the city and retire into the fort, says,—"*The populace was all in arms* and there was nothing but plundering, bloodshed, and burning and destroying bungalows and public offices. *In plundering, most of the Hindustanies (i. e., Country-Hindus) joined the Mohammedans. The Mohammedans to a man are against the British Government, and three-fourths of the Hindustanies.*"[2]

DHOLPUR REVOLUTIONARIES INTEND TO ATTACK AGRA FORT

Letter from W. Muir, dated 8th October 1857.

Copy of a letter to Colonel Greathed intimating that the enemy are encamped today at Gujoud[3]—distance 18 miles and are prepared for crossing the Kharee to-morrow. The intention of the whole force is to attack the fort urging upon him the speediest movement to Agra in his power and desiring him to send forward the 500 Cavalry and Troops of Horse Artillery with all despatch.[4]

* * *

[1] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 40 in No. 2, pp. 71-73.

[2] Duff, Rev. Alexander : *The Indian Rebellion, Its Causes and Results*, in A Series of Letters, letter No. X, Calcutta, 19th September 1857, p. 112.

[3] Name not clearly decipherable.

[4] N. W. P. Proceedings, Political, Foreign Department, 1857; Abstract

Letter from W. Muir, regarding Dholpur Revolutionaries, dated Agra, 9th October 1857.

Copy of a letter to Colonel Greathed, intimating that the enemy is encamped on the other side of the Kharee and proposes to cross the river today and may attack the fort to-morrow hence the urgent anxiety to be provided with a Cavalry and Horse Artillery, stating that there are indications of some advisers in the enemy's camp who wish to carry either towards Bhartpoor (Bharatpur) or Etawah. Observing that it would be more disastrous to allow their escape than to bear their menaces at Agra, urging him therefore to bear on, stating that arrangements can be made to assist his Infantry the last stage or move by Bullock Trains Waggons.[1]

* * *

Letter from W. Muir, dated 9th October 1857.

Copy of a letter to Colonel Greathed intimating that our reconnoitring party has come in; numbers of the Cavalry had crossed the Kharee and fired upon our party, that about 300 Infantry have crossed the Kharee, that the Cavalry are spreading over the country and will be committing all kinds of excesses.[2]

PART OF BAREILLY BRIGADE AT NOOSEAN

Telegraphic Message from Muir to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Agra, October 9, 1857.

Part of the Bareilly brigade to-day at Noosean, halfway to Hattrass (Hathras); rest of fugitives likely to follow. Indore troops, though for some days intending to move towards

of the Proceedings of Colonel Hugh Fraser, C. B., Chief Commissioner, North-Western Provinces, ending 21st October, 1857, dated 19th October, No. 191, G. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[1] N. W. P. Proceedings, Political, Foreign Department, 1857; Abstract of the Proceedings of Colonel Hugh Fraser, C.B., Chief Commissioner, North-Western Provinces, ending 21st October 1857, No. 191 H. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] N. W. P. Proceedings, Political, Foreign Department, 1857; Abstract of the Proceedings of Colonel Hugh Fraser, C. B., Chief Commissioner, North-Western Provinces, 29th October 1857, No. 191 F. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Muttra, had not left Dholepore yesterday.... Two more *Shahzadahs* brought in to be tried by Military Commission.[1]

ATTACK ON GREATHED'S CAMP

Telegraphic Message from Muir, the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Agra, October 10, 1857.

Greathed's Moveable Column came in this morning. At 11 A.M. enemy made a sudden attack on the camp in cantonments. Our troops speedily in pursuit : cannonade for two hours, enemy dispersed, many cut up, light guns and elephants believed to be taken; but authentic report not yet in.[2]

ENCOUNTER WITH GREATHED'S FORCE

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi, dated Camp Agra, October 11, 1857.

I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Major-General commanding, that in consequence of urgent letters from Agra, I marched from Hattrass (Hathras) at 6 P. M. on the 9th, carrying the European Infantry on elephants and carts, and encamped on the brigade parade-ground at this place, about 8 A. M. yesterday. At half past 10 O'clock, my camp was suddenly attacked on the front and right flank. I galloped to the front, and found the Artillery getting into action, and Her Majesty's 9th Lancers in the saddle. I proceeded myself with Her Majesty's 8th Regiment and the 4th Punjab Infantry to the right flank, for the purpose of dislodging the enemy and taking their guns, which were raking our camp. On the way I took with me the 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjab Cavalry, extending the Infantry, in skirmishing order, with their supports. I took the Cavalry to the open space near the European Infantry barracks, with directions to move as circumstances would permit. The 9-pounder Agra Battery had by this time come up; I advanced them in support of the

[1] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 83 in 2, p. 84.

[2] *Ibid.*, Inclosure 226 in No. 2, p. 121.

Infantry, on the road leading from the Artillery parade ground to the Dholepore Road, and the skirmishers advanced and cleared the compounds to their front; the Punjab Cavalry, under Lieutenant Watson, had then the opportunity of making a most gallant charge, driving off the enemy's sowars and capturing four guns. After this, the rebels made no stand on the right, *but the left continued to be hotly engaged*, and the enemy's sowars advanced, with great determination, on the guns, one of which was disabled from its gunners having been cut down, and, for the moment, in the possession of the enemy; it was, however, instantly recaptured, and 9th Lancers charged the sowars and drove them from the field. I regret to say, that two most excellent officers, Lieutenants French and Jones, were wounded, the former mortally, and I fear that little hope can be entertained of the recovery of Lieutenant Jones. I advanced during this time on the Dholepore road, capturing guns as we went on, and the 9th Lancers, and Artillery supported by the 75th and 2nd Punjab Infantry, advanced on the left, taking four guns on their way. The whole line now moved to the front, the Punjab Cavalry, as usual performing most excellent service on the flanks, till we reached a village three miles. From hence, where we halted for a short time, the whole of the enemy being then in full flight; we were now joined by the 3rd Europeans, and Colonel Cotton, commanding at Agra, came up, and took the command of the whole of the troops. The enemy's camp was descried about two miles in advance and we marched upon it, the road strewed in all directions with baggage and carts. The Infantry was ordered to halt at the camp and Cavalry and Artillery pursued the enemy to the Kharee Nuddee, ten miles and a half from Agra. The enemy had crossed the river before we reached it, leaving behind him all his guns, a return of which is attached. The Artillery fired grape and round-shot at the retreating enemy across the river, with good effect. The country all round was covered with fugitives, of whom a large number were cut up. They have all now crossed the Kharee Nuddee. After a short halt we returned to camp, and the captured guns were all brought in during the night. I have not been able to estimate the enemy's number, as, in addition to the Indore force and the Neemuch and Nusseerabad Brigades, sepoys were found killed belonging to the 16th Grenadiers, Hurrianah Light Infantry, Gwalior Contingent, and several others. The whole country, as far as one could see, was covered with fugitives, but of these many were, probably, camp-followers and rabble. I have never seen such a rout, and had our Artillery and Cavalry been fresh, few would have crossed the Kharee Nuddee; but they had marched forty-one miles in less than thirty hours before arriving at Agra. It is impossible to say too much of the excellent conduct of the whole of the troops, officers and men, and I trust it will meet with the approbation of the Major-General Commanding the Field Force at Delhi.

It is my intention, as soon as I have been joined by the detachment now on its way from Delhi, to proceed towards Futtehghur, with the view of effecting a junction with General Havelock's force, subject to the approbation of General Penny.[1]

* * *

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, Commanding Moveable Column, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Field Force, Delhi, dated Camp Agra, October 13, 1857.

In recapitulation of my hasty letter of the 11th instant I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Field Force, Delhi, that after a march of forty-four miles in twenty-eight hours, the Moveable Column under my command encamped on the parade-ground at this station at 8 A. M. on the 10th instant. At half past 10 O'clock four guns were heard by us on our right flank, and the assembly was sounded. I galloped on (to) the front, and found the Artillery already in action, and the 9th Lancers in their saddles, formed up in squadrons. The enemy had attacked our front and right flank with his artillery, which raked the camp. On seeing this I moved with Her Majesty's 8th (the King's Regiment) and the 4th Punjaub Infantry (taking with me on the way the three squadrons of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjaub Cavalry) to the right, with the view of out-flanking and capturing the guns on that flank. I must not omit to mention that when I reached the front three minutes after this surprise, I found the whole of the troops, without exception, drawn up on their respective alarm-posts, as if for

[1] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 202 in No. 2, pp. 115-16.

parade. I extended the Infantry along the road leading from the parade-ground to the Infantry barracks, in skirmishing order, with supports, with orders to advance to their front and clear the compounds of the enemy's Infantry. Taking with me the Punjaub Cavalry, I then proceeded to the European barracks, and pointed out to Lieutenant Watson the open ground upon which I conceived he might work with effect; how admirably he did so will be seen in his own report. By this time the Agra 9-pounder Battery came up, and I advanced it in support of the right flank of the Infantry, on the road leading from the Artillery parade-ground, and the inclosures were speedily cleared. In doing this the 4th Punjaub Infantry distinguished itelf, as it did throughout the day. The advance of the Infantry and Battery enabled Lieutenant Watson to make the charge and capture the guns and standards, and after that the enemy did not make any stand, although they continued to fire round shots as they retreated. I continued the pursuit to a village three miles on the Gwalior Road, and halted, to enable the left to come up. Here we were joined by the 3rd European Regiment, who took their place in the line, detaching two Companies to support the Punjaub Infantry engaged in driving out the enemy, who still hung on our flanks in the jungle and topes on our right.

Colonel Cotton, Commanding the Agra Garrison, then assumed command, and the pursuit was continued to the Kharree Nuddee, with Artillery and Cavalry, the Infantry finally halting at a village five miles on the Gwalior Road, where the enemy's camp had been pitched. The rout was now complete, and the whole face of the country covered with fugitives. The enemy fled across the Kharree Nuddee under the effective fire of grape and round shot from our Artillery.

The accompanying Return from Major Turner will show that twelve guns were captured, and the enemy lost the whole of his tents, baggage, and ammunition. I have reason to believe that scarcely a cart was taken across the river, and, most certainly, not one gun.

The conduct of the troops engaged during the whole affair was beyond any praise of mine; but it is my duty to bring to the special notice of the Major-General Commanding their admirable steadiness at the outset of the action : when, taken completely by surprise, and when a great part of the troops

Artillery came into action under a destructive fire, and its subsequent services, was worthy of their reputation.

The Cavalry showed throughout the day that they were led by officers who combined steadiness and an eye for ground, with greatest gallantry.

The Infantry drove the enemy flying from the inclosures, and pursued them for several miles with the most persevering resolution; and the conduct of the Punjab Infantry regiments, which had had no assistance from carriage during the march, deserves the most favorable notice. The Sappers and Miners were also most steady and forward in the pursuit; I refer you for details of the operations on the left to Major Ouvry, as I was not able to leave the right till the enemy was in full flight.

The Cavalry and Artillery marched over, at least, sixty-four miles, and the Infantry fifty-four miles of road in less than thirty-six hours, besides moving through fields during action; Captain Bourchier's 9-pounder Battery had marched in during the night from Hattrass, thiry miles without a halt.

I beg to bring prominently to the favorable notice of the Major-General Cmmanding, the gallantry and unwearied exertions of the whole of the troops engaged.* The Artillery under Major Turner, was led in a manner which caused general admiration. Major Ouvry, as usual, did the most efficient service with his Cavalry. The 9th Lancers distinguished themselves under Captain Anson during the whole day, and most particularly on a gallant charge on a large body of the enemy's sowars, in which they rescued a gun which had been temporarily disabled. The conduct of Lieutenant Watson seconded by Lieutenant Gough, Lieutenant Probyn, and Lieutenant Younghusband, is entitled to the warmest praise : these officers appear to have all the qualities which distinguish the Cavalry officer.....[1]

* "Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, 1st Punjaub Cavalry, 2nd Punjaub Cavalry, 5th Punjaub Cavalry, 1st Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery, 2nd Troop 3rd Brigade Horse Artillery, No. 17 Light Field Battery, Engineers, Her Majesty's 8th (the King's Regiment), Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, 2nd Punjaub Infantry, 4th Punjaub Infantry, Lieutenant Pearson's Agra 9-pounder Battery".—(Note in Original).

[1] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 21 in No. 1, pp. 20-21.

ORDNANCE CAPTURED FROM REVOLUTIONARIES

Description and Measurement of Brass Ordnance captured from the Enemy on the 10*th instant* (10*th Oct.* 1857) *by H. Cotton, Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding at Agra.*

No.	1. Ordnance Brass Gun, Native manufacture	Length of Gun	Diameter of Breach at Base Ring	Diameter at Muzzle Swell	Diameter of Bore	Remarks
No. 1.	Ordnance Brass Gun, Native manufacture	118.5	22.56	17.05	5.32	Between 18 and 24-pounder
2.	Ditto ditto	66.9	18.65	13.7	4.73	Over 12-pounder
3.	Ditto ditto	92.7	16.55	13.55	4.4	Under 12 pounder
4.	Ditto ditto	51.4	11.4	8.33	4.07	Under 9-pounder
5.	Ditto ditto	50.7	11.8	9.8	3.86	7-pounder
6.	Ditto ditto	54.2	10.9	8.65	3.89	7-pounder
7.	Ditto ditto	63.4	12.25	9.63	4.07	8-pounder
8.	Ditto ditto	42.95	10.12	8.15	3.49	Under 6-pounder.[1]
9.	9-pounder Gun, Government manufacture	69.1	10.83	8.62	4.3	
10.	Ditto ditto	69.1	11.52	8.9	4.3	
11.	Ditto ditto	69.1	11.52	8.87	4.2	
12.	Ditto ditto	69.1	11.52	8.85	4.22[2]	

[1] The Ordnance was captured subsequent to the Battle of 10th Oct. 1857.
[2] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No.4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 20 in No. 1, p. 20.

REVOLUTIONARIES FROM DELHI AND GWALIOR THREATEN AGRA

Detailed accounts of the assault made upon Dehli on the 14th ultimo which terminated in the dislodgment of the enemy from the outer defences have been received in official despatches from the Major-General commanding the force and the Adjutant-General. *The fight seems to have been a most obstinate one, and the loss consequently has been severe on the side of the victors.* Out of 2,000 Europeans engaged 170 were killed and 562 wounded, and out of 3,000 natives 103 were killed and 310 wounded. The mutineers who escaped have fled towards Allygurh (Aligarh) whither they were pursued by a flying Column of Cavalry and Horse Artillery. An action was fought which ended in their defeat. Many of them have gone towards Muttra, and some, we suppose, towards Barreilly. Colonel Greathead[1] had arrived half way between Allygurh and Agra on the 12th Instant. The presence of the fugitives near Allygurh and at Muttra adds to the dangers of Agra. *That city is now threatened on the one side by the Gwalior troops, and on the other from Allygurh by the escaped rebels of Delhi. Muttra too swarms with mutinied sepoys who will join any attack upon the capital of the North-Western provinces.* Colonel Greathead's Column will be a valuable addition to the garrison of Agra, but further reinforcements are necessary to ensure its safety. For these reinforcements both Meerut and Delhi must now contribute their quotas, Khan Behadoor Khan still reigns at Barreilly. He sent a force to attack Nynetal (Naini Tal) about the beginning of September, but the men were repulsed.[2]

DHOLPUR REVOLUTIONARIES ATTACK AGRA CANTONMENT

Extracts from Narrative of Events, dated October 22, 1857.

SKIRMISH NEAR ALIGARH ON 5TH OCTOBER 1857

Agra—A Moveable Column under Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, Her Majesty's 8th Foot, left Delhi on the 23rd Sep-

[1] Spelt as 'Greathed' in other documents. (pp. 869, 898, 906)
[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 15th October 1857, p. 331. National Library, Calcutta.

tember for the Doab; defeated a body of fanatics and rabble of district of Allyghur, on 5th October, taking two guns; Coel is again quietly occupied. On the 7th he destroyed Akrabad, and arrived at Agra, where he had been summoned by the Commissioner, on the 10th, on which day the Dholepore mutineers made an attack on the cantonment. They were defeated and dispersed with great loss; the success was most complete; they were followed up to the Kharee, a great number were killed, all their guns (eleven, if not thirteen), were taken, as well as all their camp equipage and baggage. They had not rallied, and had been driven away from Muttra, as well as from Bhurtpore. Not one remained on the Agra side of the Kharee. Lieutenant Home, of Engineers, was killed by accident in blowing up Malaghur. The Bareilly, Nusseerabad, and Delhi fugitives, passing onwards towards Secunderabad. They plundered Hattrass in passing through that place. All had crossed the Jumna except the Neemuch Brigade (which had gone to join the Indore mutineers at Dholepore). Greathed's Column left Agra and crossed Jumna on 14th, on its way to Cawnpore, the reinforcement of Sir J. Outram at Lucknow being imperative.[1]

CHAOS IN AGRA

Extracts from Letter No. XII, dated Calcutta, 19th Oct. 1857.

Agra, 22nd October[2]—The sudden resolve of Brigadier Polwhele to act differently from what had been previously determined on, saved the British residents from the combined night attack which had been so cunningly arranged, and thus saved them from a massacre similar to that at Meerut and Delhi.

...That fort (Agra) in the hands of the British, kept at bay myriads of armed and turbulent rebels; had it then fallen into the hands of the enemy, these myriads would have been set loose on Delhi, or Lucknow, or Allahabad....

...The whole city of Agra, with the exception of the

[1] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 1 in No. 2, p. 47.

[2] The letter is dated 19th Oct. 1857, but it appears that it was despatched after including the accounts of Oct. 22, 1857.

fort, may be said no longer to exist. It is a chaos of ruins, a large portion of it having been levelled to the ground.[1]

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AT FATEHPUR SIKRI

Copy of Letter from W. Muir to J. W. Sherer, Cawnpore (Kanpur), dated Agra, 23rd Oct. 1857.

I have very little to report today.

The mutineers are still at Futtehpore Sicri, and the party that was at Behree is joining them. Those that had left for Biana are said on hearing this to have come back to Futtehpore Sicri. (Subsequent intelligence rather throws doubt on this). I hope our troops will soon move out to dislodge them. Colonel Fraser is waiting for the *Muzbees* who, I trust, will be in to-morrow. But Captain Tayler speaks of them as raw, ill-drilled recruits. Still we hope to find them sufficiently organized to fight and in that case our expedition will start probably to-morrow or the next day.

WALIDAD KHAN WAITS ON KHAN BAHADUR KHAN AT BAREILLY

I have a reliable native letter from Bareilly. It gives the following information:

Wulleedad with 500 followers reached Bareilly on the 5th instant and waited on Khan Bahadoor. The latter gave him 4 *Pultuns*, 1,100 Cavalry (the numbers you know in these accounts are not worth much) and two guns for the reconquest of Malagurh. The troops refused to go without pay; and the Nawab himself displays no great anxiety to expose his person to danger. But he was arranging for a nephew to go in command; and the troops were expected to start on the 16th, whether they will get the reach of the Ganges is doubtful—but my letter of yesterday will have shown that both the Meerut and the Bolundshuhur authorities are on the alert.

The Malagurh man's "*Naib*" spoke of going to Furruckabad to get more troops there.

[1] Duff, Rev. Alexander : *The Indian Rebellion, Its Causes and Results*, in A Series of Letters, Letter No. XII, dated 19th October 1857, pp. 155-56.

BAKHT KHAN AT FARRUKHABAD

Wulleedad remains at Bareilly.

Bukht Khan with the Nana's brother (who is followed by a personal guard of 400 persons) has gone via Budaon to Furruckabad.

Khan Bahadoor is trying to collect 1/2 Anna of the Revenue balances. But he meets with an obstinate resistance from the Hindoos. The Thakoors of a village in Shahjehanpore (I rather think it is I. Barnes' famous *Khundur*) attacked and killed above 100 of his troops when they demanded payment and the Aheers of Gonour (Gunnaur) in Budaon showed so determined a front that the Bareilly sepoys slunk away without attempting to enforce their demand.

KHAN BAHADUR DESPATCHES FORCES AGAINST NAINI TAL

The force sent against Nynee Tal had been defeated with loss. On its return to Bareilly, the Khan was much displeased and ordered them at once back again. They clamoured for their pay but did not get it. A large force however, has, the writer says, set out with 4 guns for Nynee Tal. There is not much danger for our friends there. The news of Nipal (Nepal) troops being expected at Nynee Tal had reached Bareilly. Intelligence of the occupation of Lucknow by Havelock was also known there. Both Hindoos and Mahomedans are deserting Bareilly by thousands and living in the villages.

Khan Bahadoor retains 10 *Pultuns*, some Cavalry and guns at Bareilly. He has in all 30 *Pultuns* (you may calculate as you please) and 21 guns. But his troops are ill-armed, some have muskets, some swords, some clubs. Many cannot use a gun. The Artillery-men are also unskilful.[1]

So much for the native account contained in the letter.

DELHI KING TO BE BROUGHT TO ALLAHABAD

The up country *dak* has just come in. It brings a letter from Saunders dated the 21st. He sends us a copy of the message of the Governor General dated the 10th instant,*

[1] See pp. 364-66, also, for this portion of the document.

* "The message was received here in a sealed packet addressed to

regarding the city and King of Delhi. I rejoice to see the Governor General's order to destroy the fortifications and defensive portions of the walls and gates of the city. In regard to the King, Mr. Saunders says that as his life was "guaranteed by Hodson under the authority of General Wilson, it will of course be necessary to send him down to Allahabad when the country is sufficiently tranquillized to admit of his travelling down country. His eventual destination ought certainly to be kept secret to prevent a chance of a rescue being attempted on his way down country."

Saunders adds I regret that he is not to be tried with a view, not to his being sentenced but to the evidence being recorded against him and his guilt or innocence asserted. The documentary evidence forthcoming against him is of a character the most convincing and there certainly ought to be some means of making it public for the information of Europe, and in justification of our conduct.

A trial, however, may not be necessary for the arrangement and elucidation of the evidence against the King. It can all be placed on record, and published by the Govt. in a form suitable for transmission to Europe. The evidence is all documentary. The printed Gazettes of the palace are sufficient alone to prove the open part taken by the King with the rebels; and there will be other documentary evidence of his secret machinations.

NAWAB OF JHAJHAR IN EUROPEAN CUSTODY IN DELHI

The Nawab of Jhujjur was safely conducted into Delhi on the 20th; he is now in the palace under an European Guard, and in the custody of Lieutenant Ommaney. He will be brought to trial in a few days under instructions from Sir J. Lawrence. No news had been received of the operations at Kanoud.

The post brings a letter of yesterday's date from Williams at Meerut, and of the 14 (th) instant from Ramsay at Nynee Tal.

The latter says that the second body that attacked them consisted of 5,000 and 500 good Horse. Colonel Story was

Fraser's instance I empowered Colonel Penny to open the packet"—Note

against any attack. Ramsay with difficulty got 300 men and went down. He laid a trap to catch the Cavalry by decoying them across the Gola Canal, and then taking possession of the Bridge; "but they escaped by galloping up, when I expected" says Ramsay "they would have walked. We killed a horse and wounded 4 men. But they thought we might do them more injury, and they bolted that night." The Kumauonies, the people of the district, have behaved admirably. When Ramsay sent for men to defend the passes "they came in thousands without any pay and without a grumble."

Williams thinks that Ramsay's chief difficulty will be money; and he has sent him up via Mussoorie 2,000 Gold *Mohurs*. At Meerut they have above 6 lacs in the treasury. Here we have little more than 4 and Reade is very irate at Grant for carrying off the 2/4 lacs from Mynpoory, which he had set his heart on getting! You must send us up treasure with the first detachment that moves this way.[1]

FATEHPUR SIKRI UNDER REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter from Mr. Muir to Sherer, dated Agra, October 25, 1857.

I have not much to tell you to-day, no local news except that the *Mugeebs*[2], under Captain Taylor, have arrived, and that our expedition against the small body of mutineers who still hold on at Futtehpore Sicree, starts on Tuesday the 27th. . . .[3]

DHOLPUR REVOLUTIONARIES AT FATEHPUR SIKRI

Extracts from Letter from H. Fraser, the Chief Commissioner of North-West Provinces to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Agra Fort, October 31, 1857.

12*th* (*Para*) *October* 27—Captain Taylor's Sappers, the greater part of whom are undisciplined, arrived here on the 25th, and a strong detachment under command of Colonel Cotton has this morning moved out to dislodge a few mutineers known to have assembled at Futtehpore Sicree. He will

[1] Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th December 1857, No. 42. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Apparently, spelt for 'Nujeebs (Najibs)'. (See p. 907, line 12 also).

[3] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 13 in No. 8, p. 128.

then move on Furrah, thence perhaps to Muttra, and afterwards to Sydabad, on the Allyghur Road; but he will always be kept within a moderate distance from Agra, unless any rebels should re-cross the Ganges in which case it is possible that I may authorize him to form a junction with the Allyghur Garrison, which I am attempting to make a permanent one, and to attack any enemy threatening that post; for with Colonel Cotton's energy, and a body of about 1000 men, and six guns, which he would then have at this disposal, I would not apprehend any unfortunate result. The greater portion of the Gwalior mutineers are reported to have crossed the Scinde river at Seeondah *en route* to Caplee, but I much doubt whether they will now dare to cross the Jumna.[1]

ENGAGEMENT AT FATEHPUR SIKRI

Telegraphic Message from Muir to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Agra, October 29, 1857.

Our expedition successful at Futtehpore Sicree (Fatehpur Sikri)[2]; most of the rebels fled, but some occupied the building on the heights and *fought desperately;* some seventeen killed; a few wounded on our side, including Lieutenant Glubbs, wounded through both legs. Showers' Column, after punishing Mewatties at Sonah, will proceed towards Bulubghur[3]. All quiet towards the north-west, excepting at the Dopa District, where the rising seems not yet quelled.

PERSECUTION OF REVOLUTIONARIES AT AGRA

News dated Friday 15*th January. Return of Capital Sentences at Agra from July to November, inclusive.*

By Court Martial 62 (4 blown from guns 2, commuted to imprisonment).

[1] Further Papers (No. 7, in continuation of No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure I in No. 9, pp. 192-193.

[2] *Fatehpur Sikri*, Tahsil *Kiraoli*, District *Agra*—This ancient and celebrated town lies in 27° 5′ N. and 77° 40′ E., at a distance of 23 miles south-west from Agra and ten miles from the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Agra, Vol. VIII, 1905, p. 249).

[3] Appears spelt for *Ballabhgarh*.

[4] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 102 in No. 1, p. 44.

By Special Commissioner 16

Total 78

Of these, 42 were Mussulmans, and 36 Hindoos, seventeen were mutineers, 13 (6 Mussulmans and 7 Hindoos), engaged in the riots succeeding on the 5th of July, and 48 (26 Mussulmans and 22 Hindoos) in traitorous or rebellious proceedings then or subsequently.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES FROM BUNDELKHAND, ROHILKHAND AND AVADH THREATEN AGRA FRONTIER

AGRA DIVISION THREATENED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Parts of this Division are in a very unsettled state—it is threatened on its N. E. frontier by the *rebels from Rohilcund and Oudh, on the south by those from Bundelcund* nor can this be fully remedied till the operations of the armies under His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and Sir Hugh Rose are brought to a successful issue, in other respects the process of tranquillization is advancing.[2]

MEASURES AGAINST VILLAGE DHIRPURA

This district is quiet. The 3rd European Regiment has been detached to punish the long refractory village of Deerpoor (Dhirpura)[3], but it was abandoned on their approach and only 10 or 12 of the fugitives were overtaken.

A convoy bringing down to Cawnpoor a large number of ladies and children and the Government officers proceeding to Allahabad, left Agra on the 12th and has been ordered to make double marches, in order to join Captain Tomb's Troop of Horse Artillery which is proceeding downwards from Allyghur.

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, January 21, 1858, p. 17. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] *Dhirpura*, Tahsil *Itimadpur*, District *Agra*—A large village in the south-east corner of the tahsil, in 27° 8′ N. and 78° 17′ E., at a distance of nine miles south-east from Itimadpur and six miles from Tundla station. (*District Gazetteers*, Agra, Vol. VIII, 1905, p. 241).

A small body of plunderers ventured to ford the Chumbul near Bah but were speedily dispersed by the Police.

From Central India it is reported that the *Rajah of Cotah has been betrayed into the hands of the rebel portion of his Court headed by one Jeydial (Jai Dayal)* and is now completely at their mercy.[1]

PEOPLE CEASE TO BE RESPECTFUL TO BRITISH

News dated Tuesday, 16th February 1858.

The Englishman published a letter from Agra complaining among other things of the *insolence of the natives* who do not make *Salaams* in passing Europeans....[2]

PRESS CENSORED AT AGRA

News dated Thursday, February 11, 1858.

The Agra authorities still keep up an illegal censorship of the press at that city. *The Delhi Gazette* has been warned by somebody not to publish the strength of the convoys leaving the city. *Throughout the mutiny the rebels have never been at any loss for information connected with the strength and movements of the British forces. The native police fretted and confided in by that order of little minds who only tolerate inferiority, took good care that no rebel how slight so ever his chance of success should want information.*[3]

KALPI REVOLUTIONARIES ON THE N. E. FRONTIER OF AGRA

The actual state of this Division is not much altered, but it is still threatened to the north and latterly also to the east by the Calpee rebels.[4]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858.. Narrative of Events for Agra for the week ending 14th Feb. 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, February 18, 1858, p. 50. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *The Friend of India*, February 18, 1858, p. 152. National Library, Calcutta.

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division up to the 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

DHOLPUR PEOPLE JOIN KALPI REVOLUTIONARIES

This district is also tranquil. The internal disturbances in Dholepore, which at one time might have unsettled the border, have been composed by the aid of the Puttiala Contingent. But a body of the disaffected *Dholpore subjects are said to have gone off to join the Calpee insurgents.*[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES ALONG THE BANKS OF YAMUNA AND THE GANGA

The general condition of this Division remained unchanged up to the close of the week under review. There are still collections of rebels on the banks both of the Jumna and the Ganges and as will be perceived by the detailed accounts below they have perpetrated some slight mischief.[2]

AGRA STILL DISTURBED

MARKET RATES

According to our correspondent, the trade with Furruckabad (Farrukhabad) is now in full operation. 4 lacs worth of Piece Goods have been imported into Agra from that quarter within the last two months, nearly the whole of which have been bought up by consumers, and we can hardly say they have stuffs worth more than 10,000 Rs. left in their market to supply their future demands. Turmeric and beetlenuts, which were ever since the outbreak selling at exorbitant rates at Agra have now come down to about their old figures, owing to imports from Furruckabad. Wheat is selling there to (*sic*, at) 26 at (*sic*, to) 28 seers for the rupee, but the large commissariat purchases now being made are soon likely to enhance rates unless imports continue to flow in from the interior. *Ghee* and mustard oil are selling there, the former

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra up to the 7th March. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] *Ibid.* Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 13th March 1858.

at 3¼ seers and the latter at 7 seers the rupee, so it would not be a bad speculation if some of our *Hatkhola Guddians* were to import a good quantity of each for the consumption of the ditchers. Agra relieved from the presence of rebel enemies has turned upon itself. The systematic persecution of the native inhabitants has commenced. *Salaming* continues to be rigidly exacted in the thorough-fares especially by what our correspondent calls the gentlemen of the Furruckabad breed. A poor shop-keeper in the Chowk had his head battered by one of these worthies for omission, to pay the respect due to the white skin. For my own part, adds our correspondent, I have given up my usual morning and evening walks, with the full determination of not resuming them until I can buy a hat—which article is not to be had here at the moment for any price. Things do not, however, appear to have completely settled down in those parts. Two bungalows were recently set on fire at Chitowras, a Christian village some 14 miles to the south east of Agra, and a party of *Burcundauses* with their native superintendent on the customs line within the *elaka* of *thana* Bah Pinhaut (Bah Pinahat) in that district, were a few days ago attacked by the villagers and sadly mauled and wounded. The spirit of disaffection does not appear quite subdued in those parts—nor do the inhabitants yet consider themselves free from danger.[1]

ATTACK ON BAH PARGANA

Agra—Considerable portions of *this district are yet in an unsettled state.* The *pergunnah* of Jagneer (Jagnair), which was throughout greatly exposed to the incursions of mutineers and rebels, *has not yet been fairly reduced to submission.* In some parts of *pergunnah* Ferozabad[2], *the inhabitants though not openly committed by active violence still continue in armed defiance of British Authority.*

In the *pergunnah* of Bah Pinnahut an outrage has taken

[1] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 18th March 1858, p. 84. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *Firozabad*, Tahsil *Firozabad*, District *Agra*—The chief town of the north-eastern tahsil lies in 27° 9′ N. and 78° 23′ E., on the provincial road from Agra to Mainpuri, at a distance of 26 miles east from the former and 14 miles from Itimadpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Agra, Vol. VIII, 1905, p. 274).

place of a very serious nature. The *zemindars* of one share of this township were at enmity with the purchaser of another share, who has remained loyal to Government. They have for some time been in rebellion and fugitive outlaws, but have recently threatened to return by force and take vengeance on their co-sharer.

On the 6th (March) having joined their forces with those of one Gunga Sing, a notorious dacoit, they attacked the town of Bah with some 1000 men. The *zemindar* with the *Tehseeldar* and *Thanahdar*, the Police, and other Government officials sought to defend themselves in the *tehseel* buildings. They had with them some men lent as guards *by the Raja of Bhudourea, against whom there are some suspicions of secret connivance with the leader of the rebel party, and of correspondence with his kinsman—the rebel Raja of Gonda in Oude;* at any rate his men do not appear to have made a very strenuous resistance, *and some accounts even represent them to have aided the assailants* who having effected an entrance into the *tehseel* either by force or treachery, overpowered and murdered all the defenders, the *zemindar*, his family, the *Tehseeldar*...[1] *Thanadar*, and most of the other Police and Government officials.

BAH EVACUATED

Brigadier Showers at once started from Agra with a Column to restore order and punish the rebels who however evacuated Bah before his arrival at that place and were pursued by him to the banks of the Chumbul.....[2]

BHADAURIA RAJA HELPS THE REVOLUTIONARIES IN ATTACK ON BAH ?

No proof of the Bhudourea Rajah's connivance with the party who attacked Bah has been as yet secured.

His troops at that place, however, permitted the latter to remain for two days undisturbed in the place, and when the rebels proceeded to Pinnahut, the Rajah's people there parleyed

[1] Space left blank in Original.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative, (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra for the week ending 13th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

with them from the walls, and the dacoits then retired without a shot being exchanged. Our own Police had already fled. The previous success of the rebels at Bah, the Commissioner considers clearly attributable to the treachery not only of the Bhudourea Rajah's men, but *also that of some of the new levies.*

GANGA SINGH'S HEADQUARTERS ATTACKED

The villages of Luckunpoor (Lakhanpur) Basownee, Norah and Khooniar Khera which have been long the head-quarters of Gunga Sing, and in open rebellion, were attacked by Brigadier Showers on the 14th and 15th (March); the latter named village was deserted, but at the two former some slight resistance was experienced, and about 150 of the enemy were killed.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated March 25, 1858.

We understand that the Rajah of Bhudawur[2] is in some way implicated in the late disturbances at Bah Pinahut, a *pergunnah* within the jurisdiction of the Agra District, and about 36 miles from the station, wherein the Chowbey and his family, and the *Tehseeldar* and *Thannadar* of the place lost their lives. It appears that the Rajah above mentioned had been permitted by our Government to organize a Police force and appoint Police officials at Bah at his own discretion, and the maintenance of order and discipline in the *pergunnah* was almost entirely left to his people. But it has been discovered that a great number of his men joined the rebels in the attack alluded to, in spite, as it is asserted, of the Rajah's imperative orders and earnest remonstrances. It remains to be seen whether the Rajah will be able entirely to exonerate himself.[3]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated March 31, 1858.

The Rajah of Bhudooreeah is suspected of complicity

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Perhaps spelt for '*Bhadauria*'.

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, March 25, 1858, p 288 National Library, Calcutta.

in the late attack on Bah, and as half measures won't do for gentry of this description, his conduct will undergo the strictest security.[1]

RAJA OF BHADAURIA'S MEN DISARMED

No fresh outrage has occurred in this district though the excitement produced by the Bah affair has not quite subsided. Indeed some followers of the Rajah of Kuchowrah (Kachaura)[2] showed their hostility so openly that the Column under Brigadier Showers moved in that direction. Of the three leaders, one was killed while resisting his arrest, one was taken, tried and hung, the third escaped by a timely flight. The rest of the Rajah's men were disarmed.

It has been thought expedient to desire the Rajah of Bhudowrea to reside at Agra for a little time. No proofs of his treasonable conduct have been obtained, but he is a weak lad, and believed to be in the hands of mischievous advisers.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES IN BHARATPUR AND GWALIOR

The district is quiet, rumours of gatherings of armed men both in Gwalior and Bhurutpore (Bharatpur) are mentioned by the Commissioner probably in consequence of the flight of the insurgents from Kotah. He believes them to be unfounded, but has nevertheless taken precautionary measures.

An alarming fire broke out on the 3rd in the fort of Agra (it was not near any magazine), it was however eventually subdued. A court of enquiry will investigate its origin which is believed to be accidental.[4]

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, March 31, 1858, p. 308. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *Kachaura*, Tahsil *Bah*, District *Agra*—A village situated amid the ravines on the right bank of the Jumna, in 26° 51′ N. and 78° 49′ E., at a distance of fifty seven miles from Agra and fourteen miles east of the tahsil headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Agra, Vol. VIII, 1905, p. 298).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra Division for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] *Ibid.* Narrative of Events for Agra up to the 5th April 1858.

HIRA SINGH'S ATTACK APPREHENDED

The following is from Agra dated the 7th instant :—

"The Collector and Magistrate's offices have been removed from the fort to their original localities; but the treasure has not yet been removed.....A rumour has latterly been industriously circulated by a number of designing rogues that Heera Sing at the head of a number of his followers, intends to attack us on a favorable opportunity....."[1]

RAHIM ALI'S ACTIVITIES IN DOAB

The unfortunate occurrences in this district during the past week, make it necessary to describe here the progress of the rebel chief, Raheem Ali Khan, through the Doab.

RAHIM ALI'S ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE FROM ROHILKHAND

This man, who with a considerable force has for some time infested the *pergunnah* of Gunour (Gunnaur), in the northern part of the Budaon District, and whose atrocious murder of the loyal Thakoor, Mote (Moti) Singh, was reported in the preceding narrative, had been, for some time, endeavouring to escape from Rohilcund but was cut off by our operations at Bareilly from retiring in that direction.

HIS MARCH UPON BHAWANPUR

A vigilant watch on his movements was kept up by the Civil Authorities on the right bank of the Ganges; but on the 8th he retired more inland, and selecting a picked body of lightly equipped followers, and carrying his baggage (and it is said some small guns) on elephants and camels, made a sudden and rapid march upon Bhowunpoor, 7 *Koss* west of Kuchla Ghat;—here on the night of the 12th he crossed the Ganges by a ford, which it appears the rise of the river had not yet rendered quite impracticable.

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, April 17, 1858, p. 362. National Library, Calcutta.

RAHIM ALI'S MARCH TOWARDS SOUTH-WEST

Early the following morning having, as narrated above, evaded the Magistrate of Allygurh, he proceeded to the S. W., crossing the Grand Trunk Road between Secundra Rao, and Eytah (Etah). Some bullock train waggons were plundered by the party, but no further damage done here.

JALESAR TAHSIL SACKED

On the 14th they attacked and burnt the Govt. buildings at Julleysur (Jalesar), carried off Rs. 18,000 which were in the *tehsil* : murdered some of the relatives of the Government officials, and then proceeded south—crossing a little after midnight the Agra branch of the Grand Trunk Road, a little on the Agra side of Ferozabad (Firozabad). Here they unfortunately encountered a travelling carriage, containing Major Waterfield, 38th N. I., and Captain Fanshawe, Invalid Establishment, who were proceeding towards Agra, the former gentleman was shot dead and the horse having been shot, his servant and the coachman were likewise murdered.

Before this, Captain Fanshawe and Major Waterfield had, with their revolvers, succeeded in keeping the rebels at bay; but thus left alone, the surviving officer cut his way through the rebels, and escaped into a grove of trees where he concealed himself till daybreak.

Mr. Cawley, a Civil Engineer, also rode into the midst of the party, and only discovered his situation when he became the object of a volley of musketry whereby his horse was mortally wounded. It retained, however, sufficient strength to carry him out of danger.

The rebels then pressed across the Jumna and Chumbul rivers by Futtehabad (Fatehabad), and Pinnahut (Pinahat) carrying off the *Thannadar* of the latter place as a prisoner. Pressed by the Gwalior Troops and the Puttiala Contingent in Dholpoor, they turned away to Indoorkee where they are known to have arrived in the rebel Camp. Their numbers were variously estimated at from 500 to 1,000 men, but probably were little in excess of the former amount.[1]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra for the week ending 16th May 1858 Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

KOTWAL HESITANT TO TAKE FULL RESPONSIBILITY OF PEACE IN THE CITY

The *Cutwal* (Kotwal) is reported to have said, that if no rebels or mutineers come here, there will be no disturbance, but if any bold rebel (like) Nana Rao, Tej Sing etc. was to appear he would not then be answerable for the peace of his city. This official being a fellow-country-man (though a Brahmin), will in all probability take us under his protection, or give notice but if the guns of the fort play in this devoted place then we must take our chance of being riddled with the rest of the town.[1]

HATKANT ATTACKED BY GANGA SINGH

The chief interest of the week has centred in Gwalior. The Maharaja remained at Agra during this period. The events in progress at Gwalior have been narrated by the Foreign Department.

In consequence of the disorganization of Gwalior the district of Agra was somewhat disturbed in the direction of Bah Pinnahut; Gunga Sing the dacoit had attacked the police post at Hutkant (Hatkant)[2] and killed the *Duffadar* in charge. Further mischief was threatened but on the approach of 200 men (Siekhs and Europeans) with guns, the plunderers dispersed in every direction. A force consisting of the 3rd Bengal European Regiment, Captain Light's Battery, Meade's Horse and some heavy guns and Puttiala Siekhs had gone towards Dholepore. Captain Le-Mesurier's Battery R. A. had arrived at Agra.[3]

CAPTURE OF MIRHAI SINGH

De Kantzow has again brought another rebel leader to justice, one Merhai Sing, a dacoit, who formerly was tried

[1] *The Dacca News*, May 22, 1858, p. 252. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *Hatkant*, Tahsil *Bah*, District *Agra*—A village in the south-east of the tahsil, in 26° 48′ N. and 78° 42′ E., at a distance of nine miles south-east from the tahsil headquarters and fifty-one miles from Agra. (*District Gazetteers*, Agra, Vol. VIII, 1905, p. 280).

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Agra for the week ending the 13th of June 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

for theft, &c. and was imprisoned in the Agra Jail but at the outbreak escaped and has ever since been causing a deal of trouble. Lately, De Kantzow heard of his whereabouts near his station, Powain (Pawayan), and went out and caught him. He is now again *en route* to Agra.

ALLEGED INVITATION TO NANA TO SEIZE AGRA FORT

A friend writes us as follows :

"My Persian Assistants tell me that the last *Bazar gup* is that letters from *Mahomedans of Agra inviting the Nana to come down and seize the fort* have been intercepted and the writers discovered."[2]

TRIAL OF RAHIM ALI AT AGRA

REPORTED DEATH OF NANA

Ruheem Alee's (Rahim Ali) trial is being conducted at Agra by that able officer Mr. A. Ross, who was member of the Furuckabad Commission when it convicted the ach (*sic*,-arch) rebel Tufuzzul Hossein there.

We have received reports from two different quarters, *as will be seen in other parts of our paper, that the Nana is dead*.....[3]

MUHAMMAD SHAH OF AGRA—A STATE PRISONER

Mahomed Shah, the rebel from Agra, has gone down in the Koel as a State prisoner to Calcutta. He will receive a pension and have his place of residence there pointed out to him.[4]

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, August 29, 1859, p. 202. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, September 6, 1859, p. 231; (Reproduced from *Mofussilite*, August 30). National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, Oct. 17, 1859, p. 371. National Library, Calcutta.

[4] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, November 28, 1859, p. 516. National Library, Calcutta.

FARRUKHABAD

EVENTS IN FARRUKHABAD AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY GOVT.

About 21st June the residents at Futtyghur, alarmed by signs which it is now impossible to test, resolved to quit the station. What happened there is to this hour not accurately known. According to the best accounts we have yet seen the 10th N. I. not only not wavered, but actually resisted the mutineers from Seetapore, Oude, and it was not till they were beaten that the Nawab set up his standard, seized the public buildings and claimed Furruckabad for his own. The residents fled in boats down the river, and were all massacred in cold blood by Nana Saheb. Having thus declared war, and rendered the barrier between himself and the British, impassable, *he*[1] *joined the mutineers at Cawnpore*, and commenced an attack on the entrenchments. The place was surrounded only by a wall, there were no signs of relief; the women and children approached the soldiers in number, *and on the 27th June the General consented to capitulate.* The whole party were to be forwarded in safety to Allahabad with their arms. They were placed in boats, and the boatmen went up the bank to be paid. Then the massacre began. The sepoys commenced firing from the bank into the river, and two guns prepared for the purpose on the opposite side, drove the wretched victims into the middle of the stream. About a hundred with Sir H. Wheeler at their head, were seized, taken to the parade and shot, making nearly six hundred officers and men massacred. About one hundred and eight women and children were preserved. They were taken to a small house, and there kept half starved for nearly three weeks. And then as the avenging force approached nearer, they were one by one murdered by sepoys. They were butchered while screaming for mercy, and as time pressed, the dead, the wounded, and the children were cast alive into a well. The floor of that ill-fated room, when the avengers arrived, was found ancle deep in blood, filled with bits of dresses, and of Bibles and tresses of long dark hair. Children's feet cut off, and ranged in mockery were also discovered. All the evidence proved that this crime was committed not by the "rabble" whom it is at

[1] Nana Saheb.

elhi the fashion to accuse, but by sepoys, in cold blood, thout a motive, without even the wretched apology of venge, without a reason save to glut the fiendish thirst for ood that burns in an Asiatic. The instigators have as yet caped all adequate punishment.[1]

* * *

e Evidence of David Churcher taken this 16th day of February 1859 who being sworn on the oath of a Christian states.

ENGLISH SEEK HELP FROM THE NAWAB

My name is David Gray Churcher, son of Thomas Churer, my age twenty-four, my profession Indigo Planter.

Question—When the disturbances broke out at Furruckaid are you aware that Colonel Smith sent any letters to the uwab Raees?

Answer—I was in the fort when Colonel Smith sent a tter to the Nuwab of Furruckabad asking him to give us sistance. The Nuwab sent word that he had no armed men, id no guns and therefore he could not give us assistance. heard this from the talk of the garrison at that time. When ıy message was brought Colonel Smith took the messengers ide. I never heard about the message from the Nuwab ɔm Colonel Smith himself because I was in Colonel Goldie's cquet. I heard Colonel Goldie speak about the Nuwab's fusal to the garrison. I escaped after the boat catastrophe the village of Kurbar. Not being secure I was obliged remain in sugar cane and other fields, and I was not cure because the *zemeendars* of Kurbar were not strong ıough openly to protect me from the Nuwab Raees' sowars. hey came to the village more than once to get the revenue oney, and the Nuwab's people told the *zemeendars* of urbar that if.....(Mss. torn) and myself....(Mss. torn) they ould be handsomely rewarded. I have heard of no writing ɔming from the Nuwab's but the *zemeendars* told me *Hurkarahs* id come from the Nuwab.

Question by the Court—At that time did...(Mss. torn) of hom did the villagers talk as the ruling power in Furruckabad?

Answer—Of the Nuwab.

[1] *The Friend of India*, 14th January 1858, p. 28. National Library, lcutta.

Question—Did they ever talk in such a way as to lead you to suppose that any other person shared the authority with the Nuwab?

Answer—The *Soobahdar* of the 41st was exercising influence as well as the Nuwab: this was talked of.....

EXCHANGE OF FIRE NEAR MANPUR KUTRI

Re-examined on oath this 17th February 1859.

Question—You mentioned yesterday that you escaped from the boat on the Manpoor Khutree on the (4th) fourth July 1857. Mention the circumstances attending that event.

Answer—When our boat had come opposite Manpoor it stuck on a sandbank. We left the fort at two A. M. on fourth July in three boats. We continued going on till we came opposite Manpoor. All the time we were going down, *the people on both banks continued firing at us*. The boat came aground opposite Manpoor about sixteen miles from this. We saw a boat full of armed sepoys crossing a little above Singheerampoor. This boat came on the Oudh side of the river where our boat was stuck, stopped there and at a distance of 50 yards commenced firing at us, the villagers also kept firing from the Oudh side. By this time many of our party being wounded the sepoys brought their boat closer to us. We having returned their fire. At last seeing we had no chance with them we were obliged to leave our boat. They came and joined their boat with ours. There were about forty men, women and children in the boat. In these thirteen were men. Those that were killed of course were left in the boat, the rest threw themselves overboard into the river; this was about five in the evening. Of those who jumped overboard all were drowned, except myself, Mr. Jones, Major Robertson, and Revd. Mr. Fisher. I escaped to Kurbar[1], I swam down the river with the assistance of an oar and got to Kurbar about midnight when the *zumeendars* received me. Major Robertson was wounded and could not go on, so I stopped there. I saw many killed. Mr. Sutherland was wounded before me, my brother was killed in the boat too, and Lieutenant Simpson also. I saw Miss Thompson cut down she being in the water at the time. Mr. Fisher and Mr. Jones were wounded too, and Mrs. Fisher threw herself overboard.

[1] Can be read as *Kurhar*, also.

MANGAL SINGH LEADS REVOLUTIONARIES

Question—Who were the attacking party ?

Answer—There were some Mahomedans with them as well as rebel sepoys, and Singheerampoor was full of Mahomedans and sepoys. They had three guns placed there, and I saw them fire with cannon on Colonel Smith's boat. The attackers on the Oudh side *were chiefly villagers.*

Question—You know whom the guns belonged to ?

Answer—No, and I cannot say who commanded the attacking party in the boat. I cannot say whether the attack was Nuwab's doing or not. Mungal Singh leader of the villagers on the Oudh side was wounded.

Question—Do you consider all the people in the boat with you were drowned or killed except those taken back prisoner to the Nuwab, and yourself. ?

Answer—Yes, I consider they were all killed or drowned with the exception of those I have named and those who were taken prisoner.

Question by the Court—What do you mean by those who were taken prisoners to the Nuwab ?

Answer—I heard, after I had made my escape that Mrs. Sutherland, Miss Sutherland, Mrs. Jones and her mother and a little girl of Mrs. Jones were brought away to the Nuwab, it was a common report amongst all the natives. I have never seen them since. All I know about their going back to the Nuwab is what I heard.

Cross-examined by counsel for the prisoner.

Question—If the sepoys had remained staunch would the attack on the boats have been made ?

Answer—If the 10th Regiment had remained staunch there would have been no massacre. . . . . .[1]

FARRUKHABAD NAWAB RAISING TROOPS

Narrative of Events by R. J. H. Birch, Colonel, Secretary to the Government of India, dated 9th September 1857.

Futtehghur—No authentic news. The Nawab of Furrucka-

[1] "Trial Proceedings in the Case *Government vs. Nawab of Farrukhabad*", English-Urdu File; Farrukhabad Collectorate Mutiny Basta.

bad is said to be raising troops, and to have forces on the road between Futteghur and Cawnpore.[1]

NAWAB OF FARRUKHABAD IN FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

The Nuwab of Furruckabad, who maintains a constant correspondence with Nana Sahib, and was a short time since at Lucknow, *still keeps up a semblance of Government.* The Fort of Furruckabad is said to be occupied by two regiments from Seetapore, and the Nuwab at the head of a thousand men is busily engaged in collecting the revenue. He appears to be sadly in want of cash, but perhaps his haste is caused by the fear that he will shortly be dispossessed by the British. . . .[2]

THANAS ESTABLISHED ON GRAND TRUNK ROAD

. . . .The Nawab of Furruckabad has established pickets and *thannahs* on the Grand Trunk Road.[3]

FATEHGARH VISITED BY OTHER INDIAN LEADERS

Extract from Narrative of Occurrences by C. R. Lindsay, Officiating Magistrate, and Collector of Furruckabad (Farrukhabad), dated 20th December 1857.

"During the reign of the Nawaub, some notable personages arrived and remained at Futtehgurh. Amongst the first, *came Bukht Khan from Delhi.* This man exercised a good deal of power, and was cordially (?) detested by all classes; he was styled "*Kum-bukht*" (the Unfortunate) and wherever he stirred out, he was abused by the lower classes. He appears to have been a great boaster, and fond of big words. After him, Khooshak[4] Sooltan came flying from the scene of his hopes, and fears, and joys. Then arrived Ferozeshah, another Prince of the Dehli line. After him Wulleedad (Walidad) Khan, and the Rajah of Mynpoory. The Princes Khooshak

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 1 in No. 3, p. 116.

[2] *The Friend of India*, November 26, 1857, p. 1130. National Library, Calcutta.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1132.

[4] May be spelt for 'Kochak'.

Sooltan and Feroze Shah remained at Futtehgurh till the 2nd January 1858, when they fled with the Nawaub at the approach of the British forces after the battle of Khodagunje (Khudaganj)[1]. Appa Sahib likewise visited Futtehgurh before the fall of Dehli; but a dispute on matters of ceremony having arisen between him and the Nawaub, he left the place abruptly for Dehli.[2]

ENCOUNTER AT A BRIDGE

....The (Commander-in-Chief) marched up to Furruckabad, one of the principal centres of rebellion. The rebels attempted to contest his passage at a bridge, but in vain. They retired upon Furruckabad, whither they were pursued ...,the Nabob probably having been anxious to commence his reign with well filled stores of as many kinds as he could find....[3]

REPRESSION LET LOOSE BY THE BRITISH

News dated Tuesdey, the 19th January.

The same Journal (*The Englishman*) states on the authority of an Allahabad letter that before Sir Colin Campbell entered Futtyghur, he sent a message, to the Shroffs in the city asking them to deliver up all the wealthy Mussulmans who had been foremost in the rebellion or he would order the city to be sacked. This had the desired effect, for the following morning the Nawab's prime minister was sent into camp *tied down on a charpoy*. Preparatory to the man being hung the Highlanders *made him partake heartily of swine's flesh.*[4]

* * *

Narrative of Events, dated Fort William, January 23, 1858.

Futtehghur—The Commander-in-Chief is still at Futteh-

[1] *Khudaganj*, Pargana *Bhojpur*, Tahsil *Farrukhabad*, District *Farrukhabad*—This village lies near the left bank of the Kali Nadi, 14 miles south-east of Fatehgarh, in 27° 14′ N. and 79° 45′ E. (*District Gazetteers*, Farrukhabad, Vol. IX, 1911, p. 233).

[2] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Farrukhabad District*, p. 30.

[3] *The Hindoo Patriot*, January 7, 1858, p. 3. National Library, Calcutta.

[4] *The Hindoo Patriot*, January 21, 1858, p. 18. National Library Calcutta.

ghur, making all the necessary arrangements for an eventual move. His Excellency has detached one battalion to Mynpoorie, and another to a post between Cawnpore and Futtehghur; a brigade has moved out into the district to inflict punishment. Large quantities of stores belonging to the gun-carriage and clothing agencies, have been found untouched, and arrangements are in progress for re-organizing both.

NAWAB'S PALACE BEING BLOWN UP

The Nawab set fire to his palace before leaving, and what remains is being blown up by our Engineers. One of the Nawab's family was given up by the town's people, *and has been hanged.* A brigade was dispatched from Futtehghur on the 6th January, to visit the very mutinous villages in the district, Shumshabad and Mhow; and, having accomplished the object of the expedition, has returned to Futtehghur.[1]

KAIMGANJ OCCUPIED

Extract from Letter from W. Muir to C. Beadon, Calcutta, dated 23rd January 1858, *Saturday.*

We have a letter from Mr. Daniell at Etah of yesterday's date. He is getting on well, but somewhat alarmed at the reported inroads of the insurgents from the opposite side of the Ganges. "Fifteen hundred rebels and five guns are reported to have occupied Kaimgunge, and killed the *Thannahdar* and some *Chuprasees*. The enemy held every *ghat* opposite those in this[2] district."[3]

ENGAGEMENT NEAR SHAMSABAD

Narrative of Events, dated February 9, 1858.

(The Narrative dispatched on the 23rd ultimo contained the news received up to that date).

Futtyghur—Brigadier the Honourable A. Hope was sent

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 2, p. 32.—

[2] *Etah* District.

[3] Muir, William : *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of* 1857, Vol. I, p. 357.

out by the Commander-in-Chief on the night of the 26th, to attack a large body of the Rohilcund rebels, which had congregated and taken up a position near the Shumshabad, in the Futtyghur District. He came upon them on the morning of the 27th, and completely dispersed them, after a short though sharp resistance. They abandoned their guns and entrenchments in confusion, with the loss of about 300 men killed and wounded, with several chiefs. We captured four guns and a considerable quantity of ammunition. Our own loss comparatively trifling—one officer and three men killed; five officers and thirty-four men wounded; and three missing. The arrangement for the protection of the Futtyghur District having been completed by the Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency left for Cawnpore on the Ist. Brigadier Seaton commands in the Futtyghur District, and has Her Majesty's 8th and 82nd Regiments, and one battery of Royal Artillery. Orders have been given to raise a native corps at Futtyghur. It is hoped that the punishment inflicted at Shumshabad, with the appearance of strength left in these districts, will be sufficient for the safety of the communication till the reinforcements sent by Sir J. Lawrence to Major-General Penny, with a view to active operations in Rohilcund, may reach that officer.[1]

BATTLE OF SHAMSABAD

Extract from 'The Calcutta Gazette' of February 10th, 1858.

No. 226 of 1858—The Hon'ble the President of the Council of India in Council has much satisfaction in publishing the following report of a successful attack made by Brigadier the Hon'ble A. Hope on a large body of rebels at Shumshabad, on the morning of the 27th January 1858.

2*nd*—To Brigadier Hope as well as to the officers and men, His Honor in Council desires to offer his warm acknowledgment for the good services rendered on this occasion.

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 3, p. 72.

True copy of the Letter from Brigadier A. Hope, Lieutenant-Colonel, 93rd Highlanders, to the Chief of the Staff, dated camp near Futtehghur (Fatehgarh), 29th January 1858.

I have the honor to report that, in accordance with the Commander-in-Chief's orders, communicated by you, I marched from this camp (leaving the tents standing) on the 26th instant, at 11 P. M., with the troops noted in the margin (footnote)* and halting for 3 hours short of the village of Kooshinabad, proceeded at day light on the 27th towards Shumshabad.

A thick fog compelled us to move cautiously, and it was 9 O'clock before the Column closed up under cover of the village of Shumshabad.

The rebels in considerable force had taken post about ¾ of a mile beyond that place. They occupied a commanding knoll on the edge of the plateau overlooking the plain, which stretches towards the river some six miles distant. On the knoll was (a) brick building, the shrine of a Mussulman saint, and the place was surrounded by the remains of an old entrenchment, upon which they had raised a sand bag battery. Their front was defended by a ravine (impassable for Cavalry and guns) which runs at right angles across the road to Mhow, along which we moved, and to the right of which their position was.

As the head of our Column emerged from the village, the fog cleared off, and some Cavalry out-posts of the enemy having been driven in, we moved over some broken ground towards their camp, now distinctly visible. They immediately opened upon us a well-directed fire of round shot, by which Lieutenant McDonnell of Hodson's Horse, a most active officer, was mortally wounded.

* "Detail of Troops,
2. Squadrons 9th Lancers,
200 Hodson's Horse,
1 Troop Bengal Horse Artillery,
Field Battery } (4 Guns)
Bengal Artillery }
42nd Royal Highlanders,
53rd Regiment,
4th Punjab Rifles"—Note in Original.

commands Hushmut Alli's men, about 500, near Mendee Ghat; there are no guns. The force at Nanamhow consists of 2,000 men and twelve guns. Munseb Alli with 1,000 men and ten guns at Meangunge, on the way to Nanamhow. At Sandee a force of sowars and five guns. *Communication by rebels well kept up between Bareilly and Lucknow*, and attack is proposed on all *ghauts* at once.[1]

ATTACK ON FATEHGARH FORT THREATENED

Futtehghur—Colonel Walpole's Column having been withdrawn from the Ramgunga, the Rohilkund rebels have regained courage and have assembled in such formidable numbers on several points that it has been deemed wise to withdraw the European residents inside the fort.

One body under Walidad Khan of Malagurh has actually crossed at Soorujpoor Ghat to Mhow-Shumshabad, where they are throwing up entrenchments. Their strength is not known. Another large force said to be of larger amount, with 5 or 6 guns under the Rajas of Mynpoory, Thutta[2] and Soorujpoor and of Mohsim Ally Khan are at Meorah Ghat and Belgram (Bilgram)[3] and give out they intend attacking the fort of Futtehgurh of which they made an armed reconnaissance from the other side the river on the 14th at Nanamhow. There are about 2000 men with 12 guns commanded by the Nana, supported by 1000 men with 10 guns at Meangunge.[4]

MOBILIZATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

Narrative of Events, dated February 18, 1858.

Futtyghur—2,000 men are reported to be on the Ramgunga with four guns. At Sandee there is a force of 4,000, with

[1] Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 10 in No. 6, p. 104.

[2] Spelt as '*Mutta*' on p. 933.

[3] *cf.* Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 10 in No. 6, p. 104 : "Telegraphic Message from Mr. Power to the Secretary to Govt., dated Fatehgarh, 12th Feb. 1858. (p. 933).

[4] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Farrukhabad (Fatehgarh) in the North-Western Provinces, for the week ending 14th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

several guns; they hover about Meorah Ghaut opposite Mendhee Ghaut. They are also in force at Seorajpore. The Nana was at Nobutgunge on the 10th February, and seized some boats. Hurdeo Bux's villages have been attacked. Appa Sahib is recruiting at Seetulgunge, and has got 300 men. A regular chain of communication is kept up by the rebels between Bareilly and Lucknow, via Shahjehanpore, Sandee, and Bilgram. Raja of Seorajpore, Minnepoorie (Mainpuri) Raja, Kuttra[1] Raja, Mossum Ally Khan, and perhaps Bukht Khan, are at Meorah Ghaut and Bilgram with a strong force of Cavalry and Infantry, and six or seven guns. Nirtul Sing commands Hushmut Ally's men, about 500, near Mendhee Ghaut; there are no guns there Their force at Nana Mhow consists of 2,000 men and twelve guns. Munsab Ally with 1,000 men and ten guns, is at Meangunge; and at Sandee a force of 1,000 sowars five guns. One (an) attack is proposed on all the *ghats* at once.[2]

IMRATPUR THANA ATTACKED

On the 24th February a *thannah*, established between the Ganges and Ramgunga at Imratpoor, had been driven in by a party of rebels, who crossed the latter river with that object—some lives are believed to have been lost.[3]

KAMPIL ATTACKED

The Magistrate of Furruckabad complains that the Mahomedan population of that town exhibit much disaffection *and are in communication with the Rohilkund rebels.*

With the large hostile force which at present threatens the frontier such excitement must naturally be expected. Since the attack on the *thanah* at Imratpoor, reported in the last narrative, no fresh incursions have been made upon the lower portion of this district, a result which the Commissioner

[1] Spelt as *Thutta* on p. 934 and *Mutta* on p. 933.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure in No. 5, pp. 99-100.

[3] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Farrukhabad District for the week ending 28th February 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

attributes to the prompt *punishments of the zemindars who were active on that occasion in inviting the rebels to cross.*

The country to the west of Furruckabad has not however been so fortunate. The large and important town of Kumpil plundered on the 6th by a body of Horsemen who returned immediately with their booty, they crossed at Soorujpoor Ghat.[1]

BRITISHERS UNEASY—MINE THE WHOLE CITY

Futtaohool Akbar (Fatahul Akhbar) of the 25th of Rajub (Rajab) 1274 A. H. (corresponding with 11th March 1858).

Furruckabad—It is said that the *English have been so frightened* that they have dug up mines all round this city and even in the *ghats* near it. Their armies have been much reduced, and the forces, that had been sent from Lucknow for the recapture of Furruckabad and were lately ordered back to disperse some English troops that, flying from Alum Bagh, had come towards Mulayim, will soon return after having accomplished their task, or perhaps they might have reached Furruckabad by the time. We have heard from Sandee Palee, that Tantia having seized an English spy *rewarded him very liberally with double Shawls* so much so that the spy being overwhelmed with his generosity requested him to make all necessary preparations to meet the enemy and to kindle fires here and there in his Camp; which having been performed he repaired to the English Camp and told them that it was the fittest time to fall upon the enemy as they were all engaged in cooking their food. The English immediately on hearing this made a rush, but *as soon as they approached the army of Tantia they were defeated with great loss*, only a few persons fled away owing to darkness. We have spoken of this encounter which took place near Cawnpore somewhat in a different style in one of our former papers.[2]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Farrukhabad for the week ending 7th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Foreign Political Proceedings, 27th May 1859. Cons. No. 81, pp. 171-172. National Archives, New Delhi.

KAMPIL REATTACKED

The town of Kumpil was again attacked by a party from across the river towards the close of the week under review The *thanah* Police were driven in and some plundering took place, but no loss of life on either side occurred, and the rebels eventually retired. The *Ghats* are still watched by rebels.

Near Furruckabad itself the country is quiet. The Barracks rapidly rising. Traffic on the Grand Trunk Road is increasing daily, and Revenue is being collected with some regularity.[1]

* * *

Copy of Telegram sent by G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 17th March 1858.

It is reported from Futteh Gurh under date the 15th March that the Nana is still at Shahjehanpore and that the chief rebels are with him. The rebels have again entered the Futteh Gurh District *and attacked Kumpil and driven off the Police posted there.* General Penny must be close at hand. On the Jamuna side the rebels who had entered the Ghatumpore *Purgunah* have recrossed the river at Humeerpore....[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT BICHPURIA

Telegraphic Message from Ross to Muir, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), March 17, 1858.

The enemy appear in great force at Bichpooria, headed by Mohsour Ali Khan[3]. They have completed their bridge there, and threaten to cross.[4]

* * *

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Farrukhabad for the week ending 13th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Appears spelt for 'Mohsam Ali' (See p. 954) or 'Mohsin Ali'.

[4] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 38 in No. 9, p. 124.

Narrative of Events, dated March 19, 1858.

Futtyghur—On the 17th March the enemy were in great force at Bichpooria, headed by Mohsour Alli Khan, and have completed their bridge there, and threaten to cross.[1]

NIAZ MUHAMMAD IN ACTION AGAINST KAMPIL

The only event of importance during the past week in the Furruckabad District, has been another demonstration by about 400 Cavalry under Niaz Mahomed (the rebel leader who was wounded in the fight near Shumsabad with Brigadier Hope's Column) against Kumpil : they were evidently in league with the Mahomedans of Shumsabad and Kaim Gunge (Kaimganj), but effected nothing.

The enemy has thrown a bridge of boats across the Ram Gunga, and on the 18th (March), crossed some guns by it, but they retired the same evening, having, it is believed, been alarmed by a reconnoitring party sent from Futtyghur.

No exact intimation of the purposes of the rebels has been obtained; they threaten loudly to attack Futtyghur, but Mohsun Ali Khan, their Chief, is described as 'drunken brawler'; whose want of courage has, it is said, done much to disgust and dishearten his followers. About the middle of the week however, the appearance of the rebel detachments was so threatening, that Colonel Watson's Moveable Column was called in from Meerun Ke Serai, and reached Furruckabad (by a forced march of 34 miles in 24 hours) on the 16th.

The outstanding balances of revenue are still large, but are in process of collection, their amount on the 1st of March was 9,41,936 Rs.

The barracks and public buildings are proceeding rapidly.[2]

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 2 in No. 8, p. 115.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Farrukhabad for the week ending 20th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

KAMPIL ATTACKED A THIRD TIME

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, April 1, 1858.

Futtyghur—Intelligence from Shumshabad, dated 23rd March, states that Kumpil has been again attacked by the enemy; that they are in strength at Kuckla[1] Ghaut, Soorujpore Ghaut, Bhurtpore Ghaut, and Bichpooria Ghaut; that they are also in great strength at Baugaon[2], from whence firing was heard. On the 22nd March, Mr. J. Power, the Magistrate of Futtyghur, sunk five boats near Soorujpore. On the 25th instant, Mr. Power reconnoitred at Soorujpore, and observed the enemy to be in great force on the opposite side of the river, amounting to some thousands, with a great many well-mounted Cavalry amongst them. They are in greater force at Baugaon. On the 27th March, the enemy had increased in strength opposite Soorujpore, and brought down more guns. On the 30th March, 800 of the enemy's Cavalry, in excellent order, crossed the Ganges, near Kumpil, but retired again on the appearance of our force. A strong body of them went off to the left. The rebels who were at Kusnore had dispersed. They are still in force at Baugaon and Allygunge.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES' HEAD-QUARTERS AT BANGAON UNDER MOHSIN ALI

The state of this district is much as before. The numbers of the rebels *are more formidable than ever* but they confine themselves nearly always to the left bank of the Ganges; the only exceptions have been a few trifling plundering raids. It is believed most of these have been perpetrated at the invitation of the disaffected Mahomedans of Mhow and Shumsabad, to keep whom in check a small Column has been sent towards Kumpil by Brigadier Seaton. Mr. Power and Captain Bradford accompany the force.

The Head Quarters of the rebels appear to be at Bangaon[4], and their leader to be Mohsun Ali Khan. The next largest

[1] This appears to have been misspelt for *Kachhla Ghat.*

[2] Misspelt for '*Bangaon*' or '*Bhongaon*'

[3] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 in No. 11, p. 131.

[4] Can be read as '*Baugaon*' also.

detachment is at Soorujpore Ghat. Their intentions the Commissioner believes to be purely defensive. The Oreyah rebels this week destroyed the *thannah* of Phuppoond (Phaphund) but shortly after returned to Oreyah. The dacoits and turbulent characters on the Jumna are gaining (in) boldness from the non-appearance of British troops. The force at Oreyah is said to be about 700 (of whom 200 are sowars), with 2 guns.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES AT SUMRI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to Mr. E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 29th March 1858.

Mr. Power reports from Kumpel (Kampil) 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.....[2]

REVOLUTIONARIES' MOVEMENT TOWARDS SOUTH THROUGH FATEHGARH EXPECTED

Telegraphic Message from Vansittart to Muir, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), April 1, 1858.

REVOLUTIONARIES TO MOVE TOWARDS SOUTH THROUGH FATEHGARH

An impression is abroad that through this district a rush to the south is to be made; some Cavalry positively have joined the enemy at Allygunge; they are said to come from a body at Shajehanpore. There would seem to be a movement, but I write with difference; the rumour is that the Nana comes this way.[3]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Farrukhabad for the week ending 28th March 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, Inclosure 3 in No. 12, p. 136.

WALIDAD JOINS REVOLUTIONARY FORCE AT MHOW

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, April 6, 1858.

Futtyghur—On the 1st April, the enemy were crossing at Bichpooria, but were not thought likely to remain across. Walleedad Khan is said to have joined the rebels at Mhow,[1] opposite Bichpooria. There is also a report that the rebels intend making a rush through the Futtyghur (Fatehgarh) District to the southward. Some Cavalry have joined them at Allygunge, and are said to have come from Shahjehanpore. It is rumoured that the Nana is coming that way. On the 2nd April it was said the enemy intended to cross at Soorujpore. The Magistrate had seized seven boats.[2]

LARGE FORCE AT SURAJPUR GHAT

Telegraphic Message from A. Cocks, Mynpoorie (Mainpuri), to E. A. Reade, Agra dated 5th April 1858.

The small force of rebels with one gun at Kutchla Ghat and the large force at Soorujpore are as they were. The Calcutta Mail has come in all right. The Europeans here have got under cover; no news.[3]

REVOLUTIONARIES' RETREAT FROM KAMPIL

Supplementary Narrative, dated Allahabad, April 7, 1858.

Futtyghur—On the 6th April, the rebels had gone back from Kumpil across the river, but remain in the same place on the opposite side. The force at Baugaon[4] had been increased by two regiments. The more important rebels are all at Bareilly

[1] *cf.* Telegraphic Message from Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade Agra, dated 2nd April 1858. (p. 430)

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 1 No. 12, p. 136.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[4] Perhaps spelt for *Bhongaon* in *Mainpuri* District or for *Bangaon*.

and a proclamation by Ferozshah, son of the King of Delhi, has attracted much attention.[1]

SKIRMISH NEAR BANGAON

Telegraphic Message from Power to Muir, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), April 7, 1858.

We marched last night with 600 of the 82nd, 400 Sikhs, five guns, and 300 Cavalry, to Kamrour, near Bangaon, under Brigadier Seaton. We took the enemy completely by surprise. They consisted of perhaps more than 800 Cavalry, a very large amount of Infantry, and three guns. We could not come up with their Cavalry, who would not stand. We took two guns, and have slaughtered a very large number of their Infantry. Ismail Khan and Mohsim (Mohsin) Ally Khan were their leaders. Only a few of our side have been touched. The enemy have retired on Bangaon. We returned at once to Futtygurh. The *zemindars* across the Ganges have arranged for the payment of their revenue.[2]

* * *

Copy of Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Govt. of India with the Governor General, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 9th April 1858.

It is today reported from Futtehgurh that Brigadier Seaton marched last night to Kamrour near Bangaon with 600 H. M.'s 82nd Regt., 400 Sikhs, 5 guns and 300 Cavalry.

The enemy consisted of upwards of 800 Cavalry, 3 guns and a large amount of Infantry.

They were taken completely by surprise. The Cavalry fled, a very large number of their Infantry were cut up and 2 guns were taken. Our loss was very trifling.

The rebels have retired on Bangaon. Their leaders were Ishmael Khan and Moshim Allee (Mohsin Ali).[3]

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, Inclosure 2 in No. 11, p. 132.

[2] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 17 in No. 13, p. 144.

[3] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow

REVOLUTIONARIES MUSTER STRONG AT JAITPUR

Telegraphic Message from Vansittart to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated (Futtyghur), April 11, 1858

A Brahmin, name not known, in the Nana's service, with four guns and four regiments, has joined the camp opposite to the ferry of Jaitpore, to the north-west corner of this district. The enemy there is strong. Just as Tej Singh has escaped, so, without some more Cavalry, will a very large body of Horsemen break away to the south. Hurdeo Buksh has taken Sandhee (Sandi), captured two guns, and enemy's camp[1].

MOHSIN ALI'S REPORTED DEATH

From Futtehghur, April 13—We may now hope that the rebels on the other side of the river will soon be scattered. Word has just come in that Mausam Ali[2], one of the rebel leaders, who was engaged in the battle fought near this a few days ago, has since died of a wound then received.

If all accounts be true the rebels are very anxious to get out of Rohilcund. It is thought *that they wish to follow the Rajah of Mynpoorie.*[3]

THANEDAR'S HOUSE PLUNDERED

Telegraphic Message from H. Vansittart, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 16th April 1858.

Yours received and shall be attended to. Yesterday the Cavalry plundered a *Thannahdar's* house within five and half miles of our bridge; today everything most quiet. The disposition of Thakoors excellent. Up to latest accounts the fort of Oria[4] still held out.[5]

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 13 in No. 13, p. 143.

[2] Apparently spelt for 'Mohsin Ali' or 'Mohsam Ali'.

[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, April 22, 1858, p. 380. National Library, Calcutta.

[4] Probably spelt for *Auraiya* in *Etawah* District.

[5] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

ENCOUNTER AT BICHPURIA

Extract from Letter No. 21 *of* 1858 *from G. P. Money, Magistrate and Collector of Shahjahanpur, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand), dated 9th September* 1858.

Para 42—As soon as the advance of the British troops upon Futtehgurh was known at Shahjehanpoor Nizam Ulee Khan proceeded at once with a force of Cavalry and Infantry said to amount to about 2,500 and four guns to Bichpoorcea on the river Ramgunga and threw up some earthen defences; he was joined from Barreilly by a force of 2,000 men and two guns and Ishmaeel (Ismail) Khan, and here the rebel force remained until their defeat at Ullagunj[1] by the British troops under General Walpole on 22nd April[2], in which engagement, Nizam Ulee Khan their leader was killed.[3]

FATEHGARH FORT IN REVOLUTIONARIES' HANDS

Telegraphic Message from H. Vansittart to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), May 5, 1858.

The enemy advanced in three lines—they cut off the picket. De Kantzow, with some Horsemen, safe in the jail. They have plundered the city, massacring many. Collector said to be safe. *The fort is in their possession—their patrols are on the river.* Communication most difficult and dangerous. I am sending Brigadier's letters to Sir Colin.[4]

REWARD FOR APPREHENSION OF FARRUKHABAD NAWAB

A reward of 10,000 Rupees has been offered by the

[1] Appears spelt for *Allahganj* in *Farrukhabad* District. *cf.* Telegraphic Message from Cocks, Mainpuri, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 26th April 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (p. 414).

[2] *cf.* Further Papers No. 8, Inclosure 1 in No. 14, pp. 147-148.

[3] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Shahjahanpur District*, p. 7.
cf. Foreign Department, N. W. P., Narrative 1858. Narrative of Events for Shahjahanpur District for the week ending 2nd May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. (p. 424).

[4] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 6 in No. 15, p. 155.

Supreme Government for the delivery "*alive* at any British military post or camp, the rebel Tuffuzzool Hosain Khan, ex-Nawab Raees of Furruckabad. And in addition to the reward, a free pardon to any mutineer or deserter who may deliver up this rebel, will be given.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS INTO FARRUKHABAD DISTRICT, SACK KAMPIL AND RANIGANJ

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief arrived at Futtyghur (Fatehgarh) on the 24th and remained there up to the date of this Narrative.

The main event of the week has been the passage of the Calpee rebels. They gave out that they were the Nana's "army" to which allusion was made last week. They were (a) body of from 3000 to 4000, including many women and children, the men weary, dispirited, forlorn, and disorganized. They had with them 30 or 40 elephants on some of which they carried four small guns. And had also much baggage conveyed on cattle of every description. They crossed the Jumna into the Etawah District on the 25th of May by the Beegulpoor Ghaut. Colonel Riddell who was posted at Oreya (Auraiya) and was at once informed considered himself precluded from moving or detaching any portion of his force in pursuit. The party therefore passed on without opposition plundering, burning, murdering, as they went, while on the other hand the people of the country so far from in general exhibiting any sympathy with them having on their flanks plundered their baggage and when they had an opportunity cut off stragglers. At the village of Khusmera in Mynpoory on the 27th the rebels captured a guard of *Zemindaree* levies who were posted on a bridge over the Eesun Nuddee[2] and it is said put them to death in cold blood to the number of 20 or 30. The village of Khusmera was burnt and plundered. A similar fate befell the large bazaar of Nubbee-gunge (Nabiganj) also in the Mynpoory District. At the Shumshpoor Ghaut below this place they crossed the Kalee Nuddee.

[1] *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, 24th May 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Esan Nadi.

Before reaching this point however a party of 200 to 300 Horse broke off, and endeavoured to cross the Ganges at the *Ghauts* near Bilhour, but they were driven back by the Police and neighbouring *zemindars*, and compelled to retrace their steps.

KAMPIL AND RANIGANJ OCCUPIED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

From Nubbee-gunge the rebels proceeded to Serai Uguth in the Furruckabad District, which they likewise sacked and destroyed. On the 29th they occupied Kumpil and Ranigunge, and a body of from 300 to 400 attacked the *thannah* and *tehseel* at the latter place but were repulsed after fighting some time by the Police. About half a dozen casualties occurred on either side. They then proceeded to cross the Ganges. On the 30th a party of Cavalry which had been detached on the night of the 29th from Futtyghur arrived on the bank of the river, the whole party was safely across. They sought out on their passage the Government officials, and whenever found, murdered them; several isolated Policemen were thus cut off. On the Grand Trunk Road they burned a number of heavily laden cotton carts, and in short did as much mischief as they could.

LIAQAT ALI OCCUPIES PALI AND SANDI

The Allahabad Moulvie "Lyakat Ally" (Liaqat Ali) has occupied with some force the towns of Palee, Sandee etc.[1] and in fact the greater part of the district of Mullaon in Oude. Colonel Clarke, Mr. Balmain, and Captain Thurburn, Civil Officer, have therefore been compelled to withdraw.

A proclamation recently circulated by the Begum in Oude has been transmitted to Govt. It is of no particular importance, repeating only the usual arguments and appeals of such documents.[2]

[1] See p. 854 also.

[2] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, Narrative (Abstract Proceedings) 1858. Narrative of Events for Farrukhabad for the week ending 31st of May 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

KAIMGANJ ATTACKED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Telegraphic Message from Lindsay to Muir, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), May 29, 1858.

The rebels, about 5,000 in number, crossed the Kalee Nuddee in two places yesterday, and have steadily marched up along the western boundary of my district, burning and destroying, and are now attacking Kaimgunge, which I am afraid will fall. As yet no steps have been taken to stop the rebels, they wish to cross the Ganges into Rohilcund.[1]

* * *

Narrative of Events, dated Allahabad, May 31, 1858.

Futtyghur—On the 28th May, 5,000 rebels crossed the Kallee Nuddee, and attacked Kaimgunge on the 29th instant, but were beaten off. They were crossing the Ganges during the night. A force of Cavalry had been sent after them.[2]

INCURSION INTO FARRUKHABAD FROM AVADH

ATTACK ON VILLAGE BORAH

31*st*—In May (1858) last, a body of rebels about 3,000 strong made an incursion from Oudh into the district of Furruckabad. A party of from 1 (100) to 300 strong from this body, diverged and made an attack on the *tuhseel* and *thanah* of Kaimgunge. The Police under the Deputy Magistrate Nujmoodeen (Najmuddin) and the Supdt. of Police Koour Dul Singh[3] aided by some of the *Tehseel Chaprassees* and particularly by Risaldar Ameer Ally of the Behar Irregular Horse, (who on the first intimation of the approach of the rebels volunteered his services and led the attack) managed after a four hours' fight to beat off the enemy. The rebels subsequently moved on towards the Ganges killing several men *en route*, and attacked

[1] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 13 in No. 17, p. 164.

[2] *Ibid.*, Inclosure 1 in No. 17, p. 162.

[3] May have been spelt for 'Kunwar Dhal Singh'.

the village of Borah, but were opposed and driven off by the villagers.

32*nd*—In the attack on Kaimgunge several of the Police were killed and others wounded, but the records and treasure amounting to Rs. 4,000/- were saved....[1]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 30th May 1858.

The rebels are crossing the Ganges at Jatee Ghat, in number, about two thousand Footmen and five hundred Horse. Cavalry went out after them last night.[2]

* * *

Telegraphic Message from Lindsay to Muir, dated Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), May 30, 1858.

The rebels have been beaten off; the *thannah* and *tehseel* are safe. The rebels were crossing the Ganges last night; a force of Cavalry went out last night after them, but they will hardly catch them.[3]

NANA REPORTED AT KANAUJ

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 15th June 1858.

The Nana is trying to cross the Ganges at or below Kunnouge (Kanauj).[4]

[1] Foreign Department, North-Western Provinces, 1853-1860, No. 4 of 1859; Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government N. W. Provinces in the Foreign Department for the 4th Quarter of 1858, Collection No. 18. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Further Papers (No. 8, in continuation of No. 6) relative to *The Insurrection in the East Indies*, 1858, Inclosure 12 in No. 17, p. 164.

[4] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

FARRUKHABAD NAWAB'S ALLEGED DEPARTURE TO NEPAL HILLS ALONG WITH NANA

Nana Sahib and the Nawab of Furruckabad have it is stated escaped to the Nepaul Hills. A correspondent at Lucknow, who has supplied the above, is of opinion that 'Nana rather than be taken (captive), will abandon his family, and retire to some monastery or temple in Thibet (Tibet) for the remainder of his days'.[1]

FIRÒZ SHAH IN DOAB

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 9th Dec. 1858.

The rebels under Ferozeshah, who crossed into the Doab on the fifth and sixth, are supposed to be making for Shere Gurh Ghaut in the direction of Jaloun.[2]

NAWAB ABDULLA (?) MISTAKEN FOR NAWAB TAFAZZUL HUSAIN

News dated Wednesday, 8th December 1858.

The Englishman hears that the Nawab Abdoolah of Furruckabad has been released from all the charges preferred against him. This cannot be the real[3] Futtygurh man.[4]

* * *

Extract from 'The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette', dated Dec. 9, 1858.

A contemporary states that the Nawab Doolah[5], of Furrackabad, has been released from all the charges preferred against him.

[1] *The Carnatic Telegraph and Madras Exchange Gazette*, June 17, 1858, p. 2. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858. Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

[3] Nawab Tafazzul Husain of Farrukhabad is probably meant.

[4] *The Hindoo Patriot*, December 9th, 1858, p. 386. National Library, Calcutta.

[5] This name is given as 'Nawab Abdoola' in *The Hindoo Patriot*, Dec. 9, 1858, p. 386. National Library, Calcutta. (See above).

cf. The Hindoo Patriot, Dec. 16, 1858, p. 393. (p. 950 of this book).

We are glad of this, as we have long known that there was no case against him though it would not have been considered right for us to say so.

We believe he had a narrow squeak from it—the rope about his neck, when a Telegraphic Message from Government House, Allahabad, saved him.[1]

* * *

News dated Thursday, 9th December 1858.

The Hurkaru whose editor seems to have been counsel for the Nawab Dowlah of Furruckabad, says that the Nawab has had a narrow escape. He had been condemned to die and the execution would have taken place, but a telegraphic message from Allahabad saved him.[2]

FARRUKHABAD NAWAB PASSES LUCKNOW ENROUTE TO KANPUR

The following is from our correspondent "one in a wood" dated Lucknow, the 5th January 1859.

"At one time the rumour was that the Nepaul Government had given an asylum to the fugitives, at another that it is best used towards the extermination of our foes. The Nawaub of Furruckabad passed this the other day. I believe he was destined for Cawnpore...."[3]

RELEASE OF FARRUKHABAD NAWAB RUMOURED

The following is from our correspondent, "one in a wood", dated Lucknow, the 31st January 1859.

"...It is rumoured that the Nawab of Furruckabad will shortly be released, as his money has enlisted several valuable heads in his favour, who may effect their purpose; but this I hope will not be the case. He who aided in the attack on our

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, Dec. 9, 1858, p. 458. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, December 16, 1858, p. 393. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1859, p. 107. National Library, Calcutta.

feeble garrison of Futtyghur, who was instrumental in their destruction, who had opposed our arms as long as he possibly could, who had ruined our dwellings, and levelled our sanctuaries to the dust, and, worse that all, who had ordered the murder of three of our countrymen, and that by blowing them away from guns; shall such a wretch be released ?"[1]

NAWAB OF FARRUKHABAD BROUGHT TO FATEHGARH UNDER POLICE ESCORT

The Nawaub of Furruckabad arrived at Futtehghur on the 29th[2] instant, under an escort of some Mounted Police.... The Nawaub is to be defended by English barristers and counsel.[3]

FARRUKHABAD NAWAB TO BE TRIED AT FATEHGARH

News dated Monday, February 7, 1859.

The Nuwab of Furruckabad we perceive has been brought to trial at Futtehghur before a Commission composed of three Judges. He is to be defended by English barristers. He is accused of a wholesale murder of Europeans...[4]

DEATH SENTENCE ON NAWAB OF FARRUKHABAD

The Delhi Gazette gives a special telegram from Futtehgurh announcing that the *Nawab of Furruckabad has been convicted and sentenced to be hanged.* The final orders of Government are awaited for. We presume they will confirm the sentence. *The fate of the Nana, if captured, is then no longer doubtful.*[5]

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, February 7, 1859, p. 126; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, February 1). National Library, Calcutta.
[2] Referring to, perhaps, 29th January 1859.
[3] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, February 8, 1859, p. 132; (Reproduced from *Delhi Gazette*, February 1). National Library, Calcutta,
[4] *The Friend of India*, February 10, 1859, p. 127. National Library, Calcutta.
[5] *Ibid.*, March 24, 1859, p. 271. National Library, Calcutta.

NAWAB FARRUKHABAD'S EXECUTION ORDERED

News dated Saturday April 23, 1859.

The same journal (*The Englishman*) says, on good authority, that the Governor General has sent orders for the execution of the Nawab of Furruckabad.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated May 19, 1859.

The Nawab of Furruckabad—We republish in another column the sentence on the ex-Nuwab of Furruckabad. This man, a Musulman noble, murdered sixty-two Englishmen, women, and children under circumstances of the most cold-blooded atrocity....[2]

FARRUKHABAD NAWAB IN FETTERS, DENIED INTERVIEW WITH WIFE

News dated Monday, May 30, 1859.

A correspondent of the *Delhi Gazette* states that on the 23rd instant the Ex-Nawab of Furruckabad was taken to the Magistrate's office under a European Guard, and there fettered. He was allowed to see his children but not his wife....[3]

NAWAB ELECTS TO GO TO MECCA

Futtehghur, May 19*th*—From other sources we hear that the Nawab intends proceeding to Mecca; he was allowed twenty-four hours to make up his mind where to go....[4]

* * *

[1] *The Friend of India*, April 28, 1859, p. 292. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *Ibid.*, May 19, 1859, p. 458. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1859, p. 512. National Library, Calcutta.
[4] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, May 31, 1859, p. 512. National Library Calcutta.

News dated Friday, May 27, 1859.

...The Ex-Nawab of Furruckabad has elected to be sent to Mecca.....[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES' BID TO RESCUE THE NAWAB

News dated Thursday, June 9, 1859.

...*The Mofussilite* mentions the appearance of a body of armed natives on the 28th May on the road between Mynpoorie and Agra, *with the design of rescuing the Ex-Nuwab of Furruckabad from the Guard in charge of him.* They numbered upwards of 500 men....[2]

NAWAB OF FARRUKHABAD REACHES GWALIOR EN ROUTE TO MECCA

News dated Tuesday, June 14, 1859.

A writer in the same journal (*The Englishman*) says, that the Ex-Nawab of Furruckabad reached Gwalior on the 4th instant *en route* for (to) Mecca. Feroze Shah was last reported as near Poonah (?) with 2,000 men, *with the object of attempting a rescue.* It is to be hoped that it is so.[3]

THE NAWAB BROUGHT TO GUNA IN FETTERS

News dated Monday, July 4, 1859.

The Bombay Telegraph and Courier says the arrival of the Ex-Nawab of Furruckabad at Goona on the 17th June *excited on (only) slight sensation.* He was strongly ironed and *seemed indifferent to his fate.*[4]

OTHER REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS UNDER TRIAL

Futtehgurh, 20th June—Ahmad Yar Khan the *Nazim* of the Ex-Nawab, is come in and with WazeerKhan, coachman, is

[1] *The Friend of India*, June 2, 1859, p. 510. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *Ibid.*, June 16, 1859, p. 557.
[3] *Ibid.*, June 16, 1859, p. 559.
[4] *Ibid.*, July 7, 1859, p. 632.
Note—In the preceding document 'Goona' appears referred as 'Poonah'.

under trial; Mohsum Aly Khan the other *Nazim* is also expected soon, they will probably be dealt with as gently as the other rebels have been.[1]

TRIAL OF LEADERS CHARGED WITH ATTACK ON EUROPEAN FUGITIVES FROM FATEHGARH

...On the troops mutinying at Futtyghur, early in July 1857, the European residents of that place with their wives and children, fled in boats down the Ganges. They met with no molestation until they arrived opposite Jajamhow, a few miles below Cawnpore. Here a murderous fire was opened on them from both banks of the river—from the Cawnpore side by the Nana's men, and from that of Oudh by the followers of an influential *zemindar* named Jussa Singh.....Jussa Singh, the leader of the attack, however died shortly afterwards. His eldest son Nurut Singh, who also distinguished himself on the occasion, is still at large—a reward of 2,000 being offered for his apprehension....This man also stands charged with the murder of a *Thanndar*. Those brought to trial were—

1. Futteh Singh (brother of the said Nurput Singh).
2. Adjoodhia (Ayodhya) Singh.
3. Oomrao Singh.
4. Moonna Singh.
5. Lochun Singh.
6. Buryal.
7. Gunga.

All Hindoos, charged with "murderous attack on the European fugitives from Futtyghur".[2]

MULTAN KHAN SENTENCED TO SEVEN YEARS' IMPRISONMENT

News dated Thursday, July 28, 1859.

A correspondent of *The Englishman* states that Mooltan Khan who escorted Mr. Edwards and his party and afterwards fought against us as an offcer of the Ex-Nawab of Furruckabad

[1] *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, June 30, 1859, p. 616. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] *Ibid.*, July 8, 1859, p. 27.

at Gungeree (Gangiri) and Putiali (Patiali), was caught and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment....[1]

NAWAB OF FARRUKHABAD EN ROUTE TO ADEN

News dated Wednesday, August 3, 1859.

The Ex-Nawab of Furruckabad on his arrival at Bombay, was lodged in the Tanna Jail[2], until a passage could be secured for him to Aden where he will be set loose.[3]

[1] *The Friend of India*, August 4, 1859, p. 727. National Library, Calcutta.
[2] Appears to have been spelt for 'Thana Jail'.
[3] *The Friend of India*, August 4, 1859, p. 729. National Library, Calcutta.

CHAPTER NINE

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MEERUT REVOLUTIONARIES' MARCH TO DELHI

The Mutinies—The Hurkaru has received intelligence from the North-West to the effect, that on the morning of the 9th instant the mutinous troopers, of the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut, about seventy in number, were disbanded and placed in confinement; but they were liberated in the course of the night, and that some of the officers of the corps were at the same time massacred. Meanwhile a *troop of the 3rd marched to Delhi*, where they were joined by the two Companies of the native Infantry in charge of the fort. These immediately possessed themselves of the Arsenal and Magazine and made the King a prisoner in his palace. It is feared that Mr. Simon Fraser, the Commissioner, Captain Douglas of the 32nd Native Infantry, Mr. Rhodes, the portrait painter, and Miss Jennings, who lived near the cantonments, have been put to death, and the communication by Electric Telegraph from Meerut to Delhi and thence to Agra has been put a stop to. The names of the officers killed at Meerut are not known, but it is reported that Mrs. Tregear is among those who have fallen.[1]

MEERUT REVOLUTIONARIES JOINED BY OTHER REGIMENTS AT DELHI

News dated Monday, May 18, 1857.

The Hurkaru has received intelligence from Government of the proceedings of the mutineers at Meerut. It appears that on the evening of the 9th, the 3rd Cavalry rose and liberated their comrades from jail. They were then joined by the 20th and 11th Regiments N. I., *and all three Regiments left Meerut*

[1] *The Hindu Intelligencer*, 18th May 1857, p. 154. National Library, Calcutta.

for Delhi. This was effected in the teeth of the 6th Dragoons and the 60th Rifles, who appear to have offered no adequate opposition. When the mutinous regiments had arrived at Delhi, *they were joined by the* 38*th*, 54*th and* 74*th*. Here the massacre appears to have commenced. Only one European, a Mr. Humphreys escaped from the city. The mutineers now mustering some 6,000 men, took possession of the treasury, bank and magazine in cantonments. The magazine in the city was blown up by Lieutenant Willoughby, the officer in charge. The officers known to be in safety are Major Abbott, Captain Wallace and his wife, Mr. Murphy, Major and Mrs. De Teissier, Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson and children, and Mrs. Macdonald. It is reported that the Commander-in-Chief is marching on Delhi at the head of the European Regiments and the Goorkhas, but His Excellency is scarcely believed capable of such a sacrifice. The attitude of the troops at Meerut is reported to be that of quiet expectation.[1]

SAPPERS AND MINERS ALSO MOVE TOWARDS DELHI

News dated Sunday, 17*th May* 1857.

The intelligence received today is that the Sappers and Miners have left Meerut to join the mutineers at Delhi,....[2]

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Extract from 'The Hindoo Patriot', dated 21*st May* 1857.

The mutineers had taken the road to Delhi, but the pursuit after them was soon given up in consequence, as is said, of the darkness of the night. On the way they murdered some European travellers. They seem to have reached Delhi the next day in numbers largely diminished by stragglers falling away. On their arrival at that city, their entrance was opposed, but the 38th Light Infantry and soon after the 54th and 74th turned out, and fraternised with them. They commenced immediately to murder their officers. The greater number of

[1] *The Friend of India*, 21st May, 1857, p. 486. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *The Dacca News*, May 23, 1857, p. 180. National Library, Calcutta.

these latter, as well as other European residents of the city, were killed, including Mr. Simon Fraser, the Commissioner, and Captain Douglas, the Commandant of the Palace Guards. Lieutenant Willoughby, the Commissary in charge of the magazine, blew it up to prevent its falling into the hands of the insurgents. It has been ascertained that he is alive. The names of Major and Mrs. Abbott and Captain and Mrs. Wallace of the 74th N. I., Captain and Mrs. De Teissier of the Artillery, Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson and a Mr. Humphreys are mentioned as among those who have found safety at Allygurh. Captain De Teissier is said to have been escorted by his own *Golandauz* Company who refused to join the mutineers. The insurgents occupied the fort, deposed the King of Delhi whom they found unwilling to side with them, and proclaimed the heir-apparent. They have since been compelled to resort to the plunder of the surrounding country for subsistence. The mutineers at Meerut had at the outset cut off the telegraphic lines between Delhi, Agra and Meerut, and the post beyond Allygurh is intercepted and uncertain. A Company of Sappers and Miners at Meerut have since been reported to have shot their officers *and fled towards Delhi*. They were pursued by the Carabineers, and many of them were killed; the remainder have joined the insurgents.

The worst, we hope, has happened. The mutineers have reached their crisis, and cannot rise and extend further. We are, indeed, still anxious for the Punjab and the garrisons beyond it; but we have substantial reasons to believe that no attempt like those which have proved so disastrously successful at Meerut and Delhi will be made by the troops in the farther west. Meerut, we are authentically assured, is now safe; and by this time, doubtless, Delhi has been rescued from the hands of the mutineers. When punishment adequate to the offence shall have been administered to these offenders, the sepoy army will have been taught a lesson more effectual than any they have yet received. Government has been censured for dealing too leniently with the mutineers in Bengal. We can scarcely conceive what other punishment than dismissal from a most desirable service could be awarded to men who at worst were misbehaving under a delusion, and were guilty of passive mutiny only. It would have hardly consisted with the principles and the dignity—not to mention the policy—of the Indian government to have made every soldier of the 19th and 34th Regiments

of Bengal Infantry martyrs in the eyes of their countrymen, and such they would have been if the forfeit of their lives or liberties were exacted from them for persisting in a course of passive insubordination in obedience to what every one believes to be the dictates of their conscience. The few who committed overt acts of mutiny and were convicted of the crime have been punished as severely as the most rigid disciplinarian could desire. As to the rest, it is the blindness of ungratified rage alone that prevents persons from seeing that the loss of existing means of livelihood, prospective advantages of no inconsiderable a value, and disgrace, want and inevitable misery are punishments of no slight a kind. These punishments, indeed, have not produced the exemplary effect expected of them. The peculiar nature of the evil is such as would battle[1] all legislative skill save that of a Dracu. But the spirit of the times would not have brooked the immediate administration of too sanguinary a remedy; and the reputation of the British Government would have suffered more from an intemperate use of its power and means than could be compensated for by the possible advantages of the violent course recommended. The conduct of the troops at Meerut and Delhi, however, has now removed all difficulty in the way of government. It may now act with a rigour proportioned to the urgency of the case. If every native soldier who has had a hand in that appalling outrage, and who was not compelled to join it by the intimidation of his comrades, were to pay with his life the forfeit of violated duty, offence would be done neither to justice nor to sound policy.[2]

11TH MAY AT DELHI

An account of what occurred within the city after the entrance of the Revolutionaries, obtained from a letter from an Indian Munshi.

TROOPS ENTER DELHI CITY

On arriving at the Bridge of Boats, the troopers plundered the Toll-chest, and a regiment of sepoys crossed the bridge and entered the city, after having killed an European whom they met on the bridge. The regiment had crossed, but the

[1] Appears a misprint for 'baffle'.

[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, 21st May 1857, p. 164. National Library, Calcutta.

boatmen broke the bridge; the troopers crossed the river on horseback, and entered the city by the Delhi Gate, and cantered up to the Ungorie Bagh[1] (under the Palace) to murder the *Burra Saheb*. The *Kotwal*, on hearing this, sent word to Mr. Simon Fraser, who immediately ordered the records of his office to be removed into the city; and getting into a *buggy*, with a double barrel gun loaded, and two orderly horsemen, proceeded towards the mutineers. The troopers advanced upon him, Mr. Fraser fired, and shot one dead through the head, and with the second barrel killed a trooper's horse. He then got out of the *buggy* and entered the Palace at the Summum Boorj (Suman Burj) closing the gate and proceeded to the Lahoree Gate of the Palace, and there called out to the *Subadar* on duty to close the gate (i. e. the Palace Guard gate), which he immediately did. A trooper then rode up and called out to the *Subadar* to open the gate. He asked "Who are you ?" and on his replying, "We are troopers from Meerut," the *Subadar* observed "Where are the other troopers ?" The man replied, "In the Ungorie Bagh (Anguri Bagh)." When the *Subadar* desired to bring them all, that he would open the gate, and on their arrival did so when all the troopers entered the Palace.

DELHI PILLAGED

Mr. Simon Fraser and Captain Douglas, the Commandant of the Palace Guard, called out to the *Subadar* "What treachery is this ? Desire your men to load." (An entire Company, if not more, is (was) on duty at the Palace Guard gate). The *Subadar* abused the Commissioner, desiring him to go away. On hearing which both Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas left the quarters, and ran towards the interior of the Palace, and were pursued by the troopers, one of whom fired a pistol at Mr. Fraser, on which he staggered and leant against a wall, when another trooper came up, and with a sword severed his head from his body by a single blow and also in a similar manner killed Captain Douglas, the Commandant of the Palace, and then proceeded to the King's Hall of Audience, where they killed two more Europeans, (supposed to

[1] Spelt for 'Anguri Bagh.'

be Miss Jennings and Miss Clifford) and then proceeded to Durriagunge (Dariaganj), and set fire to all the houses there. Another regiment of sepoys arrived in the city, and desired all the *budmashes* (bad characters) to plunder the houses, since they (the mutineers) considered it "*haram*," and would not condescend to touch the booty themselves. The troopers then murdered five gentlemen and three ladies at Durriagunge, and the remainder took shelter in the Kishnagar Rajah's house. They then came to the Delhi Bank, set fire to it and killed five gentlemen. They then went up to the *Kotwalee*, desiring the *budmashes* to commence plundering, on hearing which, the *Kotwal* absconded and took no steps to protect the plundered. The mutineers then came to the late Colonel Skinner's house, which they did not touch, but set fire to all the houses in the vicinity of the church, killing all the ladies, gentlemen and children therein. After this five troopers galloped to the cantonments and on their approach all the sepoys set fire (to) their officers' houses, murdering all the gentlemen, ladies and children they could find in cantonments, the remainder of the troopers proceeded to the magazine in the city. On their approach four officers and upwards of 1,000 men of the city were blown up with the magazine. *Two regiments from the Delhi cantonments joined the mutineers at the Delhi Kotwalee*, and commenced plundering the city. The two Delhi regiments then went and encamped near the Ellenborough Tank before the Palace. A guard was sent to the Kishnagar Rajah's house, on suspicion of his having given refuge to Europeans. Upwards of thirty-two Europeans (men, women and children) were concealed in the house; the mutineers set fire to the house, and it kept burning all the day and night. But the Europeans were safe in the *Tykhana* (*Tahkhana*). The next morning the troopers brought two guns from the magazine and kept firing at the house all day, but without effect. They then took to plundering the city in every direction. The late Colonel Skinner's house, which the mutineers did not touch, was regularly plundered by the scamps of Delhi. On the 13th the mutineers again attacked the Europeans, that had taken shelter in the Kishnagar Rajah's house. The Europeans commenced to fire and shot thirty of the mutineers, but on their ammunition and supplies being out, thirty Europeans came out and four remained in the *Tykhana*. The Heir Apparent now rode up to the house and begged the

mutineers would (to) deliver them into his custody, and that he would take care of them. However, paying no attention to what he said, they put all the Europeans to death. Mr. Geo. Skinner, his wife and children had taken shelter in the Pálace. Spies gave information, they were seized, taken to the *Kotwalee* and there most cruelly put to death. Dr. Chimmun Lall, the Sub-assistant Surgeon, was also killed at the Dispensary, and the English Doctor was killed at the gaol. For three days the dead bodies were not removed, and on the fourth the mutineers caused them all to be thrown into the river. The mutineers then asked the King either to give them two months' pay, or their daily rations. The King summoned all the shroffs and *mahajuns* telling them that if they did not meet the demands of the mutineers, they would all be murdered; on which the shroffs agreed to give them *dall rotee* for 20 days, adding they could not afford more. The mutineers replied, "We have determined to die. How can we eat *dall rotee* for the few days we have to live in this world ?" Whereupon the king ordered (four) 4 annas a day. The mutineers have placed two guns on each gate in the city, and have brought 1000 maunds of gun-powder from the cantonment magazine, and have taken possession of all the shot and shell in the city magazine. Supplies have been stopped, and everything is becoming exceedingly dear, viz. *atta* 13 seers, wheat 18 seers, *ghee* 1½ seers, etc. All the *neighbouring* villages (villagers) *are up and plundering*. The King has accordingly burned five Goojah[1] villages. The late Colonel Skinner's house at Belaspore has also been plundered. After plundering Delhi, 200 troopers proceeded to Goorgaon and set fire to the houses, and plundered the treasury, bringing away 7,84,000 rupees; thus with the Delhi treasure, the mutineers have in their possession 21,84,000, which is kept in the Palace, guarded by them and the King's troops.

In Delhi there are three regiments (one from Meerut and two of the Delhi regiments) and 200 troopers; the rest have all proceeded towards Allyghur and Agra. The great banker Luchmee Chund Seit (Lachhmi Chand Seth), from feeding the mutineers daily, has saved his firm from sharing

[1] Apparently 'Gujar' villages.

the fate of the others and is the only shroff who has not been plundered.[1]

EVENTS OF 11TH & 12TH MAY 1857 IN KING'S PALACE

Translation of an Extract from the Court Diary for the 16*th of May* 1857.

The King held his court in the Hall of Special Audience; 49 English were prisoners, and the army demanded that they should be given over to them for slaughter. The King delivered them up, saying, the army may do as they please, and the prisoners were consequently put to the sword. There was a large attendance, and all the chiefs, govt. officials, and writers presented themselves at the court, and had the honour of paying their respects.

Question[2]—Were you present on the 11th May at Delhi ?

Answer—Yes, I was.

Question—Relate what you witnessed on that occasion.

Answer—On the morning of the 16th of Ramzan, alias the 11th of May, at about seven O'clock A. M., a Hindu sepoy of the 38th Regiment of Native Infantry came up to the door of the Hall of Special Audience in the palace, and said to some of the door-keepers that happened to be on the spot, that the native army at Meerut had mutinied against the State, and were now on the point of entering Delhi; that he and the rest of them would no longer serve the Company, but would fight for their faith. My house is in the palace, and close by the Hall of Special Audience, and I was immediately informed by one of the Mahomedan door-keepers of what the 38th sepoy had said. I had hardly received this information, when the King of Delhi sent for me. I attended on him immediately, and His Majesty said, "Look ! the Cavalry are coming by the road of the *Zer Jharokha*. (*Zer Jharokha* is literally "under the lattice," but appears to be a name given generally to the ground immediately under the lattices of the palace). I looked and saw about 15 men of the Company's regular Cavalry, then about 150 yards distant. They were dressed, some of them in uniform, but a few had Hindustani clothes on.

[1] Carey, W. H. : *The Mahomedan Rebellion*, 1857, pp. 44-46.
[2] 'Question' put by Judge Advocate to Gulab, a messenger.

I immediately suggested...(Mss. torn) to have the gate fastened by which entrance to the palace from the '*Zer Jharokha*' is obtained, and this had scarcely been done when five or six of the sowars came up to the closed gate, which leads directly under the Saman Burj Palace, where the King has his own private residence in close contiguity with the apartments of the queens and other secluded females of the establishment. The sowars, commenced calling out "*Dohai Badshah*," or "Help O King" "we pray for assistance in our fight for the faith." The King hearing this, made no response, nor did he even show himself to the men beneath; but told Ghulam Abbas, Shamshir-ud-doulat, who was also present, to go to Captain Douglas, commandant of the palace guards, and apprize him of the arrival of the sowars, and request him to do whatever might be necessary in the case. The King then retired to his inner apartments, and I went to the Hall of Special Audience, and almost immediately Ghulam Abbas returned, accompanied by Captain Douglas. The latter instantly went to the balcony overlooking the *Zer Jharokha*, where the Cavalry still remained, and said to them, "Go away from this : this is the King's palace, your presence here is an annoyance to the King." On this the Cavalry went off in the direction of the Rajghat Gate, which gives an entrance to the city immediately to the south of the palace. The King on hearing that Captain Douglas had come, went out and met him in the open space between his private residence and the Hall of Special Audience, when Captain Douglas said to him, "Don't be alarmed, the disturbance shall be put down at once; I will have the men apprehended." He was going off apparently for this purpose, and requested that the gate under the Saman Burj, which I had closed, might be opened to enable him to go and speak to the Cavalry for the purpose of reasoning with them. The King said, "You have neither pistols, guns, or soldiery with you, your going among these men would be indiscreet." So Captain Douglas then went off to his own apartments. A very short time subsequently to this, Pran *Jemadar*, a servant of Captain Douglas, came and said that Captain Douglas wished that I and Ghulam Abbas would go to him. We accordingly went and on seeing Captain Douglas, he said to us, "I have sprained or hurt my foot." There was another gentleman with him whom I did not recognise; he was lying down on a couch, and had a sabre wound

on his right arm. Captain Douglas said, "Send two palanquins with bearers immediately that the English ladies here may be taken to the queen, and placed under her protection," and just at this time Mr. Simon Fraser, the Commissioner, came into the room, and said, "Get from the King two guns with artillery, and place them at the gate-way underneath us." On this Mr. Fraser came down from Captain Douglas's apartment above the gate-way accompanied by myself and Ghulam Abbas. I and Ghulam Abbas went straight to the King to deliver the above message, and Mr. Fraser stayed at the opening of the gate-way. We, with the King's permission, immediately sent the palanquins for the ladies, and also gave instructions about the guns; but shortly after this, information reached us that the Cavalry had entered the palace inclosure by the Lahore(e) Gate, where Mr. Fraser wished the guns placed, and over which Captain Douglas had his residence : it was also told us that they had killed Mr. Fraser, and had gone up to Captain Douglas to kill him. This was instantly confirmed by the return of the *palkee* bearers, who told us that they had witnessed Mr. Fraser's murder, that his body was in the gateway and that the troopers had ascended to the upper building for the purpose of murdering those there. The King on hearing this, gave orders, for all the gates of the palace to be closed; but answer was given that the Infantry, viz. some of the 38th Native Infantry, who were on guard at the palace, would not allow of such being done. After a lapse of some time the Cavalry, to the number of about 50, rode up to the Hall of Special Audience, dismounted, and picketed their horses in the adjoining garden. The Infantry, I am not sure of what regiments, but I think of all the three Delhi regiments, also came into the palace enclosures, and laid down their beddings in any of the palace buildings that they could make available. The Infantry from Meerut did not reach Delhi till about 2 P. M. of that day; they did not reach Delhi in a body, but came straggling in, and as they arrived joined the Infantry of the Delhi regiments in spreading their bedding over all parts of the palace enclosures. There was no regular court that day; but the King came out some three or four times to the Hall of Special Audience, where the mutineers were lying about all over the place : and the mutinous troopers came flocking into the palace the whole day and even after the night set in. The 54th came in the

evening, and went off at once to occupy the Salimgarh Fort, where they the next day fixed guns which they brought out of the magazine for the purpose of checking any advance of European troops from Meerut. For three days constant alarms, and especially at nights, were given that the Europeans were coming, when the bugles sounded and the mutineers got under arms. On the 12th of May the prisoner's[1] three sons Mirza Moghal and Mirza Khair Sultan and his grandson Mirza Abulbakr (Abu-Bakr) applied for the principal commands in the army. I represented to the King that they were not of sufficient age and experience for such appointments, nor would they understand any of the duties, and they were much displeased in consequence. The matter remained pending that day. The next day, however, they got Mirza Mendu, Mirza Bakhtawa[2] Shah, and Mirza Abdulla, together with the officers of the army to join them in their request, and accordingly, two days after, they were severally nominated to commands and received dresses of honour.[3]

DIARY OF EVENTS AT DELHI

English Translation of Extracts from 'Urdu Akhbar'.

On May 11, 1857, when owing to the heat of the summer, the courts were held in the morning, the Magistrate was holding the court and the usual work of conducting cases and award of punishments was going on, the *Darogha* of the bridge came at 7 O'clock past and reported, "Some horsemen from Meerut crossed the bridge this morning, committed reprisals on us and wanted to plunder the toll-money realised. I began talking to them and engaged them in conversation. Then I managed the bridge in such a way that their boats could not advance. These outsiders have set fire to the octroi-post and the bungalow of the officer of the roads, situated on the Muslim Pur Road." On hearing this the Magistrate got up, went to the adjoining room of the Deputy Magistrate

[1] Referring to "King Bahadur Shah of Delhi".
[2] Apparently spelt for 'Mirza Bakhtawar Shah'.
[3] Proceedings on *The Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah, the Titular King of Delhi*, 1858, Twelfth Day's Proceedings, cross-examination of Gulab, a messenger, before the Court; pp. 88-89.

and after some conversation with him went to the Treasury Officer's room; and after consulting him ordered the Treasury-guard to get ready who at once loaded their guns. A Guard was also posted at the big gate of the court. All those in the court and in the premises were agitated and full of anxiety. The Magistrate then went to the Commissioner and it was learnt that those horsemen had gathered outside the fort under the 'Jharoka Darshan' and were seeking audience with the King. In the meantime the Magistrate returned, and called his wife and children from his bungalow next to the court premises. After a while, a half guard was sent to Kashmiri Darwaza. In the meantime, Mr. L. Boss, the Sessions Judge, also came up. He went round the court premises, closed the court and went to his bungalow.

Now, the King called the *Qiladar* who, having heard and seen all this, wanted to go to these people for remonstration. But the King, out of mercy which is one of the divine qualities .... (Mss. blurred) and the *Qiladar*, at last, came back. Shortly after it was heard that *Bara Saheb*, Doctor Saheb, the English ladies and the *Qiladar* were murdered on the gate and the horsemen had entered the fort. The King then put on his head-dress, girt his sword and sat in the *Darbar*. At first, some sawars entered the city and after killing the Englishmen and setting fire to two bungalows came to the hospital under the wall of the fort and killed Dr..... (Mss. blurred).

It is said that *Bara Saheb*, *Qiladar* and Doctor Saheb and some other Englishmen stood on the Calcutta Darwaza with a telescope watching the Meerut Road, when two sawars came and shot one of them dead with a pistol. The rest of them who were saved were killed at the gate of the fort, according to the accounts given above. By this time, other Englishmen came to the place. Now, there was an uproar that such and such Englishman was killed at such and such place or that his body was lying at such place.

Having heard the report of the guns and seen all this commotion I, the author, also stepped out, in the cause of religion and found that the people were fleeing away precipitately from the side of the Kashmiri Darwaza Bazar. As I intended to gather true information for the readers I set out in the direction without caring even for my life. When I reached near Mr. Alexander's *Kothi*, I heard the report of a gun in front of me. When I proceeded further I found the

gentleman coming on foot, with a naked sword in hand. He was highly agitated and perplexed and was pursued by a number of *Tilangas* who fired their guns. There was also, behind him, a mob of the common people some of whom had a piece of wood, a bamboo or the *patti* of a cot with which some of them struck him out of spite. They drove him from the Zinat Bara side to the canal. I went towards the Nasirganj *maidan*. When I reached the place I saw about twenty or twenty five *Tilangas* scattered about in front of Fakhr-ul-Masajid. The people pointed to them towards the mosque. At last I saw that some *Tilangas* entered the mosque and there shot one of them dead. Proceeding further, I found about 200 sawars and *Tilangas* who were spreading out on all sides. They questioned every body if he had seen any Englishman and if any one could give them a clue. Some of them followed him to the place. Shortly after there were corpses of Englishmen and Christians to be found in every lane. They entered the *Kothis* and put to sword all the Englishmen, their wives and children. Only those who hid themselves in private dwellings, lanes or corners of the bazar, were saved at this time. The furniture of all the *Kothis*, the chairs, tables, carpets and even the marbles of the church and the court were taken away. Shortly after when I went near the magazine and had reached Hamid Ali Khan's mosque I found the corpse of Mr. Nixon, the Superintendent of the Commissioner's Court, lying. Some one had put a piece of biscuit in his mouth, just to make a fun. The barracks of the magazine were occupied by the *Mujahids* (fighters in the cause of religion) and it was believed that there were some Englishmen with their *Khalasis* hidden inside keeping the doors closed. When I looked at the school, I found that the furniture and other articles namely maps, pictures, books in Persian, English and apparatus, worth several thousands, chairs and tables were being plundered, to the extent that they broke the *shatranji* floor and took away the sills of the doors.

After having seen all this, I came home. The reports of guns were continually heard from all sides. At 3 P. M. a cannon shot was fired and while the people assembled were still wandering, another report was heard. I, at once, went upstairs to look round when a terrible sound came and there was a tremor like that of the earthquake. It was so terrific that I felt as if the doomsday had arrived. It was learnt

that the magazine had blown up and a thick and dark cloud permeated the air. Pieces of wall and stones were flying like birds or leaves of trees in the air. I came down frightened lest some stone might drop in my house and prayed to God to save us. On enquiry it was learnt that about 20 or 25 Englishmen with ladies and children were inside and the *Ghazis* climbed the wall of the magazine with a ladder from the side of the city wall. The besieged fired upon them two grape shots, but because the officers have more of the knowledge of theory than of practical fighting, these shots produced no effect. At last when the besiegers set up cannon on the door and resolved to break it open, the besieged blew up the mine they had set towards the parapet. Some of the besiegers were killed and the besieged taking advantage of this uproar fled for safety. A few of these fugitives were killed while the rest were saved, probably these remaining were also put to death separately one after the other.

It is believed that Mr. Taylor, the Principal of the *Madarsah* was also one of them. He got it saved but was killed the next day on Tuesday within the precincts of the *thana*. Mr. Taylor was a bigoted Christian and used to convert those who knew little of religion. He was responsible for the death of Dr. Chaman Lal. Mr. Taylor was very rich. His bank accounts in Delhi and Calcutta amounted to about 2 Lakhs of rupees. He had several bungalows rented in the cantonment. He had accumulated this money so niggardly that he spent not more than an anna or six pice per day on his meals and credited all the residues in the bank. He spent all his leisure in preparing his bank accounts. In his dress also he was niggardly. In spite of all this wealth, his corps lay bare on the ground for one full day and the lookers said that his face was besmeared with dust and his dress looked beggar like. Mr. Metcalf, son of Mr. Thomas, came to the court at about 8 O'clock and then went to the city for management. The other Englishmen who had now kept themselves shut inside the walls of the magazine, asked him to stay with them and not to go out but he was doomed to die and therefore he stepped out crying, "Management." When he reached Nagan Boad[1] Gate, he begged for shelter and tried to hide himself in some

[1] Name incomprehensible in the Urdu text.

private dwelling. At last he requested a sawar of the Joint Magistrate's Court for a horse on which he rode and tried to save his life. But a Musalman sawar pursued him like the angel of death. It is said that he was bare headed and galloped while his Angel of Death pursued him closely with a greater speed. At last when he reached the Ajmeri Gate he put on a *Najib's* cap and ordered the gate to be closed behind. His pursuer the sawar also reached simultaneously and threatened the *Najib* with a pistol to open the door who at once obeyed. At last Mr. Metcalf was killed when he reached Pahari Dhiraj. But some say he escaped with his life.

Mr. Bersford of the Bank—He reached the magazine, but as he was doomed to death; in spite of other Englishmen's advice to the contrary, he went out to bring his wife and children and to make arrangements personally for the safety of the Treasury and the Bank. When he reached his residence his *Khansama* informed him about the coming of rebels when he was talking to another Englishman. He asked about their strength and the *Khansama* said that they were reported to be 20 or 25. He rebuked the *Khansama* saying, "I know all this. What can they do? They will bring destruction to themselves and their own brethren." After this he ordered arrangements to be made for the safety of the treasury, and taking the keys with him he went to the upper storey room of his *Kothi* with his wife, grown up daughters and children and ordered the *Khansama* not to give out where he was if any one enquired. At last...(Mss. blurred) They were all killed. The Bank *Kothi* was plundered and burnt to ashes.

AN ACCOUNT OF 'NIM' GUARD KASHMIRI DARWAZA

Many Englishmen and ladies were safe there. Although there was slaughter in other parts of the city, but the Englishmen were safe and had kept a looted cannon.

The *Ghazis* did not come to this place for they had enough to look after in the city. But a little before dusk when the *Paltan* of the *Chhaoni* (Cantonment) entered the city, they put all of them to death and then entered the fort.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CANTONMENT

At 8 A. M. when the disturbances had begun in the city, a *Tilanga* came to the court with a letter. When I enquired

f him about the cantonment he said that they were also etting ready and armed. When he was asked, "Do they ave sympathies with the English ?" he was rather puzzled nd said, "Oh No." I said "What about yourself ?" He eplied "When everybody is against them, what can I alone lo ?" The *Tilangas* of the court also looked pleased with vhat had happened and one of them even said, "The guns re loaded, you will see whom we kill." At last, it was learnt hat a large number of Englishmen of the Platoon and of the antonment had come to *Kothi*...(Mss. blurred) from Mr..... illegible) Sessions Judge's residence and had come through he *nala* (gutter). They also joined others in the cantonment nd had dismissed the *Jamadar* and the sentries. Mr. MacWater, he Collector of Panipat, and many ladies and children had gath-red here before the evening. Although one more *Paltan* was ent upon mischief but these Englishmen were at Barta. The nen of the *Paltan* were ready for....(Mss. blurred). At last, bout sunset these people set off for Ambala on horses and *bagghis* ame. As mentioned above the 'Nim' Guard of Kashmiri Darwaza killed the Englishmen and entered the fort. It was earnt that some of these Englishmen carried on mail service. One of their *Kochwans* (horse-drivers), a resident of this *nohalla*, came here on Saturday and brought the authentic ews that all those Englishmen had set out for Ambala, but ome of them were killed at Panipat and others at Karnal, nly three persons reached Ambala after many misfortunes nd joined the troop of the whitemen.

Ambala—There are four *Paltans* of *Tilangas*, armed and eady at the parade. On the other side there are three *Paltans* f whitemen.

The magazine and the treasury are in the hands of the victorious *Tilangas* who do not give them over to the white oldiers who demand them.

Meerut—The *Risala* of the victorious *Turksawars* (Cavalry) and the *Paltan* named (?) were already agitated.

The dispute about cartridges greased with boar fat was raging here also like other places as already mentioned in previous news-letters. At last eighty-five sawars were taken captive for refusing to use these cartridges. On....(Mss. not readable), religious sympathies were excited and every-body in the *Paltan* and *Risala* took up arms and got ready. First they marched to the jail and set the Musalmans free.

The *Paltan* then diverted attention towards the Englishmen and white soldiers and killed them wherever they were found. All the Englishmen and white soldiers protected themselves inside the magazine and the renowned *Ghazis* now marched towards Delhi. All that happened has already been described.

Saharanpur and Roorkee—A *Paltan* coming from Roorkee after massacring the Englishmen at that station fought the troops of whitemen at Meerut. As the Englishmen were inside a protected place and had the magazine in their hands while the *Ghazis* were tired after the journey, still, by divine grace and royal auspiciousness they defeated the enemy and made them retreat.

The English again entered the battery and 200 white soldiers and 100 or 150 *Ghazis* were killed. Yesterday, in the morning, the rebels entered the city for paying respects to the King and for setting the administration right. The Gujars and Jats have created great disturbance in the city and its outskirts. The roads are closed. Hundreds of *kothis* have been plundered and burnt. The *Ghazis* came to the Delhi *Kotwali* and enquired about the *Kotwal*. The prisoners also applied to him for release. At first the *Najibs* hesitated but at last the *Kotwal* and the *Najibs* had to yield. The *Kotwal* has since then been missing and his whereabouts are not known.

It is said all the gaol convicts also were released the same day.

The Fort—The Platoon encamps inside the fort. On the 17th, the King went out in procession in order to allay the fears of his subjects. On the 18th, Mufti Muhammad Sadr-uddin Khan Bahadur was appointed *Sadar Aala*, Maulvi Abbas Ali and Karam Ali Khan were appointed *Munsifs* for deciding criminal and civil cases. On 20th letters were issued to the chiefs of Bikanir, Alwar, Jaipur and Datia. On...(Mss. blurred), the princes and other royal relations, namely Mirza Khizr Sultan, Mirza Abdulla Bahadur, Mirza Mendor Bahadur, Mirza Kochak Sultan Bahadur were appointed commanders of the *Paltans* and *Risalas*, in the order detailed. They were also given the paraphernalia according to their ranks. On 24th..... (Mss. blurred).....by divine help and royal auspiciousness the *Nazarenes* of Meerut who were confined in the battery were killed by the *Paltan Risala* coming from Bareilly. One sawar sent by Bija Bai Saheba (Baiza Bai Saheba) Bahadur, Jiya Ji-Rao Scindia, the ruler of Gwalior to find out what was

happening reached the city. Most probably the King will give him a letter.[1]

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English Translation of the Extracts from the Newsletters of the Darbar (illegible) Sahib Bahadur (Agent or Joint) Commissioner of Shahjahanabad, dated 11th May 1857, corresponding with Monday, Ramzan 16, 1277 Hijri'.

MAY 11, TO MAY 17, 1857

The *Bara Saheb* was in his *Kothi* when, at night, he received a letter about the outbreak at Meerut. He did nothing at night. The next morning when four *gharis* had passed, the news came that the Cavalry *Risala* No. 4 and two *Paltans* of *Tilangas* were coming to Delhi after fighting on the issue of cartridges at Meerut. Accordingly the *Bara Saheb* asked his orderly peon to call at once the *Vakil* of Nawab Mujduddaulah (Majd-uddaula) and Mr. MacCliffe personally ordered the *Kotwal* to close the gate of the City at once and to send the *Najibs* of the *Kotwali Chabutra* to the ordinary gates for keeping guard. The *Kotwal* at once obeyed the order. The *Bara Saheb* rode his *bagghi* and with his orderly sawars remained inside the city. It was now learnt that some sawars had set fire to the Jamna Bridge and had killed three Sergeants. One of the Sawars entered the fort, spoke harsh words to the *Qiladar* (Commandant) and fired at him with a pistol but the shot missed him. Now these sawars went to the place under the '*Jharoka*' window and said to the King that they had approached him in the cause of religion and requested him to order the gate under the window to be opened for them. The King at once informed the *Qiladar* about their coming and their actions causing disturbance. The *Qiladar* came to the place and told the sawars before the King, "You wicked people want to create disturbance. Go away." The sawars retorted, "We shall see you." The *Bara Saheb* then went to the Kashmiri Gate and said to the Company of *Tilangas* posted there, "You have partaken of the salt of the *Company Bahadur*[2]. Some rebel troops have come from Meerut. You should, therefore, hurry up to keep the administration intact." The *Tilangas* said,

[1] *Dehli Urdu Akhbar*, May 17, 1859; Collection No. 2, Vol. 19, No. 20. National Archives, New Delhi.
[2] East India Company.

"We shall not go. We would certainly go if you were attacked by an enemy." The *Bara Saheb* came to the Calcutta Darwaza with a few Englishmen and made arrangements there. Now Jwala Singh *Jamadar* told the *Saheb* that all Musalmans were ready to rebel and advised him to leave the city at once which he refused to do. The market was completely closed. Padre Jung[1] Saheb and one other Englishman went up to the *Qiladari* (place of the Commandant) and looked through the telescope to see the above-mentioned sawars. The *Saheb Qiladar Bahadur* (Englishman in charge of the fort) rode his *bagghi* and came to *Bara Saheb* at the Calcutta Darwaza and showed him a letter which he took out of his pocket. He at once ordered the orderly sawars to be vigilant. The Musalmans of Bazar Hatim went to the Raj Ghat gate and opened it after making a settlement with the sawars who entered the city and began killing the English and setting fire to their dwellings. They massacred those few Englishmen who lived in Darya Ganj Cantonment and set fire to their houses. Dr. Chaman Lal who stood in front of the hospital was also murdered. The Musalmans told the rebel sawars that the *Saheb Bahadur* was at Calcutta Darwaza and they went there. They fired a number of gun and pistol shots and two Englishmen were killed there. The orderly sawars of the *Bara Saheb Bahadur* being Musalmans did not fight with the rebels. But the *Bara Saheb* took the gun of one of the sawars and wounded one of the rebels. Now both the *Sahebs* (*Bara Saheb* and *Qiladar*) sat on the *bagghi* and reached the gate of fort. They were going up to the *Qiladari* (residence of the Commandant) when he was killed while ascending the steps. The *Qiladar*, however went up. But after killing the *Bara Saheb*, the rebels went up and murdered the *Qiladar*, Padre Jung, his daughter and one other Englishman. These Musalmans belonged to the fort and the city and they plundered the property of the *Sahebs* in the *Qiladari* and in the city. Mr. John MacCliffe rode out with a naked sword in hand towards the Ajmeri Gate. He was pursued by some rebels up to the Bazar Qadri but he did not fall into their hands. The *shoe-makers of the Ajmeri Gate had also pursued him* with their clubs. Three Platoons of *Tilangas* posted at Rajpura Cantonment *went over to the rebels*,

[1] Name incomprehensible, in the Urdu text.

killed some of their officers and came to the city. They killed all the Englishmen, their ladies and the Christians in their *kothis*, bungalows and rooms in Darya Ganj Cantonment, Kashmiri Darwaza and in the *kothi* of Mr. Alexander. The Musalmans and some Hindus of the city plundered the twelve *thanas* and the *Kotwali Chabutra* in company with the rebels and broke all the lanterns. Ashraf-ul-Haq, the *Kotwal* of the city, absconded and Baldev Singh, the *Naib Kotwal*, fled away after being wounded. After this the rebels attacked the Bank and made an attempt to kill the two Englishmen, three ladies and two children who were sitting on the roof. But they had loaded pistols in their hands. A Musalman climbed a tree there but the above-mentioned Englishman killed him with a pistol-shot. The Musalmans set fire to the Bank. The Englishmen were now helpless. The rebels now left the place. The Musalmans killed the English ladies with three *lathi* blows. The Musalmans together with sawars and *Tilangas*..... (not legible)...Raja Nahir Singh of Ballabh Garh who had gone to see the officer-in-charge of the metalled roads came at 1½ *Pahar* after sunrise. All the money in the Delhi Treasury was distributed by the Platoon of the Rajpura Cantonment amongst themselves and they plundered and set fire to the Civil and Criminal Courts and to the School. The sawars went to the Rajpura Cantonment and set fire to it. Then the Platoons of the sawars (Horsemen), two Platoons of *Tilangas* from Meerut and the three Platoons of Delhi went to the King and said, "Sir, Help us and we will establish your Government throughout the Country." The *King assured them of his sympathies and asked them to encamp at Salim Garh.* The market of the city was completely closed. The shops and the lanes and streets were exposed to plunder. Now, the sawars and *Tilangas* heard that some Englishmen and ladies had closed themselves behind the doors of the Magazine, so they brought a cannon from Darya Ganj Cantonment and loaded it with a basket-load of pieces of stone and fired. The Englishmen fired a round at the magazine which set fire to the ammunition. The shock killed several hundreds of men of the city and brought down a large number of houses close to the magazine. The Englishmen fled from this place and reached the Darya Ganj Gate where they were killed by the sawars. They took three Sergeants and two ladies captive and brought them before the King. The Sergeants requested the King to keep them with

himself otherwise they would kill them. The King ordered them to be kept in *Tasbih Khanah*. Raja Nahir Singh of Ballabh Garh accompanied by the Rani, his brother Ranjit Singh and Mohan Singh of Khusropura left for Ballabh Garh at 2 *Gharis* before sunset and he hid Mr. Munro, the Christian. The *Tilangas* made an attack on the *Kothi* of Salik Ram, treasurer, but the doors could not be broken open. But at midnight the *Tilangas* and Musalmans of the city broke open the doors of the *Kothi* and carried away all the property. Two Sergeants were carrying two cannons to Meerut in the night but the Horsemen of the Third *Risala* took these cannons from those Sergeants who then fled away. Then the sawars and *Tilangas* fired 21 cannon-shots under the wall of the fort. The whole night there was an uproar in the town and plundering and burning went on.

On Tuesday, May 12, 1857, the King was in the palace. He came out and sat in *Diwan Khas*. The Chiefs paid their respects. The *Subedars* of the five *Paltans* of *Tilangas* came and requested that some one might be given the charge of supplying provisions to the army. Thereupon the King ordered Har Sahai Mal and Diwan Mal, to supply flour, pulses and gram worth Rs. 500/- daily to the five *Paltans* and the *Turksawar Risala*. Kothi of Mohd. Ibrahim son of Wali Mohd., merchant was plundered by the *Tilangas* and the four Englishmen who had hid themselves there were killed. An English lady who had put on Indian dress was killed with a sword by the sawars when she was going towards the Lal Talab. The *Tilangas* plundered the shops of sweetmeat sellers, vegetable-sellers and of cloth-merchants. After all this, the King appointed Mirza Amin-uddin Khan as the *Subedar* of the city and sent him to the *Kotwali Chabutra* for administration. A *Tuman* of *Sipahis* was sent with him and he was ordered to put an end to this plundering of the ryot. The above-named Mirza (said) that the *Turksawars* and *Tilangas* plundered the Chowri Bazar and the King called the *Subedars* of the Platoons of the *Tilangas* to send one platoon to the ground under the '*Jharoka*' window and one to the Delhi Darwaza outer wall of the city, and one Company to each of the twelve gates namely, Ajmeri Darwaza, Lahori Darwaza, the *Farrash Khana* window etc. as he did not want that his subjects be exposed to plunder. One Company of *Tilangas* should be posted to Bazar Guzar Dariba. After this, the *Tilangas* attacked Darwaza Nagar Seth for plunder.

The residents of the place closed the gates and filled them with bricks. Consequently they fled away. Some Christians with their wives hid themselves in the *Haveli* of Raja Kalyan Singh of Kishangarh. The *Turksawars* came and fired shots at these Christians who did the same in return. At last the sawars brought two field pieces to the *kothi* but the Christians hid themselves in the *Tahkhana* and the sawars had to go back. Now, the King ordered Mirza to go with a Company for keeping the plunderers under proper control. Accordingly he came to *Chabutra Kotwali* on an elephant and got the order, that the ears and nose of those who would indulge in plundering would be slit, and that those who would not open their shops and would not give supplies to the soldiers would be fined and imprisoned, proclaimed. The King set Nawab Taj Mahal Begam free from the prison. The *Turksawars* killed two Englishmen who had disguised themselves as Indians, in front of the *Kotwali Chabutra*. After this the King, with Mirza Jawan Bakht in Khawasi, accompanied by Platoons of *Tilangas* and a number of cannons, rode the elephant and came to Chandni Chowk and ordered the shopkeepers to open their shops and to supply porvisions to the soldiers. On his return he entered the fort. Now Hasan Ali Khan presented himself through Ahsanullah Khan and gave one gold *mohar* in *nazar*. The King asked him to stay as he wanted to consult him. Next, a *Doshala* was given to Mirza Aminuddin Khan in lieu of the *Subedari* of the city and he presented *nazar* of four rupees.

Wednesday, the 13th May—The King came out to the *Tasbih Khana*, Nawab Mahbub Ali Khan and other Chiefs presented themselves and made obeisance. Husain Mirza the *Nazir* was ordered to bring in Mirza Aminuddin Khan to the presence but he returned and reported that the Mirza was ill and therefore could not present himself. Then an order was sent to Mirza Aminuddin Khan, the city *Kotwal*, that he should send supplies to the army as they had not yet received. Hasan Ali Khan presented himself and stated that the army had collected inside the fort. The King asked his opinion and he said, "It is not safe to depend on these men who have killed their own officers." Then an order was sent to Shah Nizamuddin *Pirzada* and Bodhan Saheb, son of late Nawab Mohd. Mir Khan, to come to the presence frequently for consultation. Mirza Moghal, Mirza Qadar Sultan, Abdullah and others were appointed Colonels of Platoons



Seal of Begam Zinat Mahal



Seal of Raja Nahar Singh



Seal of Wali Dad Khan

and were ordered to go to Kashmiri Darwaza, Lahori Darwaza and Delhi Darwaza for management and to take two cannon with them. Then, Shah Nizamuddin submitted that the *Turksawars* had brought Mir Hamid Ali Khan captive to the *Jawahir Khana* before Mir Ahsanullah, complaining that he had given protection to some Englishmen in his house which Mir Hamid Ali Khan denied saying that they could search his house and if any Englishman was found there he himself and his wife and children might be killed and his property looted. The King ordered Shah Nizamuddin to go to the Mir's house with the *Turksawars* and *Tilangas* to find out if there were any Englishmen hiding there. He did so. Nobody was found hiding. Shah Nizamuddin got all the property of the Mir, plundered by the *Tilangas* and *Turksawars*, restored, and he himself relieved. The King appointed Mirza Abu Bakr as the Colonel of the *Risala* of *Turksawars*. It was now reported that there were 29 Englishmen, ladies and children hiding in the *kothi* of Raja Kalyan Singh of Kishangarh. The *Tilangas* and *Turksawars* went up, took them captive and shot them dead. Then the *Turksawars* went to Mr. Alexander's *Kothi*, brought Mr. Joseph's son to the *Kotwali Chabutra* and killed him. Then as suggested by some one the *Turksawars* and *Tilangas* went to the *kothi* of Narain Das and the house of Ram Saran Das, Deputy and on the false pretext that he had given protection to Englishmen in his house, they plundered all his property. Qazi Puttoo and his son were killed by the *Tilangas*. Two Englishmen disguised as Indians going by the Badroo Gate were killed by the *Tilangas*. The King gave four hundred rupees to each of the *Paltans* for return. Mirza Aminuddin Khan made an announcement in the city to the effect that all those who wanted to take service should present themselves armed and that all those who would keep Englishmen in their houses would be culpable. Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan and Nawab Walidad Khan came to Delhi in response to the royal orders. They presented themselves before the King who ordered them to come to the *Darbar* every day. The *Chaudharis* and grain merchants were called and ordered to keep their stores open for sale and to sell it at a fixed and reasonable price. Mubinuddin Khan recruited two hundred soldiers and posted them for watch in the Kidarpur and Chandni Chowk areas. Two water carriers were brought captive on the charge of stealing *ghee* from the shop of a *Bania*. The

notorious mal-characters, Kami[1] Khan and Sarfaraz Khan were brought captive. Some people are in the prison for plundering Putli Wara and Sabzi Mandi.

Thursday, May 14th—The King came out from the palace and went to the *Tasbih Khana*. Husain Mirza Nazir, Kaptan Dildar Ali Khan and Husain Ali Khan presented themselves. Mirza Aminuddin Khan, Maulvi Sadruddin Khan and Mirza Ziauddin Khan were called and they accordingly presented themselves and made obeisance. The Maulvi gave one gold *mohar* in *nazar* and the King ordered him to take up the work of civil and criminal justice but the Maulvi requested to be excused. Then Salik Ram, Treasurer, was called. He presented himself and offered a gold *mohar* as *nazar*. The King asked him how many lakhs of rupees there were in the main treasury; but he said that he did not know. The King then ordered him to send one of his *Gumashtas* to the treasury to which he agreed. Rahmat Ali Khan sent one gold *mohar* as *nazar* through Hasan Ali Khan. The King wanted to know who he was and was told that he was the son of his nephew, Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan. Then Muhammad Ali Khan, son of the late Sher Jang Khan, presented a gold *mohar* in *nazar* and the King asked who he was. He was told that he was the nephew of Khan Saheb Bahadur Jang Khan of Dawari. After this,...(illegible)—Rawal Shiva Singh of...(illegible) presented himself and he said that Rawal Saheb was very ill and therefore he could not present himself but he intended going to Jaipur. On hearing this, a *shuqa* (letter) was written to Maharaja Sawai Ram Singh Ji ordering him to come with his army without delay. The above-mentioned *Motamad* (agent) said that he should soon leave for Jaipur. Next, letters were sent to Nawab Abdul Rahman Khan of Jhajhar, Bahadur Jang Khan of Dawari, Akbar Ali Khan of Palori, Raja Nahar Singh of Ballabhgarh, Hasan Ali Khan of Dojona, and Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan of Farsgarh to come at once to the presence. Mirza Aminuddin Khan and Ziauddin Khan were ordered to manage the *pargana* of Jharoka Firozpur. The district of Gurgaon is still under nobody's charge. It was reported that the Gujars, of Chandrawat have plundered the shops of Sabzi Mandi, Teliwara and of *Madrasah* of the late Nawab Safdar Jang Khan, at night. Consequently, Mirza

[1] Name incomprehensible, in the Urdu text.

Abu Bakr was ordered to set the Gujars right. The above named Mirza with the *Risala* of *Turksawars* came to the *mauza*, posted a cannon and fired guns. The Gujars left the village and the Mirza gave it to plunder and fire. Bahadur Singh, the *Darogha* of Lucknow wala's property presented himself and gave one gold *mohar* in *nazar*. An English soldier was coming from Ambala to pay respects to the King, but he was taken captive and sent to gaol by royal order. The English lady who came as a captive was also sent to gaol. *Tilangas* and *Subedars* who stood on the carpet with their shoes on were rebuked by the King. Mirza Aminuddin Khan, the City *Kotwal*, was ordered to proceed to Rajpura Chhaoni with the volunteer Platoon and to check the plundering of Rajpura Chhaoni, Sabzi Mandi, Phari and Brij Ram. Four persons who came from Mahratta Chhaoni told the *Tilangas* that the English soldiers were coming to kill them. They disliked this and took them captive. The *Thanadar* of Nagin Bod[1] was ordered to bury the dead bodies of *Bara Saheb* and of *Qiladar Saheb* and to throw the dead bodies of other Englishmen and ladies into the river Jamna. This was done. The Gujars plundered all that there was in the *kothi* of *Bara Saheb* and tore down all the papers into pieces.

Friday, the 15th May—The King was inside the palace. Maulvi Abdul Qadir prepared the salary bill of the army and submitted it to the King. The King gave a *Doshala* for the *Najabat* of Mahbub Ali Khan to the above-named Maulvi and then he left for his place riding an elephant. The *Darogha* of Rawal Shiva Singh of Sarnut came to the presence and offered one phial of *Keora* and one black *Itradan* (a perfume box) as a *nazar* from the above-named Rawal. A *shuqa* (royal mandate) for Raja Janpur(?) asking him to come was given to the above-named *Darogha*. Ghulam Nabi Khan, the *Darogha* of Kala Mahal and Mir Akbar Ali Sawar, the orderly of *Bara Saheb* presented themselves and stated that 59 horsemen sent by Nawab Abdul Rahman Khan of Jhajhar had reached the presence and that his agent could not come owing to disturbances. Maulvi Ahmad Ali presented himself on behalf of Raja Nahar Singh of Nahar[2] and gave a *nazar* of one rupee and submitted the Raja's petition that he could not come on account of

[1] Name incomprehensible.
[2] This name may be *Ballabhgarh*.

disturbances by Gujars and promising to come as soon as he had put them down to which the King ordered that the Raja should come early. The news that the Collector of Rohtak had fled away and that the Rohtak Treasury was about to be plundered and that the Gurgaon Treasury had already been looted, were received. Thereupon the King ordered that one platoon of *Tilangas* and the *Risala* of sawars should go and bring the Rohtak treasures intact. Abdul Hakim was ordered to recruit 400 *Khasbardars* at the rate of Rs. 5/- p. m. and a *Risala* of sawars at the rate of Rs. 20/- p.m. About 200 persons were, therefore, recruited. Maulvi Baqar of *Chhappa Khana* (Printing Press) got a piece of paper prepared and he submitted it for the King's perusal and assured that he would manage the affairs well. A royal mandate was sent to the *Risaldar* of *Turksawars* that Mirza Abu Bakr was dismissed from their Command and that they should themselves come to the presence. Qazi Faizullah presented a *nazar* of five rupees and submitted a petition for Kotwalship which was granted. A gold-smith who had killed another person because of personal animosity was taken captive. The Mewatis of Jaisukhpur had taken away Rs. 4000/- in cash and the property of the English officer in charge of that area and thereupon the sawars and *Tilangas* had intended to go to the place in order to bring those Mewatis captive and to blow up Jaisukhpur with their guns. Lala Budh Singh, the *Vakil* of the Raja of Jaisukhpur applied for the safety of the people of Jaisukhpur. The King ordered that no horseman or foot-soldier should be allowed to go to Jaisukhpur without the King's own permission. It was reported that the sawars and *Tilangas* went round the streets and lanes of the city with unsheathed swords and therefore the shop-keepers had their shop closed out of their fear. Consequently, the King sent an order to all the gates of the city that no *Tilanga* or sawar should go about in the city with a naked sword. The *Risaldar* of Nawab Jhajhar was ordered to encamp at Mahtab Bagh. It was reported "four boats laden with grain are coming to the *Ghat* of Ramji Mal Gurwala." An order was, thereupon, sent to *Dawani Mal* to get them unloaded and to bring in the grain. Two *Tilangas* who had deposited Rs. 4000 out of the plunder of the Bank at the *kothi* of Ramji Das Gurwala and wanted the amount to be paid to them at Lucknow had some differences afterwards. This resulted in a Company of *Tilangas* going to the *kothi* and Ramji Das at once paid back

the money deposited. A royal mandate was issued to all the *Sahukars* (Bankers) to come to the presence. Then *Turksawars* and *Tilangas* assembled in *Diwan Khas* and told the King that they had not yet received their pay and that Hakim Ahsanullah Khan and Mahbub Ali Khan had secret dealings with the English. Then they went to the *Haveli* of Chah Lal and said to Shah Nizamuddin *Pirzada* that two English ladies were in hiding in his house. He asked them to bring the informer before him. The sawars brought in a person resident of Rampur who said that he had only heard that. Shah Nizamuddin said, "You can kill me and plunder all my property if an English lady is found hidden in my house. But, on the other hand, if you want to plunder my house on this false pretext, you may." The sawars gave no reply and then Mahbub Ali Khan swore by the *Quran* that he was not an accomplice of the English. The sawars plundered the house and all the property of Agha Muhammmad Khan.

Saturday, May 16—The King was in the palace. He came out to the *Diwan Khana* and held the *Darbar*. The chiefs, namely, Hakim Ahsanullah Khan, Bakhshi Agha Sultan, Captain Dildar Ali Khan, Rahmat Ali Khan and others presented themselves and made obeisance. After this the *Tilangas* and *Turksawars* came with their officers and showed a paper bearing the seals of Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan and Ahsanullah Khan which they had at the Delhi Gate of the outer wall of the city. They said that it was written by the Nawab and the Hakim to the English asking them to come up early, make Mirza Jawan Bakht, born of Zinat Mahal, as the heir-apparent and to take all the *Tilangas* and *Turksawars* present in the city and fort captive, with their help. When Hakim Ahsanullah Khan and Nawab Mahbub Ali Khan looked at the paper they said that it was a fabrication and the seals were not genuine. Then both of them took out their seals and put them before the *Tilangas* and *Turksawars* to see that those on the paper were not genuine and they themselves swore by the *Quran* that they had not written that paper and that some one had simply fabricated it. Now, someone brought the news that some Englishmen were in hiding inside the tunnel pipe of the canal. Accordingly Mirza Abu Bakr reached the place with his Horsemen, and jumping into the water fired a number of pistol-shots. But there was none there. Now, the *Tilangas* and *Turksawars* with naked swords surrounded Hakim Ahsanullah Khan and

said that there was no doubt that he was intriguing with the English, would hand over the English captive to them and would betray them also, then the English returned (*sic*,). Next, the *Tilangas* and sawars brought in fifty-two Englishmen from the gaol to the *Hauz Nazzar Khana* for massacre. But Machley Salatin said to them that according to Islamic law they were not allowed to kill women, and upon this the sawars made up their mind to kill him, but he fled away. Then the sawars made all the men sit and then shot them dead. After this, the *Khasbardar* put the ladies and the children to the sword. The King ordered that all the dead bodies be carried in two carts to the river and thrown into the water. When the Hindus of the city heard about this, they were much pained and said, "These easterners will not be victorious because they have perpetrated tyrannies." The *Tilangas* were removed from all the gates. Some one informed the sawars that Englishmen are hiding in *Haveli* Mathura Dass Treasurer and in Kooncha Chaudhary. Accordingly, the *Tilangas* went to the *Haveli* and the Kooncha and returned after a search. *A royal mandate was sent to Nawab Walidad Khan of Malagarh that* the Gujars had spread anarchy and misrule in the area on the other bank of the Jamna and that he should go there to establish Government.

Two weavers who had put on the dress of the *Tilangas* and plundered in the city were taken captive. The grain merchants of the Lahori Darwaza petitioned that Kashi Nath *Thanedar* of that area demanded Rs. 100/- as a bribe and threatened them with being sent to *Kotwali* as prisoners if they did not offer the sum. Thereupon Hakim Ahsanullah sent a message to Qazi Faizullah to make him captive.

Sunday, the 17th May—The King was in the palace. All the chiefs, sawars and *Tilangas* came to the presence and said that they had marched to Salimgarh and requested the King to go to the place for inspection. The King, thereupon, went to Salimgarh in his *Havadar*. He inspected the Artillery which they had set up there and *assured them of his sympathies*. He also asked them to place full confidence in Hakim Ahsanullah Khan and Nawab Mahbub Ali Khan and said that he would kill any Englishman they would bring captive, with his own hands. Thus he removed the ill-will the *Tilangas* bore to Hakim Ahsanullah Khan. A messenger carrying a letter from some Englishman was caught on the Jamna Bridge and the *Tilangas* tied him to the cannon. The King ordered the carpets to be spread out

and the necessary decoration made in the *Diwan Khana*. Then he called Mirza Aminuddin Khan and Mirza Ziauddin Khan who attended and made obeisance. He asked them to attend the *Darbar* everyday to which they replied that they were not keeping good health. Then he asked them to recruit an army and promised to give them a large part of the country to which they assented. Then Irtiza Khan and Murtaza Khan, brothers of Nawab Mustafa Khan of Jahangirabad and Akbar Khan, son of Faizullah Khan Bangash, Fakhruddin Khan and others attended, were allowed to the presence, made obeisance and offered a *nazar* of Rs. 2/- each. After this proposals for appointment as Colonel of the platoon were discussed. A sawar who came from Garhi Barsaro stated that several lakhs of rupees of the revenues of the southern districts which were being sent to Shahjahanabad under the escort of some *sipahis* and sawars were plundered by a band of 300 Gujars and Mewatis at the Zila Kothi Barsaro. On hearing this, the King sent two Companies of *Tilangas* and a *Risala* of sawars with Maulvi Mohd. Baqar of the Printing Press against the Gujars with orders to bring the treasures safe. The *Tilangas* belaboured a servant of Mirza Mughal who was charged of being a news smuggler. He was, however, released by the orders of Mirza Mughal. Some one reported that the *zamindars* of Andhaori presented themselves before the King and gave a *nazar* of one rupee each. They said that they were loyal to which the King replied that they should keep their area under proper control, otherwise they would be exiled. The two *Harkaras* of the King's service who had been sent to Chhaoni Mahratta to bring information returned and said, "One thousand white soldiers, some Englishmen, women and children have gathered together inside the battery walls of Suraj Kund and have posted cannons. The Gujars are plundering and doing mischief from Salimpur to Chhaoni Mahratta." Thereupon the King ordered two Companies of *Tilangas* to be posted on the bridge. Hakim Abdul Huq Khan presented himself and offered a *nazar* of five rupees.

The English asked the five companies of Pioneers crossing the Roorkee Bridge on their way to Chhaoni Mahratta, not to do so and to keep to their old service, but they refused to obey. Consequently there was a fight between the two which resulted in the flight of several hundreds of men who had reached there. A large number of them were wounded and killed. Letters asking Raja Narendra Singh of Patiala,

the Raja of Jaipur, the Raja of Alwar, the Raja of Jodhpur, the Raja of Kotah, the Raja of Bundi, the Raja of Markotala, and of Farid Kotla, to come to the presence at once, were sent each through four sawars. It is reported that an army is coming from Ambala. Two girls died when they had reached under the balcony of Diwan Kishan Lal.[1]

SEPOYS DIVULGE PLAN

English Translation of Speech of the Sepoys before Bahadur Shah.

"You are the King of both the worlds—terrestrial, spiritual. The whole of India is under your sway and every announcement is preceded by, 'God is the master of the Creation, Order (*sic*,--Country) belongs to the King and the Command is that of Company.' The English have been ruling on your behalf. We have come to you with our grievances. We expect justice from you. We are the servants of the English. It is we who have conquered the whole territory of 1400 *Kos* extending from Calcutta to Kabul for the English, because they did not bring any English army with them from England. Now when they have subjugated the whole of India, they have changed their mind and want to convert every one of us into Christians and thus meddle with our religion. They applied this policy first in our army. After careful deliberation and due consideration they thought of a new plan. A new type of gun was invented for which a cartridge greased with the fats of certain animals was used. God only knows as to which were those animals whose fats were used. Both the Hindus and Musalmans among us refused to obey the order. The Hindus pleaded that they belonged to high castes—Brahman and Kshattriyas etc. and that they did not take meat at all. The Muslims also objected saying they did not take the meat of those animals which were not killed in accordance with the Muslim religious rites.

"Thus a dispute (between the Government and the Indian soldiers) ensued. The Government thought that we had wilfully disobeyed the orders and therefore only to ensure good discipline insisted on the practice whereas we

[1] Collection No. 39, Miscellaneous, May 11; December 7, 1857. National Archives, New Delhi.

sepoys considered it sacrilegious to use it. Consequently the relations got strained and the situation took a serious turn.

"This dispute now has been continuing for last four months. Government officers are discussing the matter in their Committees and we have also circulated the letter in our own regiments of the *Infantry and Cavalry to the effect that 'the entire army should totally refuse to honour the order, and leave service, and in case any stringent measures are taken, a revolt should break out on one and the same date all over India. Then it would be seen as to what they could do* ?' Accordingly this received the approbation of us all and the entire army disobeyed. The trouble originated from a decision of the officers of the regiments to revolt first at Meerut—a great military centre and a place where the old and experienced army was stationed.

"Now, in pursuance of the above, the English soldiers (white-men) stood in files with their artillery at the parade ground on a fixed day and date. Then our 3rd Regiment of Indian sepoys was called to parade and our officers were given the guns and cartridges with clear orders to cut them open with teeth. We pleaded inability to comply with their order on the ground of religion and said '*we would prefer to be blown up by the gun rather than to commit such a sacrilegious act*'. Once again we were ordered to do that, once again we refused in a body. When that was repeated a third time we were ordered to lay down the arms we had. We obeyed. Next we were ordered to dismount (from our horses) and we obeyed again. The third command for us to stand aside from the soldiery was also obeyed. 84 officers stood aside from other sepoys. Next we were ordered to be hand-cuffed. We obeyed ungrudgingly. Then we were ordered to go to the gaol. We saluted and left for the gaol.

When we entered the gaol *the Meerut Camp was in a state of great commotion.* In every house there was a discussion about this. *Particularly the ladies were most zealous* and those whose men were sent to gaol, were most vociferous, (in their protestations). They mocked and jeered at the sepoys saying, '*Give us your arms : we shall fight and liberate the brave officers who have been confined to gaol. You can stay inside the home and can put on bangles.*' These taunts spurred all the sepoys and they decided to stake their lives in liberating the imprisoned officers. In the night, Foot-soldiers and Horsemen, joining hands, raided the gaol, opened its doors and liberated the officers. The other

prisoners—bad characters confined in the gaol—were also set free. The Government now ordered the white soldiers to get armed with their artillery and to charge us. The whole night, we fought them. In the morning we started towards Delhi, and with forced marches reached this place after covering a distance of 30 *kos*. Your Majesty should extend your kind and sympathetic hand for we have done all this in the cause of religion."

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE RESIDENT OF DELHI AND THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The Resident—(addressing the rebel officers who had reached Delhi) "Oh ? *Baba Log* : 'What a disturbance you have created. We have brought you up like children. We always thought that you would fight for us and defend your country against foreign invasions of Russia or Persia. We spent crores on your training and made you fine soldiers. We never dreamt you would attack and point the guns at us and thus be culpable of perfidy."

Sepoys—"Respected Sir : You are certainly right. The Company has brought up us but we have never proved faithless to her; we have never hesitated to spare our lives (for her) and have always obeyed our officers through thick and thin. We fought for the English at Kabul, in Lahore and proved true to our salt. Now when the Company is the master of the whole of India, she interferes with our religion and wants to convert us to Christianity. We have been ordered to bite the cartridges with our teeth. We cannot abjure religion. We are here, risking our lives and we have already considered ourselves dead since the moment we opened the door of the gaol."

The Resident—"*Baba Log* : Listen to me. Give up the idea of killing us and fighting with us. On solemn oath, I promise to intercede for you and to save your life on honour, if you even now desist from further killing and fighting. I shall get all those punished who are responsible for playing false with you and your religion. His Majesty, the King also shares my opinion and advises you to stay back and remain peaceful."

Sepoys—"Sir ! We cannot trust you. You have often won victories through deceptive contrivances. Supposing we obey

you, where is the guarantee that you will not hang us the other day ? *It is better to die fighting than to be hanged at the hands of a scavenger.*"

The Resident—"No ! no. Do not entertain any doubts. I swear by the Bible, I shall never play false with you. The King is also with me and shares the same view."

Some of the rebels who were considerate and far-sighted said that it was wise to act up to the advice of the Resident, but others distrusted him, being a Christian.[1]

REVOLUTIONARIES' MARCH FROM ALIGARH AND MAINPURI TO DELHI

The Phoenix has learnt by a Telegraphic Message from the North-West that the Head-quarter of the 9th N. I. (four Companies) stationed at Allygurh and the detachment at Mynpoorie (three Companies strong) have marched from those stations to join the rebels at Delhi. The remaining three Companies are stationed at Etawah.[2]

BATTLE OF GHAZIUDDIN NAGAR

Letter No. 8 from Brigadier A. Wilson, Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Head Quarters, dated Camp Ghazi-uddin Nuggur (Ghazi-uddin Nagar), the 31st May 1858.

I have the honor to report, for the information of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, Commanding the Umballa Force, that, as reported in my brief despatch of last night, my advance picquets were driven in at about four O'clock yesterday afternoon, and that I was attacked by a large force of the mutineers, accompanied by heavy guns from Delhi.

I immediately sent off a Company of Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles, with another in support, to hold the iron bridge, which is the key of my position, and I detached the four guns of Major Tomb's Troop, supported by a squadron

[1] Zahir Dehlvi; *Dastan-i-Ghadar* (Urdu), pp. 46-53. *cf.* *'Freedom Struggle in U. P.'*, Vol. I, pp. 405-407. For Civil Administration and Proclamations in Delhi, See *Freedom Struggle in U. P.*, Vol. I, pp. 419-423, pp. 438-448.

[2] *The Hindu Intelligencer*, June 1, 1857, p. 172. National Library, Calcutta.

of Carabineers, to the right, along the bank of the Hindun river.

The insurgents opened upon these advanced parties with heavy guns. I ordered two more Companies of the 60th Regiment to support their advance, and brought up four guns of Major Scott's Battery, the Sappers, and a troop of Carabineers to their support, leaving two guns and a troop of Carabineers to protect the camp.

The first few rounds from the insurgents' guns were admirably aimed, plunging through our camp; but they were ably replied to by our two 18-pounders in position under Lieutenant Light and Major Tomb's Troop, most admirably led by Lieutenant-Colonel M. Mackenzie, who, raking them in flank with his 6-pounders, first made their fire unsteady, and in a short time silenced these heavy guns.

On remarking the unsteadiness of their fire, I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Jones to advance his rifles and attack. This was done in a most spirited manner. They drove the enemy from the guns, but in the act of taking possession of two heavy pieces on the causeway close to the toll house, I regret to say that Captain Andrews and four of his men were blown up by the explosion of an ammunition waggon fired by one of the mutineers.

The insurgents were now in full retreat, leaving in our hands ordnance, ammunition and stores, as detailed in the accompanying statement. They were followed for a considerable distance on the Delhi Road by Lieutenant-Colonel Custance, Commanding the Carabineers with the force.

Where all behaved so well, and showed such gallant conduct, it is almost invidious to particularise; but I wish to bring to Major-General Sir Henry Barnard's notice, and through him to the Commander of the Forces, Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery, who so ably led; Major Tomb, who so gallantly fought, the 2nd troop of that brigade (the latter had his horse shot under him); Lieutenant-Colonel Custance, Commanding the Carabineers; Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, who so gallantly led the 60th Royal Rifles; and Major Scott, who ably supported that regiment.

I beg to enclose the reports I have received from officers commanding detachments, with a return of killed and wounded, and of the captured ordnance and ammunition.

Mr. Greathed, the Commissioner, attended on me during

the whole of the action. From this gentleman, and from my own personal staff—Captain Johnson, Staff Officer of the Force; Captain O. Hamilton, Officiating Deputy Assistant Quarter-master-General; Captain Russell, of the 54th, and Lieutenant Barchard, of the 20th Regiment, Native Infantry, my orderly officers; Lieutenant Waterfield, of the Commissariat Department, I received every assistance.

The casualties may not be considered great under the advantages we have gained, but with my small force I cannot afford to lose men. I have applied to Major-General Hewitt, Commanding the Meerut Division, for a reinforcement, as I consider my present force much too small for the position I am placed in, liable to constant attacks from Delhi. Parties of horses have been seen from that quarter reconnoitring my position all the morning, and it is very harassing to the men to be kept so constantly on the alert.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 12 *from Brigadier A. Wilson, Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-quarters Camp, dated Camp Ghazi-uddin Nuggur (Ghazi-uddin Nagar), the* 1st *June* 1857.

In continuation of my demi-official express of last night's date, I have the honor to report for the information of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, and through him, of the Commander of the Forces, that the insurgents attacked me again yesterday afternoon at about one O'clock, in force.

They took up a position extending fully a mile, on the high ridge on the opposite side of the Hindun, about a mile from my advanced picquet in front of the bridge, and commenced a fire with their guns from this long distance.

The guns of the Horse Artillery, supported by a squadron of Carabineers, immediately moved forward to reply to their fire, and the two 18-pounders under Lieutenant Light moved to the bank of the river for the same purpose. The Rifles, leaving one Company in camp, moved forward to the support of the picquet at the bridge, supported by two guns of Major Scott's Battery and a troop of Carabineers. Perceiving that the Horse Artillery was exposed to a very heavy fire, I ad-

[1] Forrest, G. W. : *State Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 284-85.

vanced two more guns of Major Scott's Battery under Lieutenant Davidson to support them.

For nearly two hours the action was one of artillery chiefly.

The Rifles clearing the village on the left of the toll bar, and the fire of the enemy's guns slackening, I ordered a general advance, the insurgents retiring continuing their fire, until we drove them from their position and crowned the ridge from which we could see them in full retreat to Delhi.

My men were so knocked up by the heat of the sun, by which many officers and men were struck down, that I could not follow them further, as I wished. I therefore withdrew the force into camp, after having first burnt a village on our right flank from which the insurgents had given us much annoyance.

All the force performed their duty well and to my satisfaction, and in addition to those officers whom I brought to notice in my despatch of yesterday detailing the action of the 30th, I wish to report favorably of Lieutenant Elliot of the Artillery, who supported the Rifles with two guns of Major Scott's Battery in the most steady and determined manner. Lieutenant Light also did admirable service with his 18-pounders. The Sappers and Miners, under Lieutenant Maunsell, whom I brought up in support of Lieutenant Elliot's guns, performed most efficient service.

I have to regret the loss of Lieutenant Perkins, of the Horse Artillery, an invaluable officer, and a great loss to me.

I beg to enclose reports from the commanding officers, and a Return of killed and wounded.

I regret to say that the insurgents were enabled to carry off all their guns, which appeared to me to consist of two heavy pieces on the Delhi Road and five light guns, most probably the remains of Captain De Teissier's Battery. One of their ammunition waggons only was destroyed.[1]

DELHI REVOLUTIONARIES' CALL FOR JIHAD

News dated Saturday, the 13th June 1857.

The Hurkaru published an English translation of the

[1] Forrest, G. W. : *State Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 287-88.

manifesto of the Delhi rebels which appeared in the *Doorbeen* originally. The paper represents the religion of all Hindoos and Mahomedans to be in danger, and calls upon them to murder all Europeans they can lay their hands upon. Field Marshal Lall Khan or Madaree[1] Khan or whoever is the generalissimo of the rebel force is certainly not a Caesar either in arms or in letters.[2]

. . . The extreme ferocity of the revolters is to be accounted, perhaps solely by the fact that they are waging a religious war. . . .[3]

'EMPIRE OR DEATH' OBJECTIVE BEFORE MEERUT AND DELHI REVOLUTIONARIES

News dated Thursday, the 18th June 1857.

The Dacca News has an excellent article on the mutinies. Great forbearance was displayed by Government towards the first mutineers, but those who think that *blowing off the 19th and 34th N. I. would have prevented subsequent mutinies are as wrong as those who think such an operation was physically possible.* The mutineers at Meerut and Delhi knew that the only alternatives before them were empire and death. Their *mistake lay in their miscalculation of the probabilities* of the matter[4].

DELHI REVOLUTIONARIES CRAVE FOR HELP FROM BAREILLY

Extract from 'The Friend of India', dated 23rd July 1857.

A letter from the rebels at Delhi to the mutineers of Bareilly was intercepted at Haupper (Hapur)[5]. It runs thus :—

[1] Appears misspelt for 'Madar Khan'.
[2] *The Hindoo Patriot*, June 18, 1857, p. 193. National Library, Calcutta.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 196.
[4] *The Hindoo Patriot*, June 25, 1857, p. 201. National Library, Calcutta.
[5] *Hapur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Hapur*, District *Meerut*—The headquarters of the tashil is the second town in the district, and is situated, in latitude 28° 43′ north and longitude 77° 47′ east, on the metalled road from Meerut to Bulandshahr, at the point where it is crossed by a second metalled road running from Ghaziabad to Garhmuktesar, at a distance of 19 miles from Meerut and 62 miles from Aligarh. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, 1922, p. 234).

"If you are coming to help us it behoves you to eat your food there and to wash your hands here, for here the battle is set in array against the English, and by the goodness of God every one defeat to us is ten to them; and our troops are assembled here in great numbers. It is now requisite that you should come; for large rewards and high rank will be conferred by the King of Delhi—the King of Kings—the Centre of Prosperity. We are as anxiously awaiting your arrival as fasters, the call of the *Muezzin*. Our ears are intent on the thunder of the cannon and our eyes like the eyes of the *Kasid* are watching your road. It therefore is essential that you consider this call as very urgent, and come, for our house is yours."

"Come, Come, for there is no rose
"Without the spring of your presence,
"The opening bud with drought
"Is as an infant without milk."

The rebels at Delhi must be in a very bad way when they send such humble supplications as the above all over India. It would appear that the inhabitants of Delhi compel the sepoys to make such frequent sorties in order to draw off our fire from the city.[1]

* * *

Extract from Letter from J. C. Wilson, Commissioner on Special Duty, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, Allahabad, dated Camp Calcutta, the 24th December 1858.

....On the 9th we heard of the glorious victory at Dehli of the 8th, which victory caused notice to be sent by the Dehli rebels to Bareilly, to urge the advance of the Rohilkund regiments as quickly as possible. One intercepted letter ran thus:—"The King is dying with anxiety to see you all. Come, come; *eat your dinner at Moradabad, and wash your hands in the Jumna*. As the night is long to him who expects the advent of his mistress, so long is the time which shall intervene ere you arrive.....[2]

[1] *The Friend of India*, 23rd July, 1857, p. 699. National Library, Calcutta.

[2] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, p. 5.

BAREILLY REVOLUTIONARIES MARCH TO DELHI

Extract from the Letter from J. F. D. Inglis, dated Bareilly, 30th November 1858.

On the 11th June the *Sepahis* marched from Bareilly to join the rebels at Delhi; they committed great outrages before they started, and on the road, Mobarek Shah Khan accompanied them the first march out, and sent an *urzee* by Bukt (Bakht) Khan to the King of Delhi soliciting the appt. (appointment) of *Nazim* in Rohilcund.[1]

* * *

Letter No. 88 from R. H. Dunlop, Offg. Magistrate of Moradabad, to R. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand, dated Moradabad Magistracy, the 18th November 1858.

BAREILLY BRIGADE ARRIVES AT MORADABAD EN ROUTE TO DELHI

June 15th—Bareilly Brigade arrived. Mr. Kitchlen, his son, and brother-in-law murdered by the mutineers and city rebels. Government well wishers were plundered at the instance of Mujjoo Khan. A Company of the mutineers proceeded to Billaree (Bilari), and brought away Rs. 7,000 from the *tahseelee*. Another party proceeded to Kasheepore (Kashipur), and brought away government elephants. The Brigade, on its proceeding to Delhi, carried off five Eurasian writers, giving their wives and daughters to Mujjoo Khan.

BAKHT KHAN GRANTS SANADS

June 18th——Bukht Khan granted *Sunnuds* to Mujjoo Khan and Assud Alee Khan (Asad Ali Khan) on the part of the King of Delhi, confirming them in the Viceroyalty of Moradabad.....

June 24th—Abdool Alee Khan, uncle of Nawab of Rampore, arrived with 2,000 men and four guns, and established

[1] Department-XXIV, File : 'Narrative of the Outbreak of Disturbances at Bareilly,' Bareilly Commissioner's Office Mutiny Records. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.
cf. Mutiny Narratives, N. W. P. Agra, *Bareilly District*, p. 5.

authority in concert with Mujjoo Khan, and ordered observance of the Mahomedan Law in the distribution of justice.

MAJJOO KHAN COLLECTS FORCE TO AID DELHI KING

June 30th—Mujjoo Khan collected a large body of men from Moradabad, Sumbhul (Sambhal) and Amroha, with the intention of sending them to Delhi to aid the King; but the Nawab of Rampore dissuaded him from his purpose, and fixed a *Jagheer* for him.[1]

BAREILLY REVOLUTIONARIES AT GARHMUKTESHWAR GHAT

....From the 24th to the 26th there was no fighting, and *the Bareilly mutineers were at the Gurmuckteser* (Garhmukteshwar) *Ghat* unable to cross and effect a junction with the insurgents. The 9th Irregular Cavalry were expected to arrive at Delhi on the 30th of June. They were at Umballah (Ambala) on the morning of the 25th ultimo....[2]

FERRY ARRANGEMENTS FOR BAREILLY TROOPS ORDERED

Order under the King's Special Autograph Cypher, in Pencil, dated 29th June 1857, to Mirza Mughal.

Son,—The illustrious Mirza Zohur-ud-din, otherwise Mirza Moghal Bahadur. Learn that the river has to-day risen very considerably, while intelligence has been received that the Bareilly troops will arrive to-morrow; stringent orders have accordingly been issued to the superintendent of the bridge to get together all the boats he can collect, and to have this force ferried across the river. Using boats, it will have to cross in portions, and the whole of the force will not be able to get over at once; and as a measure of precaution, therefore,

[1] *Mutiny Narratives*, N. W. P. Agra, *Moradabad District*, p. 2.
[2] *The Friend of India*, July 16, 1857, p. 680. National Library, Calcutta.

you, our son, are now directed to issue an order to the officers under your seal, that no one, neither officer nor private, of those crossing in the boats, subject the superintendent or boatman to any ill-usage or violence, as stringent orders to repair the bridge have also been issued. The inconvenience of a day or two, therefore, they ought to put up with cheerfully.[1]

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES FROM BAREILLY ENCAMPED AT DELHI

Joint Petition of Mirza Mughal and Mirza Abdulla, dated 1st July 1857, to the King of Delhi.

"Respectfully sheweth—That the bridge has now been thoroughly completed, and that the petitioners trust, therefore, that the troops arrived from Bareilly, etc., and now encamped on the opposite side of the river, may be allowed to cross over during the night, as during the day the shot and shell of the English continue to fall. If it is so ordered, these troops will be made to encamp outside the Ajmir Gate (Ajmeri Gate). On the other hand, whatever orders are issued will be complied with"—The petition of Mirza Zohur-ud-din and Mirza Abdulla Sahib.

Autograph order by the King, in Pencil—Direct this force to encamp outside the Turkoman Gate.

Note in the Margin—"Index, No. 242."

Order on the reverse, without signature, but authenticated by an official seal-(Impression just sufficiently legible to show that it is the seal of the Commander-in-Chief, Mirza Moghal)—"Ordered that the orders in this case having been carried out, this petition be filed in the Office," dated 2nd July 1857.[2]

BAREILLY REVOLUTIONARIES REACH DELHI

Meanwhile the mutineers from these three stations having plundered all the treasuries and accumulated enormous

[1] Proceedings on the *Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah, the Titular King of Delhi*, 1858, Fifth day's Proceedings, No. 14, p. 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 16, p. 53.

quantities of spoil, prepared to take it with them into Delhi. They were about 5,000 strong, and had with them 400,000/. in silver, laden on country carts. They crossed the Ganges within thirty miles of Meerut. We had in that station a thousand Europeans doing nothing beyond guarding an entrenchment; and yet the General Commanding did not attempt in the slightest degree to interfere with their passage. They even lay at Gurmuckteser (Garhmukteshwar)[1] for some days, whilst they sent over their baggage, and to keep our men off, sent the General taunting messages that they were about to attack him, a threat which sufficed to make him keep his Europeans within the entrenchment. How the spirits of the gallant young officers, panting to revenge their countrymen, chafed at this inaction, may be imagined. More than one implored the General to permit them to go with even 500 men to attack the rebels as they were crossing; but he would not hear of it. Meerut, he said, was too important a station to be left undefended. Most true. But there are some cases in which a bold attack is the best defence, and this was one of them. The defeat of the Rohilcund rebels at Gurmuckteser Ghat would have struck terror into the surrounding district, and would have had even a material effect on the siege of Delhi.

But it was not to be : this force, laden with the plunder of Rohilcund, marched within thirty-miles of a thousand Europeans, crossed the broadest river in India in boats, traversed the country, exposing their left flank to our inactive forces, and finally reached Delhi on the 1st of July,—a very critical period for the garrison of that city,—without a shot having been fired at them in anger*. Let us turn from the contemplation of one of the most disgraceful passages in the whole

[1]*Garhmuktesar*, Pargana *Garhmuktesar*, Tahsil *Hapur*, District *Meerut*—The capital of the pargana is situated in latitude 28° 47′ north and longitude 78° 6′ east, on the right bank of the Ganges. (*District Gazetteers*, Meerut, 1922, p. 224).

* "I have not given the name of the general officer who commanded at Meerut at the end of June, because it is possible that General Hewitt may have previously left. Whoever he may have been, he deserves to stand in a literary pillory."—Note in Original.

course of the rebellion to recount the progress and result of the siege of Delhi.[1]

* * *

Extract from 'The Friend of India', Supplement.

On the 1st and 2nd of July the Rohilcund mutineers arrived at Delhi, marched across the Bridge of Boats within full view of the spectators from our camp posted on the ridge. They were a formidable reinforcement consisting of the whole of No. 15 Horse Battery, two (torn) pounder post guns from Shahjehanpore,....Irregular Cavalry, 18th, 29th and 68th Native Infantry.....[2]

KING RECEIVES BAKHT KHAN IN AUDIENCE

Translation of an Extract from 'Dehli Urdu Akhbar', dated July 12, 1857.

Thursday (*Ziqaad* 9)—The King, after offering the obligatory prayers granted permission to Ehtram-ud-daula Bahadur to examine his pulse, and then held public audience in *Diwan-i-Khas*. All the grandees present bowed and performed the *Mujra*. Samsam-ud-daula Bahadur then set out for receiving and escorting General Muhammad Bakht Khan Bahadur.

The above-named attended the royal presence with his officers, made obeisance and submitted the accounts of the management and administration in all the different places. The King was highly pleased to hear the account submitted by Khan Bahadur and granted him Rs. 4,000 for sweets, a sword and a shield. He was also granted the title of *Sipah Salar Bahadur Afsar-i-Kul* (Commander-in-Chief of the entire army). A *hukumnamah*, to the effect that every one should fully obey his orders and should never do anything contrary to his wishes, was issued to all the officers. After this, the King retired to the palace. Then a *shuqqa* (letter) was addressed to the above-named Commander-in-Chief that he should

[1] *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, 1857, pp. 198-200.

[2] *The Friend of India*, Supplement (annexed before Jan. 7, 1858. National Library, Calcutta.

try to break the *morchas* and should strain every nerve to destroy the power of the enemies of religion.[1]

WORK UNDER THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

English Translation of Extracts from 'Urdu Akhbar'.

Friday (10*th Ziqaad*)—After the *Farz* and *Sunnat* prayers and usual examination of pulse, the King sat on the throne. The great *Umaras* (noblemen) and the princes attended and paid their respects. Then the King went inside the palace and passing through the *Deorhi* Khawaspura went for an outing and then came back to the palace through the *Deorhi Khasa*. Then seven *Khwans* (trays) of *oolis*[a] food were sent for the Commander-in-Chief. After *Asir* prayers in the evening, two detectives from Shahdara and two persons from Delhi Darwaza caught for robbery, were brought in and the King ordered that they should be sent to the Commander-in-Chief for award of punishment. It was submitted that the Commander-in-Chief had sent Pathans to the *nakas* of the city for checking the enemies. After dusk, the King as usual, called Ehtramud-daulah Bahadur.....It has been repeatedly pointed out that the coming of the Commander-in-Chief has effected a control over the soldiers who were a source of trouble to the people of the city. Everybody, therefore highly praises the Commander-in-Chief. It is believed that after this war, the administration of the city will be set right and the people will become happy. Now the army going out to the battle marches in an orderly fashion, with provisions supplied by themselves. Those on the front are highly spirited, patriotic and religious. The mode of their working shows that it is God's mercy that such persons have been made officers. Every officer has been entrusted with duties he is capable of performing best. Those who were capable of being taken into the Council, have been taken in. They know how to behave with the soldiers and the people according to their position. A very large number of

[1] *Dehli Urdu Akhbar*, July 12, 1857, No. 28. National Archives, New Delhi.

white men were killed this week, due to these officers' capabilities of better management and a great multitude of the enemies has been killed and robbed. A large number of camels have been captured. The supply for the enemy was providentially captured one day. There is every hope that if persons selected by the Commander-in-Chief are at the helm of affairs and the work is entrusted to him the people will prosper. A large number of *Jihadis* (fighters in the cause of religion) have come with him. They are inured to hard work and possess experience. They are well cared for and provided. His august presence, it is hoped, will result in collecting the treasures and enlisting the support of the Rajputs and the States and will thus add to the glory and splendour of the King's Govt. The humble opinion expressed by me is supported by the fact that in spite of his preoccupation in hte daily activities of the War and his efforts to win a victory in the Campaign, he has given thought to all sorts of administrative work. In support of this, I publish a copy of a notification issued by the Commander-in-Chief, with a view that the wise may be able to form a judgement about my opinion and then for the purpose that such notifications may be given proper publicity which is one of the needs of the hour.

A copy of the Notice issued from the General's Office.

Let it be known to all the *Jagirdars, Muafidars* and pensioners of this city and of the places outside that if because of the flight of the English their means of livelihood have been jeopardised and they have been thrown out of employment and have therefore intrigued with the English by sending them secret news and supplies, they should know that after our victory every one will be allowed his previous emoluments after the examination of his certificates and orders. Even the arrears for the period of disturbances will be paid. After the issue of this notice, if any one persists in giving news and supplies to the English, he will be given severe punishments. The *Kotwal* of the city is therefore ordered that he should inform the *Jagirdars, Muafidars* and pensioners of his *ilaqa*, get their signatures on the back of the document and send the same to the presence.

A notification refuting the one issued by the treacherous Nazarenes.

Some of the devoted Muslims and other wise men wish

that the refutation of the note published in the last issue may be reprinted in large numbers and given a wide publication to enable all the Hindus and Muslims to read it. This notification which was at first sketchy has now been revised and amplified by its author who has added a *Khutba*. Some persons have expressed the desire to buy copies for distribution. Four annas have been fixed as its price. There is no doubt that for every Hindu or Muslim, the efforts made in this cause are both religious and political and if these notifications are given wide publication in all parts of the country, they will prove most useful in saving people from the tricks and deceits of the Nazarenes and in firmly believing that a war against them is a religious duty.

If the Commander-in-Chief peruses this pamphlet he will also agree with our view.[1]

FREQUENT ATTACKS ON DELHI BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Extract from Telegraphic Message from Major MacLeod to the Governor General of India in Council and the Commander-in-Chief, dated Agra, July 19, 1857.

Delhi news up to the 14th (July)—Our forces there are still mainly on the defensive; get attacked by the mutineers about every third or fourth day, and invariably repulse them, with loss. We have about 6,000 troops there of all kinds, exclusive of sick and wounded. Up to the 14th we had 159 killed, from the commencement. We have 28 field-guns and 12 siege-guns, but not sufficient ammunition for a siege artillery.

Men and drafts of Infantry stated to be arriving in our camp.[2]

ENGAGEMENTS ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF DELHI

Letter from C. B. Thornhill, the Officiating Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, to the Officers Commanding at Allahabad, dated Fort Agra, July 16, 1857.

....Delhi is not yet taken; the English force there *is*

[1] *Dehli Urdu Akhbar*, dated July 12, 1857, No. 28. National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 9 in No. 1, p. 12.

constantly engaged in combats outside with the mutineers (who are massed in great numbers, *having ample materials and munitions of war inside the town*), and have been uniformly successful in these engagements, and the enemy have been repulsed with severe loss, but no decided advance is made towards taking the place.[1]

DELHI KING'S DIRECTIVE TO CHIEFS TO CONTRIBUTE MONEY

Order of the King, without signature, Cypher or Seal, dated 11*th August* 1857, *to all Hindus and Mahomedans 'who wish the advancement of Religion'.*

Be it known to you ! That Falak-ud-din Shah, being one of those who have pledged themselves to fight for the Mahomedan faith, in the religious war against the infidels, and being director of finance and the army, is sent to collect *ghazis** as well as money for the expenses of the armies bestowed by God, which have come from all directions, and have assembled at the royal threshold for the destruction of the Christians; and which have already sent thousands of the British soldiery, and others of the English, to hell. It is incumbent on you to consider well your own advantage, and to forward to the royal presence, such amounts of treasure, as he may determine, at the same time sending your accredited agent also. You will moreover, give the above-named Falak-ud-din Shah such aid, in military forces, for arrangements on the way, and for the slaughter of Christians, as he may demand. Those who will join in the cause of the faith and of religion, will receive distinctions, and those who will confederate with the Christians, will be utterly despoiled of life and property.

List

	Rs.
The Chief of Chattauri (Chhatari) to contribute seven guns and	50,000
The Chief of the town of Parrawae	10,000

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 8 in No. 1, p. 11.

*"Men voluntarily pledging their lives to fight in defence of the Mahomedan religion"—Note in Original.

The Chief of the town of Dharmpur	5,000
The Chief of Dhanpur (Danpur)	5,000
The Chief of Pahansu (Pahasu)	5,000
The Chief of Sadabad	5,000
The Chief of Dattowli (Datauli)	2,000
The Chief of Begampur	10,000
The Chief of Badoun	10,000
The Chief of the town of Jairu	5,000
The merchants of the city of Muttra	50,000
The Rajah of Ballabhgarh	1,00,000
The Chief Ghulam Husein, of Attrowli (Atrauli)	20,000
The Rajah of Bhartpur	5,00,000
Total Rs.	12,45,000[1]

HECTIC EFFORTS BY BRITISHERS TO CHECK REVOLUTIONARIES

Telegraphic Message from Colonel O'Brien to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Allahabad, August 14, 1857.

The following are extracts from letters received from Agra, by *cossid*, from R. Colvin, Esq :—

Extract of a letter dated 3rd August : Intimates that it is of the utmost importance that a portion of a brigade should march in this direction, to check the state of the affairs in the Doab, which requires instant vigour, as well as assist us in case of an attack being made by the Gwalior troops. A Nawab, named Wally-dad-Khan, has established himself at Malinghur (Malagarh), near Bopardashabar[2], and intends sending a deputy to Allyghur, to form a force and collect revenue for rebels at Delhi. It is of the greatest urgency that this be crushed rapidly. States that provisions are abundant, but that the place being large would require more Artillery men and officers by far than they have; the latter urgently required and they would be of great help. News from Delhi up to the 29th. No cheering news. Nawab Raee (Raees) is reported

[1] Proceedings on the *Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah, the Titular King of Delhi*, 1858, No. 4, p. 68.

[2] Apparently, wrongly spelt for '*Bulandshahr*'.

to have sent force against Cawnpore, consisting of two sepoy regiments and an Oude Irregular Cavalry.

Extract of letter dated 5th August : States that the general orders regarding the appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton to assume command took place this day. News from Delhi states that the force will, no doubt, hold out well, and will soon have strong reinforcements from the Punjab, but the power of taking Delhi may still be wanting without further means. Sir John Lawrence has written regarding this. Forces before Delhi, up to the 27th, are as follows : European Infantry, 2,050; European Cavalry, 504; total, 2,554 Europeans. Native troops : Infantry, 1,425; Native Cavalry, 495; total, 1,620. In all, about 4,074[1] Burrisaul, sick, 765, and wounded, 551. States also that their funds are becoming very limited. *We hold no country, and cannot collect anything;* it is essential that funds come with the forces, and some for our use here; our wants may be taken as 1½ lakh a month, and can scarcely carry on beyond three months more.

The Gwalior and Mhow mutineers : Mhow mutinous troops still at Gwalior; they talk of coming this way, but the rivers are too high. It is not known how far they have espoused the distinct cause of Gwalior, or have coerced the Maharajah, and are acting with their Delhi comrades; the Maharajah has certainly taken them into his pay.[2]

* * *

[1] Some of the figures are wrongly printed in the Original.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relating to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 82 in No. 2, p. 96.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF TROOPS, AND THE PLACES FROM WHICH THEY REVOLTED, AND ARRIVED AT DELHI, PREPARED BY RUJJUB ALLIE (RAJAB ALI) KHAN, MEER MOONSHEE (MIR MUNSHI) TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, DATED AUGUST 14, 1857.

Cantonment from which the Troops revolted	Date of arrival at Delhi	Cavalry	Foot	Guns and Baggage	Remarks
	1857				
Meerut	May 11	3 Troops, 3rd Regiment Cavalry ...	2 Regiments Infantry, the 11th and 20th N. I.	None.	
Delhi 7	" 11	None	3 Regiments Infantry, the 38th, 54th, and 74th N. I.	6 Guns, Horse Light Field-Battery.	
Hansi	June 14	400 Sowars, 4th Irregular Cavalry	1 Regiment Infantry, Hurrianah Battalion.	None.	
Mutra (Mathura)	" 5	200 Sowars, ditto	1 Company, 44th N. I.; 1 Company 67th N. I.	None.	
Lucknow	" 20	At one time 100, and at another 400, Sowars	At one time 450, and at another 100, Infantry.	None.	
Nusseerabad (Nasirabad)	" 19	500 Sowars, Malwa and Gwalior Contingent	2 Regiments Infantry, the 15th and 30th N. I.	6 Guns, Horse Artillery.	
Jullundur	" 22	280, 6th Light Cavalry	3 Regiments Infantry, the 3rd, 36th, and 61st N. I.	1 Gun, Horse Artillery, taken from the Rajah of Nabba (Nabha).	
Ferozepore	" 24	None	300 Foot, without arms, 45th and 57th N. I.	None.	
Bareilly	July 1	8 Regiments Irregular Cavalry.	4 Regiments Infantry, the 78th, 28th, 29th and 68th.	6 Guns, Horse Light Field - Battery, and 1 Station Gun.	35 Elephants, 700 colts, from Babooghur (Babugarh); 400 carts of Boards, etc.; 2 treasure tumbrils camels, *palkies*, *buggies*, etc.
	1857				
Jhansi	July 6 & 25	14th Irregular Cavalry, arrived on 25th July	1 Regiment Infantry, the 12th N. I. arrived on 6th July	3 Guns, Bullock 2 Light Field Battery.	Elephants.
Gwalior	June 2	400 Sowars, Gwalior Contingent	None	None.	
Neemuch	July 31	1 Regiment of Bengal Cavalry	4 Regiments Infantry, the 72nd N. I., the 5th and 7th Gwalior Contingent, and Kotah Contingent.	9 Guns, Horse Artillery, Kotah and Gwalior Artillery	50 Elephants.
Benares	August 6	200 Sowars, 13th Irregulars	300 Foot, Sikh Regiment of Lodianah (Ludhiana)	None.	
Allyghur (Aligarh)	June 12	None	1 Regiment Infantry, the 9th N. I	None.	
Agra	" 12	None	2 Regiments Infantry, without arms, the 44th and 67th	None.	
Rhotuck (Rohtak)	" 14	None	1 Regiment Infantry, the 60th N. I.	None.	
Jhuggur (Jhajhar)	May 8	300 Sowars	None	None.	
New Troops raised by King	June 13	400 Sowars	1,600 Foot	None.	
Ghazees, or Mahomedan fanatics, from Tonk, etc.	August 6	30 Sowars	1,470 Foot	None.	

Cantonment from which the Troops revolted	Date of arrival at Delhi	Cavalry	Foot	Guns and Baggage	Remarks
Omrao Bahadoor, Grandson of Doondey Khan of Kamoona	August 7	40 Sowars	1,000 Foot	None.	
Allahabad	June 27	100 Sowars, 13th Irregulars	None	None.	

Total Cavalry			Total Infantry			Total Guns		
ar Cavalry	1 Regiment	and 520 men	Native Infantry	24 Regiment	and 1,350 men	Horse Light	Field-Battery	27 guns
ılars	2 „	2,300 „	Miscellaneous		3,070 „	Bullock	„ „	3 „
llaneous	— „	770 „						
	3 Regiments	and 3,590 men	Total	24 Regiments	and 4,420 men	Total		30 Guns.

This statement has been altered slightly, so as to comprise the best information practicable. In round numbers, the eers may be estimated at 4,000 Cavalry and 12,000 Infantry. The rest, say 100 Cavalry and 3,000 Infantry, are undiscid levies, of no account whatever. It is impossible to give an exact account of their fluctuating numbers, but this air approximation, perhaps rather over-stated.[1]

[1] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in The East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 7 in No. 5, pp. 255-56.

CONCENTRATION OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AT DELHI

English Translation of an extract about Delhi news from 'Sadiq-ul-Akhbar', dated August 17, 1857.

The rumours of the armies coming here from all sides are afloat. God is merciful to our town, Shahjahanabad and this is a good sign. Authentic reports say that 20,000 soldiers from Bombay, three troops from Punjab, one big army from Indore combined with the Gwalior troops and others from different sides are coming to fight the Nazarenes. It is probable that about 80,000 men will collect in this town within three months and there is no doubt that the English will then flee away from the hills even without giving a fight. Three or four days back, the enemy massacred 70 or 80 Horsemen and Foot-soldiers of the victorious army on the front unawares but the next day the victorious army killed double the number of the enemies. Our army launches an attack every day. May God grant an early victory to our King and prosperity to the people of our city as the happiness of the subjects is always good for the ruler.[1]

KING'S AGENT TO RAISE A FORCE AT ALIGARH FOR DELHI

Narrative drawn up in the Military Department by R. J. H. Birch, Colonel, Secretary to the Government of India, dated Fort William, August 23, 1857.

Allyghur—An agent of the King of Delhi has been sent to Allyghur to raise a force, and to collect revenue for rebels at Delhi.[2]

* * *

Extract from 'The Dacca News', dated Nov. 6, 1858.

The Madras Athenaeum says, that the Delhi Proclamation had undergone a very free translation. "Far meagre," says

[1] *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*, August 17, 1857, p. 2, Delhi news (p. 4). National Archives, New Delhi.

[2] Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 1 in No. 2, p. 37.

our contemporary, "and far less addressed to the passions and superstitions of the people at large than the proclamation of Feroz Shah, Khan Bahadur and Nana Sahib, it contains such a string of grievances, as might be alleged against the British Government by a cavilling Missionary or a "candid civilian." Our contemporary seems not to be aware of the existence of another "body," within the Mahratta Ditch."[1]

COLONEL AHMAD KHAN SOLICITS REINFORCEMENTS FROM THE KING OF DELHI

Petition of Colonel Ahmad Khan stationed at Ghaziuddin Nagar, dated 9th September 1857, to The King, Nourisher of the Poor.

"Respectfully sheweth,–That leaving your Imperial presence, your slave came to Ghaziabad, and here learned that yesterday, the 8th of September, some Europeans assisted by the Jats, burned and sacked Pilkhowa (Pilakhua) and three or four neighbouring villages. The force engaged in this destruction was comprised of about 30 Europeans, 300 Jats of the Duhia tribe, and four guns. They are still encamped there, and the farmers of the surrounding country, fearing similar devastation, and feeling their helplessness, are paying the revenue. Moreover, definite intelligence has been received to-day that near 50 Europeans and Jats, with two or three guns, have assembled at Begamabad with the intention of destroying the bridge over the Hindan and of desolating Ghaziabad; and have cut off the supplies which used to be taken to Dehli and Pilkhowa, etc. It is therefore prayed that, with kind consideration Your Majesty will send some royal (*Badshahi*) troops accompanied by guns, in this direction for the punishment of the infidels, so that full chastisement may be inflicted on them, and the collection of the revenue of the State may be commenced. If, however, delay shall occur, the bridge over the Hindan will be broken, and the enemy will desolate Ghaziabad. Furthermore, there is a very strong fortress of masonry at the village of Mukimpur, near Pilkhowa, in which there are about 50 or 60 maunds of old gun-powder. Should the Europeans get into this fortress, their expulsion afterwards will be

[1] *The Dacca News*, November 6, 1858, p. 537. National Library, Calcutta.

very difficult and a second (*Dum Dumma*) will come into existence, and I shall then be utterly unable to counteract their operation. If my regiment of Infantry accompanied by guns could be thrown into the said fortress by to-morrow the English might be well punished and would certainly be routed with deserved chastisement; but Your Majesty being master, it is your prerogative to decide. Such orders as may be issued will be carried out. (Prayers for the continuance of the King's power)"—Petition of the slave, attested with the seal of Ahmad Khan, stationed at Ghaziabad.

Autograph order by the King, in pencil—Mirza Mughul will adopt measures agreeably to this petition.[1]

DELHI EVACUATED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter No. 129 *from the Commissioner, Meerut, to C. B. Thornhill, Secretary to Govt. N. W. P. Agra, dated* 22*nd September* 1857.

REVOLUTIONARIES MOVE INTO DOAB

I have much satisfaction in communicating for the information of Govt. the intelligence just received from the Civil Officer with the British force at Delhi that the Palace, the Jumma Musjid, Selimgurh, the Lahore gate, the Ajmere, Delhi and all other gates and in fact the whole city with the camp outside the Delhi Gate have been evacuated by the rebels and are occupied by our troops. The remaining mutineers who left their camp standing outside the Lahore Gate, have for the most part fled down the right bank of the Jumna. Within the last week about 3,000 mutineers including those who left when the assault was made have come across and fled down the Doab with muskets but without guns. Those who have gone down the right bank of the Jumna may have field guns.[2]

[1] Proceedings On the *Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah, the Titular King of Delhi*, 1858, Fifth Day's Proceedings, No. 38, p. 61.

[2] File No. 4 : "Evacuation of Delhi fort, Juma Masjid, Salimgarh, Lahori Gate, Ajmeri Gate, Delhi Gate and other Gates from the hands of Rebels in 1857', List of Mutiny Records, Meerut Commissioner's Office. State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

FALL OF DELHI AND OTHER EVENTS

Letter from E. A. Reade, in charge of the Government, North-Western Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Agra Fort, September 30, 1857.

In continuation of my address dated 15th instant, I have the honorto continue the narrative of events to the close of September, 1857.

2*nd*—It was not till the 27th of this month, owing probably to our *cossids* having been intercepted, that official intelligence was received of the complete re-occupation of Delhi, the imprisonment of the King, and just retribution inflicted on the princes Mirza Moghul and Khuzzur Sooltan, his sons, and Aboo Bakur, his grandson, who had taken prominent shares in the combination against the Government.

3*rd*—The intelligence has been disseminated by every available means to Native States, to the Presidencies, and principal Stations.

4*th*—In anticipation of orders, having enemies within hearing, and loyal subjects disquieted, I deemed it advisable to direct that royal salute should be fired from the ramparts of the fort.

REVOLUTIONARIES MARCH TOWARDS MATHURA

5*th*—A crowd of fugitives, consisting of mutineers of many regiments, felons from jails, fanatics and miscreants of every description, have found their way to Muttra during the past three days, where they have been usually engaged in constructing a bridge of boats over the Jumna, and opening a communication with the mutineers of Indore and Holkar's troops, mentioned in my previous narrative, who have remained at Dholepore watching the progress of events. It is now evident that their forces will combine, in consequence of the Column of pursuit detached from the army at Delhi, which was reported to be moving by the right bank of the Jumna, having through some unexpected change of orders, proceeded into the Doab towards Allyghur.

6*th*—This is much to be regretted, as, in the event of the original plan having been followed out, the pursuing force would have come upon a horde of dispirited fugitives before they could have time to cross the river, and would have had no difficulty in destroying and dispersing them, recovering at

the same time 20 guns, and 50 elephants with other property of Government.

7*th*—In support of this strongly urged and promised movement, the detachment of the European troops, Artillery and Militia, under Major Montgomery, had been moved to Seydabad (Sadabad), the apex of the triangle from Muttra and Agra. The result of this unfortunate alteration of plan must be the lapse of some days before decisive measures can be taken against an enemy refreshed by rest, and encouraged by reinforcement.

DEFENSIVE ARRANGEMENTS AT AGRA BY ENGLISH

8*th*—Anticipating that the fall of Delhi would bring down a stream of fugitives towards Agra, I deemed it necessary to secure the entrances to the city of Agra lying within range of protection from the fort; under the able supervision of Captain Munbee, the narrow lanes and alleys have been blocked up, and the main streets secured by solid entrances, through the gates of which no sudden rush could be effected, and mortar batteries in the fort have been placed so as to cast shells with precision beyond the enclosed space upon any gathering for that purpose. The proceeding has given confidence to the people in the city.

9*th*—Anticipation of a siege of this fort by mutineers from Gwalior is at an end. Sindia having got rid of the mutineers of Indore and Holkar's troops, with or without the cooperation of the Rana of Dholepore, has sunk the boats on the Chumbul. By the latest advices he had the mastery of the mutinous contingent regiments, the great body of which were about to leave for the Doab and Oude.

10*th*—The death of Mr. Greathed, who has shared the labours of the siege of Delhi from the first, in the hour of triumph, has rendered it necessary to make a special arrangement for that division. Mr. Saunders has been directed to assume charge for the present, and to be guided by the instructions of the Chief Commissioner of the Punjaub, who has volunteered his assistance, until communications are re-established with Agra.

11*th*—Mr. Cocks continues with the force detached from Agra to the Allygurh District. His successful measures for the tranquillity of that district have been temporarily interrupted by a last despairing attempt of some Mahomedan fanatics

to create a diversion, and the necessity of operating against the mutineers at Muttra. The landowners remain loyal, and he is now engaged, with the aid of Captain Murray, in raising a body of Jat Horse, a class who have fought by the side of European soldiers against rebels, and on whose fidelity there is reliance.

12*th*—The movement of the Meerut forces have been inoperative in the direction of Boolundshahur (Bulandshahr), and the outbreaks of Mahomedan fanatics in Moozuffernugger (Muzaffarnagar) have called them in that direction.

13*th*—The Rajah of Mynpoorie (Mainpuri) is still in rebellion, and is the principal cause of our communications with Cawnpore being intercepted; but generally the population of the district is against him, even those of his tribe, and the first demonstration of advance of European troops will restore the district to tranquillity.

ETAWAH TRAVERSED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

14*th*—The tranquillity is maintained in Etawa by the influence of landowners supporting the local establishments, though that district continues to be traversed by parties of mutineers; and the European District Officer can at present only communicate from Agra.

15*th*—The same remark applies to Muttra, before the arrival of the fugitives from Delhi; our largest revenue remittances have come in from that district.

REVOLUTIONARIES IN POWER IN ROHILKHAND

16*th*—From the district of Rohilcund urgent appeals are received from landholders, urging on the Government the deputation of troops, and the expulsion of rebels who have assumed authority; and these applications have been sent before the result could be known of the contest before Delhi.[1]

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 4, pp. 60-62.

MIRZA BAKHTAWAR SHAH AND MIRZA MENDU TO BE EXECUTED

Extracts from Letter from H. Fraser, the Chief Commissioner of North-West Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Agra Fort, October 31, 1857.

3*rd* (*Para*), *October* 17—Mirza Bucktawar (Bakhtawar) Shah and Mirza Mendu sons of the King, have been condemned by a Military Court assembled at Delhi, and were to be executed on the 13th instant. Mr. Saunders mentions that he has papers in his possession compromising many whom we have considered our "best friends." . . .

October 19—The two *Shazadahs* were shot on the banks of the Jamuna at Delhi on the 13th instant. . . .[1]

MARCH OF DELHI REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS OTHER DIRECTIONS AFTER THE FALL OF DELHI

Letter from H. Fraser, The Chief Commissioner, North-Western Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Fort Agra, October 15, 1857.

HIRA SINGH TOWARDS DHOLPUR

8*th* (*Para*), *October* 4—Reliable intelligence has been received, that the *Delhi mutineers have crossed to the left bank of the Jumna*, with the exception of Heera Singh and some 500 Horse, and a considerable number of followers. Some reports say with 1, others with 6 light guns. He intends to join the mutineers at Dholepore, and there is reason to suppose that they also may endeavour to fall back on Rohilcund or Oude, though they still talk of attacking Agra. Muttra has luckily escaped plunder. The bridge of boats there has not been injured, and I this day sent instructions to preserve it for future use, but rendering it in the meantime impassable by the withdrawal of a few boats, till order is restored. Late in the day, intelligence was received of the relief and rescue of our garrison at Lucknow; and for the reasons given in the 4th paragraph of Mr. Reade's last communication, and in anticipation of orders, I have directed a royal salute to be fired from the ramparts

[1] Further Papers (No. 7, in continuation of No. 5) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure I in No. 9, p. 190.

of the fort. From further intelligence this day received, there is every reason to believe that the whole body of mutineers who have crossed the river, have reached and plundered Hattrass (Hathras), and would this morning or evening move to the eastward, most probably with the intention of marching on Futtehghur; and they are so far in advance of Colonel Greathed's Column, with whose later movements we are quite unacquainted, that I apprehend their successful escape.

ATTACK ON AGRA RUMOURED

9*th* (*Para*), *October* 5—It is believed that the retreating mutineers arrived at Secundra Rao, on the Trunk Road last night, *en route* to Budaon, either by the Kutchla or Kadiech Ghauts; and as I learnt in the course of this day, that Colonel Greathed's detachment had been delayed for two days at Boolundshuhur, from some unexplained cause, and would only arrive at Allyghur this morning, I fear that there is little chance of his overtaking them; and have written to beg that he will move on Agra, with the intention of proceeding against the body now at Dholepore, provided he sees no chance of overtaking the mutineers within a moderate distance from Allyghur. The delay of two days at Boolundshuhur was unfortunate, but may have been unavoidable. Should Colonel Greathed move at once on Agra, I will dispatch a detachment from this garrison to occupy Allyghur, and establish communication with Meerut. The Delhi mutineers are stated to have 17 light guns, and about 5,000 Foot, with a considerable number of Horse, and many camp followers. *The Dholepore force still talk of attacking Agra.*

10*th* (*Para*), *October* 6—In a letter of the 3rd, dated Koorjah (Khurja), received last night, Colonel Greathed mentions that he was delayed two days at Boolundshuhur in making arrangements for the sick of his Column, who were, I conclude, sent to Meerut; that his European Infantry (originally 800 strong), were reduced to 400; that Lieutenant Home, a promising officer of Engineers, had lost his life by the too sudden explosion of a mine, whilst blowing up the fort of Malagurh; that he expected to be at Allyghur yesterday morning (the 5th instant) and finally that he hoped we would be able to reinforce him from this garrison. Feeling that a successful pursuit of the Delhi mutineers was utterly hopeless; that we were not in a position to reinforce Colonel Greathed's Column, except for operations

in the near vicinity of Agra, and that it would be wise policy (a policy concurred in by Mr. Reade, in whose sound good sense I place great reliance) to clear the country step by step, as our strength admitted, and to drive the mutineers into Rohilcund or Oude, where the final struggles will in all probability have to be made; I directed the Column to move on Agra. I have omitted previously to mention as a remarkable feature in this mutiny, that a Hindoo temple is said to have been plundered by the rebels at Bindraban, and that Heera Singh, prevented the plunder of another at Muttra. The reports of to-day represent the Dholepore mutineers to be in a disorganized state, and to be quarrelling amongst themselves, and a small body of about 200 Horsemen are said to have left them with the intention of making for their homes via Muttra. We have very little information from below, but understand that the Madras troops at Jubbulpore successfully attacked the 52nd Native Infantry, killing about 200 of them. It is also reported that the 5th Irregular Cavalry have plundered a temple, in the neighbourhood of Bidzedghur, not far from the Soane, of about a lakh of jewellery. In the course of the day, intelligence was received that Colonel Greathed had occupied Allyghur after an action with a large body of rebellious Mahomedans, *assisted by* 500 *Delhi mutineers;* and that he had killed about 400, and taken 2 or 3 guns, with loss only of 3 or 4 men. Colonel Greathed also expressed his intention of pursuing the mutineers in the direction of Khasgunje (Kasganj), punishing Akbarabad (?) in the way, but admitted that his chance of overtaking them was very faint indeed. I again instructed him to move to Agra via Akrabad or Secundra Rao, informing him at the same time, that I could not occupy Allyghur with a detachment from this, till his Column was in our vicinity.

MANGAL SINGH AND MAHTAB SINGH REPORTED KILLED

11*th* (*Para*), *October* 7—Intelligence received early this morning that Colonel Greathed had punished Akrabad, killing the leaders, Mungul Singh (or Khan) and Muthab Sing, (Mahtab Singh) with a great number of the rebels, but no direct communication has been received from him for the last two days. *The movements of the Dholepore mutineers still uncertain;* but apparently so threatening that I sent decided orders to Colonel Greathed to move on Agra, and if he could not do so

rapidly, to detach 500 Cavalry, and a troop of Horse Artillery, which would make us strong enough here to meet the Dholepore mutineers in the field. In a private letter from Nynee Tal, dated 22nd ultimo, it is stated that Jung Bahadoor was sending two Goorkha Regiments of 1500 recruits to Almorah; and that Major Ramsay, thus reinforced, would probably commence offensive operations in Rohilcund. From other quarters we learn that the Hindoos of Rohilcund, particularly in the neighbourhood of Bijnore, would rise in our favor on the appearance of any body of our troops in that district.

13*th* (*Para*), *October* 9—Letters received from the Moveable Column, from which it appears that a most unnecessary halt was made at Akrabad on the 7th, and that Colonel Greathed's Column would in consequence only reach Hattrass to-day, thus exposing Agra once again to the chance of plunder, for a reconnoitring party sent out this morning by Lieutenant Colonel Cotton to the Kharee river, about ten miles distant, was fired upon, and on its return reported that 300 of the mutineers and 3 guns had crossed; but it is believed that their heavy guns cannot readily be passed over in the course of the day, and in that case Colonel Greathed, who has been written to most imperatively, may probably arrive during the night, and be able to attack the enemy to-morrow.

BRITISH VICTORIOUS OVER DHOLPUR REVOLUTIONARIES

14*th* (*Para*), *October* 10, 11, 12, *and* 13—On the 11th, I had the honor to announce privately to Your Lordship, the result of a brilliant and signal success on the 10th instant, over the Dholepore mutineers, by the combined Moveable Column and Agra Garrison, from the latter of which a detachment will be dispatched at an early date to Allyghur, to restore order and open out the communications with Meerut and Delhi. Peace and order are being gradually restored in the Scharunpore, Moosuffernugger, Meerut, Boolundshuhur, Hurrianah (Hariana), Rhotuck and Delhi districts, and a combined movement by Colonel Showers, and Colonel Van Cortland's and Goolab Sing's troops is contemplated against the Jhujjur State, the fidelity of which is questionable. The troops in the districts noted above may be sufficient to restore order, but additional ones, and more particularly Cavalry, are much wanted to

re-establish the supremacy of the British rule in the Agra, Muttra and Allyghur districts. Popular feeling, particularly amongst the Hindoo· population in the old trans-Gangetic districts, is represented to be strongly in our favour, and there is also apparently in some localities in these districts a reaction on the part of the Mahomedans; and the impression is very prevalent, that, as soon as we can show ourselves in moderate force, there will not be much difficulty in settling these districts.

DELHI REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS INTO ROHILKHAND AND FATEHGARH

15*th* (*Para*), *October* 14—The Gwalior mutineers are reported by the Maharajah to be prepared for a move on the 15th instant to Cawnpore via Jhansie, a movement much to be wished for, as it would render the seat of Government here pretty secure. The Dholepore mutineers have evidently broken up, some have been killed, and others seized by the Bhurtpore authorities, who have committed themselves in our favor by this step. Some have gone south-eastward, with the view of crossing the Jumna, in the vicinity of Etawah; some have been beaten back by the Police and inhabitants of Muttra, and about 500 Horse and 500 Foot, without guns, are now reported to be close to Hattrass, on their way to Rohilcund or Oude. Little positive is known in respect to the main body of the Delhi mutineers; but it is reported that about 2,000 Horsemen have crossed the Ganges into Rohilcund, and that the Infantry have moved off to Futtyghur, or eastward on the Grand Trunk Road. Affairs in Rajpootana are not satisfactory. Brigadier Lawrence has sent an urgent appeal to Delhi for assistance, which, I regret to say, it is out of the power of the General Commanding there to give.

DELHI KING TO BE TRIED BY A MILITARY COMMISSION

16*th* (*Para*), *October* 15—After mature considerations, and for reasons which will be communicated to Your Lordship in a separate Memorandum, I have deemed it expedient that Colonel Greathed should move on Cawnpore via Mynpoorie, (Mainpuri) with instructions to drive away any body of mutineers or rebels he may meet, without any deviation from the direct road. A Special Commissioner accompanies his force,

to inquire into the conduct and loyalty of certain parties at Mynpoorie; but if Rao Bowanee Sing (Rao Bhawani Singh) gives up 2,13,000 rupees, which he has promised all along to do, it may perhaps be accepted as a proof of his faithfulness, for there is little doubt that the Rajah himself is in open rebellion. The treasure, if secured, will be escorted to Agra by 150 Sikh Horse, whom I have instructed Colonel Greathed to put at the disposal of this Government. Endeavours will be made to dispatch from 2,000 to 3,000 camels and some hackeries for the use of the troops at Cawnpore or where most wanted. A portion will accompany the Column, and the remainder will be pushed on by forced marches to catch it up. Mr. Harington, member of the Legislative Council, will also accompany Colonel Greathed's Column for he is naturally most anxious to join his appointment at Calcutta, will be well in hand up to Mynpoorie, and can be re-called here, should the Gwalior mutineers change their minds and think of threatening Agra; and, to be prepared for every contingency, I have ordered the bridge of boats at Muttra to be re-made, to facilitate the passage of troops, in the event of any accident to ours here. I omitted to mention that Colonel Greathed yesterday received from Delhi a small reinforcement of about 230 European Foot, 20 European Artillerymen, and two 12-pounder guns; and that I have exchanged two small 5½ inch mortars, which he had with him, for two more of heavier calibre. *The King of Delhi has been guaranteed his life, but is now under trial by a Military Commission*, to ascertain the extent of his complicity in the rebellion.

In conclusion I am inclined to regard the aspect of affairs in a cheerful light; *and but for the uncertainty regarding the movements of the Gwalior mutineers*, I am induced to believe that peace and order would be quickly restored in most of the northerly districts of these Provinces.[1]

DELHI REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS BAREILLY

Telegraphic Message from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Banaras, October 14, 1857.

Letters from Agra on the 6th. Colonel Greathed's Column reached Allyghur on the morning of the 5th, when he attacked

[1] Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure I in No. 8, pp. 118-121.

and defeated the *budmashes*, who opposed him in arms. The Cavalry behaved very well, killing fully 400. The Delhi fugitives are described as thinking of nothing but escape with their plunder, striving to make their way to Bareilly; they were two marches, or more, ahead of Greathed. The European force fit for duty, now with his Column, is under 400, and these are described as quite jaded by their long-continued hard work, and fit for nothing. Colonel Fraser has again desired Colonel Greathed to march direct upon Agra, with a view of attacking first the men at Dholepore, then to go to Mynpoorie. The Neemuch Brigade is said to have gone to Dholepore. The intentions of the mutineers are still not known.[1]

DELHI REPORTED BESIEGED AGAIN

The fall of Delhi has not been attended with the effect which would have been produced had it fallen at the outset. However incredible it may appear to people at home, it is nevertheless true, that letters from all quarters assure us that multitudes of the natives will not believe that it has yet been recaptured by us....

Even in the vicinity of Delhi, weeks after we were undisputed masters of the city, what was the state of things ? All around, within a short radius of a few miles, there were, and still are, "*a host of fortified villages with a wide ditch and high mud bank, swarming with thousands of budmashes* (or 'habit and repute' ruffians) *from the city, and wounded sepoys.*"

As an instance of the state of the neighbourhood of Delhi, in consequence of the existence of these nests of hornets, we may mention, that the camels of Coke's Regiment were out foraging about *two miles* from the city, *when a party of villagers* attacked the Guard, wounding one, and were carrying off the camels, when they were rescued by a party of Horse under an officer, out on escort duty. Nothing was done to punish the villagers. None of our people could approach those villages without the certainty of being fired on; and this, weeks after a shot had been fired at Delhi.[2]

[1] Further Papers (No. 6, in continuation of No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, 1857, Inclosure 170 in No. 2, p. 109.

[2] Duff, Rev. Alexander: *The Indian Rebellion, Its Causes and Results*

APPENDIX B

PRINCIPLES FOR EXERCISING JUDICIAL OR MAGISTERIAL POWERS IN ROHILKHAND

Letter No. 1065 *from William Muir, Secretary to Govt. N. W. P., to R. Alexander, Commissioner, Rohilcund (Rohilkhand), dated* 28*th April* 1858.

I am directed to communicate to you the general principles which the Right Hon'ble the Governor General desires to see followed by all Civil and other Officers who will exercise Judicial or Magisterial powers in Rohilcund, on the re-entry of British troops into that Province.

2*nd*—The condition of Rohilcund has been, in some respects, peculiar. The progress of the revolt in the interior has until lately suffered little check. The people, left to themselves, have, in many quarters, engaged actively in hostilities against each other; but direct opposition to British authority has been mainly confined to the several *Sudder* towns, to the frontier on the Ganges, and to the expeditions against Nynee Tal (Naini Tal).

PUBLIC PROSECUTION ONLY FOR TREASON

3*rd*—Under these circumstances, His Lordship considers it just to distinguish, by a widely differing treatment, the simple bearing of arms, or even acts of social violence committed at a period when the check of lawful Government was removed, from acts directly involving treason against the State, or a deliberate defiance of its authority. Excepting instances of much aggravation, it is not the wish of Government that public prosecutions should be set on foot on account of offences of the former class.

in A Series of letters, Letter No. XVI, dated Calcutta, Dec. 10, 1857, pp. 216-218.

CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

4*th*—Further, in respect of treason and defiance of British authority, His Lordship desires that criminal proceedings shall be taken only against leaders, and against such persons, whether high or low, as have distinguished themselves by activity and rancour against the Government, or by persistence in opposition to its authority after the advance of troops, and the re-occupation of stations. The Governor General will admit to amnesty all other classes, even though they have borne arms on the side of the rebels, provided that they tender an early and complete submission. But continuance in opposition will exclude from pardon.

5*th*—The Governor General has reason to believe that an impression exists in Rohilcund that the Mahomedan population, as such, is to be proscribed and crushed. It is likely that the rumour has been raised and fostered by the rebel leaders to excite apprehension and mistrust of the Government. His Lordship desires that every appropriate occasion may be taken to disabuse the people of this gross error. Such suspected rebels as may be brought to trial will be tried each by his own acts. Each will stand or fall by the line of conduct which he shall be proved to have followed. The Government will maintain, as it has always maintained, a strict impartiality in its administration. Equal justice will be shared by all its subjects, whether Hindoos or Mahomedans. You will make public these views, and instruct the chief district officers to make them widely known, in such manner as may appear to be most effectual.

6*th*—It will be your care, in accordance with the injunctions of His Lordship's orders embodied in the Circular Order dated the 19th February, to bring forward for early notice by the Governor General the several examples of conspicuously faithful conduct exhibited by many of the inhabitants of Rohilcund, under circumstances, of peculiar difficulty.[1]

[1] *Government Gazette*, North-Western Provinces, Vol. I, No. XI, Allahabad, Tuesday, May 4, 1858, pp. 98-99.

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GLOSSARY

Abkari—A tax on the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs.
Adalat—Court.
Ahalkars—Officials.
Akhbars—News-papers.
Akkas—Photographer.
Amil—An official, particularly a revenue official.
Amla—Officials of the court.
Apni Jan Bachao—Save your life.
Atta—Flour; any grain ground to powder.
Aumil—See Amil'.
Ayah—A female attendant for children.
Baba-logh—A term of endearment; children of Europeans.
Baboo—A word used for a gentlemen.
Bagh—See 'Bagheecha'.
Bagheecha—Garden.
Baghi—A rebel.
Bajera—Millet.
Bakhshi—A pay-master.
Bara Saheb (Burra Sahib)—Chief European Officer of the District; now any head of an office.
Baradari—A summer house with several indoors.
Beebee—Wife; a mistress; a lady.
Beldar (Bildar)—Labourer who digs with a spade.
Bey-eeman—Dishonest; treacherous.
Bhaees—Brothers.
Bhisthi—One who carries water in a leather-bag.
Bhowree—Circumambulation of sacrificial fire made by the bridegroom and bride at the time of marriage.
Bhungee—Sweeper.
Bhuttiaras—Inn-keepers.
Bismillah—By the name of God.
Biswah—The twentieth part of a bigha.
Budmashes—Wicked; immoral; a hooligan.
Bukr Eed—A Muslim festival.
Bukshee—See 'Bakhshi'.
Bulwa—A riot; an outbreak.
Buneah—See 'Buniya'.
Buniya—Grocer.
Bunjara—A wandering grain-dealer; a nomad.
Bywasta—Religious opinion,(Hindu).
Captaan Sahib—Captain.
Canoongo—A Superintendent of patwari's village papers.
Chakledar—See 'Chukladar'.
Chamar—Shoe-mender; cobbler.
Chapati (Chuppatti)—A thin cake or bread.
Chappa (Chhapa)—Attack.
Chappar—A thatched roof.
Chaprasee—A peon.
Charpoy—Cot.
Chaudhri—The head-man of a village; a chieftain.
Chaukidar—See 'Chowkidar'.
Chela—Disciple.
Chini (Cheenie)—Sugar.
Chokeedar—See 'Chowkidar (Chokidar)'.
Chhota Saheb (Chhotey Saheb)—A subordinate officer.
Choukee—A guard; a watch, a police station; an outpost; a watch house.
Chowkee (Chokee)—See 'Choukee'.
Chowkidar (Chokidar)—A watchman.
Chukladar (Chuckladar)—Chief Officer of the District in the Nawabi in Avadh.
Chulha—Oven.
Chundee—Daily allowance.

Chuprasi—See 'Chaprasee'.
Cossid (Qasid)—A messenger; an express courier.
Cotwal—See 'Kotwal'.
Cummerbund—A long piece of cloth girt about the loins; a girdle.
Cutchery (Cutcherry)—Courts of Justice.
Dak—Post.
Dal-rotee—Ordinary food; one's livelihood.
Darbar—A royal court; Hall of Audience.
Darodgar—Carpenter.
Daroga (Darogah)—Overseer or Superintendent of Privy Council; now an officer of a police station.
Dastak—Permit; licence; a summon or order to appear.
Dawk—Dak.
Deen, Deen—Cry of Religion.
Deorhi Khas—Palace.
Dewan—A royal court; a court minister particularly dealing with finance.
Dhak (Dak)—The tree '*Butea Frondosa.*'
Dhote (Dhotie)—A long piece of cloth worn by Indians round the waist.
Diwan Khana (Deewan Khana, Dewan Khana)—Hall of Audience.
Doli (Dhoolie)—A kind of closed litter used for ladies.
Duffadar—An official in the Indian army.
Duftari—One who is employed in an office for ruling registers etc.; a book-binder.
Duftur—Office.
Durbar—See 'Darbar'.
Farishta—An angel; a messenger of God.
Fasli—Agricultural year.
Godam—A godown.
Eed (Id)—A solemnity, feast, festival; Eed-ul-fitr, the festival of the breaking of the Ramzan fast.
Elaka—A tenure of several villages; jurisdiction.
Elakadar—An officer of an *Elaqa*; one who holds an *Elaqa.*
Fakeer (Fakir)—Mendicant; a beggar.
Faqueer—See 'Fakeer'.
Farman—Royal patent.
Farz Prayers—Obligatory Prayers.
Fatwa—A judicial or religious (Islamic) sentence pronounced by Mufti.
Faujdari—Breach of peace; fight.
Feringhee (Firangi)—A Frank; an European.
Firman—See 'Farman'.
Fotadar—Cashier; treasurer.
Foujdaree Surishtahdar—A head-officer of a cutchery or court in India, dealing with criminal cases.
Futwa—See 'Fatwa'.
Gaddi—A seat; a throne; a stuffed pad or cushion.
Ganj (Gunj)—A market-place; granary.
Garhi (Gharrie)—A small fort.
Gazee—See 'Ghazee'.
Ghariyal—A big gong.
Ghat—A ferry; ford.
Ghazee—A conqueror; hero; gallant soldier (specially combating infidels); a general leader of an expedition.
Golundaze—A gunner; a marksman.
Gomashta—An agent.
Goordahs—Barrels.
Guddee—See 'Gaddi'.
Harem—Seraglio.
Harkara—See 'Hurkara'.
Haveli—A house; a mansion.
Havaldar (Havildar)—A petty officer in an Indian army or armed police.
Hijras—Eunuchs.
Houdah—A seat to place on an elephant's back.
Howda—See 'Houdah'.
Hukmnama—Notice; order.
Hullah—Noise.
Hurkara—A runner; a fore-runner; a carrier; a post-man.
Huzur Tahsil (Huzoor Tehseel)—The system of Revenue collection in Avadh wherein a *Zemindar* was freed from all the superintendence of local authorities and paid his revenue direct into the Royal treasury.
Ilaqa—See 'Elaka'.
Ilaqadar—See 'Elakadar'.
Itlaq Nuvees—Plaint writer.
Itr (Utter)—Perfume; scent; essence.
Izhar Nuvees—An officer of the court who takes down depositions.
Jajheer (Jagir)—A rent-free grant given by Government as a reward for some service; grant.
Jahadees—Fighters of holy war.
Jama—Rent for land.
Jamadar—See 'Jemadar'.
Jawabdawa—Reply of the plaint.
Jehad—Waging war (specially against infidels).
Jemadar—A petty official of an Indian army.
Jhau (Jhow)—The tamarisk tree.
Jhunda—Flag.
Jihad—See 'Jehad'.
Jungee Pultun—A battalion; corps.
Kafir—An infidel; Europeans in those days were generally called *Kafirs* by Hindus and Muslims both.
Karinda (Karindah)—One who works for another; an agent.
Keranchee—Cart.
Keranee—An Eurasian; used for Indian Christian also particularly one in the British employment.
Khader—Alluvial soil.
Khalasi (Khallasi)—A coolie; a tent pitcher; a servant on board a ship.
Khand—Unrefined sugar.
Khandan—Family.
Khanqah—Monastery for Muslim saints.
Khansamah—Butler.
Khareef (Kharif)—A crop which is reaped in autumn.
Kharij Dakhil—Mutation of names.
Khas Bardar—A servant who in a great man's retinue carries a fire-lock; an armed soldier who goes before a prince.
Khat (Khut)—Letter.
Khazanchee—Treasurer.
Khet—Field.
Khilat (Khillut)—A robe of honour bestowed by a king.
Khundur—Debris or wreckage.
Khureef—See 'Khareef'.
Kitmatgar (Khidmatgar)—A domestic male servant.
Kone Jata Hy Dolee Myn—Who is going in the litter ?
Koran (Kuran)—The sacred book of the Muslims, and believed by them to be the inspired word of God.
Kos (Koss)—A distance of two miles.
Kotee—See 'Kothi'.
Kotewalee Burkundauzes—Watchmen of *Kotwali.*
Kothi—A mansion; a dwelling house.
Kothri—Small room.
Kotwal—Highest Police Officer of the City.
Kuffun—Coffin.
Kufr—Unbelief; heathenism.
Kumedan—A petty military officer.
Kuroh—Two miles.
Kutcherri—See 'Cutchery'.
Kya hai—What is the matter ?
Lambardar—The *Zemindar* of a village who helps the co-sharers in realising rent.
Lambardari—Relating to a *Lambardar.*
Lathi (Lathee)—Stick.
Loohar—Black-smith.
Lotah (Lota)—A small metal pot.
Madadgar—Helper.
Mahavir Ke Jhundee—Flag of Mahavir (an epithet for Hanuman).
Mahajan (Mahajun)—A money-dealer; a banker.
Mahout (Mehout)—An elephant driver.
Maidan—An open field.
Malguzar (Malgoozar)—Land-holder; payer of revenue.
Malkhana—Store house; a ware house.

Mandir (Mundeer)—Temple.
Manjee—A steersman.
Mashak—A leathern water-bag.
Masjid—Mosque.
Masnad (Musnud)—A throne; a large cushion.
Maufeedar—See 'Muafidar'.
Maulvi—See 'Molvee'.
Mauza (Mouzah)—Village.
Meerzaies—Jackets.
Meer Moonshee—The chief scribe, or the chief secretary.
Mem Sahib—An European lady; madam.
Missil—File.
Mofussil—The suburb of a town.
Mohalla (Mohullah)—The part of a city; a ward.
Mohur—Seal; gold coin.
Mohur-i-Shahee—Royal Seal.
Mohurrir—A scribe; a clerk.
Mokhtar (Mukhtiyar)—An attorney; an agent.
Molvee—A learned Muslim (one who is specially versed in Arabic and Persian).
Moocuddum (Muqaddam)—Village head-man.
Moofti—One who pronounces judicial or religious sentence.
Moollah—A learned Muslim.
Moonshee—A scribe; a clerk.
Moonsiff—See 'Munsif'.
Morcha (Moorcha)—A battery; entrenchment, fortification.
Motsaddie—A scribe; a manager; an accountant.
Muafi—Rent-free lands.
Muafidar—Possessor of lands which are rent-free.
Muhafiz Duftur—Record Keeper.
Muharrir—See 'Mohurrir'.
Muhul—Palace.
Muhzur—Any document attested by witnesses.
Mujahid—Fighter for religion.
Muhunt (Mahunt)—The head of a monastery.
Munsif (Moonsif)—A Judge.
Muqaddam—See 'Moocuddum'.
Musafir Khana—A halting place for passengers; an inn.
Mutsuddee (Mutsuddei)—See 'Motsaddie'.
Naib—Assistant.
Naib Faujdari Sarishtadar—Assistant to the Superintendent of a vernacular office in criminal courts of India.
Naik—A military officer of the lowest rank.
Najeeb (Najib, Nujeeb)—A militia man.
Naqsha Navis (Nuksha Nuvees)—One who draws maps.
Nawab—The Governor of a town; the title of a Muslim ruler.
Nazar—See 'Nuzur'.
Nazim—Head of a district who had very wide executive and judiciary powers.
Nazir—Supervisor; officer of scribes.
Neem—The margosa tree.
Nikah—Marriage ceremony performed according to Muslim rites and customs.
Nishan Bardar—See 'Nishan-burdar'.
Nishan-burdar—A standard-bearer.
Nizamut—Administration of Justice.
Nullah (Nala)—A ravine; a rivulet.
Nuzur (Nuzzer)—A gift; an offering, a present.
Nuzurana—Present; gift.
Omla—See 'Umlah'.
Padshah—King.
Pahar—Duration of three hours' time.
Palkee—A palanquin; a litter.
Paltan—A battalion; regiment; corps.
Panchayut—Village assembly; arbitration.
Pankha—Fan.
Parao (Purao)—A halting place; an encampment.
Pargana—A unit composed of a number of villages.
Parwana—See 'Perwana'.
Pattidar (Putteedar)—A partner in a landed property; a co-sharer.
Peepul—The holy fig tree.

Peerzadah—The descendant of a Muslim saint.
Pergunah—See 'Pargana'.
Perwana (Perwannah)—A command; an order; a royal edict.
Perwana Navees—One who copies out order.
Peshkar—A court official; an agent; a reader in Indian courts.
Peshwa—Guide; the head of a party.
Pharsa—A spade.
Piadha (Piada)—Footman.
Poolas—Bundles of straw.
Poorbeas (Poorbeahs)—Easterners; sepoys of Bengal army were generally called *Poorbeas*.
Pradhan—Chief; head; principal.
Pucka—Ripe; full grown; (now an English word Pucka house).
Pucka Chubowtra—a platform made of bricks.
Pugree (Pagri)—A turban.
Puleatahs—Matches.
Punchayat—See 'Panchayat'.
Pundit—Learned; a Brahmin.
Purwannah—See 'Perwana'.
Purwanneh Nuvees—See 'Perwana Navees'.
Pyadas—See 'Piadha'.
Qasid—See 'Cossid'.
Qazi (Quazee)—A Muslim judge.
Qiladar—Commandant of the fort.
Qusbah—Town.
Rabi (Rubbee)—Winter crop.
Rais (Raees)—A noble man; a grandee; a rich person.
Rasad—Provision; supplies.
Ressala—A troop of horses.
Ressaldar—See 'Rissaldar'.
Risala (Resala)—See 'Ressala'.
Rissaldar—An officer of Indian Infantry.
Roza—A fast observed by a Muslim in the month of Ramzan.
Roznamcha (Roznamcheh)—Daily diary.
Rubbi Kist—Winter crop share or tax of Government.
Rud-jawab—Refutation of reply.
Safar Maina—Sappers and Miners.
Sahib (Saheb)—Master; when used separately a term applied to Europeans.
Sahib logs—Europeans.
Sahookar—A money-lender; a wealthy merchant.
Sahukar—See 'Sahookar'.
Salam (Salaam)—Salutation; a form of wishing.
Sanad—See 'Sunnud'.
Sarai—See 'Serai'.
Sarkar—Government, particularly British Government.
Seer—The land which is under the direct cultivation of the landowner; a weight of sixteen *chhataks*.
Serai—Inn.
Seth—A great merchant; a wealthy person.
Shaikhzada—Belonging to the family of Shaikhs.
Sharbat—Syrup: a drink.
Shariat—Muslim Law.
Shewallah—See Shiwala'.
Shikari—Hunter.
Shirk—Paganism; infidelity.
Shiwala—A temple dedicated to Shiva.
Shotur Sowars—Camel mail-drivers.
Siah Navis—A clerk who writes daily account book.
Sipah-salar—Commander-in-Chief.
Sipahi—A soldier.
Sirdar—A leader; commander.
Sirkar—See 'Sarkar'.
Sonar—Goldsmith.
Soobah—Province; Provincial Chief.
Soobedar—Governor of the Province.
Subadar—See 'Soobedar'.
Subah—See 'Soobah'.
Sudder Cutchery—Main Court.
Sultan—King.
Sunnud—A grant; a charter; a certificate; a diploma.
Sunnat Prayers—Prayers which are not obligatory.
Surburah—An agent; a supervisor of workers.

Jurpech—An ornament worn over a turban.
Jurputta—Willow; a kind of reed which is used for thatching huts etc.
Syees (Syce)—A groom.
Tahkhana—A celi; a subterranean place.
Tahseel—See 'Tahsil'.
Tahseeldar—See 'Tahsildar'.
Tahsil—The office or court of a Tahsildar or Collector of Revenue.
Tahsildar—Collector of revenue.
Takia—Pillow.
Talbana (Tulubana)—Process fee paid to peons for serving summons.
Talookdar—See 'Talooqdar'.
Talooqdar—Possessor of an estate.
Talwar—Sword.
Taqavi—Advance of money given to cultivators for sinking wells, buying seeds.
Tattoo—A pony.
Tazeahs—A model of the tomb of Imam Husain which is buried by Muslims under the earth in the Muharram festival.
Telengas (Telingas)—Indian soldiers.
Thana (Thanah)—A police station.
Thanadar—An officer of *Thana*.
Theka—Contract.
Thekadar—Contractor.
Thekah-namah—Deed of contract.
Thuggee—Swindling; cheating.
Tika—Vermilion mark made on forehead; vaccination.
Tola (Tolah)—A weight of 12 *mashas*; the weight of the Indian rupee.
Tomandar—Commander of a *Tuman* or ten thousand soldiers.
Topee—A hat; a cap; a gun cap.
Toshakhana—A store-room; a wardrobe.
Tulwar—See 'Talwar'.
Tulwar Chultee—Fight with sword is going on.
Tumandar—See 'Tomandar'.
Ulasdar—Commander of a troop.
Ullema—Muslim theologians.
Ungocha—Towel.
Umlah—Staff.
Urzee—Petition.
Urzee-dawa—Petition or plaint.
Vakeel (Vakil)—Agent; pleader.
Vasil-Bakee-Navis—A clerk who keeps the account of sum realised and due.
Wasil Bakee Navees—See 'Vasil-Bakee Navis'.
Wauz—Sermon by Muslim theologians or saints.
Vyavastha—See 'Bywasta'.
Wazeer—Minister.
Wazir—See 'Wazeer'.
Zamindar—Landlord.
Zenana (Zananah)—Harem; wife.
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Zer Jharokha—Beneath the window.
Zila (Zilla)—District.

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